Alcuin's *Disputatio de rhetorica*:

A critical edition with studies of aspects of the text, the *stemma codicum*, the didactic diagrams and a reinterpretation of sources for the problem of the duality of the dialogue

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Abstract

Alcuin's dialogue *De rhetorica*enjoyed early success in Middle Ages and had a plethora of early copies in the ninth century. Diagrams concerning rhetoric were added to some of the earliest manuscripts and accompanied the dialogue through the ninth and tenth centuries, but were disregarded by modern editions of the work. The dialogue also has an uncommon combination of classical rhetorical precepts and explanation of the four cardinal virtues; these precepts and virtues had never been merged in such a way.

In order to deal with the issues mentioned above, this thesis is divided into two main parts. The first deals mainly with Alcuin's dialogue and its content. In this part, the controversial date of composition is taken into consideration, as well as the reception of the dialogue by modern scholars and their interpretation of how rhetorical precepts and cardinal virtues associate with each other in the dialogue. I give my own view of this issue and try to use Alcuin's known sources to justify and undertand the presence of a discussion about virtues on a dialogue about rhetoric. Next I analyse the diagrams which were transmitted in some of the oldest manuscripts and consider their relation to the content of Alcuin's text. I also collate the manuscripts and drew a *stemma codicum* of the manuscripts containing the diagrams.

In the second part, I analyse previous editions of Alcuin's work. A description of the readings found in the manuscripts, including two never used before, leads to the first *stemma codicum* of the dialogue. After this, a physical description of the manuscripts and justifications of each of the different readings adopted in this edition is offered before the edition itself.

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

I. Introduction

1.1 The plan for the dissertation

This thesis is divided into four main parts. Firstly, in the introduction, I will address the debate about the date of composition of Alcuin's *Disputatio De rhetorica*. Some scholars have refrained from offering an opinion about when Alcuin could have written the *Disputatio de rhetorica*, while others have resigned themselves to an established opinion, seeming content to discuss the matter no further. Therefore, I decided to take into consideration the three main scholars who have written most on this matter: Howell, Wallach and Bullough.[1] The first chose to take into consideration a letter Alcuin wrote to Angilbert, in which he supposedly made reference to his dialogue on rhetoric.[2] In addition to this, Howell uses the first line of the dialogue, where Charlemagne acknowledges one of Alcuin's travels, to establish the year 794 as the year in which Alcuin wrote the *De rhetorica*. Wallach, on the other hand, believes that the letter to Angilbert makes no reference to the dialogue whatsoever and dismisses the first line of the dialogue as being formulaic and, therefore, having no connection to real life events.[3] Wallach's assertion is that the poem which opens the dialogue is the poem that carries the clue necessary for establishing the date of the text. The poem calls Charlemagne *pater mundi*, and Wallach sees in this epithet an answer to when the dialogue was written. Because this name could only be used to refer to Charlemagne after his coronation as Roman emperor at the end of the year 800, the dialogue could thus only have been written in the space between 801 and 804, the year of Alcuin's death. Bullough believes it is useful to know when Alcuin developed his pedagogical activities then associates this period with the composition of his dialogues. I will

[1] W. S. Howell, *The Rhetoric of Alcuin and Charlemagne*, in Princeton Studies in English, 23 (Princeton, 1941); L. Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne* (New York, 1968); Bullough, *Achievements*, p. 298 and Bullough, *Alcuin, Abbot of St. Martin's, Tours, and Royal Adviser*. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, online edition - http://www.oxforddnb.com/public/index-content.html (last accessed in 17/05/17.
[2] Howell, *Rhetoric*, pp. 5-8.
[3] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, p. 47.

proceed to analyse these theories and give the reasons why I consider the first two studies to be problematic, before giving my views regarding the date of the dialogue, which I judge to have been written at the end of the eighth century.

Subsequently, there is an abridged description of the contents of the dialogue. Alcuin's *De rhetorica* is made almost entirely by borrowed precepts of ancient books on rhetoric (mainly Cicero's *De inuentione* and Caius Julius Victor's *Ars rhetorica*). In fact, Alcuin's *De rhetorica* is mostly an abbreviated version of these two rhetorical manuals, with, perhaps, some other insertions. I will list, in order, all the main subjects discussed by Alcuin together with the section number of the dialogue in which they can be found.

In the second chapter, I firstly analyse how modern scholars have perceived Alcuin's work. This ranges from the disapproving opinions of some nineteenth century scholars and the recognition of its importance as an educational handbook, to a much more intricate and complex analysis of its theological and political implications. Then, I offer my own contribution to the debate by showing the importance of Caius Julius Victor's text to Alcuin's *De rhetorica.* From Halm onwards, other authors also began noticing that the *Ars rhetorica* was responsible for providing almost half of the content of Alcuin's dialogue. However, my analysis shows that two sections of Julius Victor's text, focusing on letters and dialogues, were ignored by scholars of the time, although not by Alcuin. I explain how Alcuin used principles explained by Julius Victor, along with the famous definition of orator, *uir bonus peritus dicendi,* to discuss, in the last part of his dialogue, what constitutes an orator, thus contributing to the theme in a way no author has done before.

In the third chapter of this dissertation, I turn my attention to the diagrams which accompanied most of the ninth century manuscripts of the *De rhetorica.* The diagrams depict important passages about the discussion of rhetoric, for instance, the parts of rhetoric, the types of causes etc. However, these diagrams do not always reflect passages in Alcuin's text. In fact, more than once, they depict contents closer to texts on rhetoric by Cassiodorus and Isidore.

Despite this, and because they are present in several important early manuscripts, an understanding of them is a way to fathom how people in the ninth century viewed and used Alcuin's text. Because of this, after my analysis of the diagrams, I present the first *collatio* and *stemma* of these diagrams, thus helping us to understand the transmission of Alcuin's dialogue and how it was interpreted in the period following its composition.

The fourth part of this thesis is dedicated to explaining the differences between the main editions of Alcuin's *Disputatio de Rhetorica*, which have been published so far, and establishes the basis for the new critical edition presented here. Ever since the invention of the printing press, there has been at least one edition of Alcuin's *Disputatio* per century and in the first section of this chapter, I present and discuss previous editions of the text. The first editions used only one manuscript, while the main edition so far, the one used and quoted by most scholars, published in 1863 and made by Karl Halm, employed three manuscripts, all belonging to the same family. The twentieth century witnessed one reprint of Halm's edition, made by Howell, which added very few and disputable corrections, and one edition made by Zimmermann, as his PhD thesis, using 27 manuscripts, which has never been published. Next, I describe all the 29 manuscripts used in this new edition, one by one, trying to give enough details, especially regarding their content, but without being as specific as a manuscript catalogue, because these manuscripts have already been described in those. After the description, I proceed to list the main variants found between the manuscripts, in order to group the manuscripts into families and establish the first *stemma codicum* of Alcuin's dialogue. Finally, as the last segment before the edition itself, I present my arguments and choices for the text. Since the printing of the first modern editions of Alcuin's *De rhetorica*, one pattern is clear between all previous editions: there was an obvious attempt to correct Alcuin's text. That is, previous editors tried to adjust the Latin they found in the manuscripts to what we understand as Classical Latin, thus prioritising a form of the language that we do not find in the manuscripts or, at least, in the better manuscripts. I use a different criteria. Some of my decisions are based on a group of mutilated manuscripts of Cicero's *De inuentione* that Alcuin probably used to compose his dialogue and,

therefore, followed their lessons. I try to be as faithful as possible to the manuscripts, both Alcuin's and Cicero's, in order to produce a text that is not close to Classical Latin, but is clear enough and remains respectful to the lessons we find in the best manuscripts. Before the critical edition itself, accompanied by some footnotes concerning Alcuin's sources, there is a list of *sigla* for the 29 manuscripts of Alcuin's *De rhetorica* that I used for this edition. The edition has as its base Zimmermann's edition, with the addition of two manuscripts and also all other manuscripts recollated.

1.2 The date for Alcuin's *Disputatio de rhetorica*

Centuries of academic debate surround Alcuin's *opus* on rhetoric. Not only the nature of its contents raises speculation, but neither does the date of its composition escape conjecture. Several scholars have dedicated part of their research to discussing the probable date of the composition of Alcuin's treatise on rhetoric.[4] The results of these studies demonstrate how difficult and controversial it is to establish a date for the composition of this text.

The first writer to approach the matter was Max Manitius.[5] In his *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Manitius tried to ascertain the date of Alcuin's text using information in one of Alcuin's letters that might refer to the composition of the *De rhetorica.*[6] In letter 97, of which the date is still uncertain, Alcuin wrote to Angilbert, a member of Charlemagne's court, asking him to send news of his wellbeing and travels:

> Quid habeo plus scribere quia omnia necessaria nosti? Iuxta opportunitatem portantis semper dirige mihi litteras; ut sciam de prosperitate tua et itinere tuo.[7]

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[4] In this chapter I discuss the views expressed by Max Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Vol. 1. (Munich, 1911), p. 283; Howell, *The Rhetoric of Alcuin;* and Luitpold Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne.* It must be noted that they are not the only authors to have an opinion on this matter. In J.W.H. Atkins, *English Literary Criticism: The Medieval Phase* (London, 1952), p. 54, Atkins assumes that Alcuin's dialogue was written in 793 right after Alcuin's return from England. Donald Bullough, *Alcuin, Abbot of St. Martin's, Tours, and Royal Adviser.* Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/298 (last accessed: 20/09/16). , suggests that all Alcuin's didactic writings were made in Aachen – therefore, before the year 796. In another article, Bullough says 'The *De rhetorica* was almost certainly, despite the late Luitpold Wallach, also written before Alcuin left Aachen and a copy was deposited there.' Donald Bullough, 'Alcuin's Cultural Influence', in *Alcuin of York*, ed. Houwen et MacDonald, (Egbert Forsten, 1998), pp. 1-26 at p. 18. It is fair to say that Wallach stands alone in his approach to the problems. The reasons for this will be explained thoroughly later in this chapter. Other authors have not investigated the issue and instead adopted a more condescending date for the text, for example in Schaller, 'Alkuin'. In *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters Verfasserlexicon* (Berlin, 1978), band 1, p. 250, writes that the date of the dialogue is '793/796?' while Rita Copeland, *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory, AD 300 - 1475* (Oxford, 2009), p. 272, says the dialogue was written between the years 790-800. Douglas Dales, *Alcuin Theology and Thought* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 143, apparently follows Schaller, suggesting that the dialogue was written in 793-6.

[5] Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen literatur des Mittelalters*, I, p. 283.

[6] MGH Ep. IV. Ep. 97, pp. 141-142. All references in this chapter relating to a letter Alcuin wrote to Angilbert will be about this particular letter unless otherwise stated. In a footnote on page 5 of *The Rhetoric of Alcuin*, the author Howell, says that 'The letter in which this sentence occurs is given various numbers by editors of Alcuin's *Epistolae*., Wattenbach and Duemmler say that it is no. 46 in Canisius, 92 in Duchesne, and 21 in Froben. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Paris 100 (1863). 180, numbers it 25'.

[7] MGH Ep. IV ep. 97 pp. 141-142.

> What have I to write, because you already know what is necessary? Always send me letters when you have a fair opportunity, so that I know of your prosperity and of your journey.[8]

Why did Manitius and Howell consider this letter important in order to determine the date of Alcuin's treatise on rhetoric? The reason is because in it we find a passage that was taken as a probable reference to the *De rhetorica*:

> Paululum propter refectionem animi rethorica lusi lepiditate.[9]
>
> For intellectual diversion, I have played a bit with the elegance of rhetoric.[10]

In this reference to the 'elegance of rhetoric', Manitius assumed that Alcuin was alluding to his treatise on rhetoric. Angilbert, the addressee of the letter, was apparently travelling to Rome at this time (which is why Alcuin was inquiring about his travels), a journey that is known to have taken place in 796.[11] Consequently, Manitius assumed that Alcuin wrote the treatise *De rhetorica* in the same year.[12]

Howell, on the other hand, suggests a different date for the dialogue.[13] Howell does not disregard Alcuin's letter to Angilbert; on the contrary, his beliefs lead him to argue that it does indeed refer to the *De rhetorica*, just as Manitius did. However, he disagreed with Manitius

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[8] My translation.
[9] MGH Ep. IV, ep. 97 p. 141.
[10] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 5.
[11] PL. 100, 179-81, 171-2; Max Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I. pp. 543-4.
[12] Max Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I, p. 283.
[13] Howell, *Rhetoric*, pp. 5-8.

about the date of Angilbert's journey or, more specifically, which of Angilbert's journeys to Rome is referred to in the letter. In order to contest Manitius' date, Howell pays attention to the beginning of Alcuin's dialogue itself:

> Quia te, venerande magister Albine, Deus adduxit et reduxit.[14]
>
> Since God has led you and brought you back, O revered Master Alcuin.[15]

This is the very first line of the dialogue and it belongs to Charlemagne, who is alluding to a supposed journey made by Alcuin. The York erudite used Francia as his permanent residence from 782 or 786 (the date of his arrival in the Continent is still debatable[16]) to 804, the year of his death. However, he is known to have been present in England in 786, as part of a legation and is also known to have been there between 790 and 793. This is why Howell disagrees with Manitius regarding the date of composition for the work on rhetoric. In Howell's own words:

> When the King alludes to the return of his revered tutor, we know that the dialogue was written soon after Alcuin ended his sojourn in England, unless we adopt the unreasonable view that Charlemagne's words are spoken at random and bear no connection with a real event.[17]

Therefore, for Howell, if Manitius is correct in assuming the date of the text is 796, Charlemagne is not taking into consideration at least three years from the moment Alcuin came

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[14] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 66.
[15] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 67.
[16] M Garrison, 'Alcuin of York and his Continental Context', in *Yorkshire People and Places: A Millennium Celebration*, ed. S. Hogarth and V. Wallace (York, 2001), pp. 15-28.
[17] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 7.

back to France. This would make Charlemagne's first line incompatible with real-life events. Hence, the *De rhetorica* must have been written shortly after 786 or 793.

Howell went on to problematise not only Manitius' dating of the text, but also the dating of Alcuin's letter to Angilbert referred to above.[18] Howell argues that the letter never had a conclusive date.[19] It does indeed refer to Angilbert's travels, but this is exactly the problem for Angilbert made four journeys to Rome, in the years 792, 794, 796 and 800.

Howell came to the conclusion that the only plausible dates for the composition of ep. 97 are 794 and 796.[20] He goes on to argue that if we compare the dates of Angilbert's travels with the first line of Alcuin's *De rhetorica* (i.e. the reference to Alcuin's journey to England), we reach the conclusion that the letter to Angilbert alludes to the latter's journey in 794.[21] This would make complete sense in connection with the reference that Charlemagne makes at the beginning of the dialogue and can be connected with Alcuin's return in 793: perhaps only a few months would have passed between Alcuin's return and Angilbert's journey. Therefore, Howell concludes that Alcuin's *De rhetorica* was written in the year 794.[22]

The next scholar to be discussed in this chapter is Liutpold Wallach. His solution is different,[23] and discredits the dating of both Manitius and Howell. He claims that the reference to rhetoric in Alcuin's letter to Angilbert (*rhetorica lepiditate)* does not necessarily suggest a treatise on rhetoric, and instead argues that to suppose that the opening sentence of the dialogue (*Quia te, venerande magister Albine, Deus adduxit et reduxit)* reflects the real events of Alcuin's life is to ignore the fact that the sentence is formulaic. In fact, it appears in several different texts written by Alcuin, and it cannot therefore be associated with any specific event in the author's life.[24]

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[18] Howell, *Rhetoric*, pp. 6-7.
[19] Indeed, the debate about this letter's date is still in progress. Bullough claims that this letter was written during the final year of Alcuin's stay in Aachen, around 796. Cf. Bullough, *Achievement*, p. 462.
[20] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 7.
[21] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 7.
[22] Howell, *Rhetoric*, pp. 7-8
[23] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, p. 47.
[24] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, pp. 38-9.

Wallach proposes that the *De rhetorica* was written after Charlemagne was crowned emperor on Christmas Day, 800, and, of course, before Alcuin's death in 804.[25] Wallach points to two reasons why he is sure the treatise was written in the ninth century: first, Alcuin uses excerpts from some of his other works, especially *De virtutibus and vitiis;* and second, when Alcuin writes in the opening poem of *De rhetorica*, *'Pater mundi,'* alluding to Charlemagne, the expression can only be interpreted as a reference to Charlemagne's imperial period, thus after he had been crowned emperor. Therefore, the text could only have been written following the imperial coronation.[26] I believe it is safe to say that all three scholars do make thoughtful points and perhaps even more interesting criticisms of each other's dating of the *De rhetorica.*

Howell exerts a thorough effort to combine the following three points: Manitius' belief that the letter Alcuin wrote to Angilbert alludes to the *De rhetorica*; the dates of Angilbert's travels; and the first line of the dialogue. However, Wallach makes a fair point when he writes that it is hard to sustain the idea that *rhetorica lepiditate* must be a reference to the treatise on rhetoric. If the passage in the letter is not a reference to the treatise, there would be no connection between the letter and any of Alcuin's travels, other than evidence that rhetoric was a topic of mutual interest of Alcuin and Angilbert. Therefore, both dates, 794 and 796, are but conjecture.

Moreover, Wallach makes a strong point when he shows that the expression Alcuin uses in the opening of his dialogue, *adduxit et reduxit*, is a formulaic phrase, appearing in several texts written by Alcuin, including five letters, four of which are addressed to Charlemagne and one to Arno of Salzburg.[27] Wallach shows that on all these occasions, the expression using the verb

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[25] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, p. 47.
[26] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, p. 47.
[27] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, p. 38: 'The phrase Deus adduxit et reduxit is an element of Alcuin's literary style. It appears in the form of a benediction in the salutation and conclusion of three letters addressed by Alcuin to Charlemagne and in two letter poems:
Epist. 145 (D. 235.8) to Charlemagne in Saxony: Benedictus dominus Deus, qui adduxit et reduxit David dilectum cum prosperitate et salute ad servos tuos;
Epist. 229 (D.372.33) to Charlemagne in Italy: Benedictus dominus Deus…vos, dulcissime David, prospere duxit et pacifice reduxit; / Epist. 178 (D. 296.5) to Charlemagne in Italy:… divinam humiliter obsecrantes clementiam, quatenus vos vestrosque simul cum omni prosperitate sanos ducat et reducat gaudentes; / Carm. xlvii.I I (MGH, PLAC I) to Charlemagne:
Prospere per terras ignotas ducat euntem,
Gaudentem nobis clemens iterum reducat; / Epist. 243 (D. 392.10) to Arno of Salzburg:
Per castella, vicos, per fortia flumina terrae,
Semper ubique, precor, ducat simul atque reducat
Gaudentem, sanctae cum prosperitate salutis.'

duco and its compounds *adduco* and *reduco* is used as a benediction, and is part of Alcuin's style. For example, at the beginning of letter 229, Alcuin addresses God and David, i.e. Charlemagne, and says:

> Benedictus Dominus Deus, et benedicta perpetua illius misericordia super servos suos: pro quorum prosperitate et salute vos, dulcissime David, prospere duxit et pacifice reduxit, conservavit, honoravit et exaltavit.[28]

> Blessed the Lord God, and blessed his eternal holy mercy towards your servants: for whose prosperity and health he fortunately led you and peacefully brought you back, helped, honored and celebrated you, O sweetest David.[29]

However, the use of variations of the verb *duco* is not restrict to the *exordium* of Alcuin's letters. Perhaps we should take a look at that same expression, used not at the beginning but at the end of Alcuin's letter 178. It reads:

> Nos vero lacrymis absentiam, et precibus iter vestrum continuis prosequimur, divinam humiliter obsecrantes clementiam, quatenus vos vestrosque simul, cum omni prosperitate sanos ducat, et reducat gaudentes.[30]

[28] MGH Ep. IV, p. 372.
[29] Translation mine.
[30] MGH Ep. IV, p.296.

> We are honouring your absence with tears, and your journeys with ceaseless prayers, humbly beseeching divine mercy, so that He may lead yourself and yours, with all prosperity, in health and brings back rejoicing.[31]

The fact that the same sentence, using variants of the verb *duco,* appears not only at the beginning, but also at the end of five different letters from Alcuin, is probably enough to demonstrate that the sentence is part of Alcuin's repertory of epistolary formulas designed to capture the benevolence of the receiver. It is therefore unproductive, to say the least, to use the dates of Alcuin's journeys to establish a plausible date for his dialogue.

Even though Wallach argues that the phrase is formulaic and part of Alcuin's style, implying that it bears no connection with reality, he also suggests that when this sentence is said by Charlemagne at the beginning of the *De rhetorica* it refers to Alcuin's 'departure from England and his adoption of Frankland as his new home'.[32] It seems odd that a formulaic expression can mean something so specific and connected to real life events in one occurrence, but not others. Wallach, however, does not give any support to this statement. In this way, we can notice the first inconsistency with the way Wallach deals with formulaic expressions and what they might imply.

Wallach's argument that the text was written after Charlemagne was crowned emperor does, however, present us with some very interesting and debatable assumptions which I will lay out below.

Firstly, Wallach relies on the evidence that there are passages in the *De rhetorica* which are exactly the same as, or very similar to, passages in Alcuin's other work *De virtutibus et vitiis.*[33]

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[31] Translation mine.
[32] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne,* p. 39.
[33] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne,* p. 42 draws the following comparisons: 1. 'Rhetoric (H.548.23) and De uirtutibus et uitiis (PL CI, 637BC): Virtus est animi habitus, naturae decus, uitae ratio, morum nobilitas; 2. H. 548.30 and PL CI, 637BC: Iustitia est habitus animi unicuique rei propriam tribuens dignitatem: in hac diuinitatis cultus et humanitatis iura et aequitas totius uitae conseruatur; H. 549.21 and PL CI 637CD: Temperantiam…per quam totius uitae modus'. Besides these three examples, Wallach quotes four more of the same type, they are:

Wallach is convinced that Alcuin must have copied the passages from *De virtutibus et vitiis* to the *De rhetorica* and not the other way around. If Wallach is right, and if he is correct about the composition date of *De virtutibus et vitiis*, there would be no doubt that the dialogue on rhetoric was written between 801 and 804, because, according to Wallach, the *De virtutibus et vitiis* was written in this period as well.[34] However, this is not in accordance with more modern literature on the treatise on virtues. For example, in two different publications, Rachel Stone asserts that the text was actually written between 799 and 800.[35]

There is no irrefutable evidence that *De virtutibus et vitiis* was written before the *De rhetorica.* Indeed, not only could the *De rhetorica* have served as a model for the *De virtutibus et vitiis,* but also other letters written by Alcuin could have been used as models for some of the passages.[36] Bullough believes that Alcuin wrote his *De rhetorica* in Aachen in the mid -90s.[37] In this theory, the rhetorical treatise would have been the model for *De virtutibus et vitiis* and not the other way around.[38]

The second argument Wallach uses relates to the poem that precedes the dialogue.[39] This poem is present in the vast majority of the manuscripts, especially in those from the ninth century.[40] It serves as an introduction to the dialogue, stating its intention, introducing the characters and issuing a warning about the composition's length.[41] In line six, Alcuin refers to Charlemagne as *pater mundi;*[42] it is here that Wallach sees a clear reference to Charlemagne as emperor, visualising him already crowned by Pope Leo III (which was carried out in 800).

H.549.30 and PL CI, 637C, H.549.37 and PL CI, 637C, H.550.3 and PL CI, 673D, H.550.I 1-24 and PL CI, 637D-638 (according to his system of abbreviations).

[34] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, p. 47.

[35] Rachel Stone, *Morality and Masculinity in the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge, 2012) p. 1. Also, Rachel Stone, 'Translation of Alcuin's De virtutibus et vitiis liber (Book about the virtues and vices)' in *The Heroic Age: A Journal of Early Medieval Northwestern Europe*, issue 16, 2015. http://www.heroicage.org/issues/16/stone.php#b1 Last accessed 20/09/2016.

[36] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, p. 42, n. 13. The author realises that the similarities between H.548.23 and PL CI, 637BC (Morum nobilitas) also happen in letters 19, D.55.32; 94, D.139.16; 122, D.180.4; 129, D.191.27; 132, D.180.3.

[37] Donald Bullough, Alcuin, Abbot of St. Martin's, Tours, and Royal Adviser, online edition.

[38] See note 4 above.

[39] Howell, Rhetoric, pp. 66, l. 1-10.

[40] For example, it appears in the earliest manuscript we have, Munich BSB clm. 6407

[41] MGH PLAC I, p. 300; this edition, p. 1.

[42] See page 1 of my edition.

Wallach has a strong argument against Howell's methodology for dating Alcuin's text. It is important here for us to pay attention to Wallach's criticism against Howell, because not only it is a valid point, but also will help us, perhaps, criticise Wallach's own view later:

> Howell bases his dating -794 - on the formulalike phrase at the beginning of the *Rhetoric:* Quia te, venerande magister Albine, *Deus adduxit et reduxit.* Since the phrase belongs to Alcuin's style, as was shown above, it cannot be used for the dating of the treatise.[43]

Wallach asserted that a formulaic expression, present in more than one text and part of an author's style, cannot be used to prove its connection to real life events. However, whilst the expression *adduxit et reduxit* does appear in other texts written by Alcuin, as thoroughly demonstrated by Wallach,[44] the expression Wallach uses to claim the text was written after Charlemagne was crowned emperor, *pater mundi*, might present a similar problem and deserves a separate investigation.

The origins of this expression are obscure. It is possible that it is a Christian version of the pagan expression *pater patriae* which was given by the Roman senate to people like Julius Caesar and Augustus.[45] However, it does not appear to have been a title of great importance, since it fell into disuse after Tiberius, who was offered the title but refused it.[46] Another possible origin is that it was an abbreviation of the expression *Pater, mundi conditor.* The expression *Pater, mundi conditor* appears in the *Gelasian Sacramentary* and was therefore not unknown to Charlemagne's court.[47] We know that the expression *pater mundi* itself appears in

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[43] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne,* p. 47, n. 27.
[44] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne,* pp. 38-39.
[45] Suetonius, *De uitis caesarum, uita divi Iuli,* 76.
[46] Suetonius, *De vitis caesarum: vita Tiberi,* 26.
[47] J. Frank Henderson, *Ways in Which God is Addressed in Ancient Latin Liturgical Prayers,* 2002, p. 22. Available in: http://www.jfrankhenderson.com/pdf/ways_in_which_god_is_addressed.pdf . Last accessed: 05/02/2016.

the fourth century poem, *Alcestis Barcinonensis,* and refers to the pagan god Zeus.[48] It is unlikely that this poem circulated at Charlemagne's court, however, so it would be unwise to ascribe to it any influence over Alcuin's writing. Nevertheless, the expression *pater mundi* does appear in the work of an author much closer to Alcuin: Charlemagne himself.[49] In the first verse of a poem to Paul Deacon,[50] Charlemagne[51] writes: *Christe, pater mundi.* Even though Alcuin himself never uses this expression, except in the opening poem of the *De rhetorica*, the fact that it is present in the *Gelasian Sacramentary* and that it was used by Charlemagne proves it was current at the Carolingian court. What it does not prove, however, is the relationship between its usage and the imperial title. Following Wallach's own line of thinking, it would surely be too bold to take a formulaic expression such as *pater mundi* and see in it a reference to a specific real-life event. Therefore, just like other formulaic expressions were dismissed as definitive proves for dating, it is my understanding that *pater mundi* cannot be taken as a synonym of Charlemagne's imperial title and, consequently, be used to date the dialogue.

Wallach's reasoning contains another issue to overcome if we want to consider it as offering a viable date for the composition of the dialogue. In *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, E. A. Lowe writes about the oldest known manuscript that contains Alcuin's dialogue, clm. 6407 (CLA IX. 1282). Lowe draws the conclusion that this manuscript could probably be from the eighth century and it begat an early ninth century copy, posing another difficulty for Wallach's hypothesis. In the *Codices Latini Antiquiores* we read:

> Written at Verona in the time of Pacificus (776-844). Provenance the Freising cathedral library. Must have reached Freising soon after it was written, since an early ninth-century copy of it exists

[48] Miroslav Marcovich, 'Alcestis Barcinonensis' in *Illinois Classical Studies 9*, 1984, 111-34, p. 123.
[49] VERSUS CAROLI MAGNI AD PAULUM DIACONUM MONACHUM CASINENSEM, PL 98 1352D.
[50] MGH Plac I, p. 69; Karl Neff, *Die Gedichte des Paulus Diaconus,* C.H. Beck (Munich, 1908), p. 140. For firther discussion on Charlemagne's literacy and Carolingian poetry see: Douglas Dales, *Alcuin: Theology and Thought.* (Cambridge, 2013), especially chapter III, and Jean Favier, *Charlemagne* (Paris, 1999).
[51] It may be that some poems attributed to Charlemagne were, in fact, written by others. According to Karl Neff, this poem in particular was probably written by Alcuin himself (cf. note 49 above).

> in Freising script (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 13084, fol 1-47).[52]

This suggestion for the date of the first manuscript seems to be corroborated by the studies of Bernhard Bischoff, who, analysing this very manuscript, saw within it the hand of Pacificus of Verona[53], writing that:

> Dieser um 800 geschriebene Codex entstammt zweifellos der Veroneser Schreibschule, die unter Egino und bald unter dem Archidiakon Pacificus eine rege Tatigkeit entfaltete und einen hohen Stand der Kalligraphie erreichte.[54]

> This codex, written by 800, undoubtedly comes from the Veronese writing school which developed a lively activity under Egino and soon under the Archdeacon Pacificus and reached a high level of calligraphy.[55]

We have had a number of great scholars dedicating their time and knowledge to the dating of Alcuin's dialogue, but their arguments lack the sort of evidence that would permit us to come to a definite conclusion. Although no single date defended by the three scholars above can be

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[52] Elias Avery Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (Oxford, 1959), V. IX, item 1282.
[53] Bernard Bischoff, *Manuscripts,* pp. 106-7.
[54] Bernhard Bischoff, *Karolingerzeit,* V. I, p. 149. Several important other scholars mention and discuss the content of this manuscript, Clm. 6407, but they all accept the dating proposed by Lowe and Bischoff. Some of them are: John Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre* (Cambridge, 1981), pp.32-3, 36-7, 40-1. 49, 151, 152-68. Donald Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievemnt and Reputation* (Boston, 2004), pp. xvii, 10 n. 16, 105 n. 262. Christine E. Ineichen-Eder, *The Authenticity of the Dicta Candidi, Dicta Albini and Some Related Texts* in Michael W Herren, *Insular Latin Studies: Papers on Latin Texts and Manuscripts of the British Isles: 550-1066,* Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies (Toronto, 1981), pp. 180-193.
[55] Translation mine.

proven to be correct, neither do we have any valid argument that allows us to completely disregard any one of them.[56]

That being said, judging with the information that we have, I must say that Wallach's thesis is the weakest. It is difficult to prove that *pater mundi* refers to Charlemagne's coronation, just as much as it is difficult to take as reality Charlemagne's first line of the dialogue. Therefore, for all that matters, I adopt the view that the *Disputatio de rhetorica,* was written in the last decade of the eighth century, probably in the last five years.

Finally, the last author to make a contribution for dating Alcuin's *De rhetorica* is Donald Bullough.[57] One of the main sources of Alcuin's dialogue is the *Ars Rhetorica* of Caius Julius Victor.[58] He asserts that Alcuin got in contact and started using Caius Julius Victor's *Ars rhetorica* before 796 (perhaps still in York, but, if not, certainly in the library of the court in Aachen).[59] The way in which Alcuin employs Julius Victor's work and its importance to the understanding of Alcuin's *De rhetorica* will be discussed in a later chapter. But what is crucial now is the realization that Alcuin could not have written the *De rhetorica* without Julius Victor's *Ars Rhetorica,* as it is essential to the content of Alcuin's text. According to Bullough, Alcuin's pedagogycal activities happened after he went back from York to Aachen, in 793 and until his abbacy in St. Martin's at Tour in 796; in this period of around 4 years, Alcuin would have taught and written all his dialogues in this period.[60] After 796, once Alcuin was already in Tours, far from the court, he would have dedicated himself to the writing of other texts.[61]

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[56] It came to my attention, albeit too late, that an unpublished PhD dissertation deals with the problem of the date of the *De rhetorica* and, apparently, proposes an earlier date for its composition, around 786-790. I, however, did not have the chance to check it myself. E. M. E Bohn, *Alcuin's heirs: the early reception of Alcuin's De rhetorica and De dialectica* (PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2003).

[57] Bullough, *Achievements*, p. 298 and Bullough, *Alcuin, Abbot of St. Martin's, Tours, and Royal Adviser*. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, online edition - http://www.oxforddnb.com/public/index-content.html (last accessed in 17/05/17).

[58] Victor's importance as a source can be seen on the item bellow '1.3.A summary of the dialogue' in which it is clear that, besides Cicero's *De inuentione*, Victor's *Ars Rhetorica* is the main source for Alcuin's *De rhetorica.*

[59] Bullough, *Achievements*, p. 298.

[60] Bullough, *Alcuin, Abbot of St. Martin's, Tours, and Royal Adviser*. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, online edition - http://www.oxforddnb.com/public/index-content.html (last accessed in 17/05/17).

[61] Bullough, *Alcuin, Abbot of St. Martin's, Tours, and Royal Adviser*. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, online edition - http://www.oxforddnb.com/public/index-content.html (last accessed in 17/05/17).

Even though what Bullough said cannot be confirmed (e.g. Alcuin could have written his dialogues in Tours), his reasoning seems plausible enough. In any way, taking his analysis into account we can approximate, but not define, the date of composition of the *De rhetorica*: it possibly was written between 793 and 796.

If the issue of the date is not clear, I suggest that the way forward is to make some conjectures about the content of the dialogue. To help us with this task, I will provide a table of content of the dialogue, with its sources.

1.3 A summary of the dialogue

Howell divided Alcuin's work in 47 segments.[62] I will use these divisions to summarize the subjects of the dialogue. The Roman numerals representing the segments can also be found in my edition. On a third column, I will give the sources to each one of the segments, as they were established by Halm and Howell.[63] All references to Cicero are from *De inuentione*[64], and all referecences to Julius Victor, Cassiodorus and Isidore are from their texts edited by Halm in the *Rhetores Latini Minores* and organized by page and line numbers.[65]

Text division	**Subject**	**Sources**
	Dedicatory poem and title of the work	
I	Introduction of the dialogue	
II	Origins of rhetoric	Cicero, 1.2.2-3.
III	What is rhetoric, its name, what is its goal, what is it about	What is rhetoric, it's name and its goal: Cassiodorus, 495.2-6; Isidore, 507.2-4 / What is rhetoric about: Julius Victor, 373.8-15.
IV	The five parts of rhetoric	Cicero, 1.7.9, but in an inverted order, following Cassiodorus and Isidore. But with a final description identical to Julius Victor, 373.18-21.

[62] Howell, *Rhetoric*, pp. 66-154.
[63] Howell, *Rhetoric*, pp. 159-169.
[64] Cicerón, *De L'Invention, texte etabli et traduit par G. Achard.* (Paris, 1994).
[65] Halm, *RLM.*

V	The three genres of rhetoric	Cicero, 1.5.7 / Cassiodorus, 495.28 / Cicero, 2.4.12. The biblical examples come from II Samuel, 16-6 and The Acts, 24.
VI	The seven components of the case	Julius Victor, 374.23-4 seq.
VII	The four types of places of dispute	Julius Victor, 376.22 / Cassiodorus, 496.4 / Isidore 508.31 seq. For the use of *constitutio* Alcuin uses Cicero, I, 8.10-1. What follows comes from Cicero, 2, 24.72-3, 1.11.16, 1.13.18.
VIII	The *statu causae*	Cicero, 1.12.17.
IX	Examples of *constitutiones legales*	Different passages of Cicero, e.g.: 2.51.153; 2.40.116, 118; 2.49.144; 2.42.121-4; 2.50.148-53.
X	Precepts of *quaestio, ratio, iudicatio* and *firmamentum*	Cicero, 1.13.18-19.
XI	Examples of *constitutiones*	Cicero 1.11.14 and 2.21.62.

XII	Judicial questions	Different passages of Cicero: 2.23.69; 1.11.15; 2.23.69-70; 2.24.71.
XIII	Argument of comparison	Different passages of Cicero: 1.11.15; 2.24.72-3; 2.26.78-9.
XIV	Argument of evasion	Different passages of Cicero: 2.29.86-7; 2.30.91-3.
XV	Argument of concession	Cicero, 2.32.94-8; 1.11.15; 2.34.104.
XVI	The four parties in a court of law	
XVII	The two ways to produce overstatement and understatement	Cicero, 2.5.17-8.
XVIII	How to use overstatement and understatement	Cicero, 2.5.19-20; 2.8.25-6.
XIX	Where each person sits in a court of law	Cicero, 1.14.19.
XX	Parts of speech: exordium	Cicero, 1.15.20; 1.16.22-3.
XXI	The five types of causes	Cicero, 1.15.20-1.
XXII	Parts of speech: narration	Cicero, 1.19.27-8; 1.20.28-9.
XXIII	Parts of speech: division	Cicero, 1.22.31-3.
XXIV	Parts of speech: confirmation	Cicero, 1.24.34.

XXV	Ways to produce proof: from the people	Cicero, 1.24.35; 2.9.29-31. The biblical passage comes from *Genesis*, 27.36.
XXVI	Different ways the defender and the plaintiff may find proof	Cicero, 2.10.32-4; 2.11.35-7.
XXVII	Ways to produce proof: from the events	Several passages of Cicero: 2.12.38-9; 2.13.43; 1.28.43; 2.12.42; 1.29.45; 2.12.39; 2.5.18; 1.26.38; 2.12.40; 1.30.48.
XXVIII	Process of argumentation	Cicero, 1.29.44-5.
XXIX	Probable proof	Cicero, 1.29.46-7; 1.31.51.
XXX	Process of argumentation: induction	Cicero, 1.31.51-4.
XXXI	Process of argumentation: deduction	Cicero, 1.34.58-9.
XXXII	Parts of speech: refutation	Cicero, 1.42.78; 1.48.89-91; 1.49.92; 1.50.94; 1.45.83-5.
XXXIII	Parts of speech: conclusion	Cicero, 1.52.98; 1.52.100; 1.53.100-5.
XXXIV	How to use the *conquestio*	Cicero, 1.53.100; 1.55.106-9; 1.7.9.

XXXV	Explanation of what is a sophistical speech	
XXXVI	Arrangement	Julius Victor, 431.5-11.
XXXVII	Style	Julius Victor, 431.13-7; 431.20-4; 431.24-30; 432.1-11.; 432.20-7.
XXXVIII	Characteristics of combination of words	Julius Victor, 432.34, 433. 2-3, 5-7, 26-7.
XXXIX	Memory	Julius Victor, 440.12-5; 440.17-20.
XL	Delivery	Julius Victor, 440.31-3; 441.3-6.
XLI	Speaker's body	Julius Victor, 442.14-21.
XLII	Importance of practice	Julius Victor, 443.22-30; 444.13-4; 445.6-15.
XLIII	Importance of temperance during speech	Julius Victor, 446.13 seq.; 447.30-1.
XLIV	The four virtues	Cicero, 2.52.157.
XLV	Prudence and Justice	2.53.159-161.
XLVI	Fortitude and Temperance	2.53.161-164.
XLVII	Importance of love and God. End of the dialogue	The biblical passages here come from *Job*, 28.28; *Matthew*, 22.37-40; *Mattew*, 11.30.

II. Aspects of Reception: Form and Meaning

2.1 Reception and interpretation

Alcuin's dialogue *De rhetorica* had a very successful life in the Middle Ages, particularly in the ninth century, being copied many times and distributed in many different places.[66] This can be confirmed by the quantity of copies of the dialogue that survive from this century (for example, at least 20 manuscripts, one of which possibly dates from the end of the eighth century), alongside the variety of places in which they were copied.[67] Many reasons could be supposed for the success of the dialogue: perhaps the reputation of its author, the importance of the theme for education in the period or, possibly, the didactic nature of the work and its brevity, making it almost ideal for teaching rhetoric in schools. This last aspect of the text, its didactic prominence, is reinforced by the presence of diagrams explaining the parts of rhetoric - among other issues related to the rhetorical art – in the last *folia* of nine of the ninth century manuscripts.[68]

However, despite the fact that Alcuin's dialogue experienced a substantial circulation immediately after its composition, the dialogue commentaries written by modern scholars do not reflect its popularity. It is understandable, however, that such a dialogue would not inspire early commentaries, since it apparently did not have enough original rhetorical material or sufficient level of innovation to deserve commentaries by medieval authors.[69] This situation – the absence of commentaries – continued throughout the first printed editions of Alcuin's *Disputatio De rhetorica*.

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[66] See chapter IV, section 4.2 of this dissertation.
[67] See chapter IV, section 4.2 of this dissertation.
[68] See chapter III for a more detailed discussion of these manuscripts and diagrams.
[69] Howell, for example, states that eight per cent of Alcuin's dialogue is made up of borrowed material, Howell, *Rhetoric,* pp. 24-25. Wallach, on the other hand, acknowledges Howell's words, but says the amount of borrowed material is even higher, more than 90 per cent, Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne,* p. 36.

Very few writers and biographers of Alcuin commented on the *De rhetorica* dialogue and, for a long time, the text was dismissed as a simple abbreviated and convoluted version of Cicero's *De inuentione.*

In this chapter I will summarise the views of previous scholars on Alcuin's *Disputatio De rhetorica*. One of the main foci of this chapter is to understand and show how previous scholars understood (or not) the duality of the dialogue, *id est*, how the section about rhetoric and the section about virtues are able to coexist in harmony. My order of scholars will be listed chronologically, with the exception of Wallach[70], because of his importance, I will summarise his views on the matter closer to the end of the section.

Next, I will explore a question that most previous scholars completely ignored: how Alcuin's use of Caius Julius Victor is more important for the comprehension of the supposed textual duality, than previously supposed.

2.1.1 Modern reception

Alcuin's *De rhetorica* had a remarkable life during the Middle Ages, especially in the ninth century. From this century alone, 20 manuscripts survive. Although the dialogue did not receive any commentaries during medieval times, its importance is more than proved by its popularity.[71]

This level of medieval popularity did not, however, generate positive commentaries during the nineteenth century and beyond. Because most of the lines from the dialogue are derived directly from Cicero's *De inuentione,* Caius Julius Victor's *Ars rhetorica* and other minor sources,[72] most of the *Disputatio de rhetorica's* first commentators, in the nineteenth and

[70] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne,* pp. 29-72.
[71] Wallach disagrees with this statement and claims that mostly due to the popularity of Cicero's *De inuentione*, Alcuin's *De rhetorica* was never able to gain popular appeal. Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne,* p. 95.
[72] Howell, *Rhetoric,* pp. 22-33 and Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne,* pp. 35-47.

early twentieth centuries, considered it to be a mere copy of its predecessors and not worthy of more detailed analysis.

The first example of this type of judgement towards Alcuin's *De rhetorica* had was made by Lorenz, in the *Life of Alcuin*, where we read:

> The subject of Rhetoric is discussed in a dialogue between Charlemagne and Alcuin; the questions of the king serving to elicit the principles of the teacher. The treatise is entirely confined to forensic eloquence; and as the rules are taken from the Romans, so also do their principles of jurisprudence form the groundwork of this composition. It would have been an invaluable treasure, had it described to us the actual proceedings in a Frank court of justice, instead of representing the litigations which the ancient rhetoricians had partly invented, and partly taken from real life and history. (…). At the conclusion of the treatise is a short discourse on the virtues. Here, also, Alcuin retains the classification of the ancient philosophers, but with an adaptation to the idea of Christianity.[73]

As we can see, the author acknowledges the fact that Alcuin's dialogue is taken from classical sources and because of this it is not as relevant as it could be, if, according to Lorenz, it discussed proceedings in a Frank court of justice. In this sequence, Lorenz notes the presence of the discussion on virtues, but does not explore this or discuss how this combines to produce a discussion on rhetoric.

Almost 30 years later, Francis Monnier had more pleasant words to devote to Alcuin, although his opinions remained very similar to Lorenz:

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[73] Frederick Lorenz, *Life of Alcuin*. Translated from the German by Jane Mary Slee (London, 1837), p. 27.

> Pour faire connaître à ses élèves les règles de l'éloquence, et pour leur donner en même temps un modèle parfait dans cet art, Alcuin choisit l'orateur qui, selon la pensée de Quintilien, est l'idéal même de l'éloquence. Il nomme plusieurs fois Cicéron; et dans tout ce qui concerne les préceptes, il reproduit son enseignement.[74]

> To instruct to his students the rules of eloquence, and to give them at the same time a perfect model in this art, Alcuin chooses the orator who, according to Quintilian, is the very ideal of eloquence. The name is Cicero; and in everything concerning the precepts [of rhetoric], he reproduces his teaching.[75]

As we can see, Monnier acknowledges Cicero as the main (and in this case only) source of Alcuin's *De rhetorica.* Regarding the last segment of the dialogue, in which Alcuin discusses the virtues, Monnier comments:

> Mais ce sont de bien belles idées qui terminent l'ouvrage. Aristote, qui n'a vu dans la rhétorique qu'une lute au moyen de la parole, a décrit, dans la plus délicate partie de son livre, les passions humaines, leur origine, leur caractère, leur puissance, leur objet. Cicéron recommande aussi la connaissance du Coeur humain, de ses douleurs et de ses joies. Alcuin, comme ces deux investigateurs de l'âme humaine, a compris que sans cette connaissance, les paroles de l'orateur ne seraient qu'un vain et ridicule assemblage de mots: pour lui aussi l'orateur doit être homme avant d'être écrivain. Seulement les passions prises à l'état de

[74] Francis Monnier, *Alcuin* et Charlemagne: avec des fragments d'un commentaire inédit d'Alcuin sur Saint Matthieu, et d'autres pièces publiées pour la première fois (Paris, 1863), pp. 100-101.
[75] Translation mine.

> sentiment, perdent leur nom sous sa plume: ells se sanctifient, ells se transforment en vertus.[76]

> But some of the most wonderful ideas complete the work. Aristotle, who saw in rhetoric only a wrestle using words, described in the most delicate part of his book, human passions, their origin, their character, their power, their object. Cicero also recommends knowledge of the human heart, its pains and joys. Alcuin, as these two investigators of the human soul, understood that without this knowledge, the words of the speaker would be a vain and ridiculous assemblage of words for him as the speaker is to be human before being writer. Only passions capture the state of the sentiment, losing their name under his pen: they sanctify themselves, they become virtues.[77]

The author compares Alcuin's excursions into the four cardinal virtues to the Aristotelic investigation of human emotions in his second book of *Rhetoric*. However, a more attentive examination is able to prove that the two excerpts, Alcuin's and Aristotle's, could actually not be more differently from each other.

Firstly, Alcuin did not have access to Aristotle's work on rhetoric. The arguments for this are both intra-textual and extra-textual to Alcuin's *Disputatio De rhetorica*. It would be expected that if Alcuin did have access to Aristotle's *Rhetorica*, he would have used this in his text; but not only he does not use Aristotle in his text (instead, almost all his views about rhetorical rules can be found in Cicero or Caius Julius Victor), but Alcuin's segment on virtues is also completely different from Aristotle's work on emotions. Aristotle's famous book II

[76] Francis Monnier, *Alcuin et Charlemagne*, pp. 104-105.
[77] Translation mine.

discusses the effect of *pathos* in different genres of rhetoric, while Alcuin, on the other hand, does not discuss emotions inside speech, but instead focuses on human virtues.

The other argument is that Aristotle's *Rhetoric* was one of the last of his works to emerge in the medieval period,[78] with the oldest manuscript dating from the tenth century. The text's tradition incorporates a strong Arabic history to which Alcuin would not have had access.

Cicero talks about the four cardinal human virtues, but different from Alcuin (and more akin to Aristotle), he discusses them as part of a speech, and not as part of the man delivering it.[79]

Halm's 1863 edition of Alcuin's *Disputatio De rhetorica*, a collection entitled *Rhetores Latini Minores*, was and still is the most important edition of Alcuin's rhetorical work so far. The importance of this edition, however, apparently did not reach Karl Werne, who, in 1881, wrote that Cassiodorus was the main source for Alcuin.[80] Werne also noticed that the dialogue is made up from two different parts, thinly associated with each other.[81]

In 1882, it was Mulliger who delivered the harshest words against Alcuin's works in general and against the *De rhetorica* in particular.[82] Not only does he state that the dialogic format is a mere drollery, but he also claims that the main sources for the dialogue are Cicero and Aristotle[83]. Mulliger explains why he despises Alcuin's work:

> In Alcuin's meagre compend, the graceful prose, the felicitous narrative, the subtle analysis of Cicero's page, find, of course, no place. No highly wrought conception of the ideal orator, like that which floated before the mind of the author of the *Orator* and the *De oratore*, disturbed the composure of the teacher

[78] Keith V. Erickson, *Aristotle's Rhetoric: Five Centuries of Philological Research* (Metuchen, 1975), pp. 7-8.
[79] See below.
[80] Karl Werne, *Alcuin und sein Jahrhundert* (Wien, 1881), pp. 25-6.
[81] Werne, *Alcuin und sein Jahrhundert*, p. 25.
[82] J. Bass Mullinger, *The Schools of Charles the Great* and *the Restoration of Education in the Ninth Century* (London, 1877), p. 83-84.
[83] Bass Mullinger, *The Schools of Charles the Great*, p. 83.

> of the Palace School with a vision which language was inadequate fully to reproduce. The Ciceronian discussion of details, such as the *numerosa oratio* and *rhythmus* the different styles of oratory, and the *lumina verborum*, which add so much to the interest of the treatment in the *Orator*, dwindles to a meagre outline of two short pages under the head of *De elocutione.*[84]

I believe the evidence for the impossibility of Aristotle's *Rhetorica* as a source for Alcuin has already been explained. Furthermore, the objective of Alcuin's work is different from Cicero's. That is, while the classical author intended to write and explain in detail, the precepts of rhetoric, Alcuin, on the other hand, wrote a brief dialogue to introduce people (or re-introduce them) to these subjects. Criticism of this is akin to criticising a lyric poet for not writing an epopee.

Another scholar with a strong negative view on Alcuin's dialogue is Andrew West, asserting that:

> Alcuin instructs him [Charlemagne] in the elements of the rhetorical art with special reference to its applications in the conduct and settlement of disputes in civil affairs, and closes with a short description of the four cardinal virtues, - prudence, justice, fortitude and temperance. It is, therefore, not strictly a book on rhetoric, but rather on its applications. It is based on rhetorical writings of Cicero, which are rehandled by Alcuin, and always with loss and injury to his originals. The hand of Isidore is likewise visible in places, and contributes to the general deterioration. (…) the *Rhetoric* suffers yet more from its miscellaneous presentation and ill-digested bits of rhetoric, and from its greater dullness of style.[85]

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[84] Bass Mullinger, *The Schools of Charles the Great*, p. 84.
[85] Andrew Fleming West, *Alcuin and the Rise of Christian Schools* (New York, 1912), p. 104.

Once again, however, the dialogue is judged as if it was a treatise. Its style is called 'dull', 'deteriorated', and 'ill digested'. Moreover, West affirms that virtues are an application of rhetoric, trying, therefore, to connect the two subjects of the dialogue as cause and consequence.

Other scholars of this period, the end of the nintheenth century and beginning of the twentieth, hold very similar opinions about Alcuin's work,[86] although this only shows how scholarship, in a desire to understand Alcuin's *opera* in its entirety, has ignored the details of it, especially the fact that the *De rhetorica,* in particular, is a dialogue, not a treatise, and thus has particular rules to obey.

Fast forwarding to the nineties,[87] Stephen Jaeger dedicated part of his book, about the education in cathedral schools before the rise of universities, to the understanding of how classical learning existed in the form of liberal arts and how these were colonised by ethics.[88]

In his excursion into rhetoric, Jaeger claims it had already emerged from Antiquity, where it was associated with ethics and formed of an idealised view of the formation of the orator.

If, to Cicero, wisdom was a theme especially suitable for deliberative oratory, to Alcuin, rhetoric and virtue were not dissociable, a viewpoint evident in the assumed title of his dialogue.

Rhetoric, from a Ciceronian perspective, is not just a series of precepts that encapsulate persuasive speech but an educational force that led society from a life as beasts to one that relied upon an organised civil format. This is also how Alcuin appears to understand it.

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[86] For example, Charles Jacinth Bellairs Gaskoin, *Alcuin: His Life and His Work* (London, 1904) pp. 195-196 and Rolph Barlow Page, *The Letters of Alcuin* (New York, 1909), pp. 84-86.
[87] Due to its importance, the work of Wallach, written in the 1950s, will be discussed below.
[88] Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Pennsylvania, 1994), pp. 30-5; 132-5.

The *De rhetorica*, however, is still a work which deals predominantly with *ciuiles quaestiones*, with Jaeger claiming that Alcuin's text is a rare example of a pure secular discipline. Jaeger believes Quintilian is the direct source for Alcuin, and that any suggestions of Cassiodorus' and Isidore's influence upon this text should be dismissed. The author also affirms that Alcuin uses Cicero so heavily that it is worthless to look for any Alcuinian elements within it.

According to Jaeger, virtues for Cicero make the orator good; while, to Alcuin, they make the orator effective. However, for the statesman, the training in *mores* remains the same for both Alcuin and Cicero.

The author claims Alcuin's *De rhetorica* is so different from Alcuin's other works because of its focus on administration that it stands out as an anomaly amongst his literary corpus. For Jaeger, it lacks the transformation of Classical models into new Christian forms. He compares this dialogue with Rabanus Maurus' *De Instituitione Clericorum*, which connects rhetoric with a goal for preaching.

Jaeger has some problematic views on the sources of Alcuin's dialogue. Firstly, it can be argued that Quintilian is not a direct source for Alcuin.[89] Secondly, Cassiodorus and Isidore are cited as definite sources used by Alcuin in this work.[90] Finally, the title of the dialogue is illumed as debatable and to assume Alcuin personally bestowed the title *De rhetorica et Virtutibus* himself is problematic, as I will explain in detail below.

Copeland and Sluiter, in their book published in 2009, authored a brief introduction to the *Ars Grammatica* and *Ars rhetorica.* [91] These authors affirm that Alcuin's dialogue is based on Cicero's *De inuentione*, Julius Victor's *Ars rhetorica* and possibly the rhetorical works of Cassiodorus and Isidore.

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[89] As I have already shown in the chapter regarding the diagrams below.
[90] Howell, *Rhetoric*, pp. 159-169; Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, pp. 35-46.
[91] Rita Copeland and Ineke Sluiter, *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory, AD 300 -1475* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 272-275.

The scholars make a case, in agreement with Wallach, that Alcuin's dialogue integrates politics, law and morals and tells us that Charlemagne, in the *De rhetorica*, is explicit in the link between the content of the work and his activities as a ruler. Moreover, it is also this same ruler who asks Alcuin to talk about virtues at the end of the work.

The authors agree with Wallach to a certain extent. They say that Alcuin's work combines the characteristics of an ethical or political treatise with those of a rhetorical handbook. What trumps this dialogue is the fact that it gives rhetorical theory a new significance through its integration with political education.

Copeland and Sluiter emphasise the fact Alcuin and Charlemagne not only demonstrate mutual respect and admiration throughout the dialogue, but also that Charlemagne, the student, is not ignorant of the subject. On the contrary, Charlemagne knows a great deal about the topic. Finally, the authors state that the dialogue turns to the relation between rhetoric and Christian kingship.

While analysing the types of prayer used in the Carolingian world, Renie Choy (in her article 'The Brother Who May Wish to Pray by Himself: Sense of Self in Carolingian Prayers of Private Devotion'), dedicates some paragraphs to the examination of Alcuin's *De rhetorica*,[92] Choy states that Alcuin used the definition of deliberative rhetoric present in Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* as his own. This type of rhetoric deals with 'what to seek, what to avoid, what to teach, what to prevent'. Choy uses Theodulf, who uses a similar definition, as an example of this line of thought. The author claims that the seemingly irrelevant final part of the treatise, concerning the virtues, makes sense if we see it as an example of deliberative oratory, following Cicero (*De inuentione* 2.53. 159-65).

The main problem with Choy's interpretation of the dialogue is that when Cicero discusses the cardinal virtues he does so in the middle of a discussion on deliberative oratory.

[92] Renie Choy, 'The Brother Who May Wish to Pray by Himself: Sense of Self in Carolingian Prayers of Private Devotion' in Santha Bhattacharji, Dominic Mattos, Rowan Williams, eds, *Prayer and Thought in Monastic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Benedicta Ward SLG* (Bloomsbury, 2014) pp. 111-20.

Alcuin, on the other hand, has already ended the discussion on rhetoric when the new topic of virtues is initiated. In Alcuin's text, the two subjects, rhetoric and virtues are separate. This does not mean they have absolutely nothing to do with each other, but it does mean that, to Alcuin, virtues are not something to be regarded as a means of persuading, but as an intrinsic condition to every person, who wants to deal with *civiles questiones.*

There are two scholars whose contribution to the understanding of Alcuin's *De rhetorica* surpass previous works, due to their deep exploration of the text duality and attention to the sources. Because of their great importance, I chose to leave them for last.[93]

After arguing, in his chapter three, that the *Disputatio* is written obeying several *topoi* present in a *littera exhortatoria*, Liutpold Wallach devotes the next chapter of his book to understanding how the *Disputatio* is organised and to find meaning in the presence of a discussion of virtues in a text mainly about rhetoric. [94]

As the title of chapter four already shows, 'The *Rhetoric* as a Treatise on Kingship', Wallach demonstrates how the *De rhetorica* has several *topoi* which make it very similar to a *'Treatise of Kingship'* or a 'Mirror for a Prince'.

Firstly, Wallach lists all the exhortatory letters with a moralising content exchanged by Alcuin to several correspondents, showing a similar vocabulary in all of them. Initially this regards the admonitory intent of them all (attested by the presence of the word *ammonitio*, which is related in all letters).

From these occurrences, Wallach deduces that Alcuin was interested in the 'realization of the ruler's moral responsibility towards his subjects', the *stabilitas regni.* Then, Wallach

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[93] Other authors dealt with this question. Lucia Calboli Montefusco, 'Un catechismo retorico dell'alto Medioevo: la Disputatio *De rhetorica* et de virtutibus di Alcuino', in: Maria Silvana Celentano, ed., *Ars - Techne: Il manuale tecnico nelle civiltà greca e romana*. Collana del Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità Sez. filologica 2, (Chieti, 2003), pp. 127-144, follows a line closer to Wallach, but she questions if Alcuin actually knew Cicero's text first hand or only pieces of it. James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (London, 1974), pp. 80-81, acknowledges the virtues and their importance, but does not comment on why they appear on a dialogue about rhetoric.

[94] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, pp. 60-72.

differentiates the political *stabilitas* and the religious *stabilitas*, the latter also used by Alcuin in some of his letters to Popes and Abbots. The same type of *stabilitas* is also addressed at the end of the *De rhetorica.*

Next, Wallach calls our attention to the fact that, in his hortatory letters, Alcuin expresses another central idea, the *honestas morum*. He argues that the same principle can be found underlying the subject of the *De rhetorica* within the metrical proposition that starts the text. In fact, it is already apparent in the first verse '*Qui rogo* ***civiles*** *cupiat cognoscere* ***mores****'.*

Wallach asserts that the *mores* can only be the mores of Charlemagne, a ruler who felt responsible for the moral conduct of his subjects. Wallach sustains this by reading some parallels between the *De rhetorica* and the *de Animae Ratione.*

Later, Wallach states that the concept of *via regia* is closely related to that of the *mores* of the ruler, quoting several letters in which Alcuin discusses this. He does so to compare the *via regia* to a passage in the *De rhetorica* (p. 89, line 5) where Alcuin and Charlemagne discuss moderation. Therefore, Wallach sustains that the moderation and the *via regia* are closely connected.

Finally, Wallach reminds us of Alcuin's suggestion that the maxim applies not only to morals but also to speech. Therefore, paving the way for the inclusion of the discussion of the four cardinal virtues in the dialogue.

Hence Wallach's studies show that the *De rhetorica* presents the *mores* of Charlemagne as an example of *via regia*. According to Wallach, Alcuin did not want to write a rhetorical treatise, but instead to describe the *mores* of the king that would serve as an example to his subjects.

Wallach's method of dealing with the text reveals a very careful and respectful system of analysis and textual comparisons. I believe the the main issue with Wallach's interpretation is that he tries to argue that the dialogue is not a dialogue, but something else, *id est*, a Mirror for

the Prince. Below I will present my analysis of the text and I believe it will be clear how my method and Wallach's differ from each other.

Next, and finally, the last scholar who, in 2008, analysed Alcuin's *De rhetorica* is Kempshall.[95] As with Wallach's views above, I will summarise Kempshall's views before giving my own.

Kempshall states that Alcuin's work offers a temptingly easy interpretation; it is just another compilation of authoritative texts. However, examining the text as a whole proves it to be more complicated. In support of this, there appear to be two initial problems. First, the study's apparent concentration on political rhetoric. This is proven by the verse of the poem that opens the text (*ciuiles mores*) and also at the beginning of the prose (*ciuiles questiones*). The second problem is the discussion of the four cardinal virtues at the end of the text; this last passage does not echo Cicero or Julius Victor, as do other parts of the treatise.

Kempshall then presents the views of previous studies, namely the studies of Wallach and Wallace-Hadrill. Next, he states that when Alcuin opts to deal exclusively with *ciuiles mores,* he is deviating from his sources and, therefore, trying to make a point. Did the term *ciuilis* thus carry a different meaning for Alcuin which is now different from ours?

Addressing the first problem, the author says that Alcuin does not follow Cicero or Julius Victor when he affirms rhetoric as concerned with *ciuiles quaestiones,* rather, he follows Cassiodorus, using *quaestiones* that are concerned with equity and goodness. Therefore, to call Alcuin's rhetoric 'political' is not accurate when, in fact, rhetoric deals with virtues in a larger scale within society. That rhetoric is involved with everything that distinguishes us from an animal existence, is a view also echoed by Julius Victor who argues that the foundation of rhetoric is wisdom and that it can deal with all types of subjects.

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[95] M. S. Kempshall, 'The Virtues of Rhetoric: Alcuin's De rhetorica et de virtutibus*',* in *Anglo-Saxon England*, 37, (2008): pp. 7-30.

Kempshall's argument continues, showing how Alcuin could also have found and used this view of rhetoric in Fortunatianus and Marius Victorinus's commentaries on Cicero's *De inuentione.*

Next, the author addresses the second problem. Cicero had already discussed the four cardinal virtues as part of the *Inuentio* of demonstrative and deliberative rhetoric. Why did Alcuin not do the same? Because Alcuin had already discussed these virtues in *De virtutibus et vitiis* and, apparently, Augustine's *De doctrina christinana* had already done the same.

Even though the dialogue can be seen as having two parts, it appears that Alcuin is trying to show how closely these two parts are related by placing Cicero and Augustine side by side.

Kempshall passes on to a discussion of the importance of Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* to consider Alcuin's decision to integrate rhetoric and virtues. Augustine's work deals with how grammar, logic and rhetoric should be used for an exegesis of the Bible.

Even though Augustine's main concern here is with the Scriptures, on several occasions, he underlines situations and places in which rhetoric is required. Kempshall explains that what is implied in Augustine's work is his wish for people to learn the basics of classical rhetoric without dedicating too much time to it. Therefore, the author claims Alcuin saw a need for this within the Christian educational programme and consequently wrote his condensed rhetorical manual.

But then why does Alcuin use the virtues to conclude his work on rhetoric? Right after the discussion about the *pronuntiatio,*[96] Alcuin and Charlemagne begin the discussion about virtues. Again, we are returned to Cassiodorus's text, with Cassiodorus defining rhetoric as concerned with *de aequo et bono*. This may have provided Alcuin with a justification for dividing his work and naming it *De rhetorica*(aequo) *et Virtutibus* (bono).

[96] Which Kempshall mistakes for *elocutio*. See p. 22 and 23.

Moreover, Kempshall affirms that Alcuin might have known more of Quintilian than just the excerpts from Julius Victor. Quintilian in books I and XII stresses the importance of wisdom to rhetoric and makes a point of joining them back together. It is not enough for an orator to be a good man (*uir bonus*), he must also be an administrator of the *rei publicae (ciuilis),* a man *uere sapiens.* Moral virtue, therefore, is a prerequisite for the orator, who should aim at action, thus, go into administration.

At the end, Kempshall summarises his argument by saying that Alcuin's text is completely coherent, from the beginning to the end. It begins with the definition of rhetoric by Cassiodorus, who states rhetoric is what separates humans from beasts, an idea also defended by Augustine and others; it condenses the key-points of classical rhetoric, a desire 'expressed' by Augustine for the Christian people; and it ends with a discussion about virtues, without which a man cannot be an orator, just as preached by Quintilian.

Kempshall's view is both innovative and elegant. It combines Alcuin's dialogue with Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* and Cassiodorus' *Institutiones,* both texts Alcuin had access to and certainly read. However, I believe Kempshall adopts the principle of *lectio difficilior* in order to interpret the dialogue. There is the assumption that Augustine was in some way pitching for a rhetorical education, while Alcuin, around 400 years later, realising Augustine's implicit request, fulfilled it. It is also true that Alcuin knew Cassiodorus' text, but the dependence of Alcuin's dialogue is far superior to Cicero and Caius Julius Victor. Therefore, to assume that an expression such as *de aequo et bono,* which does not appear in Alcuin,[97] not only makes reference to 'rhetoric' and 'virtues' but is also the underlying reason for the division of Alcuin's dialogue into two parts, seems to me a difficult way to interpret the text, as it assumes elements that are not explicit in the text or even indicated by Alcuin.

In fact, Kempshall's analysis falls in the same category as Wallach's: they both try to see characteristics that are not in Alcuin's text in order to make it seem like something else,

[97] As a matter of fact, the word *aequum* appears only three times in the whole dialogue and it never makes reference to the definition of rhetoric.

other than a dialogue about rhetoric. It is interesting, however, that neither Kempshall's nor Wallach's approach to De rhetorica really works in relation to Alcuin's other dialogues. Perhaps it is more productive to try and understand the importance and idiosyncrasies of Alcuin's tract by analysing it as a dialogue on rhetoric.

Firstly, why the format of a dialogue? Perhaps the answer can be found in the other dialogues, which Alcuin composed. The dialogues always show a context of teaching. The *De grammatica* has a teacher and two young students (Saxo and Franco, perhaps a little reference to Alcuin and Charlemagne?) alluding to the fact that grammar was taught to a younger crowd. The dialogues *De rhetorica* and *De dialectica* have Alcuin and Charlemagne as characters. If Bullough is right about the composition date of these dialogues (and I believe he is), these texts were used as a complement to Alcuin's teaching in the court. In this case, why present the students with Cicero's own *De inuentione* when you can discuss its content while reading a conversation between your teacher and Charlemagne? The choice of the dialogical format, and of its characters, seems perfectly designed to capture the attention of an audience at Aachen. Furthermore, the evidence of the manuscripts leaves little doubt about the usage of these texts. The presence of diagrams at the end of the oldest manuscripts also corroborate the idea that different pedagogical devices were deployed to aid the students: the format of a dialogue to abbreviate the precepts of what they were learning, the characters of the dialogues to help captivate the audience and the diagrams to help memorize the key terms of the arts.

Therefore, looking at the dialogues by themselves it seems clear we do not need to look further for a more complicated explanation of what they are. Next I will show how some of these elements above combine with Alcuin's knowledge of Caius Julius Victor's *Ars rhetorica* to explain the presence of a discussion about virtues in the *De rhetorica.*

2.1.2 The *Disputatio* and *De uirtutibus*: an argument for the unity of a composite work using Caius Julius Victor's evidence

Alcuin's *De rhetorica* poses many question to the modern reader. As I believe has become clear from the preceding subchapter, numerous talented scholars have tried to understand the text and investigated its form and content. Several questions have been triggered by their analyses such as 'what was the real purpose of the text?', 'why is Alcuin writing about rhetoric when there is already Cicero's *De inuentione'* among other manuals? 'Why does the subject of virtues appear in a text about rhetoric in such a disconnected way? This chapter will address some of these questions.

I will mainly be looking at two important pieces of evidence that have been neglected in the studies of Alcuin's dialogue, one a direct source of Alcuin, and the other a very early interpretation of the dialogue. The first is the text *Ars rhetorica* written by Caius Julius Victor. Since Halm's edition, in 1863, this has been rightly acknowledged as one of the two main sources of Alcuin's dialogue; the second source is the manuscripts of the *Disputatio de rhetorica*. Perhaps, an extract from them will yield some precious information to help us further pry into the text, emerging with new interpretations of Alcuin's dialogue.

Even before Halm's edition of Alcuin's *De rhetorica et uirtutibus* in 1863, scholars were puzzled about the constitution of the work. In the previous section of this chapter, we analysed some of their opinions about the work, coming to understand that most scholars in the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, held a very negative view of Alcuin's dialogue.

It was only after Howell's translation, in 1941, and Wallach's book, in 1959, that we began to gain more detailed studies on the work.[98] Wallach, in particular, provided us with an

[98] Howell, *Rhetoric;* L. Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*.

analysis and interpretation which has proved to be influential up until today. There can be no lively attempt to look at Alcuin's dialogue without taking Wallach's readings into account.

Initially, Wallach offers an exhaustive demonstration of how Alcuin's discussion about rhetoric has several *topoi* that allow us to think of it as a *Littera Exhortatoria.*[99] Wallach shows how, in numerous works, Alcuin makes use of the same vocabulary and style in order to build a letter which aims to exhort or recommend something.

It is, however, in the chapter in which Wallach tries to prove Alcuin's *De rhetorica* to be a mirror for the prince that his boldest assumption is made.

> The *Rhetorica* is made up of rhetorical doctrine, not because Alcuin wanted to write a rhetorical textbook, but because he wished to describe the *mores* of Charlemagne as those that ought to serve as examples to his subjects.[100]

Wallach's study of the *topoi* is, indeed, impressive. He shows quite clearly how Alcuin's style is very distinctive and present in a variety of texts. However, I believe there is a feature of Alcuin's dialogue that Wallach does not consider. If Wallach is able to expose the reasons why he believes Alcuin's text to be a *Littera Exhortatoria*, maybe it is up to us to first of all investigate what makes Alcuin's text, a *littera.*

Even though the first *Ars Dictaminis*, the *Breviarium Dictaminis* by Albericus Cassinensis,[101] came from the eleventh century, the precepts of what it is and how to write a letter appeared many centuries previously, in some of the authors from Antiquity. Despite this, some concepts of the ancient *Ars Dictaminis* remain important to us.

First of all, we find many examples of how Ancient authors identify *sermo* (or its Greek equivalent '*dialogos*') as the most adequate genre for the philosopher who aims to teach. In the Latin tradition, we subsequently find in Seneca's letter to Lucililium number 38:

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[99] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, pp. 48-59.
[100] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, p. 71.
[101] Albericus Casinensis, *Breviarum de dictamine*, ed.Filippo Bonini (Florence, 2008).

> Plurimum proficit sermo, quia minutatim inrepit animo [...]. Philosophia bonum consilium est: consilium nemo clare dat.[102]
>
> Much better is the conversation, because little by little it mingles itself with the mind […]. Philosophy is a good advice: nobody gives good advice out loud.[103]

Cicero compares *epistula* to a *sermo familiaris,*[104] with both Horace[105] and Seneca[106] calling their own works *sermo* and *epistula* indistinctly. Therefore, there is an undeniable equivalence of terms between *sermo* (or its Greek equivalent, *dialogos*) and *epistula.* At the very least, we can say that *epistula* is a type of *sermo*, because it is a dialogue between people who are apart from each other.[107]

Second, even though *sermo* is the genre which most benefits the philosopher and the activity of teaching, there is a lack of theory in the Classical period about this. There are no profuse examples of how one should write or conduct a *sermo*, with Cicero the first to acknowledge this lack:

> Et quoniam magna vis orationis est eaque duplex, altera contentionis, altera sermonis, contentio disceptationibus tribuatur iudiciorum, contionum, senatus, sermo in circulis, disputationibus, congressionibus familiarium versetur, sequatur etiam convivia. Contentionis praecepta rhetorum sunt, nulla sermonis, quamquam haud scio an possint haec quoque esse. Sed discentium studiis inveniuntur magistri, huic autem qui studeant

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[102] Seneca, *Ad Lucilium,* 38, 1.
[103] My translation.
[104] Cic, *Att.* 1, 9, 1.
[105] Horace, *Epistulae,* 2, I, 4; 2, 2, 22.
[106] Seneca, *Ad Lucilium,* 38, I; 100, 9.
[107] For a deeper discussion about Seneca's and Horace's letters and their terms, see Marcos Martinho dos Santos, 'Arte dialógica e epistolar segundo as Epístolas morais a Lucílio' In: Letras Clássicas. Letras Clássicas, São Paulo, 1999, pp. 45-93.

> sunt nulli, rhetorum turba referta omnia; quamquam, quae verborum sententiarumque praecepta sunt, eadem ad sermonem pertinebunt. [108]
>
> It is great the power of words, and also of two types: the word of the altercation and the word of conversation. The altercation is used in the debates in court, in assemblies, in Senate; the conversation is used in reunions, discussions, friend's gatherings, and it must be present in banquets. The precepts of altercation belong to the orators, but there are no rules for the conversation, even though I cannot see why they should not exist. But we always find teachers to eager students, however none who dedicates himself to this study, all of it in the hands of the rhetoricians. Although, as we have precepts that belong to the words and sentences, those should also be valid for conversation. [109]

How does Alcuin, then, address his own work? Does he call it a *sermo*? In a letter to Angilbert, Alcuin writes:

> Paululum propter refectionem animi rhetorica lusi lepiditate.[110]
>
> For intellectual diversion, I have played a bit with the elegance of rhetoric.[111]

Howell uses this passage to date Alcuin's text,[112] while Wallach states,[113] and we agree,[114] that there is no reason for relating this passage to the composition of the *Disputatio de rhetorica.* In fact, 'to play with the elegance of rhetoric'[115] possibly refers to the composition of a letter or a poem, rather than to a treatise on the subject.

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[108] Cic. *De Officiis*, I, 132.
[109] My translation.
[110] E. Wattenbach and E. Duemmeler, *Monumenta Alcuiniana,* (Berlin 1873), pp. 281-3, n. 54.
[111] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 5.
[112] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 5.
[113] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, p. 47, n. 27.
[114] See the discussion in chapter I of this dissertation.
[115] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 5.

Therefore, while Alcuin does not make any reference to his dialogue in any of his letters, he does refer to his dialogue on rhetoric in the dialogue itself and in his dialogue on dialectics. At the end of the *De rhetorica,* Alcuin says:

> **A.** Sermo iste noster, qui de volubili civilium quaestionum ingenio initium habuit, hunc aeternae stabilitatis habeat finem, ne aliquis nos incassum tantum disputandi itineris peregisse contendat.[116]
>
> This dialogue of ours, which had its origin in the changing models of civil questions, finds thus an end in talk of changeless forms. Let no one argue, then, that we have vainly conducted so long a colloquy.[117]

Likewise, in the *De dialectica,* Charlemagne begins the dialogue by saying:

> Quia mentionem philosophiae in priore disputationis nostrae sermone fecimus.[118]
>
> Because we mentioned philosophy in the previous colloquy of our conversation.[119]

We can see clearly that Alcuin refers to his works as *sermo.* As we saw before, *sermo* is the genre more appropriate to the philosopher. However, Alcuin might not have known Seneca, Horace or even some works by Cicero in which *sermo* is discussed. We know, on the other hand, Alcuin did know Caius Julius Victor. In fact, Alcuin's *De rhetorica* relies heavily on Julius Victor's *Ars rhetorica.* Just as Alcuin uses Cicero's *De inuentione* and quotes it verbatim in the first part of the dialogue, the *Ars rhetorica* is predominant in the second part. Alcuin relies heavily on Cicero's *De inuentione* when discussing, of course, invention. However, Alcuin's dialogue discusses all parts of rhetoric. Therefore, using exclusively the *De inuentione* would not help the Carolingian teacher. Cicero's other texts such as *Orator* and *De oratore*

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[116] Page 106, line 2 of my edition.
[117] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 155.
[118] Alcuinus, *De dialectica*, I, 1.
[119] My translation.

were not available to Alcuin. The best text Alcuin could rely on was Caius Julius Victor's *Ars Rhetorica,* which is basically a summary of Cicero's rhetorical precepts with a few additions, such as a chapter on *sermo* and another on *epistula.* Alcuin's knowledge of the *Rhetorica* is clearly demonstrated by his extensive use of this tract in his own treatise on rhetoric. Indeed, almost forty percent of Alcuin's *De rhetorica* depends directly on Julius Victor's work. It is thus more than safe to hazard that Alcuin knew Victor's text very well.[120]

It is not by chance that given Cicero's complaint that no attention was given to the *sermo* in rhetorical manuals, the author to address this problem was precisely Gaius Julius Victor.[121]

We know that in Cicero, the fourth century rhetorician has one of his main sources. Moreover, Julius Victor dedicates the two last chapters of his book specifically to the *sermocinatio* and the *epistola.* In order to analyse Alcuin's *De rhetorica* more thoroughly, perhaps we should examine what Julius Victor, one of Alcuin's main sources, says about some aspects of the art of conversation.

At the beginning of the chapter on the art of conversation, Victor describes what kinds of words belong to the *sermo:*

> Igitur sermonis est virtus elegantia sine ostentatione. Verba sint lecta, honesta magis quam sonantia, paucae translationes neque eae alte petitae, modica antiquitas, sine figuris insignibus, sine structura leniore, sine periodo, sine enthymemate: denique omnes rhetoricas palaestras missas feceris, quae ut addunt orationi auctoritatem, sic detrahunt sermoni fidem.[122]
>
> Thus, the virtue of conversation is elegance without ostentation. Let us choose honest words, rather than elevated; let there be fewer metaphors, and not very distant; rare the archaisms; without distinguished figures, without a lighter structure, without period,

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[120] Halm, *RLM,* p. xiii; Howell, *Rhetoric,* p. 24.
[121] Caius Julius Victor, *Ars Rhetorica,* ed.Remo Giomini & Maria Silvana Celentano (Leipzig, 1980)
[122] Caius Julius Victor, *Ars rhetorica,* chap. 26.

without enthymeme; in summary, leave behind all the rhetorical gymnasts that, as they add authority to the rhetorical speech, they remove credibility of the conversation.[123]

Victor explains that the *sermo* is convenient for a philosopher, whose goal is to teach, it offers a straightforward language; which is completely opposite to what is adequate for a rhetorical speech. Indeed, all the rhetorical effort erases the credibility of a conversation. Another important feature is:

> Superiores observare oportet, ut invitent clientes ad colloquendum: nam inferior modestius fecerit, si exspectet, dum lacessatur, nisi quid rei suae evenerit.[124]
>
> It is important to pay attention to the superiors, because they should invite the clients to the conversation; for the inferior will have acted with more modesty if he waits until he is incited, unless something of his concern is brought up.[125]

Victor claims it appropriate that superiors invite their protégés to talk, and not the other way around. This is exactly what happens at the beginning of both Alcuin dialogues (*De rhetorica* and *De dialectica)* and also Augustine's dialogue, *De magistro*, one of Alcuin's examples:

> Finally, a last important characteristic of the *sermo* is:
>
> Ubique brevitas bonum est, sed in sermone praecipuum; alterius enim tempore non abuti decet.[126]

[123] My translation.
[124] Caius Julius Victor, *Ars rhetorica*, 26.
[125] My translation.
[126] Caius Julius Victor, *Ars rhetorica*, 26.

Brevity is good everywhere, but in conversation is essential; for you should not abuse the other's time.[127]

It is clear then that one of the most important features of the *sermo* is brevity. Because Alcuin's *De rhetorica* is a dialogue, *id est*, a *sermo*, and because Alcuin read Julius Victor's work, I believe it is important to have Victor's definition of a *sermo* in mind. We will analyse this a little more thoroughly in Julius Victor's chapter about letters.

The last chapter in Julius Victor work is dedicated to the writing of letters.[128] Since a letter is a type of dialogue, it is not surprising he begins this chapter by saying:

Epistolis conveniunt multa eorum, quae de sermone praecepta sunt.[129]

Many of the precepts of the conversation are also convenient to the letters.[130]

One important precept Victor gives is:

In familiaribus litteris primo brevitas observanda.[131]

In letters to acquaintances, firstly, brevity should be observed.[132]

Again the professor advocates brevity. It should not be surprising to us, then, after all the advice for conciseness, that Alcuin's dialogue is a very condensed summary of the Ciceronian precepts of rhetoric.

It should now be clear that Alcuin is observing the precepts dictated by Caius Julius Victor in order to write his dialogues: Charlemagne, the superior, begins them and the wording is brief. Therefore, Alcuin did not write a manual on rhetoric, but a dialogue on the subject, with a set of rules to obey.

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[127] My translation.
[128] Caius Julius Victor, *Ars rhetorica*, 27.
[129] Caius Julius Victor, *Ars rhetorica*, 27.
[130] My translation.
[131] Caius Julius Victor, *Ars rhetorica*, 27.
[132] My translation.

Now we must concentrate on the issue of the inclusion of ethics in a manual of rhetoric. Many modern authors take the title of Alcuin's work *De rhetorica et uirtutibus* as an indication of how the dual nature of the work was already explicit in the title. This probably occurred because access to the manuscripts was not universal, and people were forced to trust Halm's edition, which was the only one available. However, if we take a closer look, we will see that not only do the titles in some of the most important manuscripts not show the word *uirtus*, but also even when they do, we should be at least a little suspicious of its authenticity.

Alcuin's dialogue survives in more than 30 manuscripts.[133] Twenty are from the ninth century and most of these are very well preserved.[134] Of these manuscripts, A, F, H, I, K, L and T have *De rhetorica et uirtutibus* in the title. Perhaps the oldest manuscript is the Munich clm. 6407, manuscript F, which has a copy, manuscript A. K and L also seem to have strong connections to this manuscript, as they belong to the same family.[135] All other ninth century manuscripts have a different title or no title at all. For instance, manuscripts B, D, G, M, N and Ve have no title (B, in a later correction, adds *Alcuini Rhetorica*), O has *Incipit Rethorica Albini Magistri,* P has *Incipit Rhetorica Albini;* Q has *Dialogus Rethoricae Artis;* V has *Incipit de Rethorica Disputatio K et Alb.* Manuscript a minor has *Albinus de Rethorica.* As we can see, the majority of these ninth century manuscripts not include the word *uirtus* in the title (or they have no title at all). Neither do later manuscripts include the word *uirtus* in the title, some examples being: *Dialogus Albini Magistri et Karoli Regis de Rethorica; Incipit Rethorica Albini; Incipit Liber Artis Rethorice Item Sub Interrogatione Karoli Imperatoris et Responsione Albini Magistri.*

I believe it is possible to assert that this division of the dialogue into two subjects lacks any strong echo within the manuscripts, and is, perhaps, simply a false dichotomy.

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[133] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, pp. 89-93.
[134] David Ganz, 'Handschriften der Werke Alkuins aus dem 9. Jahrhundert', in *Alkuin von York in der Stiftsbibliothek St Gallen*, ed. by Ernst Tremp and Karl Schmuki (St Gallen:, 2010), pp. 185-94.
[135] See chapter IV of this dissertation.

Many authors have tried to understand why Alcuin placed rhetoric and virtues together. However, no author so far has tried to understand why there is an important subject that is apparently missing altogether from Alcuin's dialogue: the discussion of what constitues an *orator*.

We know Alcuin probably did not read the *Institutio Oratoria*¸ but Quintilian's famous sentence of what makes an *orator* was used in many treatises throughout this time period. The term, *uir bonus peritus dicendi,* a good man skilful at speaking, can be found in Fortunatianus[136] and in Cassiodorus,[137] who, as was demonstrated by Wallach[138] and Kempshall[139], are direct sources for Alcuin's dialogue. Therefore, it would be odd for Alcuin to exclude this discussion from his treatise.

That said, twelve of the oldest of Alcuin's manuscripts reveal, again, something that has not been discussed at any length by modern scholars: diagrams containing some of the precepts of rhetoric.[140] It is true that these diagrams were not composed by Alcuin himself, indeed, their content does not precisely match the content of the dialogue. However, it is undeniable that they are important for the comprehension of the text, since they are as old as the oldest manuscript, meaning they may well have been produced when Alcuin was still alive. The first diagram is, very precisely, related to the definition of an orator. As can be seen, even though Quintilian's definition was not included in the text, his description of an orator was too important to be completely left aside. Here is a representation of the first diagram:

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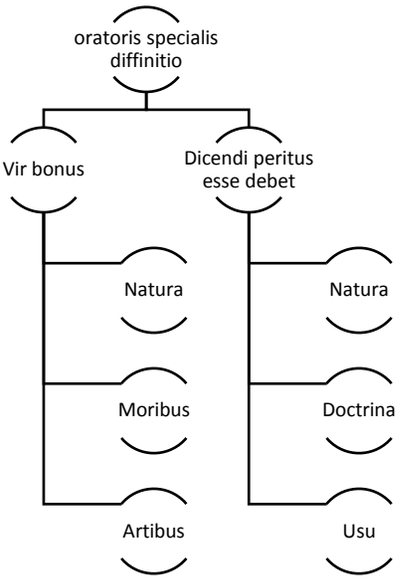
[136] Fortunatianus, 'Ars rhetorica', I, 1 in Carl Halm, *Rhetores Latini Minores* (Leipzig, 1863), p. 81.
[137] Halporn and Vessey, *Cassiodorus Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning and on the Soul*. (Liverpool, 2004), p. 178.
[138] Wallach, Alcuin and Charlemagne, pp. 35-48.
[139] Kempshall, 'The Virtues of Rhetoric: Alcuin's *De rhetorica et de uirtutibus'*, pp. 7-30
[140] See chapter II of this thesis.



If we take the interpretation of this diagram into consideration, we may come to the conclusion that Alcuin spends the first part of his dialogue exposing the *doctrina* of how one could be a *peritus dicendi*. In the last part of the dialogue, Alcuin then discusses what constitutes a *uir bonus*, that is, the virtues that he must have.

Therefore, a discussion about the virtues of a person is not out of place in a treatise of rhetoric; on the contrary, it was already proposed by Quintilian and followed by Caius Julius Victor, Cassiodorus, Fortunatianus and Isidore when they abide that *uir bonus* is an essential part of what makes an orator. Alcuin's exposition follows the main definition of an orator he had at the time and that he would have read in Fortunatianus and Cassiodorus: *uir bonus.* Alcuin's contribution was thus to expand the discussion of what constitutes a good man, linking it to the Christian tradition.

So now we can see that Alcuin answers the question 'what is an orator?' not at the beginning of his treatise (as do his sources) but at the end. Why does this happen? That is a fair question. We must not forget that, as it was discussed above, Alcuin's *De rhetorica* is a *sermo* and follows some very precise rules that were written by one of Alcuin's main source, Caius Julius Victor. If it is a *sermo,* it has to emulate a real conversation. According to Seneca, a *sermo* is like a walk in a park, something natural, seeming not to need any elaboration.[141] By

[141] Seneca, *Ad Lucilium,* 75, 1: *Minus tibi accuratas a me epistulas mitti quereris. Quis enim accurate loquitur nisi qui vult putide loqui? Qualis sermo meus esset si una desideremus aut ambularemus, inlaboratus et facilis, tales*

putting the discussion about the orator at the end, Alcuin establishes the best sort of cliff-hanger for his next dialogue, *De dialectica,* which, and not by chance, starts exactly like this:

> quia mentionem philosophiae in priore disputationis nostrae sermone fecimus.[142]
>
> because we mentioned 'philosophy' in the first part of our conversation.[143]

As we can see, at the beginning of *De dialectica,* Charlemagne consequently acknowledges the fact that they mentioned philosophy in the previous dialogue and asks Alcuin if they can carry on with it. Thus it becomes one subject leading to another organically, as in a 'real' conversation.

Therefore, Alcuin's *De rhetorica* is what it is supposed to be: a dialogue. This genre, as all others, had specific rules to follow. Rules that Alcuin could not ignore, as most of them were written by his second most important source: Caius Julius Victor. The presence of the discussion on virtues should not be seen as out of place either. From Quintilian onwards, the phrase *uir bonus* was used to describe the central characteristic of every orator. Alcuin contribution to the rhetorical debate resides exactly in explaining what a *uir bonus* is, something that has never been done before in this context. Alcuin does not append a new concept to the existing debate on rhetoric, he merely expands the discussion and puts it at the end of the dialogue. Not by chance, of course, but because he is obeying the rules of the dialogue genre, making it flow as a natural conversation that will end only in his last dialogue: *De dialectica.* Therefore, there is no need to seek for intricated answers, that lead us away from the text, as Kempshall and Wallach did.

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esse epistulas meas volo, quae nihil habent accersitum nec fictum. A fair argument can be made about Alcuin not knowing of Seneca's letter. According to Reynold, the manuscripts for Seneca's letters emerged in the Carolingian monasteries of Northern France and Southern Germany in the ninth century, therefore, the possibility that Alcuin did know about them exists, even though we cannot confirm this. L.D.Reynolds, *The Medieval Tradition of Seneca's Letters* (Oxford, 1965) p. 90. I believe the prudent approach (which Alcuin would have preferred) is to assume that even if Alcuin did not have access to Seneca's letters, his mastery of the dialogic genre is too pronounced to be ignored. Moreover, his acquaintance with Julius Victor's remarks on letters and dialogues could provide enough information to allow him to proceed, as explained by Seneca.

[142] Alcuin, *De dialectica*, I, 1.

[143] My translation.

III. Diagrams: A Clue to Reception

3.1 Diagrams added to the earliest manuscripts

Alcuin's *Disputatio de rhetorica* has a long history of transmission, both in manuscript and book form, stretching across to contemporary times. However, some of the earliest manuscripts of Alcuin's *Rhetorica* transmit (mostly at the end) several schemata of the subjects discussed in the text,[144] one aspect of which seems not to have received wide scholarly attention.

There are eight diagrams dealing directly with rhetoric.[145] These all occur as a block, at the end of the work (with the exception of manuscript R, within which we find all the diagrams placed before the beginning of the dialogue). With the exception of the first diagram, which illustrates the definition of 'orator', as found in Quintilian and other authors, all the others show the content used by Alcuin in his work, even if they do not represent exactly what this text says.[146] After these diagrams (dealing specifically with rhetoric), others follow, illustrating the definitions and divisions of philosophical terms. They serve as a sort of prolegomena to the dialogue, *De dialectica*, written by Alcuin as a sequence for the same conversation the author was hypothetically having with Charlemagne. Not only does the *De dialectica* follow the *De rhetorica* textually, for example, when Charlemagne begins the dialogue by making reference to the last part of the text[147], but it also does so whenever we have a manuscript containing the two dialogues, with the *De dialectica* always following the *De rhetorica.*

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[144] More precisely, there are 12 manuscripts that include the diagrams. They will all be discussed in the description section of the manuscripts chapter and their interdependence will be explained in the *stemma codicum* of the diagrams.
[145] Numbered following Froben's lesson. Cf. note 143 below.
[146] Even though all the subjects in the diagram are found in Alcuin's work, the way they are portrayed is, in general, different from the dialogue. The reason behind this is clear: they were not made based on Alcuin's text. This issue will be addressed throughout the chapter.
[147] Alcuin, *De dialectia*, I, 1.

This, however, poses some editorial difficulties, because, as Wallach has already pointed out,[148] it does not appear to make sense to someone preparing an edition of a text, to insert diagrams, which serve as a summary of a subsequent text, right after other diagrams, which conclude a previous text. In the oldest manuscripts in which these diagrams appear, they are not separated in a different quire, for instance. Rather, they appear right after the text ends. This does not mean, however, that they could not have been separated, *i.e*. written in a different quire, in the manuscript in which they were first written and later copied to the same quire in a subsequent manuscript. It is Wallach's belief that these diagrams were inserted not by Alcuin, but later on by someone else, with the intention of connecting the two treatises.[149]

These schemata are not reproduced in the editions by Halm, Howell or Zimmermann; in fact they were edited only by Galen[150] and Froben Forster[151] and reprinted in *Patrologia Latina* volume 101.[152] However, Galen and Forster's editions were only based on one manuscript (Forster's edition being based on Munich BSB clm. 6407, while the exact manuscript for Galen's edition is unknown, but is perhaps Brussels, BRB 1372).[153] Wallach questioned the authorship of these schemata (and also the poem that appears at the end of some manuscripts), although he never presented any linguistic argument as to whether the schemata were written by Alcuin or not:

> An anonymous reviewer of Halm's edition ascribes S (schemata) and P (poem) to Alcuin, but Halm rightly excluded both pieces from his edition of R (*De rhetorica*). The problem is: Are they genuine Alcuiniana and do both actually belong to the text of R?[154]

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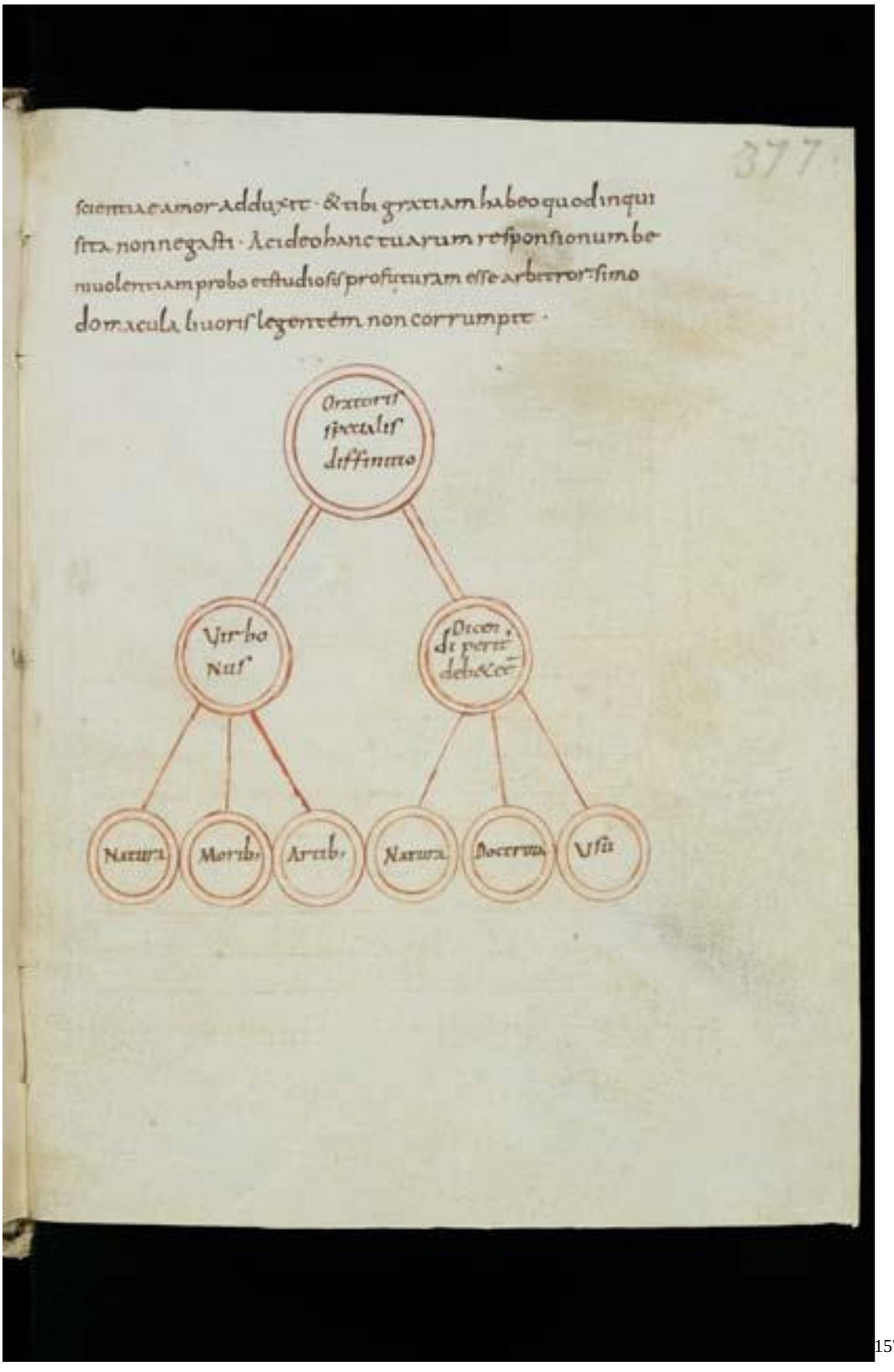
[148] Wallach *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, p. 86.
[149] Wallach *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, p. 86.
[150] *Politicae, Imperiales et Vere Heroicae Institutiones Rhetoricae & Dialecticae ab Albino Quiden seu Alcuino Conscriptae & Explanatae.* Editae a Mattaeo Galeno Vestcapellio (Duaci, 1564). 8 vol. as cited by Howell, *Rhetoric* pp. 11-12, n. 21.
[151] Frobenius. *Beati Flacci Albini seu Alcuini Abbatis, Caroli Magni Regis ac Imperatoris, Magistri Opera. Post Primam Editionem, A Viro Clarissimo D. Andrea Quercertano Curatam, De Novo Collecta, Multis Loccis Emendata, et Opusculis. Primum Repertis Plurimum Aucta, Variisque Modis Illustrata. Cura Ac Studio Frobenii, S. R. I. Principis et Abbatis Ad. S. Emmeramum* (Regensburg,1777), vol.2, pp. 313-333. The diagrams are found in pp. 331-333.
[152] Migne, *PL*, vol. 101 pp. 919-46; col 0919 – 0949.
[153] Howell, *Rhetoric*, pp. 12-13.
[154] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne,* p. 86.

Indeed, the question of whether the diagrams were written by Alcuin or added later were unresolved. Wallach, again, tells us that at least two authors considered these schemata to be part of Alcuin's work: namely, an anonymous reviewer of Halm's edition and Maurice Pallasse.[155] However, these authors apparently assumed the schemata were written by Alcuin and therefore did not discuss the issue. Wallach, on the other hand, argued that the position of the diagrams does not make sense: who would put the diagrams of a second treatise (the treatise about dialectic) in front of a poem that concludes a treatise about rhetoric?[156]

Wallach surely has a point. However, there is still a further important issue that he does not discuss: the content of these schemata. That is what I will address now. The first diagram, as we can see below, is indeed extremely interesting, because it deals with something that is not written directly in Alcuin's text, but it is something that Alcuin surely knew and it also might help us undertand how Alcuin's work was received and used in his time.

[155] For the anonymous reviewer see *Literarisches Centralblatt fur Deutschland* (1864), no. 24, p. 570, apud: Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne,* p. 86, n.5; For Maurisse Pallasse's opinion see *Cicerón et les Sources de droits* (Annales de l'Université de Lyon, Droit III, 8; Paris, 1945), 119, apud: Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne,* p. 88, n.8.

[156] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne,* p. 86.



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As we can see, the first schema shows what constitutes the orator, and it does so by quoting Quintilian and his famous definition of an orator, *uir bonus dicendi peritus*.[158] The

157 Zurich, ZB C 80, fol. 107v.
158 Quintilian, *The orator's education*. Edited by Donald A. Russell. 5 vols. Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, 2003), 12, 1, I.

direct influence of Quintilian's text is, to say the least, doubtful as a source for Alcuin. Give this, we should inquire if this quote comes directly or indirectly, *id est,* from another source.

Michael Winterbottom argues that the oldest manuscript containing the *Institutio Oratoria* has sometimes been thought to have come from York, where it was copied in the eighth century.[159] However, as we learn from Winterbottom,[160] this manuscript was already gravely mutilated when it was copied again in the ninth century. Therefore, even if it was from York, there is no evidence as to whether Alcuin knew about the specific passage coming directly from Quintilian or not. Moreover, there are stronger arguments as to whether this manuscript really came from York or not. Indeed, its place of origin can be better deduced from a letter written by Lupus of Ferrieres to the Archbishop of York asking for some books, one of them being the *Institutio Oratoria* of Quintilian:

> Atque ut, quod polliceor, vos exequamini priores, obnixe flagito, ut Quaestiones beati Jeronimi, quas, teste Cassiodoro, in vetus et novum testamentum elaboravit, Bedae quoque vestri similiter Questiones in utrumque testamentum, item memorati Jeronimi libros Explanationum in Hieremiam, praeter sex primos que apud nos reperiuntur, ceteros qui secuntur, praeterea Quintiliani Institutionum oratoriarum libros XII per certissimos nuntios mihi ad cellam sancti Judoci, quae tandem aliquando nobis reddita est, dirigatis tradendos Lantramno, qui bene vobis notus est, ibique exscribendos vobisque , quam potuerit fieri celeries, remittendos.[161]

[159] L.D. Reynolds (ed). *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford, 1983). pp. 332-333.
[160] L.D. Reynolds (ed). *Texts and Transmission,* pp. 332-333.
[161] Lupus of Ferrieres, *Correspondance éditée et Traduite par Léon Levillain* (Paris, 1964), vol. 2, pp. 78-80.

Nevertheless, in her article about Alcuin's library, Mary Garrison argues that Lupus assumed York would indeed have the book. [162] Whether Lupus' assumption was based on his knowledge of York's book collection (due to the fact that he was taught by two of Alcuin's pupils) or because York was already a known centre of scholarly knowledge, it was possible it did hold such an important book in its collection. But, the reality was that Lupus did not succeed in gaining access to it, because he went on to ask the Pope for the very same book:

> Petimus etiam Tullium De Oratore et XII libros Institutionum oratorium Quintiliani, qui uno nec ingenti volumine continentur (…).[163]
>
> We also ask the 'De Oratore' of Cicero and the XII books of the 'Institutio Oratoria' of Quintilian, which are in one volume, not very big.[164]

Therefore, it cannot be established if York ever actually held a manuscript of Quintilian's work and, consequently, if Alcuin knew about it. Perhaps it would be better to assume that York did not have a manuscript of the *Institutio Oratoria* at the time. To make this possibility even stronger, in the book, *The Anglo-Saxon Library,* Michael Lapidge states that there was no trace of any manuscript containing Quintilian's works in an Anglo-Saxon library prior to the Norman conquest.[165]

There would, of course, still be the possibility of Alcuin gaining access to Quintilian's book on the Continent. The manuscript that supposedly came from York (but, again, this affirmation has more problems than certainties, as stated above) was preserved in France, although already lacunose and mutilated. In the ninth century, it spawned the Fleury manuscript, Berne 351.[166] The close connection that Alcuin had with Fleury was through

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[162] Mary Garrison, *Alcuin's Library at York* in R. Gameson (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: From the Romans to the Normans c.400-c.1100* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 663.
[163] Lupus of Ferrieres, *Correspondance*, T. 2, p. 122.
[164] My translation.
[165] Michael Lapidge. *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2005.), pp. 66 and 128 -129.
[166] L.D. Reynolds (ed). *Texts and Transmission,* pp. 332-333.

another member of Charlemagne's court, Theodulf of Orleans, who was appointed Abbot of Fleury in 797 or 798.[167] It is possible, and indeed plausible, that Alcuin had already written the *Disputatio* when Theodulf became Abbot of Fleury in 798. Therefore, to assume that Alcuin knew a manuscript of the *Institutio Oratoria* existed in Fleury, before the time Alcuin wrote his *De rhetorica,* can be very difficult to sustain.

In any case, the most striking evidence that Alcuin did not know about Quintilian's work comes from Alcuin's work itself. There are no direct or unmistakable quotations from the *Institutio Oratoria*; however, assuming the importance of Quintilian's work, it would be reasonable to suggest that Alcuin would cite it, had he known it first-hand.

Now that we know that neither Alcuin nor the person who drew the schemata knew about Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* first-hand. We are sure of this because even if the schemata were included after the composition of the text, the oldest manuscript of the *De rhetorica,* dating possibly from the end of the eighth century, already contained a copy of the schemata, *id est*, before the resurgence of Quintilian's famous work. Therefore, it is safe to assume that, not only Alcuin's work, but also the schemata following it, must be based on some other rhetorical manual. This is what I will discuss below: the schemata, its content and how they relate to Alcuin's work.

Some of the most reliable manuscripts of the *Disputatio De rhetorica* from the ninth and tenth centuries transmit this series of schemata. They are: Munich, BSB clm. 6407[168], Munich, BSB clm. 13084[169], Munich, BSB clm. 14377[170], St. Gall, SB 273[171], Brussels, BRB 1372[172], Vatican, BAV Reginensis lat. 342, Oxford, BL Junius 25, Berlin, SB 176 and Zurich, ZB C

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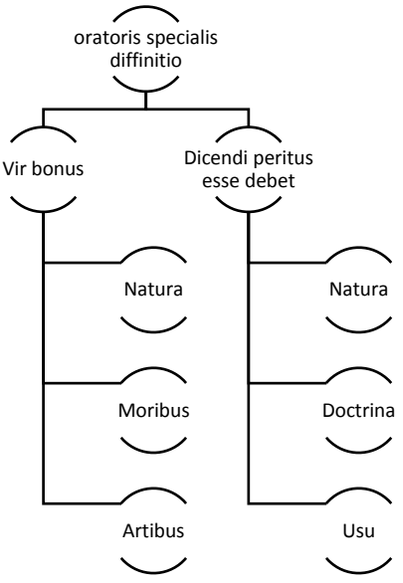
[167] Ann Freeman and Paul Meyvaert, 'The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés' in *Gesta* 40.2 (2001):. 125-139, at p. 125.
[168] The diagrams can be found between folia 38^{r} and 42^{v}: http://daten.digitale sammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00036088/images/index.html?seite=00001&l=en last accessed: 26/09/2016
[169] The diagrams can be found between folia 23^{v} and 26^{r}: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00042784/images/index.html?seite=00001&l=en last accessed: 26/09/2016
[170] The diagrams can be found between folia 25^{r} and 31^{r}: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00046529/images/index.html?seite=00001&l=en last accessed: 26/09/2016
[171] The diagrams can be found between pages 224 and 236: http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0273 last accessed: 26/09/2016
[172] The diagrams can be found between folia 65^{v} and 66^{v}: http://images.kbr.be/multi/KBR_9581-95Viewer/imageViewer.html last accessed: 26/09/2016

80.[173] The figures, in the shape of circles connected by lines, show in diagrammatic form some of the content of the text. Below, are listed the topics they cover in the order in which they appear. I will be usefully comparing the content of the diagrams found in some of Alcuin's manuscripts of the *De rhetorica* with the text of the work, which I will show in the sequence. Finally, after Alcuin's text, I will additionally collate diagrams on the same subjects as found in Cassiosorus' *Institutiones*. This work not only discusses, among other subjects, rhetoric, but is also important for transmitting some of its content in the form of diagrams which are believed to have played an important role in this this way of exposition during the Middle Ages.[174] I took most of the diagrams of Cassiodorus' text from the manuscript Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc.Patr. 61. This eighth century manuscript preserves not only the text of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*,[175] but also the diagrams used to illustrate its doctrine. As well, I have given each diagram a roman number and name for ease of reference:

I – Definition of orator



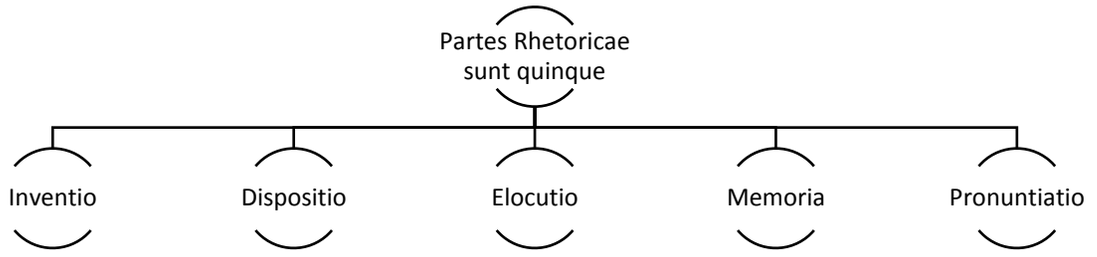
[173] The diagrams can be found between folia 107^{v} and 113^{r}: http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/zbz/C0080 last accessed: 26/09/2016

[174] Michael Gorman. 'The diagrams in the oldest manuscript of Cassiodor's *Institutiones*' *Revue Bénédictine*, 110 (2000): 27–41.

[175] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc.Patr. 61, fol. 1v-67v. Jh. 15v. For the relationship between the Mazarine 660 and the Bamberg manuscript, see: James Halporn and Mark Vessey, *Cassiodorus Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning and On the Soul* (Liverpool, 2004), p. 38: 'the very few other manuscripts that contain both books together are either derived from or closely related to it' (i.e. the Bamberg manuscript).

Alcuin's text *De rhetorica* does not include the information about what makes an orator. It is our first clue that these diagrams were not part of Alcuin's original recension of the text.

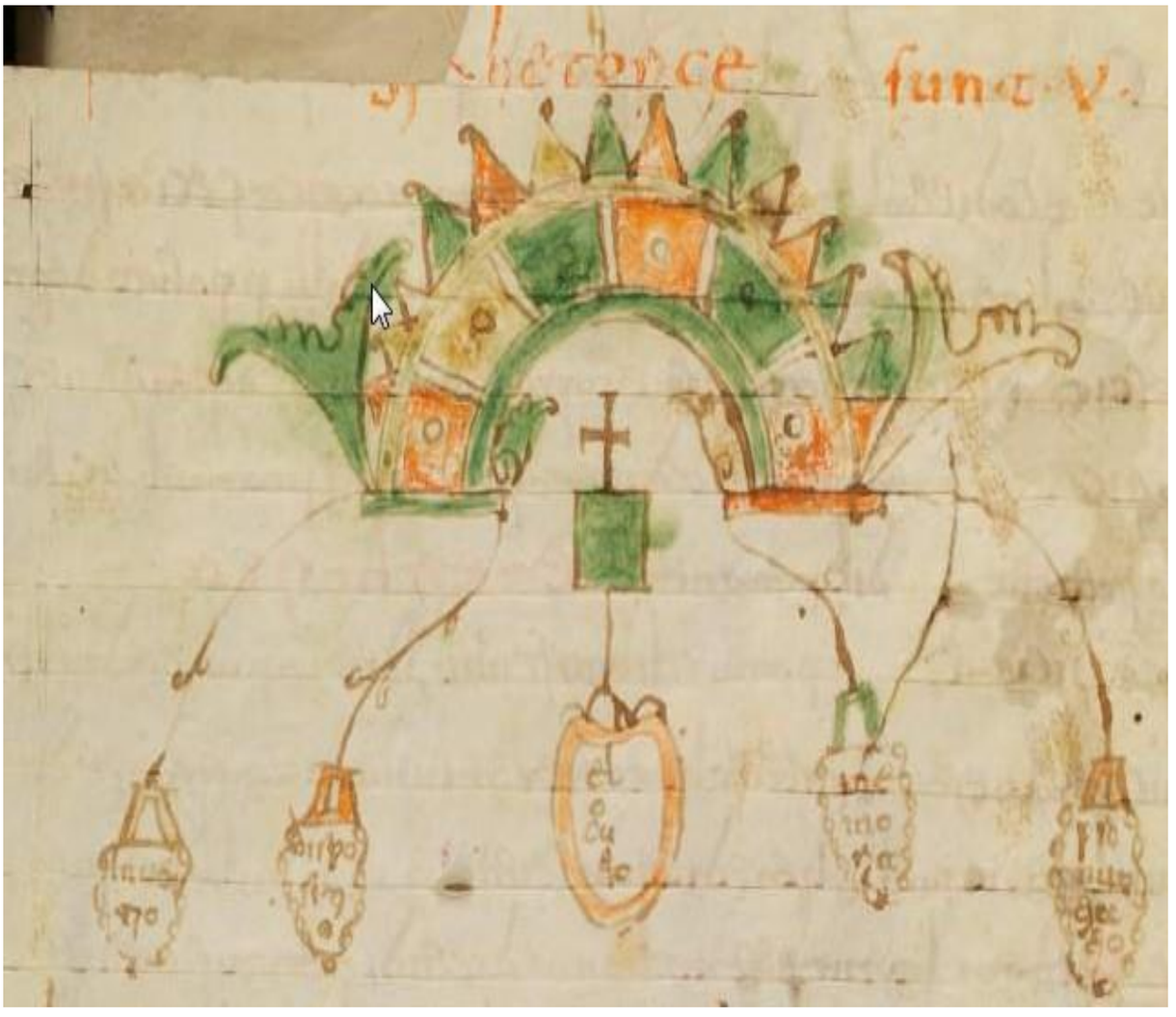
II – The five parts of rhetoric



Alcuin's text reads: ***A.*** *artis rhetoricae partes quinque sunt: inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, pronuntiatio.*[176] This diagram thus follows Alcuin's text word for word.

Now let us compare this with the diagram that appears in the Bamberg manuscript of the Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*:

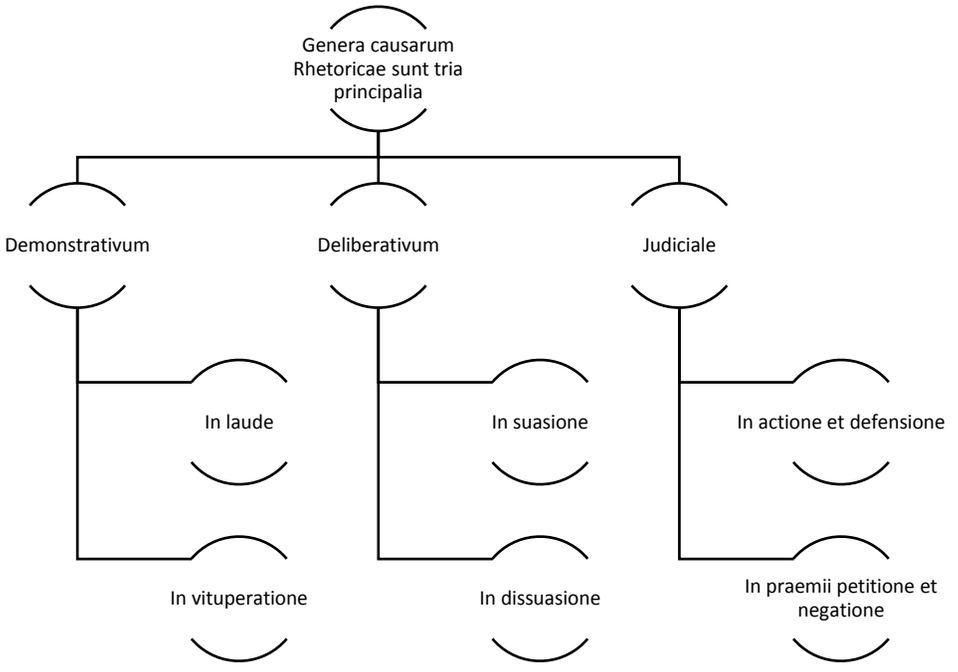
[176] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 70, lines 71-72.



As we can see, Bamberg's diagram shows exactly the same doctrine, in the same order, as Alcuin's text and diagram.

[177] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc.Patr. 61, fol. 38v

III – Genres of rhetoric



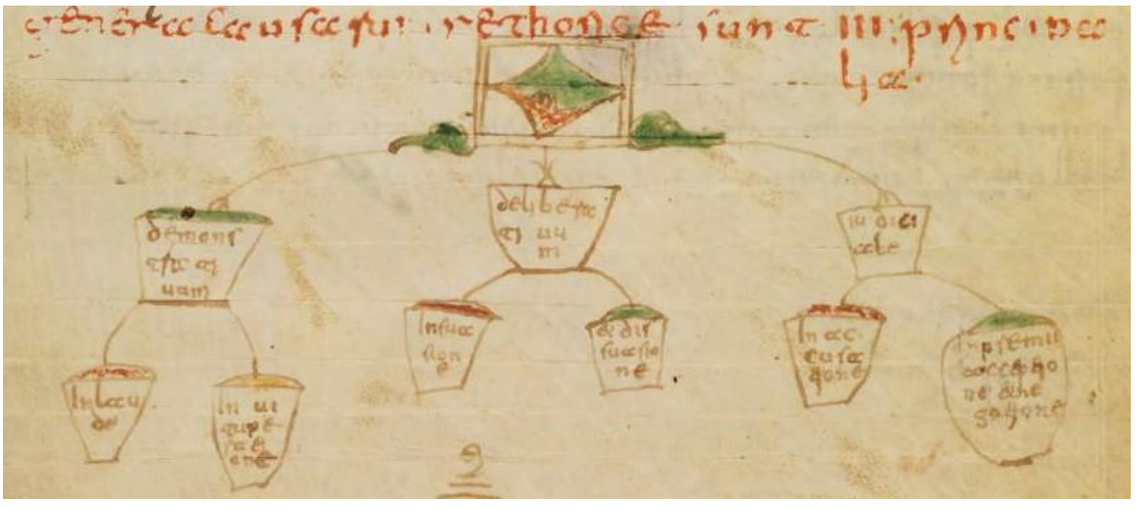
Alcuin's text reads:

A. Ars vero rhetorica in tribus versatur generibus, id est demonstrativo, deliberativo et iudiciali. Demonstrativum genus, quod tribuitur in alicuius certae personae laudem vel vituperationem, ut in Genesi de Abel et Cain legitur: Respexit dominus ad Abel et ad munera eius, ad Cain autem et munera eius non respexit. Deliberativum est in suasione et dissuasione, ut in Regum legitur, quomodo Achitophel suasit David citius perdere, et quomodo Chusai dissuasit consilium eius, ut regem salvaret. Iudiciale est, in quo est accusatio et defensio, ut in actibus legimus Apostolorum, quomodo Iudaei cum Tertullo quodam oratore Paulum accusabant apud Felicem praesidem, et quomodo Paulus se defendebat apud eundem praesidem.[182]

[182] P. 7, line 10 to p. 8, line 10 of this edition.

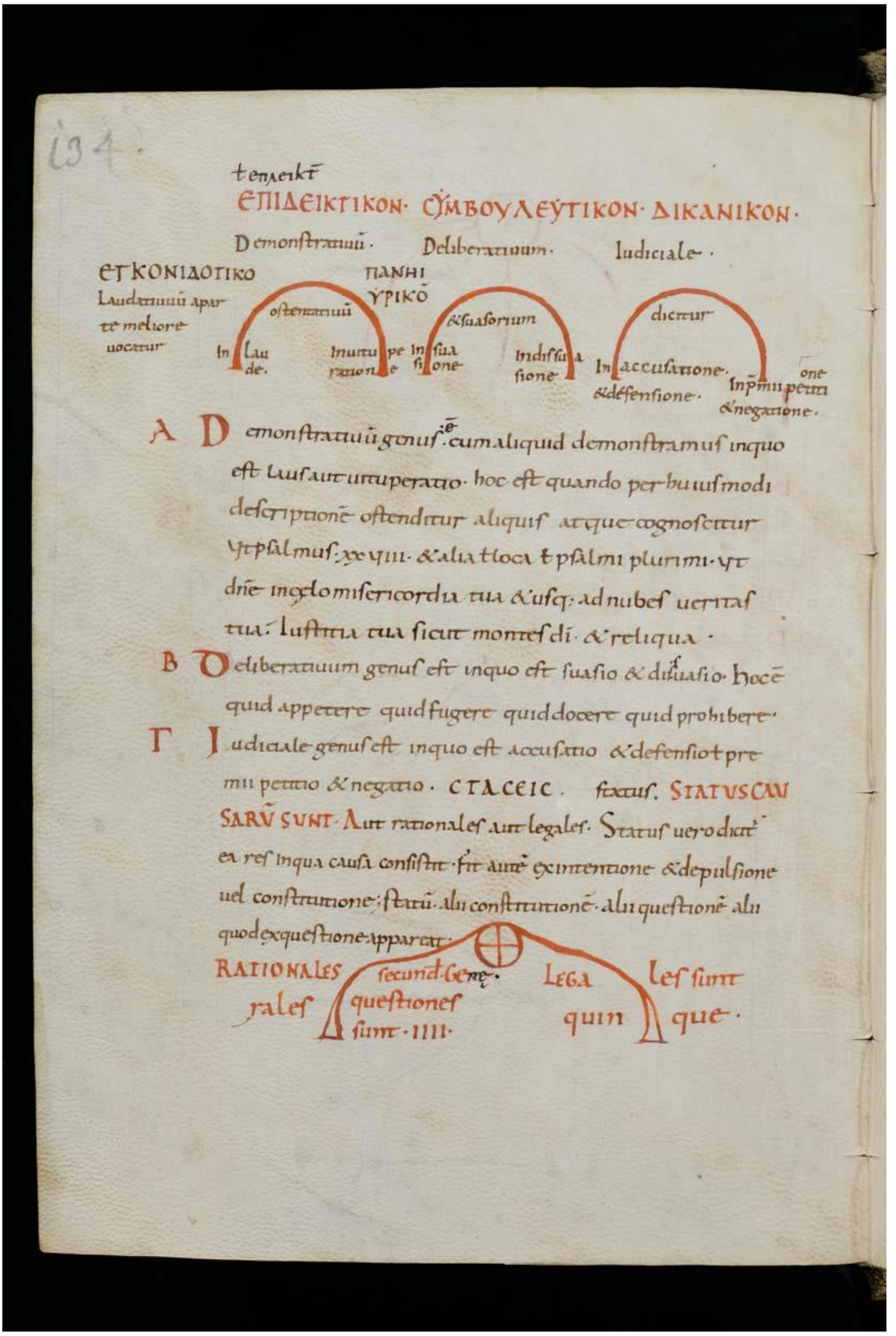
The types of causes and the order of exposition are the same in the diagram and in the text as are the subtypes of the demonstrative and deliberative types. However, the subtypes of the judicial type in Alcuin's text are the accusation (*accusatio*) and the defense (*defensio*); these are different from what appears in the diagram which instead includes *in actione et defensione* and *in praemii petitione et negatione.*

Now that we know there is a conflict between what is written in Alcuin's dialogue and what is shown in the diagram, let us compare the said diagrams with another one, now looking at the Bamberg manuscript:[183]



This diagram in the Bamberg manuscript is nearly identical to the one in Alcuin's text. This means that it generates almost the same conflict between image and text, i.e. the subdivisions of the judicial genre. In fact, the only difference is that Cassiodorus' diagram shows the first subdivision of the judicial genre only *in accusatione,* while Alcuin's diagram includes *in actione et defensione.* However, if we look into another Cassiodorus manuscript, we find, in the same text, this diagram: [184]

[183] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc.Patr. 61, fol. 38v
[184] St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 199, p. 134. It can be found at: http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0199/134/medium



ADemonstratiuū genus· cum aliquid demonstramus inquo est laus aut uituperatio· hoc est quando per huiusmodi descriptionē ostenditur aliquis atque cognoscitur ut psalmus· xcviii· & alia loca t psalmi plurimi· ut dñe in ꝙ lo misericordia tua & usq· ad nubes ueritas tua· Iustitia tua sicut montes dī· & reliqua·

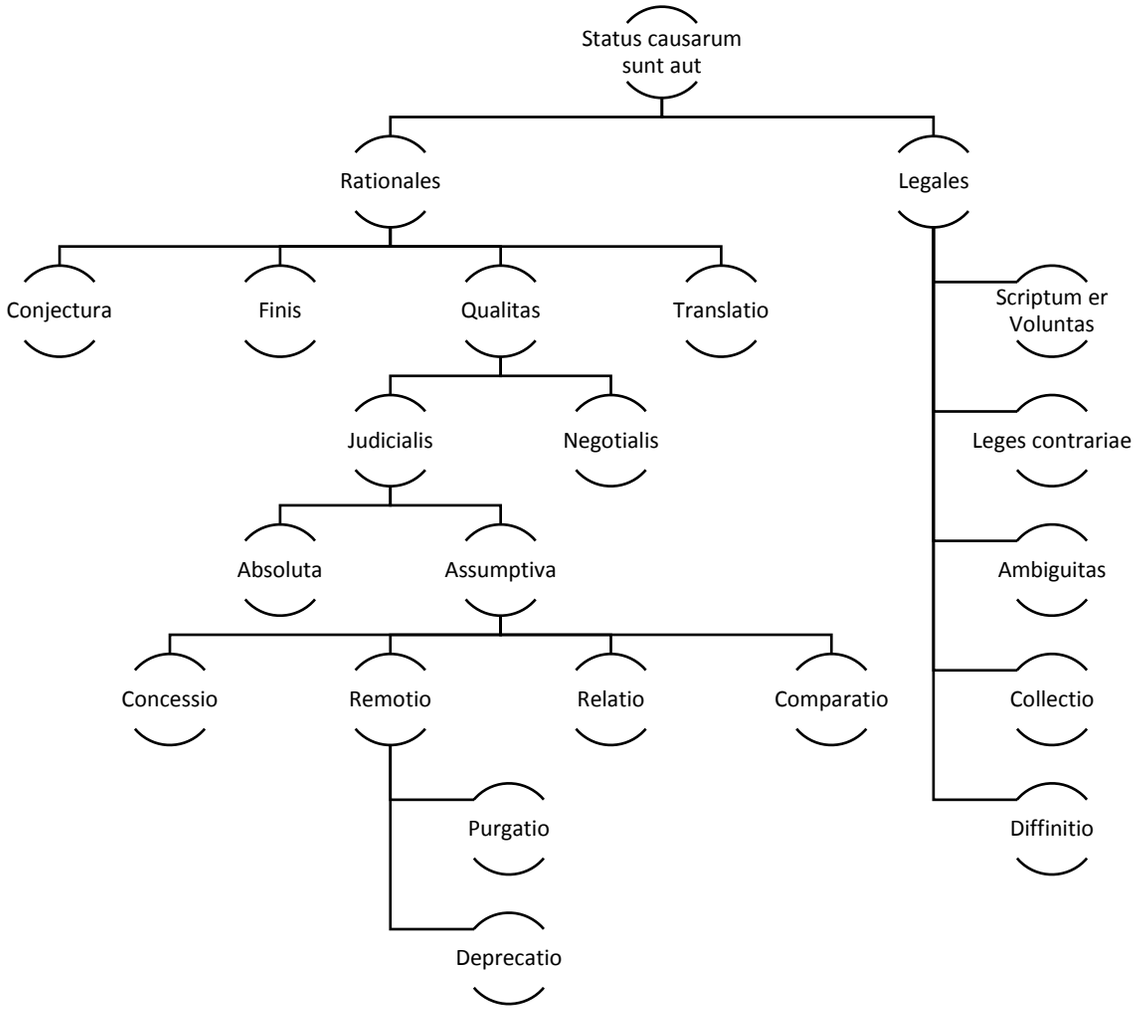
BDeliberatiuum genus est inquo est suasio & dissuasio· hocē quid appetere quid fugere quid docere quid prohibere·

TIudiciale genus est inquo est accusatio & defensio t premii petitio & negatio· CTACEIC· ſexcus· STATVSCAV SARŪ SUNT· Aut rationales aut legales· Status uero dicit ea res inqua causa consistit· fit autē exintentione & depulsione uel constitutione· ſtatū· alii constitutionē· alii questionē· alii quod exquestione apparet·

In this diagram we can see the addition of *defensione*, making it much closer to what we find in the diagram included in Alcuin's work and also in Cicero's *De inu. I, 7:*

> iudiciale, quod positum in iudicio habet in se accusationem et defensionem aut petitionem et recusationem.

IV – Arguments of causes



Alcuin's text reads:

> **K.** Loci controversiarum quot sunt; **A.** Loci controversiarum, quos rhetores status causarum appellant, id est, ubi quaestio consistit et primum non convenerit inter

partes, sunt rationales aut legales. **K.** Quot sunt rationales ; **A.** Quattuor, id est facti aut nominis aut qualitatis aut translationis.[185]

There are a number of discrepancies to note here. The first difference is that the diagram does not mention *loci controversiarum*, as named by Alcuin in the text. However, more important than that is the discrepancy in the names used for the two first types of *rationales*: instead of *factus*, the diagram says *conjectura*, instead of *nomen*, it says *finis*. About the subtypes of *qualitas*, Alcuin's text and the diagram are in agreement:

A. Faciam; illa enim controversia, quae quaerit quale illud factum sit, quod reo obicitur, constitutio generalis vocatur, et habet partes duas, iuridicialem et negotialem (…) Iuridicialis est, in qua aequi et iniqui et praemii aut poenae ratio quaeritur. Huius partes sunt duae, absoluta et adsumptiva. (…) Adsumptiva est, cum ipsum factum probari non potest, sed aliquo foris adsumpto argumento defenditur. Cuius partes sunt quattuor, conparatio, relatio criminis, remotio criminis, concessio.[186]

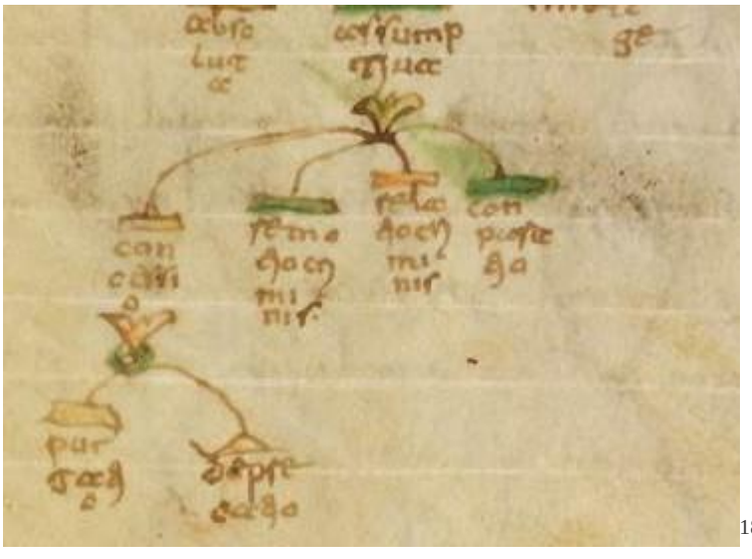
So far, Alcuin and the diagram present the same doctrine with minor differences in the order of exposition. However, a major difference follows, where the diagram states that the *remotio* is subdivided into *purgatio* and *deprecatio*, and Alcuin says:

Concessio est, per quam non factum ipsum probatur ab reo, sed ut ignoscatur id petitur: cuius partes sunt duae, purgatio et deprecatio.[187]

As we can see, the text states it is not the *remotio*, but the *concessio* that is divided into *purgatio* and *deprecatio*. As for the subdivision of *legales*, Alcuin is not specific here, so the whole doctrine expressed by this part of the diagram does not correspond to the text.

[185] P. 10, lines 2-7 of this edition.
[186] P. 19, lines 7-9; p. 21, lines 6-8; p. 23, lines 4-7 of this edition.
[187] P. 30, lines 3-6 of this edition.

Here is the corresponding diagram from the Bamberg manuscript:[188]



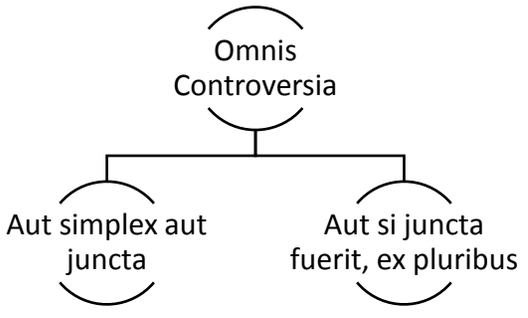
189

Observing the diagrams, we find the same discrepancies, with not only *coniectura* and *finis* associated with Cassiodorus's work, instead of *factus* and *nomen*, but also *remotio*, which appears in the subdivisions applied to *concessio* in Alcuin's text. Plus, *legales* appear to be subdivided. The diagrams transmitted through Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* book II and Alcuin's *Disputatio De rhetorica* are identical and, because of that, they both disagree with Alcuin's text. Therefore, it appears that the diagrams associated with Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* could have

[188] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc.Patr. 61, fol. 39r.
[189] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc.Patr. 61, fol. 39r.

been imported *en bloc*. However, this reading is still controversial because, firstly, the text in the diagrams of Cassiodorus' work does not match the diagrams in Alcuin's work in a definitive way and, secondly, the format of the diagrams in both works are very different. In Alcuin's work, the diagrams occur after the text and are made of circles and lines; in Cassiodorus' work, the diagrams are set within the text and heavily illuminated. It is important to take that information into consideration when analysing this issue. Next, in our comparison, we consider the types of controversies

V – Types of controversy



Alcuin's text reads:

A. Constitutione causae reperta statim placet considerare, utrum quaestio causae simplex sit an iuncta. Simplex est, quae unam in se continet quaestionem, hoc modo: Corinthiis bellum indicamus an non? Coniuncta est quaestio, quae ex pluribus quaestionibus constat, hoc pacto: utrum Carthago diruatur, an Carthaginiensibus reddatur, an eo colonia deducatur.[190]

As in the diagram before, there is a mismatch between the terms in Alcuin's text and those in the diagram, although here, in addition, there is also a mismatch between the structure of the diagram and the structure 'implied' by Alcuin's text. First of all, the diagram calls *controversia* what the text calls *quaestio.* This is problematic because, as we know, the word *controversia* can also refer to rhetorical exercises, which are not discussed

[190] P. 13, lines 4-10 of this edition.

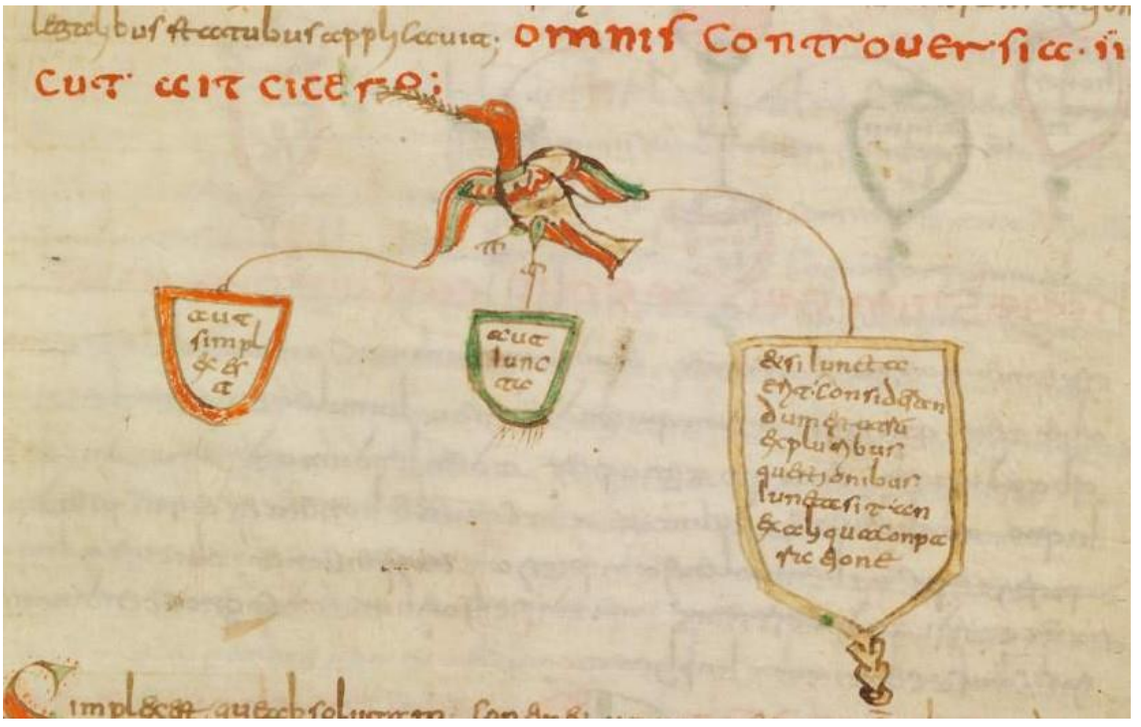
in Alcuin's text.[191] Also there is an error in the diagrams with regard to how the subdivisions of these *controversiae* are to be presented. If we have two types of *controversia* then the two subdivisions should be *aut simplex* and *aut juncta*. However, the diagram shows these two types under one subdivision only: *aut simplex aut juncta*, while under another subdivision is written something that is only an explanation of what *juncta* means: *aut si juncta fuerit, ex pluribus*. In comparison to the text, we can clearly see how the person who wrote or copied the diagram made this error: *simplex est, quae unam in se continet quaestionem* and *coniuncta est quaestio, quae ex pluribus quaestionibus constat.* Alcuin's text, in this passage, does not mention the word *controuersia.* Alcuin, however, quotes Cicero very precisely:

> Constitutione causae reperta statim placet considerare, utrum causa sit simplex an iuncta; et si iuncta erit, utrum sit ex pluribus quaestionibus iuncta an ex aliqua comparatione. simplex est, quae absolutam in se continet unam quaestionem.[192]

Alcuin's other possible sources, Cassiodorus and Isidore, both use the word *controversia* in this passage.[193] Therefore it is clear that Alcuin's text depends directly on Cicero, while the diagram comes from another source, either Cassiodorus or Isidore.

In Bamberg 61, we find the following diagram:[194]

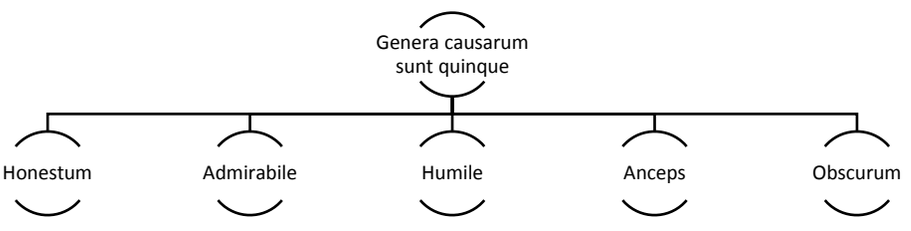
[191] Seneca, the Elder, *Controversiarum Librum*, I, 5.
[192] Cicero, *De inuentione*, I, 17.
[193] Halm, *RLM*, p. 497 and 510.
[194] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc.Patr. 61, fol.40r.



Here we have an important difference between text and diagrams. Instead of two subdvivisions, we have three. The author of the diagram in Cassiodorus' text realised that *simplex* and *coniuncta* are two different types of controversy and, therefore, were deserving of a subdivision each.

It could be argued that Alcuin's diagram is a simplification of the picture above or maybe a misinterpretation of the precept.

VI – The five types of causes

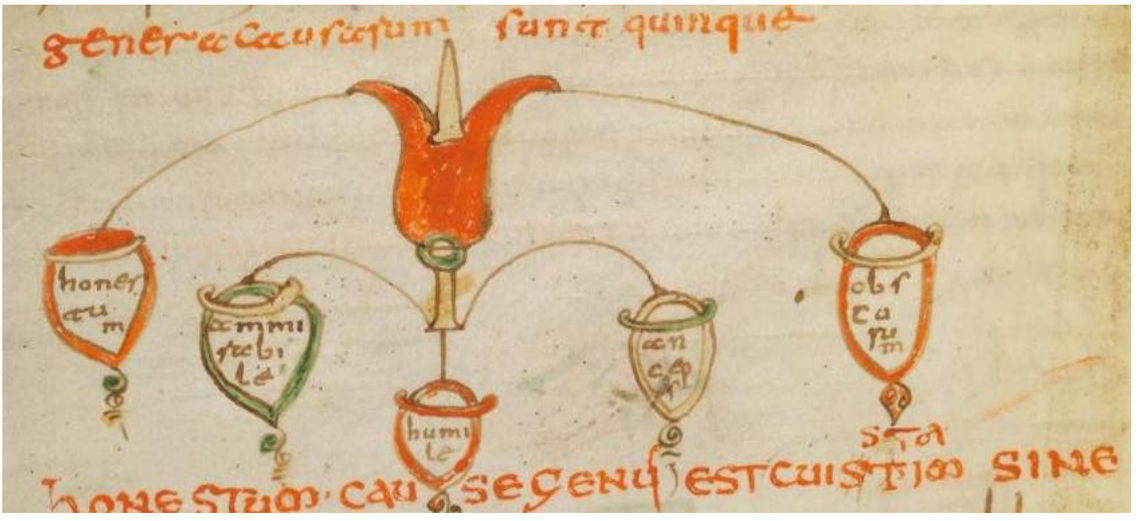


Alcuin's text reads:

K. Quot sunt causarum genera? **A.** Quinque: honestum, admirabile, humile, anceps, obscurum.[195]

This diagram is a thus a perfect match with Alcuin's text.

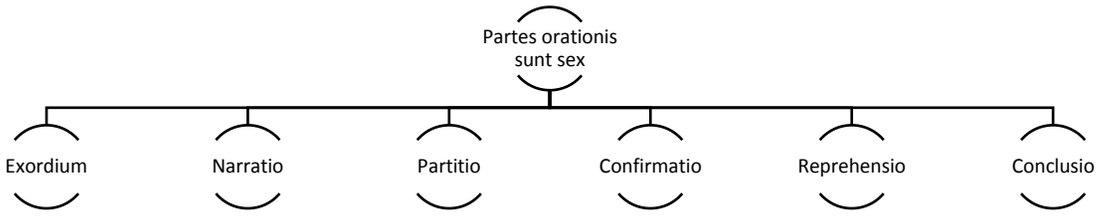
The Bamberg manuscript contains this diagram:[196]



In this case, the diagram above is a perfect match to texts by Alcuin, Cicero, Cassiodorus and Isidore.

[195] P. 44, lines 9-10 of this edition.
[196] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc.Patr. 61, fol. 40v.

VII – Parts of speech



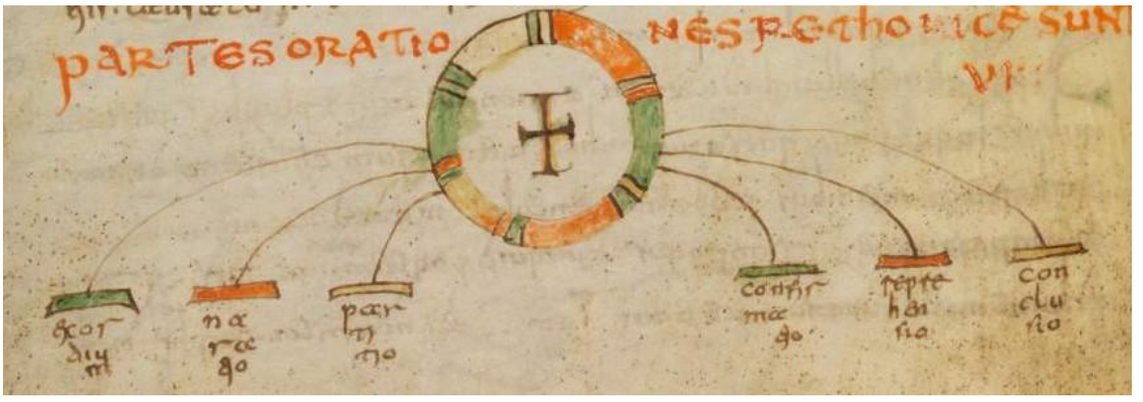
Alcuin's text reads:

A. Sex enim sunt partes, per quas ab oratore ordinanda est oratio causae: exordium, narratio, partitio, confirmatio, reprehensio, conclusio.[197]

This diagram again is also very faithful to the text.

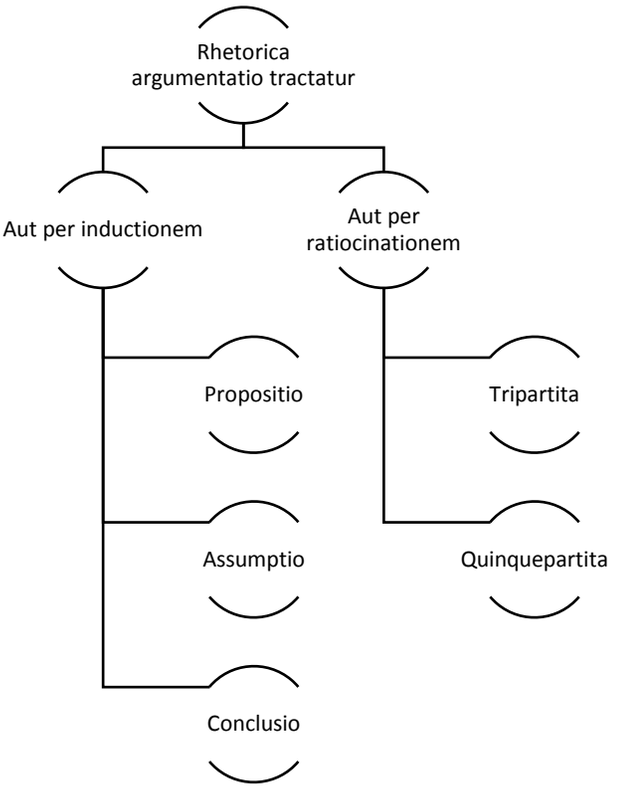
The corresponding diagram in the Bamberg manuscript of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* is:[198]

[197] P. 41, lines 5-7 of this edition.
[198] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc.Patr. 61, fol. 40v.



Again, we have an exact correspondence between diagrams; the text in Alcuin, Cicero and Cassiodorus is identical.

VIII – Ways of argumentation



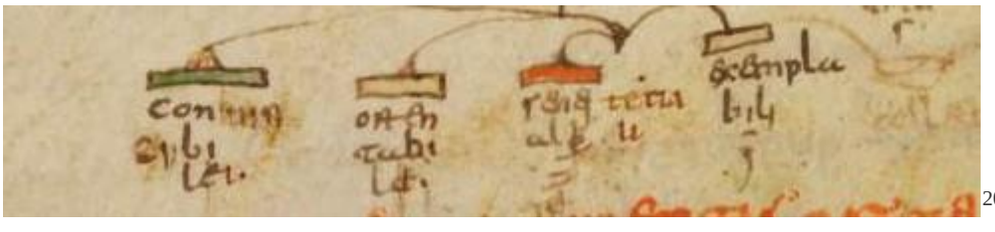
Alcuin's text reads:

K. An omnis argumentatio ex his tantum locis confirmatur, ornatur et consideratur; **A.**Sunt quoque argumentationes, quae per inductionem vel ratiocinationem tractantur, sed hae magis ad philosophos pertinent. (…) **K.** Quomodo

per ratiocinationem confirmanda est argumentatio; **A.** Illa enim fit propositione, adprobatione vel adsumptione et conclusio.[199]

As we can see, again there is a difference between the text and the diagram. The latter says that it is the *inductio* that is divided into *propositio*, *assumption* and *conclusio*, while Alcuin's text says it is the *ratiocinatio*.

Bamberg's diagram (with Donatus in it) is here:[200]



[201]

This diagram displays the contents of Cassiodorus' text and, because of that, more elements than Alcuin's text can be seen, although the precepts they display are the same. First of all, both diagrams, from Bamberg and Alcuin's work, attribute *propositio*, *assumptio* and

[199] P. 63, lines 6-9; P. 67, lines 11-12, p. 68, line 1 of this edition.
[200] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc.Patr. 61, fol. 41v.
[201] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc.Patr. 61, fol. 41v.

conclusio as subdivisions of *inductio,* following the statement in Cicero's *De inuentione;*[202] and not *ratiocinatio,* as in Alcuin's text. Also, Cassiodorus' diagram specifies all five parts and three parts of the *ratiocinatio,* while the diagram in Alcuin's text simply states that it is subdivided, without naming the subdivisions.

I am convinced that after considering these comparisons above, we can be sure that Alcuin did not construct the diagrams, and indeed, that they were not written by someone using only his text. Rather, it seems clear that their creator was reliant on a copy of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*.

Though the diagrams are not identical, the doctrine they express is, if not identical, extremely similar. Someone wanted to include a diagrammatic presentation but resorted to the use of existing diagrams instead of making original drawings, and, what is even more surprising, without having Alcuin's text as their main source. However, the more simplistic structure of the diagrams in Alcuin's text seem to point towards a didactic reason for their existence.

As discussed earlier, following the diagrams concerning rhetoric, we have others that are concerned with philosophy. There are nine of these diagrams, with the first six preceded by a short paragraph that explains them. The diagrams, in their exact order, are:

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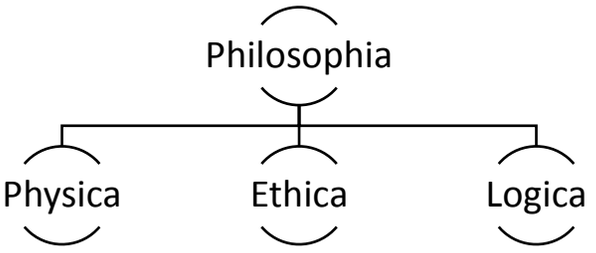
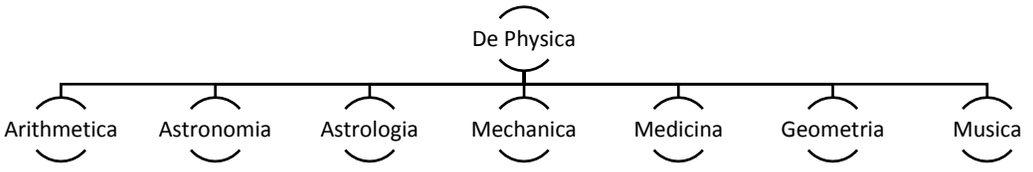
[202] Cic. *De inu.* 1.32.54: *Ita fit hoc genus argumentandi tripertitum: prima pars ex similitudine constat una pluribusve; altera ex eo quod concedi volumus cuius causa similitudines adhibitae sunt; tertia ex conclusione, quae aut confirmat concessionem aut quid ex ea conficiatur ostendit;* and Cic. *De inu.* 1.34, 57*: Ratiocinatio est oratio ex ipsa re probabile aliquid eliciens, quod expositum et per se cognitum sua se vi et ratione confirmet. Hoc de genere qui diligentius considerandum putaverunt, cum idem in usu dicendi sequerentur, paululum in praecipiendi ratione dissenserunt. Nam partim quinque eius partes esse dixerunt, partim non plus quam in tres partes posse distribui putaverunt.*

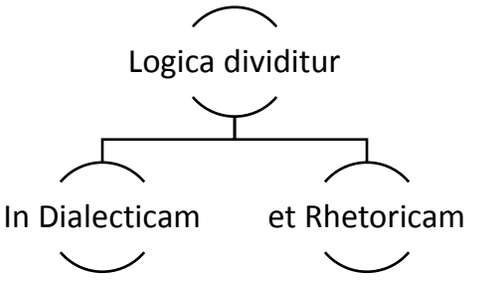
IX – Divisions of philosophy



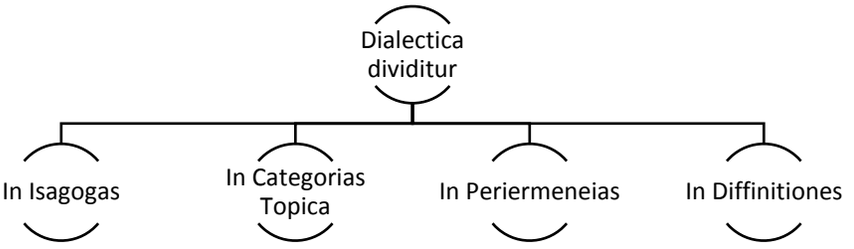
X – Divisions of physics



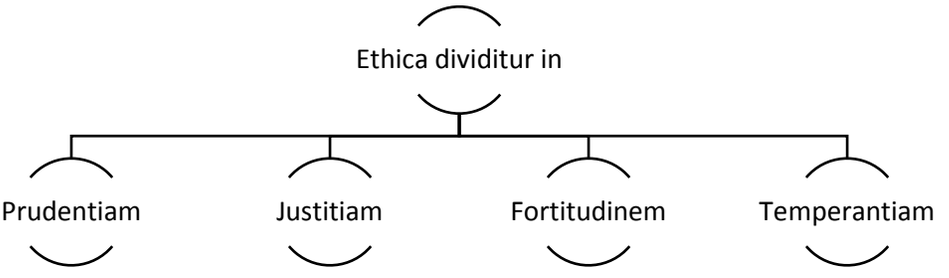
XI – Divisions of logic



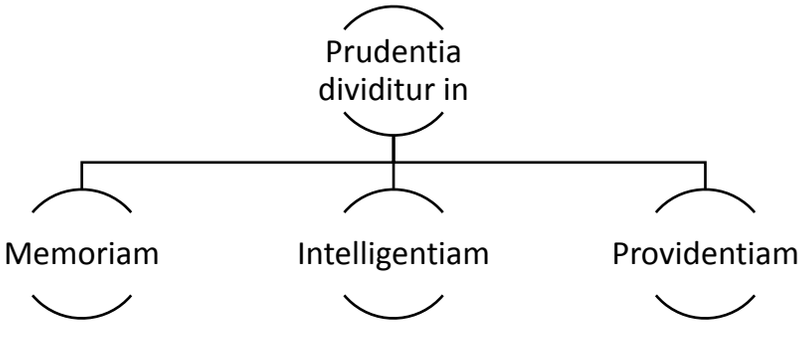
XII – Divisions of dialectics



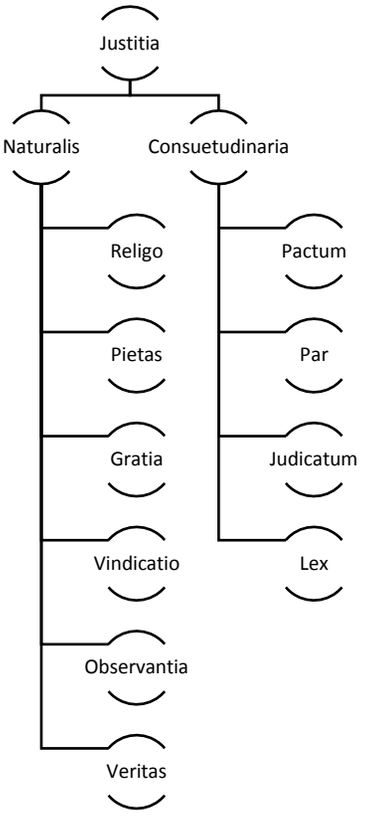
XIII – Divisions of ethics



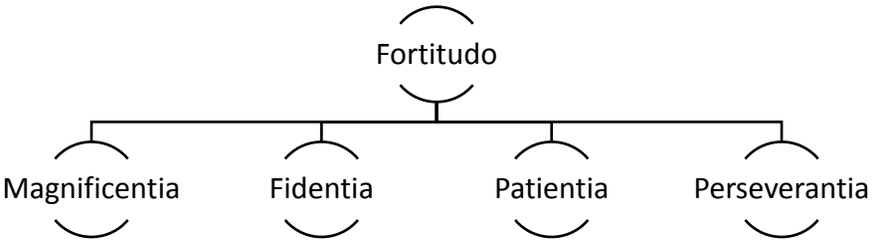
XIV – Divisions of prudence



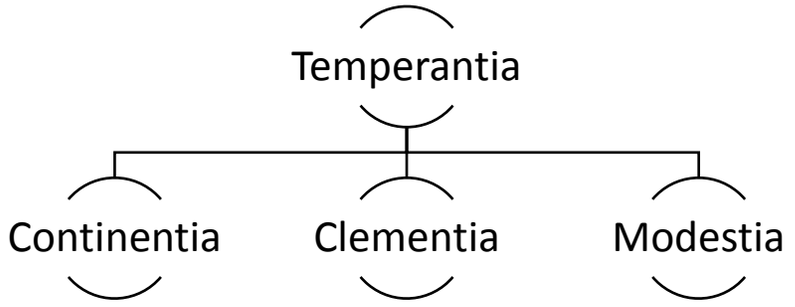
XV – Types of justice



XVI – Divisions of Fortitude



XVII – Divisions of temperance



These diagrams concerning philosophy and ethics, have no match in the diagrams from Cassiodorus' *Institutiones.* Moreover, only the subjects of the first four are discussed in Alcuin's text itself; and even those, more specifically the second and fourth diagrams, have subdivisions that are very different in Alcuin's text.

All of the diagrams are presented in the same way, using circles connected by straight lines. The use of a compass can be seen throughout the manuscripts. In addition, double and single lines, drawn with a ruler, are transmitted in the Zurich, ZB C 80, IX century manuscript. In fact, in this manuscript different colours have also been used, with red lines and green used inside the double lines of the circles.

I have demonstrated that the content of the rhetorical and philosophical diagrams does not match the content of Alcuin's text. I have also shown that the diagrams accompanying Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* may have been the source of the diagrams associated with the content occurring in Alcuin's *Rhetorica*. However, it is worth asking about other famous texts on rhetoric that circulated on the Continent at the same time as Alcuin's composition of the *Rhetorica*. Would these texts have included diagrams as well? For example, Isidore and Martianus Capella wrote about rhetoric and they had important manuscripts being copied at the

same time as the oldest manuscripts of Alcuin's *Rhetorica* were being copied as well. However, these important contemporaneous manuscripts lack diagrams.[203]

We are thus still left with the question of where the first diagrams came from. As our exposition revealed, all Alcuin's diagrams have close connections with Cassiodorus, with the exception of the first, since it is not present in Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* (which was discussed in chapter II of this dissertation).

If it is confirmed that Alcuin did not write them himself (and I believe it has been), should we automatically exclude them from any analysis of the text and from an edition of the work, as almost all previous editors have done?

Michael Gorman, in his article about the diagrams in the oldest manuscript of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones Divinarum et Saecularum Literarum*,[204] calls our attention to the fact that Mynors' edition of Cassiodorus not only lacks some methodological precision (when, for instance, Mynor capitalises the initial letters of some words, but does not do the same with the first letter of the sentences) but also fails to display 29 of the 37 diagrams contained in the *Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 61* manuscript, the oldest one containing Cassiodorus' work. This absence in the edition causes a deficiency in the understanding of how Cassiodorus' text was perceived and fails to supply the reader with the information necessary to understand how the text was supposed to be read. In fact, Gorman not only argues that the diagrams were written by Cassiodorus himself, but also that they were part of a new design and purpose for the text. That is, since the appearance of these diagrams, the text was not meant just to be read aloud; the text should now be looked at, analysed and examined. It signalled the start of a new era for manuscript composition and threw down a challenge to the scribes. It is thus our task to

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[203] For Martianus Capella, see the Leiden manuscript, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Vossianus Latinus Folio 48. It was possibly copied in Auxerre close to the middle of the ninth century: http://martianus.huygens.knaw.nl/path/the_manuscripts/descriptions/leiden_vossianus_48 (last accessed: 26/09/2016); For Isidore, see manuscript Bibliothèque municipale de Valenciennes, Ms.399 (382) also from the ninth century: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8452634x/f1.planchecontact.rtl.r=Isidore%20de%20S%C3%A9ville (last accessed: 26/09/2016).

[204] Michael Gorman, 'The diagrams in the oldest manuscript of Cassiodor's *Institutiones',* pp. 27–41.

take these 'new' perspectives into consideration when trying to understand the functionality of a text.

If Gorman is correct, the presence of schemata became useful, especially in texts which had, as their goal, the need to expound complex information visually and bring about some level of visual apprehension, not just act as a tool for oral communication. Therefore, it is not hard to imagine that these diagrams started being introduced in other works with the same purpose. Nevertheless, the difference between Cassiodorus' diagrams and the diagrams in Alcuin's *De rhetorica* is worth noting.

As we can see in the images previously discussed, the diagrams in *Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc.Patr. 61* expounding the parts of rhetoric and the genres of this discipline are heavily embellished. As a matter of fact, all the visual aspect of this manuscript are extremely elaborate. We do not find this feature in any manuscripts of Alcuin's work on rhetoric, on the contrary, even the ones that are best crafted have no embellished diagrams at all.[205] Another important difference between the diagrams associated with Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* and Alcuin's *De rhetorica* is the fact that Cassiodorus' diagrams are in the middle of the text; this means that not only do they show the main content of the discipline in an abbreviated format, but they are, themselves, part of the text, as shown in the image below. It is clear that the diagram is not there just to help the reader remember some crucial elements of the subject espoused by the text, but rather that the diagrams are one with the text. Therefore, it is not surprising there are so many of them and all of them occur in the middle of the text.

The diagrams in Alcuin's text, on the other hand, appear only at the end of the text.[206] Moreover, they do not contain full paragraphs, but, instead, only a word or two, as if they were merely a reminder of more important terms discussed in the main text.

[205] Especially Munich, BSB clm. 14377 and Zurich, ZB 80.
[206] With the exception of Brussels, BRB, 1372 which has all the diagrams jumbled together prior to the beginning of the text.

The usage of (mental) drawings to help in the memorisation process was an important subject post- Antiquity. It is only natural that with parchment being more accessible, the same techniques would be transposed to this device. In her book analysing the use of memory in the Middle Ages, Mary Carruthers writes

> Indeed it is a much-remarked-on medieval characteristic to treat the space in a full-page drawing diagrammatically, that is, with images placed in specific locations, often grouped about a large central figure, often in an architectural setting, often with related images enclosed in roundels or other geometric forms, usually with a border, and commonly with inscriptions, like *tituli* or rubrics, to be associated with the figure and to help associate the figures with one another. The justification for this practice is mnemonic necessity. The framework of the page provides a set of orderly *loci;* furthermore, this frame remains constant while the image in it changes from page to page – that is the manner of a diagram, and it is also the manner of the page of memory, *imagines rerum* imposed upon a set of geometrically defined places in an orderly framework or grid.[207]

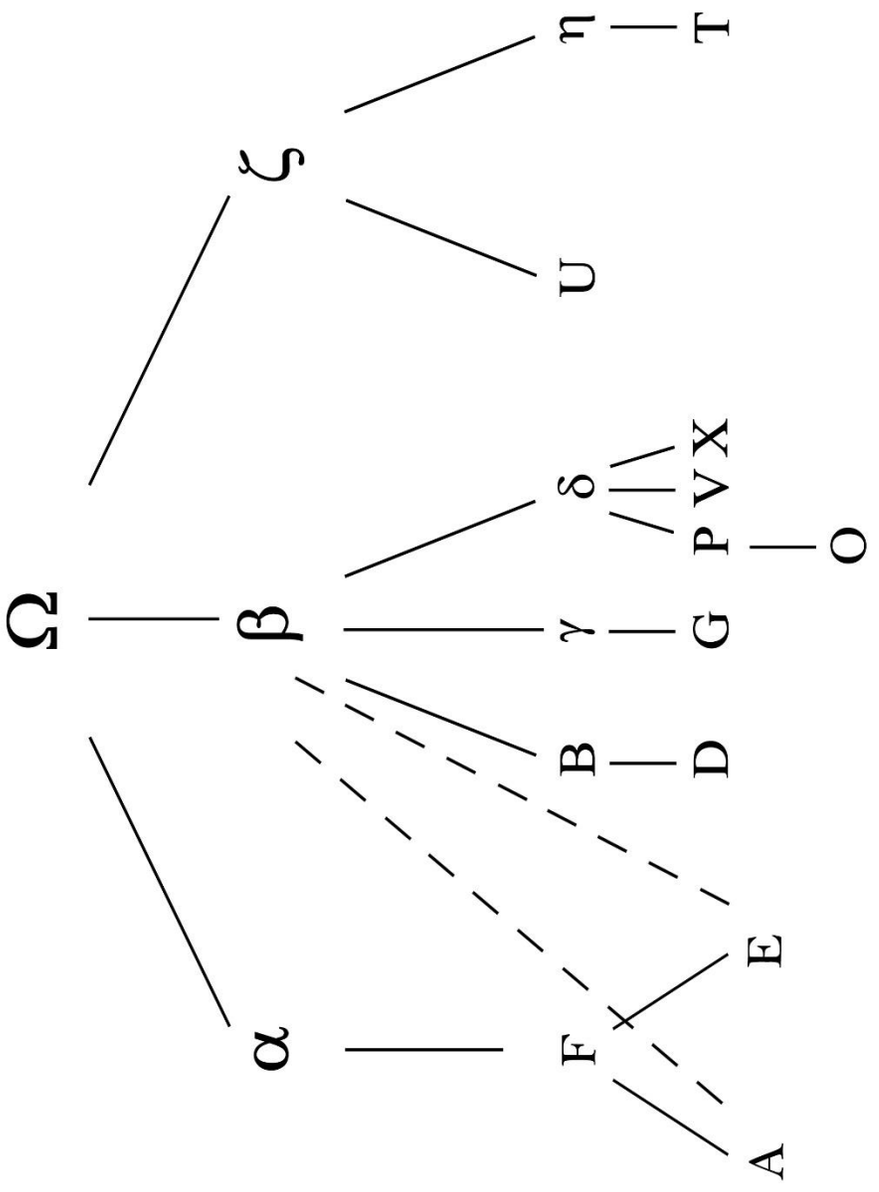
Clearly Alcuin's diagrams are not of the same type as those described by Carruthers, as they are much simpler. In fact, everything seems to lead to the conclusion that they are a simplification of the diagrams in Cassiodorus' text. Moreover, because in most manuscripts the diagrams of the *De rhetorica* come together with those in the *De dialectica*, it is possible that they formed an *addendum*, something like an appendix to the texts. In fact, as we saw above, the diagrams preceding the *De dialectica* are almost completely different than the content of the text itself. There is no doubt that the diagrams work as a mnemonic device, but, perhaps more than that, they were designed to aid students during a class, as a kind of overview of the subject

[207] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory,* Cambridge University Press (Cambridge, 2008), p. 325.

they were studying. This would explain the diagrams being all together inside the same quire in most of the oldest manuscripts. As I wrote above, these diagrams are part of the teaching characteristic of this particular renewal of studies in the Carolingian court. Combined with the revived use of the dialogical format and the usage of Charlemagne and Alcuin himself as characters, these diagrams are an important part of a new pedagogical style, eager to fulfil the needs of a new crowd of students.[208]

3.2 The *Stemma Codicum* of the diagrams

[208] For further discussion on teaching at the Carolingian period see AF Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England* (London, 1915), especially chapter IV, and J.J. Contreni, *Carolingian Learning, Masters and Manuscripts* (1992), and finally Irene van Renswoude, *The art of disputation: dialogue, dialectic and debate around 800* accessed June 18, 2017, http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/emed.12185/full.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3.3 An edition of the diagrams

The following manuscripts of the *De rhetorica,* which will be discussed in next chapter, contained diagrams:

F = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6407 (CLA. s. ix. 1282)

A= Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13084

E = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14377

P = St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, 64

V = St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, 273

D = Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2484

X = Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 160

T = Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 1372

G = Vatican City, Blibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis latinus, 342

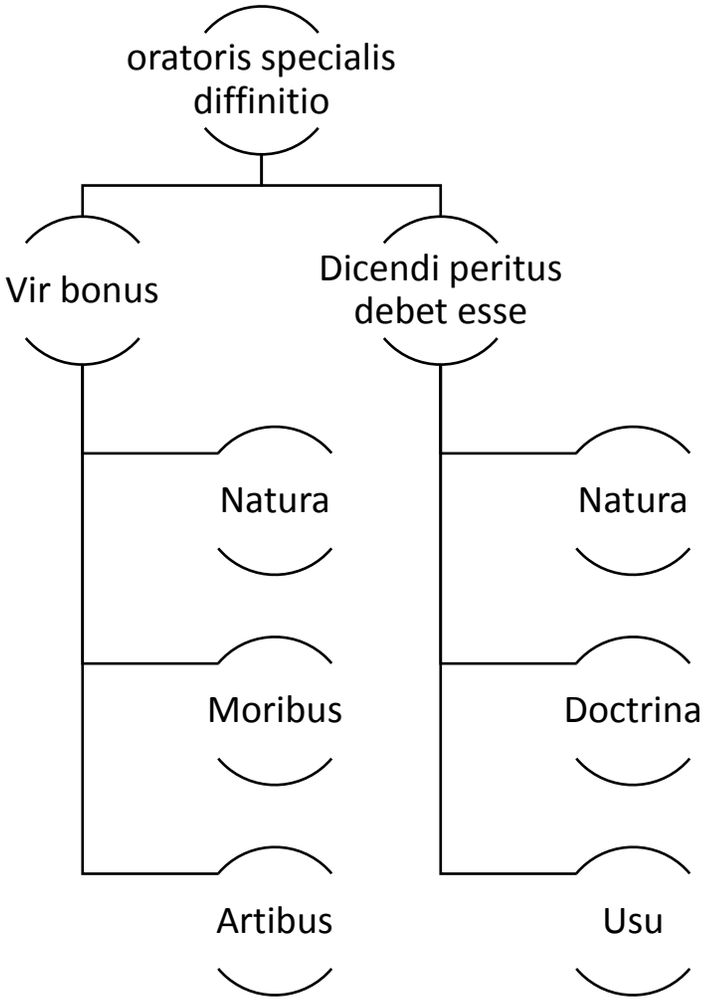
U = Berlin, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, Phillipps 1780

B = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 25

O = Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, 80

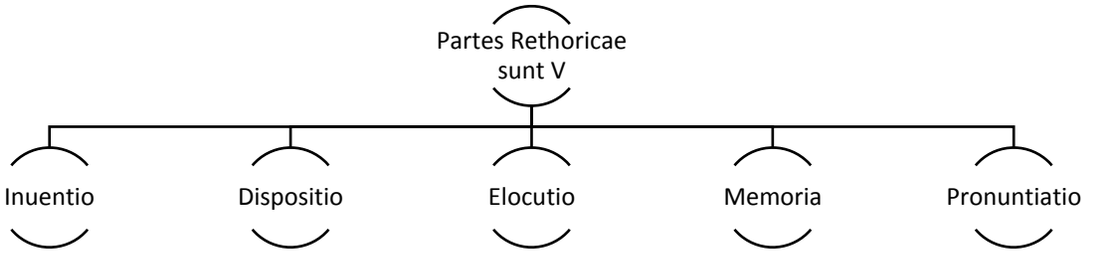
Below I present an edition of the diagrams. Because the diagrams did not contain enough information, I relied as well on the information contained in the texts of the manuscripts in which the diagrams are found to draw the *stemma* above.

I – Definition of orator



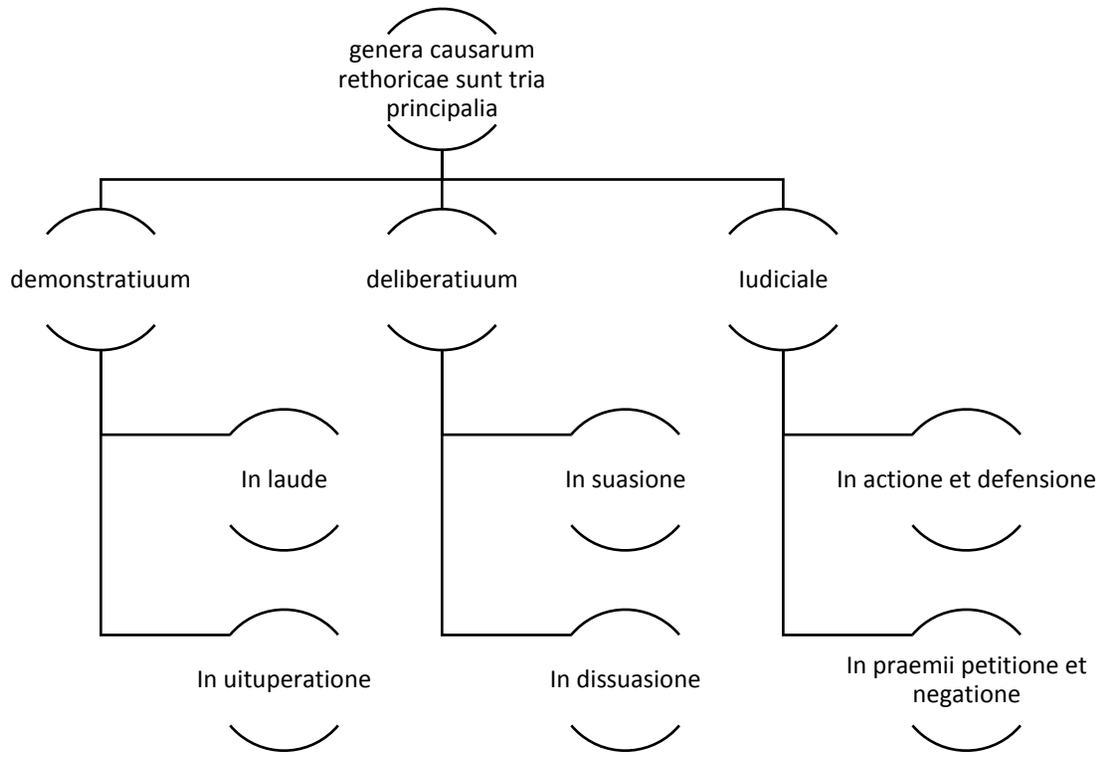
1 difinitio ABDEG; diffinitio E^2; definitio TX specialis *om.* T 2 *secundum schema* esse *post* peritus E; *post* debet BDGOUVX; F *om.*

II – The five parts of rhetoric



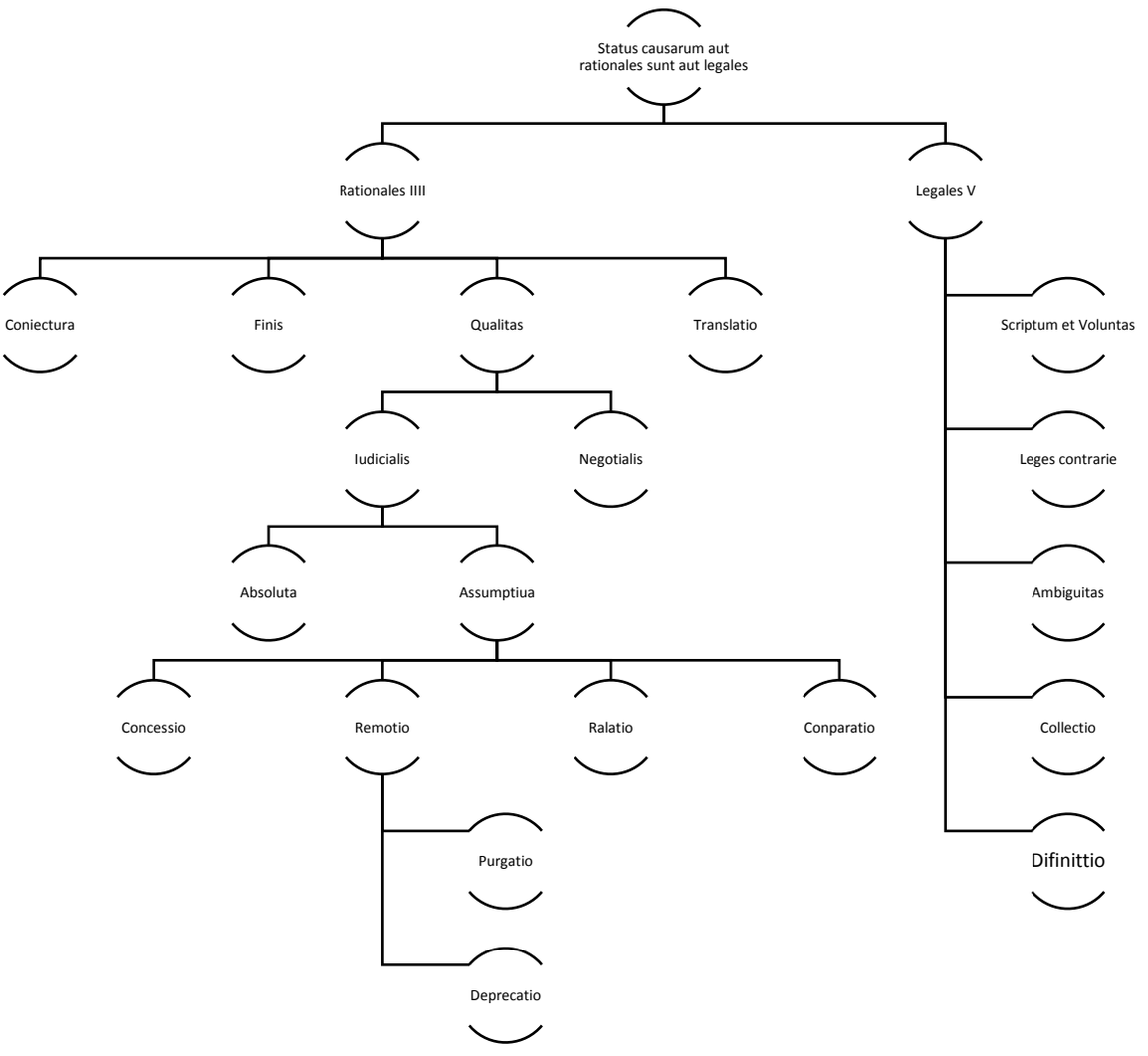
1 *rhetorices* A / V] quinque BOUVX / partes rethoricae sunt V] Rethorica diuiditur T 2 *primum schema* in inuentionem T / *secundum schema* dispositionem T / *tertium schema* elocutionem T / *quartum schema* memoriam T / *quintum schema* pronuntiationem T

III – Genres of rhetoric



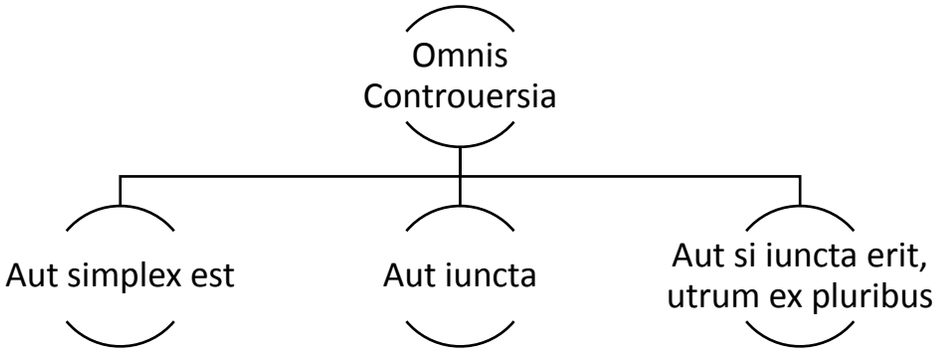
3 *tertium schema* et defensione *om.* T / 4 *primum schema* In *om.* T / uel *ante* uituperatione T / *secundum schema* uel *post* dissuasione T / *tertium schema* uel defensione T / In praemii petitione et negatione *om.* GT *sed G schema uacuum habet.*

IV – Types of causes



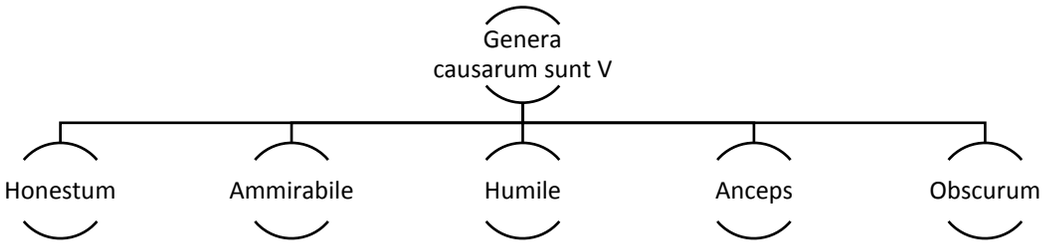
1 aut rationales sunt aut legales *om. in* T 2 *primum schema* aut *ante* rationales T / sunt *post* rationales T / IIII] quattuor O/ *secundum schema* aut *ante* legales T / V] quinque OX 5 adsumptiua ABDEUV; absumptiua G / V] quinque G 6 *tertium schema* relatio BDE^{2}GOUTV / *quartum schema* comparatio E^2 6 *et* 7 purgatio *et* deprecatio *coniunctae cum concessione non cum remotione* E^{2}OUVX, E *non habet purgationem et deprecationem* 7 *secundum schema* difinitio AEG; diffinitio BDE^{2}O; definitio UTX

V – Types of controversy



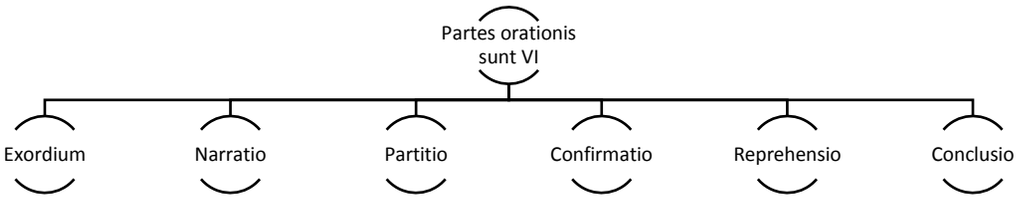
1 TRO *rubrum post* con F / conuersia AE; controuersia BDE^{2}GOTUVX 2 *secundum schema* ex duobus *post* iuncta T; coniuncta O / *tertium schema* si iuncta erit utrum *om.* T / erit] est O

VI – The five types of causes



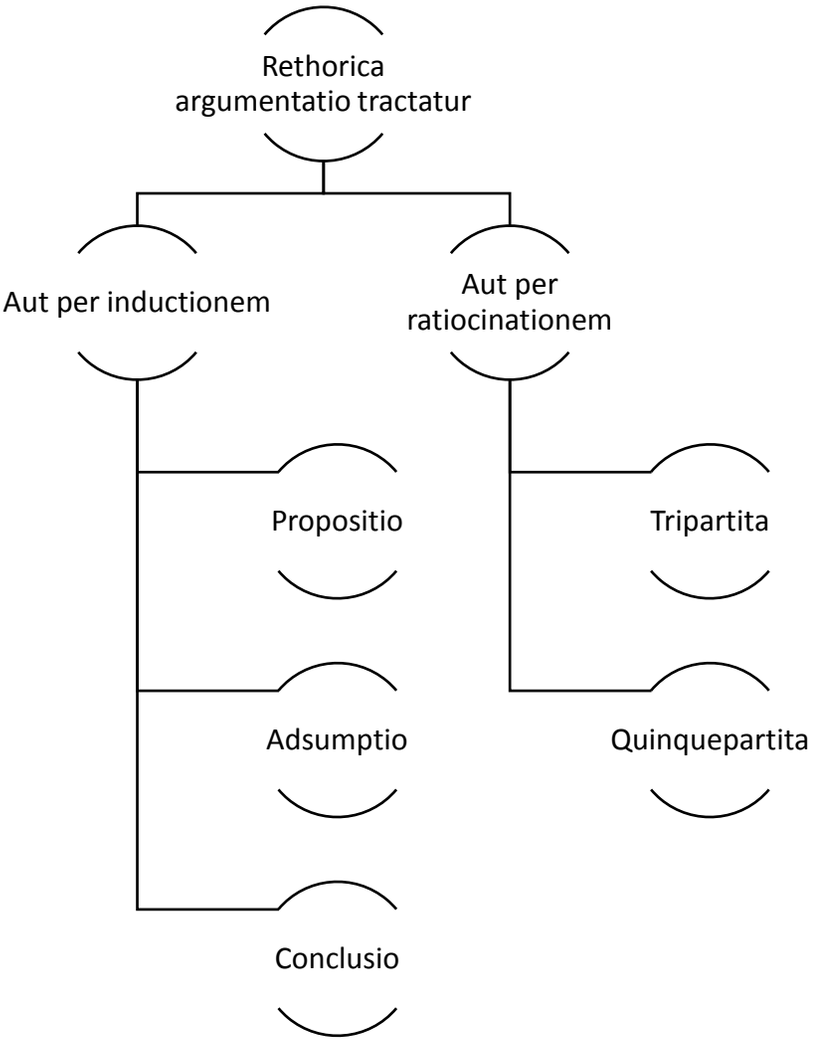
1 V] quinque BG 2 *secundum schema* admirabile OUVT

VII – Parts of speech



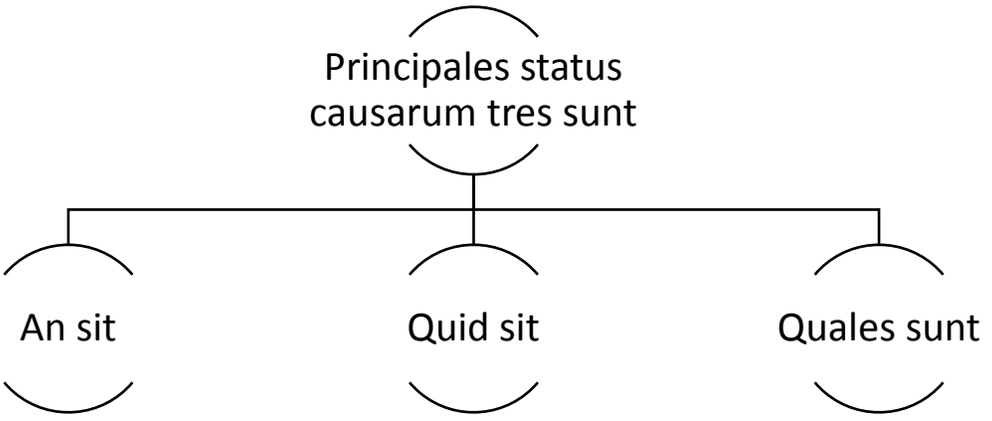
1 orationis] rethoricae artis ABDEUVX; loquendi T; rethoricae artes G / VI] sex B / sunt *post* VI O 2 *quartum schema* confirmatio ABDEGTOUVX; afirmatio F

VIII – Ways of argumentation



1 argumentio AT / tractatur *om.* T 2 *primum schema* iductionem 4 *primum schema* assuntio TOX

IX - Stasis



1 *et* 2 *om*. ABDEFGOUVX

IV. A New Critical Edition

This chapter opens with a discussion about some of the most important previous editions of Alcuin's *De rhetorica* and how they have informed each other. More attention will be given to the more recent editions: Halm's *Rhetori Latini Minores,* Howell's *The Rhetoric of Alcuin and Charlemagne*[209] and Zimmermann's *A Critical Text: Alcuin's De rhetorica et de Virtutibus Sapientissimi Regis Karoli et Albini Magistri.* It does not mean editions prior to Halm are irrelevant. However, Halm's work was groundbreaking enough to make previous editions of Alcuin's *De rhetorica* obsolete, using three manuscripts and a vast knowledge of Latin and classical rhetoric to propose several precise amendments to the text.

Next there will be a brief description of the 29 manuscripts on which my edition in based, including two manuscripts never before collated or used in previous editions of Alcuin's *De rhetorica*. My idea is not to describe the manuscripts in all their detail, but to give the reader enough elements so that he or she can actually visualise them and, especially, be prompted to gauge an idea of their content; therefore, understanding which texts the *De rhetorica* was traditionally associated with.

Included in the sequence is an analysis of the manuscript variants. In this, I follow some of the findings made by Zimmermann,[210] but I also add others of my own and discuss possible ways in which they connect manuscripts and form groups.

Following the discussion of these variants, I present the first *stemma codicum* of Alcuin's *De rhetorica* ever made.

Finally, I present and justify the alterations I have made to the text. This is followed by a recapitulation of the manuscript *sigla* in order to make it easier to understand the critical edition that follows.

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[209] Howell's work is not an edition, but it does change the text established by Halm and, therefore, is included in my analysis.
[210] Zimmermann, *Critical,* pp. xiv-xvii.

4.1 Modern editions of the work

Since the advent of its printing, Alcuin's work *Disputatio De rhetorica* has gone through at least two editions per century. The first was published in 1529 at Hagenau by Menrad Molther: *Caroli imperatoris illius Magni et D. Albini De rhetorica et virtutibus disputatio*.[211] This edition contained the *De rhetorica* and also the *De dialectica*. Howell, discussing this edition, states that it was most likely based on a manuscript that contained the two dialogues under a single title.[212]

The second edition was published in book format in 1563 by Matthieu Galen and, like its predecessor, also featured both dialogues (*De rhetorica* and *De dialectica*), as if they were one and the same work; this book was called *Alcuini Rhetorica, ad Carolum Magnum*. We learn from Howell that the existence of this book is known only because of a bibliography published by Dinaux and Duthilloel.[213]

At the end of the 16th century, the first book was published in which the *De rhetorica* appears as an independent dialogue, without the *De dialectica*. It was in Paris in 1599, that François Pithou published the *Antiqui Rhetores Latini*, where Alcuin's dialogue appears compiled with texts on rhetoric by other authors.[214]

In the next century, more specifically in 1617, Andreas Quercetanus (the Latin name for André Duchesne) published the first book containing all the then known works of Alcuin.[215] Subsequently, in 1643, in Venice, Giuseppe degli Aromatari published an extensive collection

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[211] Menrad Molther, *Caroli imperatoris illius Magni et D. Albini De rhetorica et virtutibus disputatio.* Haganoae: Secerius, 1529.
[212] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 10: '(...) the *editio princeps* appears from its title to contain Alcuin's *Rhetoric* alone, but in fact embraces his *Dialectic* as well'.
[213] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 12, note 20.
[214] *Antiqui Rhetores Latini, Omnia ex codd. manusc. emendatiora vel auctiora ex biblioteca Francisci Pithoei*. (Paris, 1599), 4v.
[215] Cf. Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 13, note 24.

of texts on rhetoric, which contain the dialogue of Alcuin, the *Degli autore del ben parlare per secolari, e religiosi opere diverse*.[216]

More than a century later and following the reappearance of Alcuin's dialogue in a reprint of the work of Pithou by Capperonier,[217] the *De rhetorica* was edited again in 1777, this time by Froben Foster and based on three manuscripts, those known as the Munich group, in a set entitled, *Beati Flacci Albini seu Alcuini Opera*.[218] This edition was later used by Jean-Paul Migne as part of his *Patrologia Latina*.

In 1863, in Leipsig, Karl von Halm had already published his collection of Latin texts on rhetoric entitled *Rhetores Latini Minores*.[219] It is based on the same three manuscripts used by Froben and constituting the Munich group. However, Halm added some notes about the sources used by Alcuin, mostly from Cicero's *De inuentione* and passages from the Bible.

Finally, in the twentieth century, the *De rhetorica* was published in two editions, or more precisely, in one edition and a reprint. In 1941, Wilbur Samuel Howell published a reprint of Alcuin's dialogue as edited by Halm: *The Rhetoric of Alcuin and Charlemagne,*[220] but now accompanied by a translation into the English language and extensive notes focusing mainly on the sources of the text with a few editorial differences.

It was only in 1968 that there was a critical edition of the *De rhetorica* an edition using not just one or three, but 27 manuscripts. The author of this endeavor was Herman Lee Zimmermann, based in Chicago, and interestingly his doctoral dissertation, *A Critical Text: Alcuin's De rhetorica et de Virtutibus Sapientissimi Regis Karoli et Albini Magistri*[221] gained virtually no notice. Perhaps the fact that he never published his thesis or anything else, and the

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[216] Cf. Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 15, note 29.
[217] Capperonier had the intention of annotating and reviewing all Pithou's work. However, he unfortunately died before completing the task. See Howell, *Rhetoric*, pp. 17-19.
[218] *Beati Flacci Albini seu Alcuini Opera cura ac studio Frobenii*, 2 vol. Ratisbonae: Englerth, 1777.
[219] Halm, *RLM*.
[220] Howell, *Rhetoric*.
[221] Herman Lee Zimmermann, *A Critical Text: Alcuin's De rhetorica et de Virtutibus Sapientissimi Regis Karoli et Albini Magistri.* St. Louis University, Ph.D., 1968.

fact that American Mid-Western dissertations were not easily available before the internet (or even with the internet), contributed to this unfair state of academic oblivion.

What then is our task at this point in the twenty-first century? Maybe to keep the tradition of providing a new edition of Alcuin's text at least twice in a century, but more than that, to use the new state of technological accessibility, in terms of an ability to reach the manuscripts, to build a critical edition taking into account all 29 best identified manuscripts.

Besides this, we have the privilege of reading the work of all the scholars mentioned above and use them to solve several problems inherent to the dialogue, such as the verification and analysis of Alcuin's sources and how he uses them, plus solving the problem of the unity of the text.

4.1.1 Characteristics of Howell's edition of Alcuin's *De rhetorica*

The biggest achievement of Howell's edition[222] is the fact that it is the first translation of Alcuin's dialogue into English. Over the next few pages, I will draw attention to several aspects of Howell's work, in a bid to highlight some of the issues that may emerge in the preparation of an edition.

In the introduction, Howell covers the following topics: subject and purpose, date of the rhetoric, its history in both manuscript and book form, its sources, its educational value, text and translation, notes and index.

In the subject and purpose section, following some very brief biographical notes about Alcuin, Howell states that:

[222] Howell, *Rhetoric*.

> except for a few changes, duly noted later, we use the text established by Halm[223] for his collection of minor Latin works on rhetoric.[224]

However, as far as I could notice, these few changes are not based on manuscript differences, but on the translator's impression of how it should be. It is, of course, a valid editorial method. Nevertheless, these differences will receive special attention later, in light of the manuscripts to which Howell never had access.

In the next chapter, Howell discusses the date of Alcuin's text and presents some of Alcuin's letters as evidence for his suggestions.

After this, we are confronted with a very useful explanation about the transmission of the text. That is, from the first copies of the manuscript up until Halm's edition; and also taking into account that there is a(n) (incomplete) list of manuscripts.[225] Howell presents a list of 26 manuscripts, while, on the other hand, Wallach lists 30.[226]

We also encounter a discussion about Alcuin's sources.[227] It is stated by Howell that:

> the *Rhetoric* being a texture of excerpts from Cicero's *De Inventione* and Julius Victor's *Ars rhetorica (...)*[228]

Although it is not arguable that these two treatises (by Cicero and Caius Julius Victor) are of great importance to Alcuin, he nevertheless did know other texts (as Howell also acknowledges) and, in my opinion, the discussion of how many texts Alcuin used is important. However, I suggest that it should be linked to another question: how does he use these texts? In other words, how does he combines them and why? This is because it is evident that he has read and used not only Cicero's text on rhetoric,[229] but also Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*, Fortunatianus'

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[223] Halm, *RLM*.
[224] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 3.
[225] Howell, *Rhetoric*, pp. 8-22.
[226] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, pp. 89-90.
[227] Howell, *Rhetoric*, pp. 22-33.
[228] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 22.
[229] Such as *De inuentione* and, possibly, *De partitiones oratoriae*.

Ars rhetorica and possibly others. However, Alcuin's text is shorter than any of its sources and has also different concerns, since he lived under a monarchy and was a Christian. Howell is one modern critic who makes a very honorable effort at identifying all Alcuin's sources textually.[230] This endeavor, which was initiated by Halm[231] and improved by Wallach,[232] is valuable, although not entirely free of inaccuracies, which will be discussed later.

Ending the introduction section, Howell provides a long discussion about the educational value of Alcuin's text.

4.1.2 Discrepancies between Howell and Halm

Howell's edition of the *Disputatio De rhetorica* has many virtues. Indeed, we could list the fact that it is the first edition of the twentieth century, the only translation into English until that point, and that the text is accompanied by a full and extensive annotation. However, the Latin text itself is not a new edition, but a reprint of Halm's nineteenth century edition, although, as Howell himself professes:

> except for a few changes, dully noted later, we use the text established by Halm for his collection of minor Latin works on rhetoric.[233]

These few changes are, in fact, pointed out in the notes to the text and they number just five. In the following paragraphs I will consider Howell's amendments and explanations.

1. The first discrepancy between the two modern editions occurs at division 25 of Alcuin's text. In Halm's edition we read:

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[230] Howell, *Rhetoric*, pp. 159-169.
[231] Halm, *RLM*, pp. 525-550.
[232] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, pp. 35-47.
[233] Howell, *Rhetoric*, pp. 3-4.

> Ex nomine fit argumentum hoc modo, ut si dicamus idcirco aliquem Callidum vocari, quod sit temerario et repentino consilio.[234]

The controversy is in the word *Callidum* that Howell amends to *Caldum*.

Howell explains that Halm offered:

> …ut si dicamus idcirco aliquem Callidum vocari, quod sit temerario et repentino consilio…

And then Howell continues:

> I have changed *Callidum to Caldum* for the following reasons: *De Inv. 2.9.28*, where Alcuin finds this illustration, authorizes the latter term. Moreover, *Caldus*, and its cognate, *Calidus*, as common adjective or proper name, carry a meaning which accords with the sense of the passage, while *Callidus*, signifying *crafty* or *cunning*, does not fit. See Quintilian, 1, 6, 19.[235]

Halm followed his manuscripts, i.e. the Munich group. However, Howell seems correct when he quotes Cicero, for in *De inuentione* 2.9.28 we read:

> (…) ut si dicamus idcirco aliquem Caldum vocari, quod temerario et repentino consilio sit (…).

However, it is important to read the lessons of the other manuscripts that Halm did not have access to before drawing any conclusions. If we look at the manuscripts, we will discover that the reading *caldum* does not appear in any manuscript. What we have is the word *calidum* in manuscripts B, D, G, H, L, M, N, Q, T, U, V and the word *callidum* B, ^{2} Q,^{2} the remaining

[234] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 104.
[235] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 164.

manuscripts and Halm. This is a strong indication that the reading *caldum* would not be the best one, however, because Alcuin here quotes Cicero, it is surely best to take a look at Cicero's readings as well.

We find in Cicero that many of the earliest ninth century manuscripts have the reading *calidum.*[236] Even though Howell's explanation as to this discrepancy seems convincing, I believe we should keep the variant *calidum* in Alcuin's text; this is because not only is it most attested to in Alcuin's manuscripts, but also in Cicero's manuscripts, which Alcuin could probably access.

2. The second discrepancy occurs in division 31 of Alcuin's text where we read:

> Illa enim fit propositione, adprobatione vel adsumptione et conclusione.[237]

The problem is the word *vel,* which Howell chooses to omit. This is his explanation:

Halm's text reads:

> 'Illa enim fit propositione, adprobatione vel adsumptione et conclusione'. Omitting *vel*, Capperonnier's text is in better accord not only with Alcuin's subsequent discussion of the parts of the syllogism, but also follow with Cicero's similar discussion (*De Inv. 1.34.57-9*). I have therefore followed Capperonnier's example in respect to this omission.[238]

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[236] Ciceron, *De L'Invention.* Texte Etabli et Traduit par G (Paris, 1994), p. 155. The manuscripts containing the reading *calidum* are HVPSf. Manuscripts HVPS belong to a family of manuscripts of the *De inuentione* which is severely incomplete (which could help explain why Alcuin had to rely on other sources and not exclusively on Cicero's work). Manuscript H, for example is from the beginning of the ninth century and was copied in Germany. Cf. pp. 33-34 of the book above.
[237] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 118.
[238] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 165.

Of course all the manuscripts should be checked, and we will come to that, however, it does not seem that in this context there is an absolute disjunctive meaning, but rather, a complimentary one.[239] It is also important to remember that the first discrepancy included a textual argument (Cicero's passage) where we can see, word by word, the similarities of Alcuin's and Cicero's texts, even though Cicero's manuscripts tell us otherwise. This discrepancy, on the contrary, has no basis in a textual argument, but is purely conjectural.

In this case, the manuscripts are unanimous. All of them attest to the conjunction *uel* and my opinion is that it should be kept.

3. The third discrepancy seems quite complicated. In division 34 of Alcuin's text in Halm's edition we read:

> Item infirmitatis infelicitas conqueritur, item disiunctio amici, parentis, filii, fratris, uxoris et suavium personarum (…).[240]

However, in Howell's edition we read:

> Item inopia, infirmitas, infelicitas conqueritur, item disiunctio amici, parentis, filii, fratris, uxoris et suavium personarum (…).[241]

As we can see, not only is there a difference of punctuation, but also a word (*infirmitas*) has been used in the genitive and the nominative, while, to finish, a word has been added (*inopia*). This is Howell's justification:

> Capperonier's and Froben's reading has been preferred here to Halm's, on the ground that the former is closer to

[239] For example, in the dictionary by Lewis and Short, there is an explanation about *uel* either as a disjunctive conjunction, introducing an alternative as a matter of choice or preference, or as not affecting the principal assertion (while *aut* introduces an absolute or essential opposition). See: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0059%3Aentry%3Dvel (last accessed: 28/09/2016)
[240] Halm, *RLM*, p. 543.
[241] Howell, *Rhetoric*, pp. 126-127.

> Cicero's text, and is grammatically more appropriate. To construe *infirmitas* as *infirmitatis* is to obscure the meaning. [242]

Cicero (*De inu. 1.55.109)* states:

> Decimus, per quem inopia, infirmitas, solitudo demonstratur.

So clearly the addition made by Howell, following Froben and Capperonier's lesson, comes from Cicero. However, maybe the word *infirmitatis* in Halm's edition, is not used in the genitive as if it were a nominative, used to 'obscure the meaning' but instead just a simple genitive that compliments the meaning of the nominative *infelicitas*; that is, using the same structure that underlines the rest of the sentence: *disiunctio* (nominative) *amici, parentis, filii, fratris, uxoris et suavium personarum* (genitives). On the other hand, all Cicero's manuscripts attest to the reading adopted by Howell.[243] Furthermore, the only manuscripts that attest to Halm's *lectio* are A, E, F, Y, which belong to the same group, the Munich group, and, therefore, could bear the same wrong reading. In this case, I believe Howell's opinion is the best one.

4. The fourth and fifth discrepancies (both in 47 and the last division of the text) are doubts between the letter 'r' and the letter 'l'. These are Howell's justifications:

> The reading adopted is *odores fragrantes*, after Froben's text in Migne, *Patrologia Latina, 101. 946.* Halm's *odores flagrantes* hardly fits the sense, nor does Capperonier's *suaves odores, fragrantes tactus. [244]*

[242] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 166.
[243] Cicero, *De L'Invention*, p. 140.
[244] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 168.

And:

> The reading adopted is *aeterna fragrantia*, after Capperonier and Froben. Halm's *aeterna flagrantia* does not accord with the context. [245]

The letters 'l' and 'r', because they have the same articulation point, have a tendency to be pronounced one in the place of the other. Therefore, the words could have an alternative spelling. Donald Bullough offers a convincing explanation of this matter:

> It is apparent, for example, that Alcuin took with him to the Continent the early Anglo-Latin confusion, purely phonetic in origin, of *flagrantia*(-tans, etc.) with *fragrantia*(-tans) 'sweetness of God, sweet odour of Saints' bodies'. The spelling in fl- is that of the most authoritative manuscripts of his *De rhetorica*, of the prose and verse *Vita Willibrordi* and of the last chapter of the *De virtutibus et vitiis*; and editors and commentators who 'correct' those texts to read fragrantia to eliminate possible confusions of sense are wrong to do so.[246]

To corroborate Bullough's explanation, we have now all the other manuscripts of the *De rhetorica* that were previously unknown. The spelling fl- is attested to by all these manuscripts, except for R and Y. I believe it is therefore safe to keep the most authoritative reading in the manuscripts.

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[245] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 169.
[246] Bullough, *Achivements,* p. 105. See also note 263 on the same page.

4.1.3 Main changes implemented by Zimmermann

Zimmermann was the first scholar who had the opportunity to look at more than just the three Munich manuscripts. He collated 27 manuscripts in all (four of them incomplete) and was therefore able to consider Halm's decisions from a much firmer footing. Alcuin's *De rhetorica* is, in general, so well preserved that Zimmermann had very few corrections to suggest.[247] I will show them here, however, and discuss whether I believe they are valid or whether they should be reconsidered. It is worth remembering that my approach is perhaps different than Zimmermann's, being as follows:

1. On page 16, line 5 of my edition, we find the sentence:

tyranno occiso quinque quoque eius proximi cognatione occidentur.

This passage posed several problems for both the copyists and the modern editors. In the manuscripts, we find the following variants:

E^{2}K^{2}Q^{2}WXYZVe *proximi cognatione occidentur*

R *proximi cognatione occidantur*

ABDFGHKLMNQSTUV *proximos cognatione occidentur*

OP *proximos cognatione occidantur a; proximis cognatione occidentur*

EK *proxim (ras.) cognatione occidentur*

D^{2}P^2 *proximos cognatione occidendos*

Halm *proximos cognatione magistratus occidito*

Zimmermann suggested *proximi cognatione occidentur*.[248] All the options pose problems. They are either incorrect in a way which confuses the meaning of the text, or they

[247] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xvii.
[248] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xvii

interfere too much with it, as does Halm's option. Halm, in fact, used Cicero to emend the text. In the *De inuentione* (II, XLIX, 144) we read:

Tyranno occiso, quinque eius proximos cognatione magistratus necato

As we can see, in Alcuin's manuscripts there is no option for *magistratus* or *necato,* as in Cicero. Nor, in this case, do manuscripts of Cicero's *De inuentione* agree with any of the readings we find in Alcuin's manuscripts.[249]

To account for this, I believe that somewhere in the transmission of the text there was a misplaced or misunderstood abbreviation stroke that rendered the verb *occido* passive. Therefore, I would amend the text in this way:

Tyranno occiso, quinque quoque eius proximos cognatione occidant.

When a tyrant is killed, let them also kill five of his kin.

2. On page 54, line 1, Zimmermann printed[250]:

vehementer aliquam ad rem applicata,

whilst Halm used:

vehemens aliqua ad rem applicata.

All manuscripts read *vehementer*, so I believe this to be the appropriate choice. The word *aliquam* appears in manuscripts D, K, N, O, Q, V, W, X. It seems reasonable to adopt this reading, since *aliquam* then agrees with *rem* instead of *applicata* (which should agree with *occupatio* at the end of the line), as suggested by Halm. Therefore, we will have:

Studium autem quoniam est assidua et vehementer aliquam ad rem applicata magna cum voluptate occupatio.

[249] Ciceron, *De L'Invention,* p. 217.
[250] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. 54.

The effort, it is a constant and strong dedication applied to something with great pleasure.[251]

3. On page 60, line 5, Zimmermann chooses *commemoratis locis* instead of the *commemorasti locos* adopted by Halm. All manuscripts agree with Zimmermann here, and I believe it is safe to say that he is indeed correct.

4.2 Manuscripts

Here I list all the 29 manuscripts I used in my recension. When choosing the manuscripts which would be part of the edition, I gave preference to complete, or almost complete, manuscripts, rather then those that are incomplete. Howell's list of manuscripts include important *lacunae.*[252] Wallach and the *Corpus Christianorum* have a more complete list of manuscripts.[253] Zimmermann describes these manuscripts as well, with the exception of the Z and Ve, which he does not use.[254] With the exception of the two new manuscripts previously mentioned, I adopted the *sigla* used by Zimmermann.[255]

F = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6407 (CLA. s. ix. 1282)[256]

Arguably one of the most important manuscripts of Alcuin's *Disputatio* and also the oldest, this manuscript is fairly complete; with 119 *folia,* 286 x 222 mm and 29 lines per page. Is is only lacking one very short passage, which I discuss later when explaining its transmission.

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[251] Translation mine.
[252] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 9.
[253] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne,* pp. 89-93. Clavis des auteurs latins du Moyen Age, Territoire français 735-987 cur. Marie-Hélène Jullien - Françoise Perelman, Turnhout 1999- (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis. Clavis Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi. Auctores Galliae 735-987), pp. 160-161.
[254] Zimmermann, *Critical*, pp. vii-xiv.
[255] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xviii.
[256] C. Halm, G. Thomas. G. Meyer, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis,* (Munich, I. 3 (1873), 2.2 (1876). The former number is fris. 207. For Bischoff's remarks about this manuscript see Bischoff, *BBK.* Vol. II. p. 242. Item 3077. A more recent description of this manuscript can be seen at Gunther Glauche, Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. (Harrassowitz – Wiesbaden. Band 2), pp. 206-2011. An extensive study of this manuscript was made by E. Bohn, 'Alcuin's Heirs: The early reception of Alcuin's De rhetorica and De dialectica', (PhD Diss., University of Cambridge, 2003).

It was copied in Verona during the time of Pacificus, and Bischoff suggests some corrections were made by Pacificus himself.[257] According to CLA, it was probably sent to Freising soon after it was copied, because there exists an early ninth century copy (Munich, BSB, clm 13084).[258]

This manuscript is also the only one used by all editors: Froben,[259] Halm,[260] Howell[261] and Zimmermann.[262]It was described by Halm as a one of the three *codices perboni*.[263] Indeed it is very well preserved and also the one with fewer marginal notes than the Munich manuscripts.

Its content, which is shown below, was also debated in several important modern articles and books. Bernard Bischoff uses this manuscript to reinforce his argument about Alcuin's interest in handbooks for teaching traditional arts in schools.[264] Also, Donald Bullough says that this manuscript is a copy of a contemporary Tours exemplar; he also states the importance of the spelling (or 'misspelling', according to Howell [p.168, n.1328]) –fl- instead of –fr- as proof of Alcuin's dictated language.[265]

Not only is Alcuin's *De rhetorica* fairly complete but it also contains a poem that can be located before the text begins:

Qui rogo civiles cupiat cognnoscere mores,

Haec praecepta legat, quae liber iste tenet

Scripserat haec inter curas rex Karulus aulae

Albinusque simul: hic dedit, ille probat.

Unum opus amborum, dispar sed causa duorum:

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[257] Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, p. 106-7.
[258] E. A. Lowe, ed., *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, (Oxford, 1959). Vol. IX, item 1282. CLA IX. 1282.
[259] Printed in Migne, PL, 101, coll. 919-946.
[260] Karl Halm, *RLM*.
[261] Howell, *Rhetoric*.
[262] Zimmermann, *Critical*.
[263] Karl Halm, *RLM*, p. XIII.
[264] Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, pp. 106-7.
[265] Bullough, *Achievement*, pp. 104-5.

Ille pater mundi, hic habitator inops.

Neu temnas modico lector pro corpore librum:

Corpore praemodico mel tibi portat apis.

It also contains the diagrams at the end,[266] and a compound poem made of several Alcuin's verses:

O vos, est aetas, iuvenes, quibus apta legendo,

Discite: eunt anni more fluentis aquae,

Atque dies dociles vacuis ne perdite rebus:

Nec redit unda fluens, nec redit hora ruens.

Floreat in studiis virtutum prima iuventus,

Fulgeat ut magno laudis honore senex.

Utere, quisque legas librum, feliciter annis,

Auctorisque memor dic: "Miserere Deus."

Si nostram, lector, festucam tollere quaeris,

Robora de proprior lumine tolle prius:

Disce, precor, iuvenis, ut agat facundia causas,

Ut sis defensor, cura, salusque tuis.

Disce, precor, iuvenis, motus moresque venustos,

Laudetur tot out nomen in orbe tuum.

Finally, a metrical introduction to the next dialogue, *De dialectica*:

Me lege, qui veterum cupias cognoscere sensus,

[266] Which were discussed and edited in chapter three of this dissertation.

Me quicunque capit, rusticitate caret.

Nolo meus lector segnis sit, nolo superbus,

Devoti et humilis pectoris antra colo.

Has rogo divitias sophiae non temuat amator,

Navita quas pelagi portat ab orbe suo.

We find this content in other manuscripts, but not all of them contain everything as this one does. The order of the texts in the manuscript is:

f.1 Alcuinus, *Disputatio de rhetorica*

f.38 Alcuinus, *Septem disticha*

f.43 Alcuinus, *Dialogus de dialectica*

f.75 S. Augustinus, *De trinitate*

f.82 Anonymous, (incipit: oportet igitur secundum eandem sapientes salomonis doctrinam)

f.90 S. Augustinus, *De doctrina christiana* (first book only)

f.98 Alcuinus, *Dicta de imagine dei*

f.101 Candidus, *Dicta de imagine dei*

f.103 S. Augustinus, *Liber soliloquiorum*

f.105 Alcuinus, *Epistola ad oduinum* (II, 127)

f.110 Hieronymus, Cyrillus, Augustinus et Isidorus, minor excerpts

f.114 Isidorus, *Epistola ad masionem*

f.118 Anonymous, *Logica quaedam*

f.119 Anonymous, *Formula exorcizandi*

A= Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13084[267]

This manuscript is a copy of F. It can be dated to the early ninth century and was created in Freising. [268] It has 91 *folia,* 28 lines per page and measures 286 by 222 mm. It is one of the three Munich manuscripts Halm used in his edition and which he deemed the *codices perboni*.[269] It transmits diagrams at the end of the *Disputatio* (as do the other Munich manuscripts) and includes also the compound poem. The order of the texts in the *codex* are:

f.1 Alcuinus, *De rhetorica et De dialectica*

f.48 Anonymous, *Ars geometrica*; incipit: Igitur geometricae artis peritiam qui ad integrum

f.70 Hyginus, *Poeticon astronomicon*

E = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14377.[270]

This third Munich manuscript was also used by Halm. It was copied in the tenth century, but apparently the first block of this manuscript was likely to have been written in the ninth century.[271] Its dimensions are: Caroline minuscule; 23 lines per page and 106 *folia*, measuring 286 by 222 mm. It is heavily corrected and contains the poem used as an introduction to Alcuin's text, as well as the diagrams and the compound poem. The *codex* is comprised of:

f.1 Alcuinus, *Disputatio de rhetorica*

f.52 Boetius, *Commentarii in Aristotelis libros de interpretatione*

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[267] C. Halm, G. Thomas. G. Meyer, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, p. 101-2. (The former number is Rat. Civ. 84). Bischoffs's remarks about this manuscript are found in *BBK*, vol. II. p. 249. Item 3119. Another description of this manuscript can be found in Katharina Bierbrauer, *Die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (Wiesbaden, 1990), p. 145. Zimmermann, *Critical*¸ p. vii.

[268] Date and place of origin according to the catalogue above.

[269] *See* n. 139 above.

[270] C. Halm, G. Thomas. G. Meyer, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis,* p. 164 The former shelfmark is Em. D 102. Zimmermann, *Critical,* p. viii.

[271] *Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Bibliothecae Monacensis*. Tomus IV. 2011, p. 382-385.

P = St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, 64[272]

This manuscript was written in St. Gall at the end of the ninth century.[273] It is written in Caroline minuscule, it has 270 *folia* and 22 lines per page, its measures are 214 x 167 mm. It contains the text *De dialectica*, which is placed before the *De rhetorica*. In between both dialogues, there is the poem that opens the *Disputatio.* In the *codex* we find:

f.1 Hieronimus, Excerpts

f.7 Paulus, all letters

f.135 Alcuinus, *Dialogus de dialectica*

f.160 Alcuinus, *Disputatio de rhetorica*

f.195 Apuleius, *Periermeneia*

f.204 Anonymous, (incipit: Tu quicumque velis verum discernere falso Disce categoriis...)

f.205 Anonymous, *fragmentum grammaticum*

N = St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, 276[274]

This composite manuscript was written in Southern Germany. The first part (from f. 1 to 149) was written in the second half of the ninth century. The remaining was also written in the second half of the ninth century.[275] It was written in Caroline minuscule and it has 280 *folia*. The manuscript has 22 lines per page and measures 182 x 245 mm. Together with the *Disputatio,* we find the poem that often introduces it, alongside the compound poem (placed at the end) and a metrical introduction to Alcuin's dialogue *De dialectica*. The *codex* contains:

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[272] Gustav Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen,* (Halle, 1875). p. 29. Zimermann, *Critical*, p. x.
[273] Bischoff, *BBK*. Vol. III. p. 303. Item 3119
[274] Gustav Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen*, pp. 104-105. Zimmermann, *Critical,* p. x.
[275] BBK vol III. p. 320. Item 5717. Also, see more information on the website: http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0276 (last acessed 18/09/2016).

f.3 Alcuinus, *De trinitate*

f.75 Alcuinus, *Disputatio de rhetorica*

f.110 Alcuinus, *Dialogus de dialectica*

V = St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, 273[276]

This manuscript was probably written in St Gall in the second half of the ninth century.[277] It is written in Caroline minuscule, with 15 lines per page, 238 *folia* and it measures 145 x 125 mm. In this manuscript, we find the *De dialectica* first, the compound poem, the dialogue on rhetoric and then the diagrams. In the same manuscript we also find:

f.5 Anonymous, *fragmentum poetiae scholastici*

f.13 Anonymous, *Sciscitor inflatas*

f.38 Columbanus, *Versus Columbani ad Hunaldum, ad sethum ad fetolium*

f.49 Anonymous, *Giganthomachia*

f.57. Alcuinus, *De dialectica*

f.144. Alcuinus, *Disputatio de rhetorica*

W = Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2269[278]

[276] Gustav Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen*, pp. 103-104. For Bischoff's remarks see *BBK*, Vol. III, 2004, p. 320, item 5716. Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xii.
[277] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xii. He disagrees with this date, affirming that 'It is early ninth century, with an occasional t apostrophe abbreviation, but the more usual abbreviation for tur in this manuscript is t with a semi-circle on top of it, which Lindsay refers to as the 'Italian symbol''.
[278] *Tabulae Codicum Manu scriptorum praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi aservatorum*, (Wien, 1864), I, p. 44. Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xii.

This manuscript was written in France, but the date of its creation is a matter of debate: some say it was made in the beginning of the eleventh century, others say it was made at the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth, while others say it was made in the thirteenth century.[279] It includes 224 *folia*, 79 lines, three columns per page, 515 x 330 mm. Together with Alcuin's *Disputatio De rhetorica*, we find the poem that usually opens it, the compound poem and the *Disputatio De dialectica*. Additionally, in the same manuscript, we find:

f. 1 Alcuinus, *Dialectica*

f. 3 Alcuinus, *Rhetorica*

f. 7 Alcuinus, *Arithmetica*

f. 7 Alcuinus, *Musica*

f. 8 Alcuinus, *Astrologia*

f. 88 Boethius, *De differentiis topicis*

f. 9 Boethius, *In Porphyrii Isagogen de praedicabilibus dialogi duo*

f. 25 Boethius, *In categorias Aristotelis*

f. 86 Anonymous, *Sententia diversorum*

f. 92 Boethius, *In priora antepraedicamenta*

f. 92 Boethius, *Liber divisionis*

[279] Cf. Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xii and: http://search.obvsg.at/primo_library/libweb/action/dlDisplay.do?institution=ONB&vid=ONB&onCampus=false&lang=ger&docId=ONB_aleph_onb06000162015 (last accessed in 26/02/2015). For the opinion that it was made at the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth centuries, see the webpage: http://www.susanazapke.com/index.php?option=com_sobi2&sobi2Task=sobi2Details&catid=0&sobi2Id=33&Itemid=64&lang=de (last accessed 26/02/15). For the opinion that it was made in the thirteenth century, see *Tabulae Codicum Manu scriptorum praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi aservatorum*, I. p. 44 and also the website: http://www.vhmml.us/research2014/catalog/detail.asp?MSID=20553 (last accessed 26/02/15).

f. 96 Boethius, *Introductio in categoricos syllogismos*

f. 100 Boethius, *De hypotheticis syllogismis*

f. 105 Boethius, *De definitionibus*

f. 108 Boethius, *In topica Ciceronis*

f. 134 Abbo Floriacensis, *Editio abbatis in calculum Victorii Aquitanensis*

f. 140 Floriacensis Abbo, *Regulae de minutiis*

f. 141 Boethius, *Arithmetica*

f. 153 Boethius, *Musica*

f. 173 Calchidius Diaconus, *In Timeum Platonis*

f. 193 Macrobius, *Commentaria in Ciceronis somnium Scipionis*

f. 207 Hyginus, *Poeticon astronomicon*

f. 220 Anonymous, *Tractatus de geometria*

D = Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2484[280]

Bischoff states[281] that this manuscript was made around the south of Germany in the third or fourth quarter of the ninth century. The catalogue, however, states it was written in West Germany in the first quarter of the ninth century. It is in Caroline minuscule, 200 x 160 mm, with 68 *folia* and 19 lines per page. It only contains the dialogues *De rhetorica* and *De dialectica*.

[280] *Tabulae Codicum Manu scriptorum praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, I, p. 82. The former number is Philol. 340. Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. viii.
[281] For Bischoff's remarks see *BBK*. Vol III. p. 492. Item 7228.

X = Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 160[282]

This manuscript was written in Salzburg iat the beginning of the thirteenth century,[283] measuring 286 x 222 mm and containing 100 *folia*. It does not contain any of the features (Alcuin's poems, diagrams) that are usually transmitted together with the dialogues. In the manuscript we find:

f.1 Hildebertus, *Epistolae*

f.50 Alcuinus, *Disputatio de rhetorica*

f.71 Salustius, *Bellum Catilinarium*

f.78 Salustius, *Bellum Jugurthinum*

H = Wolfenbuttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, 579[284]

This manuscript is from the beginning of the ninth century and, according to Bischoff, was perhaps copied in Salzburg.[285] In Caroline minuscule, it has 173 *folia*, 32 lines per page and measures 200x150mm. It only contains the poem which usually comes with the dialogue *De rhetorica*. The content of the *codex*, however, is wide-ranging:

f.2 Anonymous, *Libre sacre eruditionis*

f.54 Carolus Magnus, *Epistola ad Albinum*

f.55 Anonymous, several notes about numbers, gospels and sins

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[282] *Tabulae Codicum Manu scriptorum praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, I, p. 20. The former shelfmark is Univers. 232. Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xiii.
[283] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xiii, disagrees with this date. He says 'Although Howell records the date as thirteenth century, I feel this is too late. The hand is definitely Carolingian, and shows certain eleventh century characteristics, such as the tic to the left at the top of vertical stroke of the letters'.
[284] O. von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliotheck zu* (Wolfenbuttel, 2, 1886). former number: Helmst. 532. Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. ix.
[285] Bischoff, *BBK*. Vol. III. p. 504. Item 7337. The manuscript is listed as 'Helmst 532'.

f.56 Anonymous, *Monita cuiusdam sancti de virtutibus* (incipit: Timor Dei expellit omnem nequitiam...)

f.56 Isidorus Hispalensis, *De libris novi ac ueteris testamenti proemia*

f.62 Isidorus Hispalensis, *Liber de ortu et obitum patrum*

f.72 Isidorus Hispalensis, *Allegorie quedam sacre scripture*

f.82 Isidorus Hispalensis, *Inventiones nominum*

f.84 Isidorus Hispalensis, *Chronicon*

f.85 Anonymous, *Praefatio ad epitomen temporum*

f.86 Anonymous, *Brevissimi annales inde ab imperatore Herachio usque ad a. 820*

f.86 Ludovicus Pius, *Litterae ad Arnonem*

f.89 Anonymous, *Decreta concilii Aquisgranensis a. 816 celebrati*

f.91 Anonymous, *Pauca de fide catholica et de officiis ecclesiasticis* (incipit: Symbolum grece signum vel cognitio interpretatur...)

f.93 Anonymous, *Excerptum ex canone Aurelianensi*

f.94 Anonymous, *Explicatio orationis dominice*

f.94 Anonymous, *De mensuris* (incipit: Libra unam et semis eminam facit...)

f.95 Eucherius, *Liber II instructionum ad Veranum*

f.114 Anonymous, E*xplicatio vocabularum biblicorum V. et N. Testamenti*

f.120 Anonymous, *Explicatio vocabularum libri officiorum, libri rotarum, libri Antonii*

f.121 Anonymous, *Ordo sinodalis*

f.122 Iunilius, *De partibus legis divine liber II*

f.134 Anonymous, *Quedam dictiones et proverbia*

f.137 Anonymous, *Dicta quaorundam virorum doctorum*

f.138 Anonymous, *Dicta s. Augustini episcopi*

f.138 Anonymous, *Catalogus regum Iudeorum inde a Salome*

f.139 Alcuinus, *Disputatio de rhetorica*

f.153 Anonymous, *Nomina deorum gentilium, dynastarum apud Romanos, Hebreos etc*

f.154 Anonymous, *Lex Baiuwariorum, cum prologo*

f.170 Anonum, *fragmentum additionis quinte ad legem Baiuwariorum*

f.170. Anonymous, *fragmentum edicti Rothari regis Langobardorum*

T = Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 1372[286]

Bischoff (and Zimmermann) revised the date given in the 1902 catalogue, stating instead that the manuscript is from the ninth century.[287] It was written in France, has 38 lines per page, 170 *folia* and measures 315x235mm. It contains the diagrams, the compound poem and both dialogues: *De rhetorica* and *De dialectica*. The *codex* includes:

f.1 Cassiodorus, *De ortographia*

f.9 Augustinus, *Breviata*

f.54 Alcuinus, *De baptismi caeremoniis*

f.56 Cicero, *De senectute*

[286] J. van den Gheyn, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, (Brussels, 1902). The former shelfmark was 9581-95 and before that it was Van den Gheyn 1372. Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xii.

[287] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xii, states that 'Although Howell lists the date as tenth century, I think it is ninth, because of the frequency of angular n's and open a's'. Bischoff, in fact, agrees with Zimmermann. For Bischoff's remarks see Bischoff, *BBK.* Vol. I. 2004. p. 158. Item 732. The J. Van den Gheyn catalogue states that this manuscript is from the tenth century.

f.66 Alcuinus, *De rhetorica*

f.79 Alcuinus, *De dialectica*

f.88 Seneca patris, *Suasoriae et controversiae*

I = Valence, Bibliothèque Municipal de Valence, 337[288]

This manuscript was written in West Germany in the first quarter of the ninth century.[289] It contains 79 *folia,* has 48 lines per page and measures 252x151mm. Besides both dialogues, *De rhetorica* and *De dialectica* by Alcuin, it also contains the compound poem. In the *codex* there is:

f.2 Anonymous, fragment about measures (incipit: Digitus est minima pars agrestium mensurarum…)

f. 2 Priscianus, *De figuris Numerorum*

f. 4 Priscianus, *De metris Terrentianis*

f. 6 Priscianus, *Praeexercitamina*

f. 10 Alcuinus, *Disputatio de rhetorica*

f. 25 Alcuinus, *Dialogus de dialectica*

f. 26 Anonymous, *Ars architectonicae*

f. 31 Anonymous, *De maltis diversis*

f. 37 Anonymous, extracts of latin glossaries, especially about atronomy

f. 42 Nogerus, a treatise about music. (Incipit: Commentum musicae artis, ex opusculis Boetii excerptum...)

[288] *Catalogue Général des Manuscripts des Bibliothèques publiques de France,* 25 (Paris, 1894), 17 (1891), II (1890), pp. 343-344. Former number: 325. Zimmermann, *Critical,* p. ix.
[289] For Bischoff's remarks see *BBK,* Vol. III. 2004. p. 398. Item 6378.

f. 55 Anonymous, a treatise about music. (Incipit: Incipit scola Enchiriadis de musica)

L = Valence, Bibliotèque Municipal de Valence, 404[290]

This manuscript was written in France in the third quarter of the ninth century.[291] Using Caroline minuscule, it has 26 lines per page, 118 *folia*, and measures 219 lower case x148mm. It only contains the *De rhetorica*. In the *codex*, other texts occur, namely:

f.1 Isidorus, *Liber de rhetorica et dialectica*

f.27 Alcuinus, *Disputatio de rhetorica*

f.57 Anonymous, *Sententiae septem sapientum*

f.57 Anonymous, a genealogical chart of different parts of philosophy

f.60 Origines, a fragment of the prologue of the Song of Songs

f.61 Anonymous, (incipit: Incipiunt dicta Sybillae magae. – Non multi non vel pauci, non tres…)

f.65 Anonymous, *Versus sybillae de Juditii dei*

f.66 Anonymous, treatise on astronomy (incipit: Sucessor Carolim felix Hlodvice, valeto…)

M = Valence, Bibliothèque Municipal de Valence, 405[292]

[290] *Catalogue Général des Manuscripts des Bibliothèques publiques de France*, pp. 365-366. Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. ix.
[291] Bischoff, *BBK.* Vol. III. 2004. p. 400. Item 6392.
[292] *Catalogue Général des Manuscripts des Bibliothèques publiques de france*, p. 367. Former number: 387. Zimmermann, *Critical*, pp. ix-x.

This manuscript was written in Germany in the middle of the ninth century (perhaps in the western part) and, according to Bischoff[293] it was possibly written by the named scribe, Egilhart. Written in Caroline minuscule, it has 68 *folia*, 23 lines per page and measures 236x143mm. It contains both *De rhetorica* and *De dialectica*. The *codex* contains:

f.1 Anonymous, *Oratio sancti Eugenii Tolentani*

f.2 Alcuinus, *Versus de Cuculo*

f.3 Martial, epigram IX, 98

f.3 Anonymous, *Epitaphyum sancti Bonitatii pape*

f.3 Anonymous, *Epitaphyum sancti Gregorii pape*

f.4 Anonymous, *Epitaphyum beatae Monice*

f.4 Alcuinus, *Disputatio de rhetorica*

f.40 Alcuinus, *Dialogus de dialectica*

G = Vatican City, Blibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis latinus, 342[294]

This manuscript was copied in Tour ins the ninth century,[295] with 57 *folia* and 22 lines per page. It contains the diagrams, the compound poem and the dialogues *De dialectica* and *De rhetorica.*

[293] Bischoff, *BBK*. Vol. III. 2004. p. 400. Item 6393.
[294] Andreas Wilmart, *Codices Reginenses Latini* (Vatican, 1945), II, pp. 275-278. Information on the website: http://www.mss.vatlib.it/guii/console?service=present (last accessed: 26/02/2015). Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. viii-ix.
[295] Bischoff, *BBK*, Vol III. 2004. p. 429. Item 6673.

K = Blibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis, 1461[296]

This manuscript, according to Bischoff, is a composite. From *folium* 1 to 29 it was written in Micy in the middle of the ninth century; the remainder of the manuscript is from the tenth century.[297] It contains 26 lines per page, 47 *folia* and both of Alcuin's dialogues: *De rhetorica* and *De dialectica*. In the same manuscript, we find:

f. 1 Alcuinus, *Rhetorica*

f. 30 Alcuinus, *Dialectica*

f. 41 Isidorus, Excerpts

f. 44 Fulgentius, Excerpts

f. 44 Remigiuys, Commentary on Priscian

B = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 25[298]

This manuscript was written in the southeast of Germany at the beginning of the ninth century.[299] It has 44 lines per page, 193 *folia* and measures 280x190mm. It contains the opening poem, the diagrams and both dialogues. The works we find in this manuscript are:

f.1 Pseudo-Aethicus, *Cosmographia*

f.60 Alcuinus, *De rhetorica, De dialectica*

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[296] Information on the website: http://www.vanhamel.nl/wiki/Rome,_Vatican_Library,_MS_Reg._lat._1461#tab=General (last accessed: 26/02/2015). Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, p. 90, wrongly gives the shelfmark as '1451'. Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. ix.

[297] Bischoff, *BBK.* Vol III. 2004. p. 439. Item 6778.

[298] H. Schenkl, *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Britannica,* (Wien, I, 1891) p. 56. For Bischoff's remarks see *BBK*, Vol. II. 2004. p. 365. Item 3800. Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. vii.

[299] Bischoff, *BBK.* Vol. II. 2004. p. 365. Item 3800.

f.87 Anonymous, *Glossarium Latino-Theotiscum*

f.108 Anonymous, *Expositiones symbolorum et orationis dominicae*

f.116 Anonymous, *Hymni cum versione Theostica*

f.130 Anonymous, *Grammatica*

f.134 Isidorus, *Etymologiae*

f.152 Anonymous, *De octo partibus*

f.158 Anonymous, *Glossarium Latino-Theosticum*

O = Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, 80[300]

This composite manuscript was made in St. Gall and includes a collection of texts from the ninth and thirteenth centuries.[301] Its measurements are 240x170.5mm, it has 113 *folia* and 22 lines per page. It is a composite manuscript. The part containing Alcuin's treatises, *De rhetorica* and *De dialectica*, are from the ninth century. It also contains the diagrams, the compound poem, the initial poem and the metrical composition of the dialectics. It was not included in Howell's list.[302] The order of the texts are:

f.1 Sicardus Cremonensis, *Diligite iustitiam.*

f.55 Anonymous, *Jus naturale est quod in lege.*

f.63 Alcuinus, *De dialectica*

f.107 Alcuinus, *De rhetorica*

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[300] Cunibert Mohlberg, *Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliotek (*Zurich, I, 1932), n. 112, pp. 46-47. For Bischoff's remarks see *BBK*. Vol. III. 2004. p. 537. Item 7581. Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. x.
[301] See the website: http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/zbz/C0080#details (last accessed 27/02/2015).
[302] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 9.

Y = Leipzig University Library, Paulinus 1493[303]

This manuscript is from the eleventh century, has 74 *folia* and 37 lines per page. It was not listed by Howell.[304] It contains both dialogues and also all the poems usually ascribed with them, but not the diagrams. In the same manuscript, we find:

f.1 Anonymous, *De Musica*

f.62 Alcuinus, *Disputario de rhetorica*

f.80 Alcuinus, *De dialectica*

R = Paris, Biblioteque Nationale, 2183[305]

This manuscript is from the eleventh century. It has 197 *folia* and two columns with 39 lines each. Its measurements are 265x170mm. Besides the *De rhetorica* it contains:

f. 3 S. Justus Urgellensis, *Explicatio in Canticum Canticorum*

f. 23 Pseudo-Cicero, *Synonima*

f. 27 Alcuinus, *De rhetorica et uirtutibus*

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[303] Paul Piper, *Die Schriften Notkers* (Freiburg-Tubingen, 1882), pp. XC-XCI.
[304] *Vide* n. 291 above.
[305] PH, Laurer, *Catalogue General des Manuscrits Latins.* (Paris, 1940). Tome II. p. 356. Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xi.

f. 64 Acuinus, *De Virtutibus et Vitiis*

f. 66 Anonymous, Commentary on the Passion of St. Matthew

f. 123 Alcuinus, *Orthografia*

f. 133 Anonymous, Glossary Hebrew-Latin

S = Vatican, Vat. Lat., 3850[306]

This manuscript was written in the ninth century. It is a Carolingian manuscript containing 25 to 28 lines per page. It contains:

f. 1 Alcuinus, *De dialectica*

f. 21 Alcuinus, *De rhetorica et uirtutibus*

f. 43 Alcuinus, *Orationes ad Deum et Apostolos*

f. 44 Alcuinus, *De divinis officiis*

Q = Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 1209[307]

This manuscript, altough not complete, has most of the text of the *De rhetorica.* It is a ninth-century manuscript and was written with 18 lines per page. The *De rhetorica* shares this manuscript only with the *De dialectica.* The manuscript does not include diagrams or the poems usually assossiated with these works. Additionally, even though this manuscript was heavily

[306] See the webpage of the Vatican Library: http://www.mss.vatlib.it/guii/console?service=present&term=@5Vat.lat.3850_ms&item=1&add=0&search=1&filter=&relation=3&operator=&attribute=3040 (last accessed: 05/03/2015). Zimmermann, *Critical,* p. xi-xii.
[307] See the webpage: http://www.mirabileweb.it/manuscript/citt%C3%A0-del-vaticano-biblioteca-apostolica-vaticana--manuscript/160771 (last accessed: 20/09/2016). Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xi.

corrected, it still changes the names of *Albinus* and *Karolus* (represented by *A.* and *K.*) to *Magister* (*M.*) and *Auditor* (*A.*).

f.1 Alcuinus, *De dialectica*

f.50 Alcuinus, *De rhetorica*

U = Berlin, Deutsche Stadtsbibliothek, Ms. Phill. 1780 (Rose 176)[308]

This manuscript is made of parchment, has two columns per page and 30 lines per column. Written in the tenth century, this manuscript was used in the Duschesne edition of Alcuin's work. This manuscript contains the diagrams and poems usually associated with the *De rhetorica.*

f. 1 Aurelius Augustinus, *Dialectica*

f. 19 Alcuinus *De rhetorica*

f. 34 Alcuinus *De dialectica*

f. 45 Alcuinus *Liber VII Artium*

Z = Hannover, Kestner-Museum, 3927[309]

This manuscript was written at the end of the twelfth century and beginning of the thirteenth. It was made in Hamersleben in the monastery of St. Pankratius and measures 380x260 mm. In this manuscript *De rhetorica* is joined with both the composite and opening

[308] Valentin Rose, V*erzeichniss der Lateinischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Erster Band: Die Meermann-Handschriften des Sir Thomas Phillipps (Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, Zwölfter Band), (Berlin, 1893), pp. 391-393. Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xii.
[309] Helmar Hartel: *Handschriften des Kestner-Museums zu Hannover*, (Wiesbaden, 1999), pp. 33-35.

poems. This manuscript is not cited by Howell neither is it cited or used in Zimmermann's edition. In the manuscript we find:

f. 1 Alcuinus, *De rhetorica*

f. 33 Mico Centulensis, *Opus prosadicum*

f. 39 Anonymous, *Carmen septimum XII sapientium*

f. 41 Marbodus Redonensis, *De ornamentis verborum*

f. 67 Augustinus, *Epistula ad Consentium*

Ve = Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. Z. 497 (1811)[310]

This eleventh-century manuscript, written in parchment, measures 390x250mm. It was probably copied in central Italy, perhaps Rome, and it appears to be a collection of several different manuals concerning the arts of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium.* This manuscript does not contains any diagrams, as it is common of later copies of the *De rhetorica.* It was not listed by Howell, neither was it listed or used by Zimmermann in his critical edition.

f. 1 Donatus, *Ars grammatica*

f. 13 Diomedes, *Ars grammatica*

f. 19 Boethius, *Consolatio philosophiae*

f. 59 Baebius Italicus, *Ilias Latina*

f. 66 Smaragdus Sancti Michaelis Virdunensis Abbas, *Liber in partibus Donati*

f. 96 Alcuin, *De rhetorica et uirtutibus*

[310] 'De Arithmeticis Propositionibus: A Mathematical Treatise Ascribed to the Venerable Bede', Menso Folkerts ed., in Menso Folkerts, *Essays on Early Medieval Mathematics*. The Latin Tradition Aldershot-Burlington, VT, (Ashgate, 2003) p. 7. Cf. also http://www.mirabileweb.it/manuscript/venezia-biblioteca-nazionale-marciana-lat-z-497-(1-manuscript/8588 (last accessed 20/09/2016).

f. 106 Boethius, *Isagoge*

f. 113 Aristoteles, *Categoriae*

f. 148 Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*

f. 164 Beda Venerabilis, *De arithmeticis propositionibus*

Incomplete manuscripts

a = St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, 855[311]

This is a Carolingian manuscript, written in the first quarter of the ninth century in St. Gall. It has 16 to 21 lines per page and a total of 429 *folia*, within a 165x110mm format. It contains about the first half of Alcuin's *De rhetorica.* Other than that, the *codex* has:

f.4 Donatus, *Grammatica*

f.132 Alcuinus, *Disputatio de rhetorica*

f.180 Anonymous, incipit: *praesta dne legentibus provectum*

f.187 Cassiodorus, *De VII artibus*

f.352 Theodorus, *De metris*

f.398 Anonymous, *Incipit capitula de diversa miracula quae sunt super terra*

f.415 Isidorus, *De natura rerum*

f. 425 Anonymous, incipit: *Tueor te in locu lentes vaga carmina gignis*

[311] Anton von Euw, *Die St. Galler Buchkunst vom 8. bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts*, Band I: Textband, (St. Gallen 2008) (Monasterium Sancti Galli, Bd. 3), S. 353-354, Nr. 56. Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xiii.

b = Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municiapal de Cambrais, 168[312]

This Carolingian manuscript is early ninth century, with 34 lines per page, 112 *folia* and a 316x232mm format. In the *codex* we find:

f.2 Anonymous, *Liber de Horis*

f.22 Plato, *Timeus*

f.26 Albumasar, *Tractatus de astrologia*

f.100 Anonymous, *Liber erarum*

f.108 Philippus de Pascha, *Epistola*

f.110 Alcuinus, *De rhetorica*

In his critical edition, Zimmermann also used manuscripts:[313]

c = Autun, Bibli Mun. 6 A (6 S)

d = Stuttgart, Bibli. Prov. Theol. 4º 262

I have consulted these manuscripts and decided to exclude their readings. Manuscript **c** has only two very short passages and does not contribute any relevant reading. Manuscript **d** also has only two short passages and, from what I was able to see and analyse in this chapter is probably a copy of **D.**

[312] *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*. (Paris, 17, 1891), p. 47-8. The former number is 163. Zimmermann, *Critical,* p. xiii.
[313] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xiv.

4.3 An analysis of manuscript variants

Several scholars have contributed to our understanding of how Alcuin's *De rhetorica* was transmitted.[314] However, until the nineteenth century, editions of Alcuin's text were based only on one[315] or two manuscripts.[316] The greatest contribution came in the twentieth century with the work of Hermann Zimmermann,[317] who was responsible for studying and using 27 manuscripts of the *De rhetorica.* However, even though his studies are crucial to an understanding of the relationship between Alcuin's *De rhetorica* manuscripts, Zimmermann believed it was impossible to draw a *stemma* based on the data he collected.[318]

It is the aim of this chapter to investigate the common readings, conjunctive and separative errors shared by these manuscripts and to discuss them in order so as to increase our understanding of the text's transmission. Finally, a *stemma* will be drawn.

Even the smallest errors have been taken into account for this study. The reader will therefore find two approaches: one dealing with small errors in an almost statistical way, and the other where I am thorough in discussing the conjunctive errors that set whole groups of manuscripts apart or, conversely, bring them together.

The Munich Group

Zimmermann demonstrated that manuscripts A, E and F (which are now stored in Munich and known as the Munich group) and manuscript Y have unquestionable similarities.[319] That is to say, these four manuscripts share conjunctive errors that make it clear there is a connection between

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[314] Cf. Halm, *RLM*; Howell, *Rhetoric*; E. A. Lowe, ed., *Codices Latini Antiquiores,*. IX, 1282**;** PL 101, 919-946**;** Zimmermann, *Critical*; Bischoff, *Katalog*.

[315] Menrad Molther, *Caroli Imperatoris Illius Magni et D. Albini De rhetorica et Virtutibus Disputatio*. Menrad Molther made his edition based on a manuscript at the monastery of Neuhausen; Matthieu Galen, *Politicae, Imperials et vere Heroicae Institutiones Rhetoricae et Dialecticae ab Albino Quidem seu Alcuino Conscriptae et Explanatae.* (Duaci, 1564), 8v. Gallen possibly used T; Andre Duschesne, *B. Flacci Albini siue Alchwini Opera Quae Hactenus Reperiri Potuerunt.* (Paris, 1617). Duschesne used U; Froben Forster, *Beati Flacci Albini seu Alcuini Opera Cura ac Studio Frobenii,* 2 vol. (Ratisbonae, 1777). Forster used F. For more details, see Howell, *Rhetoric*, pp. 8-22.

[316] Halm used A, E and F. See Halm, *RLM*.

[317] Zimmermann, *Critical*, passim.

[318] Zimmermann, *Critical*, pp. xiv.

[319] Zimmermann, *Critical*, pp. iv-v.

them and that they stem from a single archetype. Firstly, there are additions of words in certain passages, while secondly, there are three substantial passages of text missing in all four.

To clarify this issue, I will show the three main passages that are lacking in manuscripts A, E, F and Y, as well as the other variants which appear in these manuscripts and no others. Following Zimmermann's example, I will exhibit them in a table, give the references for Howell's edition as well as mine and comment on the most relevant variants.[320] We will begin with the passages where there is an omission of words not found elsewhere in the tradition.[321]

Table I

Variants in AEFY	**Zimmerman's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**
1. *est* omitted after *genus*	7, 12	70, 89	7, 12
2. *personarum* omitted after s*ingularum*	40,5	19, 456	40,5
3. *sit* omitted after *facturus*	54,9	106, 637	54,9
4. *habere* omitted after *uxorem*	66,1	116, 774	66,1
5. *Omni* omitted after *senatui*	74,4	124, 890	74,4

[320] Since Zimmermann is the only scholar so far to use manuscripts other than those in the Munich group, his edition alone contains these passages. The numbers in brackets therefore refer to pages and lines in his edition. As Zimmermann's edition is surprisingly unknown and difficult to get hold of, I also provide page and line references for the variants in Howell's edition.

[321] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. v.

6. *illae* omitted after *syllabae*	79,5	130, 961	79,5
7. *etiam* omitted after *humana*	97,6	144, 1210	97,6
8. *esse* omitted after *nihil*	102,12	150, 1304	102,12

Table I shows manuscripts A, E, F and Y, omitting words in several passages, although the absence of these words does not interfere with the passages' meaning. It is therefore possible that they were present in the original text but left out when F (the oldest of the group, from which the other manuscripts in this group descend) was copied.

As the examples above demonstrate, manuscripts A, E, F and Y share some *lacunae*. In Table II we will see three examples of whole passages lacking from the Munich group but which occur in all other manuscripts of the *De rhetorica*.[322]

Table II			
Omissions in AEFY	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**
1. *aut domi natus est*	72, 7	122	72, 7
2. *unde a philosophis secunda dicitur natura consuetudo*	92, 6-7	140	92, 6-7

[322] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. iv.

3. *K. Nunc fortitude cum suis partibus ut depromas flagito. A. Fortitudo est magno animo periculorum et laborum perpessio: eius partes sunt magnificentia, fidentia, patientia, perseverantia*	100, 2-5	148	100, 2-5

Passage 1 is taken directly, almost word for word, from Cicero's *De inuentione,* I, 84. We read:

> *Quoniam habes istum equum, aut emeris oportet aut hereditate possideas aut munere acceperis aut domi tibi natus sit aut, si eorum nihil est, subripueris necesse est.* [323]

If we compare this to Alcuin's text, we realise the only passage missing is *aut domi natus est.* All manuscripts in the tradition have this passage, except A, E, F and Y.

Passage II was missed out due to an eye-skip created by the repetition of the word *consuetudo*.

Passage III can be found as a marginal addition to A. It is important to remember that this manuscript is regarded as a copy of F,[324] which lacks this passage. It could only have been left out in error, for the text makes no sense without it. Therefore, the passage in A must have been added later with the help of another manuscript which was not part of this family. It is hard to determine which manuscript this might have been, and when A was corrected.

[323] Cicero, *De inuentione,* I, 84.
[324] E. A. Lowe, ed., *Codices Latini Antiquiores,* IX, 1282.

It is clear then, that manuscripts A, E, F and Y belong to one and the same group, due to the errors that link them. It is likely that this group had little contact with other manuscripts of the *De rhetorica*, since none of the crucial conjunctive errors, nor the *lacunae* discussed above, are found in any manuscript outside the Munich group.

Studying these errors helps us understand the place of the Munich group in the tradition of the text. However, there are 28 manuscripts left and no *stemma* can be drawn without an analysis and understanding of their place in the tradition. Zimmermann identified a number of similarities and established groups for all the manuscripts he used in his edition. I shall now take a closer look at his observations and discuss the possible origins of these variants.

Zimmermann identified manuscripts I, M, N, O, P, V, W and X as belonging to the same group because they share some important variants.

Almost all of these manuscripts are from the ninth century, with the exception of V and X, which are from the eleventh century and are both currently in Vienna. The others are located in libraries in France and Switzerland. The variants are:[325]

Table III			
Variants in IMNOPVWX	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**
1. *nec* instead of *non*	89, 9	138, 1105	89, 9
2. *non* instead of *ne*	90, 11	140, 1120	90, 11
3. *K* omitted	93, 4		93, 4
4. *K* instead of *A*	94, 1	142, 1159	94, 1

[325] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xiv.

5. *K* omitted	94, 4		94, 4
6. *A* before *Haecine*	104, 5	152, 1329	104, 5

The first two variants could have occurred in manuscripts with no close relation to one other; nevertheless, they are worth mentioning if only to make a stronger case for the following two readings.

Variant 3, the omission of the letter *K* (which indicates the beginning of Charlemagne's lines in the dialogue) could hardly be coincidental. The absence of the others could possibly have occurred due to a difficulty in the reading of an exemplar, or even because the letters *A* and *K*, used to indicate the identity of the speakers in the dialogue, were added later in a different colour (red), making it possible that a copyist missed one. However, analysing it within the context of the text, it makes no sense at all as the omission causes Alcuin to have two consecutive lines. Moreover, in the passage in which the letter *K* is missing, we find: *(…) nisi tibi, magister, aliud videatur. 'Magister'* being the term by which Charlemagne addresses Alcuin throughout the text.

Variants 4 and 5 are related. Zimmermann noticed that in the manuscripts I, M, N, O, P, V, W, X, the letter *K* (indicating the beginning of a line by Charlemagne), was missing from the passage, K*, Iam quoque necesse est video, ut…* However, what Zimmermann does not point out is that a few lines above, the same manuscripts also exchange the letter *A* for the letter *K*, hence, *A. Vere intellegis et optime prosequeris,* thus causing a cascade effect that culminates in the necessity of changing something in order the text to make sense.

Variant 6 is similar. We have a misplaced *A* (indicating an Alcuin line) before *haecine amare facile est animae….* What happened appears to be an attempt to correct a previous mistake. Manuscript M has a *K* before *amare species pulchras….* Therefore, an *A* somewhere else became necessary in order that the dialogue would make some sense. All the other manuscripts of this group, I, N, O, P, V, W, X, exchange *A* for *K* in *A. quid facilius est quam….*

This placing of an *A* before *haecine* again explains the act of trying to correct an error and thus restore some sense to the manuscript.

In summary, in the middle of these last two passages the manuscripts that form this group keep changing the positions of the letters *A* and *K* in an attempt to adjust the text and re-establish sense in the manuscript.

Table III laid out the readings identified by Zimmermann. I have also found two additional readings from the same group of manuscripts that might help to corroborate the stemmatic relationship between them. They are:

Table IV			
Variant in IMNOPVWX	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**
1. *non* before *Corneliam*	71, 3	122, 848	71, 3
2. *constituatur* instead of *statuatur*	75, 1	124, 898	75, 1

The first variant shows the adverb *non* placed before the name *Corneliam* when almost all the other manuscripts have it placed after the name. As this type of variant is very common, it might not help us prove the relationship between these manuscripts. However, this type of variant is very common in manuscripts O and P, which are considered in greater detail below.

Next, there is the addition of the prefix *con* to the word *statuatur,* probably to intensify the meaning of the verb. This variant only occurs in this group of manuscripts.

I believe it is safe to assume these manuscripts are part of the same recension as not only they share important conjunctive errors and also they are clearly from a different recension to the Munich group.

Zimmermann noted one further suspicious variant that could prove the existence of a closer relationship between some of the manuscripts of the I, O, P, V, W, X group:[326]

Table V			
Variant in IOPVWX	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**
1. *Grais… possuimus* put after *daretur*	23, 1-10 / 27, 8	82, 269-280 / 86, 316	23, 1-10 / 27, 8

This interesting dislocation of a considerable amount of text happens when Alcuin is in the middle of a vast explanation of *controversiae*; indeed, it is hard to determine why this passage was moved. Alcuin's explanation contains definitions of many concepts, with several words repeated multiple times (for instance, *intentio*). This could have resulted in a copyist misplacing a passage of the text, a mistake which was in turn copied by others. It is scarcely plausible that this exact mistake could have been made in each of the manuscripts independently. This thus demonstrates that these manuscripts do indeed descend from the same exemplar.

I have found three further variants that may help us see how these manuscripts are affiliated.

[326] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xiv.

Table VI			
Variant in IOPVWX	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**
1. *exposita* instead of *expositio*	49, 3	102, 571	49, 3
2. A omitted	66, 9	118, 785	66, 9
3. A instead of *K*	66, 10	118, 786	66, 10
4. A omitted	67, 1	118, 787	67, 1

The first variant in Table VI is found in the sentence *breuiter expositio ponitur distributa…* Instead of *expositio,* we find *exposita.* It is likely that this happened due to the influence of the word *distributa* later in the sentence.

The second variant in Table VI probably occurred because Charlemagne's preceding line is very short: *K. Cur credimus ei?* It is possible that the copyist mistook Alcuin's next line, *Ille secutus est suam artem*, for part of Charlemagne's question, and therefore omitted the *A* in an attempt to give the passage some meaning.

The third variant, the letter *A* instead of the letter *K*, is a consequence of the previous variant. In order to give some sense to the text, the copyist had to give a line to Alcuin.

Finally, the fourth variant is another consequence of the second variant, with the letter *A* omitted. Here, the copyist caused Alcuin to lose a line in an attempt to re-establish sense.

Zimmermann spotted another reading that could suggest that manuscripts M, N and X form another subgroup.[327] They all contain the passage:

Table VII			
Variant in MNX	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**
1. *aut ante* instead of *ante aut*	99, 9	148, 1253	99, 9

As seen above, the big group of manuscripts I, M, N, O, P, V, W, X share conjunctive errors that are too obvious to ignore and which demonstrate that they undoubtedly had a common exemplar. Nevertheless, inside this group we find some disjunctive errors that suggest some manuscripts are related more closely than others. For example, the reading shown in Table VII happens in manuscripts M, N and X but not in any others of the larger group to which they belong.

Interestingly, this variant of M, N and X agrees with all other manuscripts of the *De rhetorica*, except I, O, P, V, W. The vast majority of manuscripts are written: *veritas, per quam ea quae sunt* ***aut ante*** *fuerunt aut futura sunt dicuntur.* It is manuscripts I, O, P, V, W that use *ante aut.* It is likely, therefore, that at least one of M, N or X was corrected. However, it is hard to determine if it was corrected with the help of another manuscript or simply through the actions of an attentive copyist.

If, however, based on the variant discussed above, we reach the conclusion that manuscripts M, N and X have a closer relationship, it is only fair to discuss the possibility that

[327] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xv.

manuscript X has some kind of relationship with manuscripts P and O. I found three variants that these manuscripts have in common:

Table VIII			
Variant in OPX	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**
1. *an* after *puer* omitted.	52, 3	104, 609	52, 3
2. *mox* instead of *nox*	59, 3	110, 691	59, 3
3. *aut* omitted.	67, 9	118, 800	67, 9

The first variant occurs in the sentence: *in aetate puer **an** adulescens, natu grandior an senex*. The sentence becomes incorrect without this conjunction, therefore, it is unlikely that this variant would occur in all these manuscripts by chance.

The second reading occurs in the phrase: *in re nox, somnium, occisio: post rem =, quod solus ierit, quod socium reliquerit, quod cruentum gladium habuerit.* It is likely that a copyist took the letter *n* for an *m.*

Lastly, there is the omission of the conjunction *aut* in the sentence: *Iam elicenda est responsio aut, quia taciturnitas imitatur confessionem, concluenda est argumentatio, sicut in confessis.* Here, the copyist might have thought the conjunction was irrelevant, although its absence makes the meaning of the sentence somewhat obscure. Howell translated this passage thus: 'A reply of some sort ought to be elicited. Or, since silence means consent, the argument

can be brought to a close just as if he had made an admission'[328] If we remove the conjunction and adopt the same punctuation of the Latin text that Howell did, the translation would be something like this: 'A reply of some sort ought to be elicited, since silence means consent, the argument can be brought to a close just as if he had made an admission'.

Zimmermann goes on to find some similarities in manuscripts O and P, suggesting they might form a subgroup.[329] They do have some variants in common that do not appear in the other manuscripts:

Table IX

Variants in OP	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**
1. *fecisti* instead of *fecisset*	18, 7	80, 223	18, 7
2. *relinquere arma* instead of *arma relinquere*	24, 3-4	82, 283	24, 3-4
3. *non* before *fecissem* omitted	24, 6	84, 285	24, 6
4. *quid* after *si*	38, 9	94, 440	38, 9
5. *producetur* instead of *procedetur*	47, 1	100, 544-5	47, 1

[328] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 119.
[329] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xv.

6. *quid* instead of *quae*	73, 6	124, 877	73, 6

The variants in Table IX could have arisen independently in each manuscript. However, taken all together they may indicate that these two manuscripts have a closer relationship.

Manuscripts O and P have many other common variants which Zimmermann did not indicate but which I believe are important to consider in order to establish the connection between these manuscripts. They are laid out in Table X below:

Table X

Variants in OP	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**
1. *a bene* instead of *ad bene*	5, 2	68, 55	5, 2
2. *mihi* omitted.	7, 9	70, 86	7, 9
3. *quod* instead of *quid*	8, 10	72, 101	8, 10
4. *controversarium* instead of *controversiarum*	10, 2 and 3	72, 118 and 119	10, 2 and 3
5. *constitutionis* instead of *constitutiones*	13, 10	76, 167	13, 10
6. *quae* instead of *qui*	14, 3	76, 171	14, 3

7. *legibus saepe* instead of *saepe legibus*	16, 1	78, 191	16, 1
8. *proximis* instead of *proximi*	16, 5	78, 195	16, 5
9. *occiderat meum* instead of *meum occiderat*	18, 9	80, 225	18, 9
10. *orestes* instead of *oreste*	18, 11	80, 227	18, 11
11. *testamenta* instead of *testamento*	20, 8	80, 248	20, 8
Variants in OP	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**
12. *sint* instead of *fiant*	21, 1	80, 251	21, 1
13. *et iniqui et aequi* instead of *aequi et iniqui*	21, 6	82, 256	21, 6
14. *occisiis* instead of *occisis*	25, 2	84, 290	25, 2
15. *lacedemonam* instead of *lacedaemonem*	32, 4	88, 365	32, 4

16. *impedito* instead of *impedimento*	32, 9	88, 370	32, 9
17. *publicare* instead of *publicari*	33, 12	90, 383	33, 12
18. *an te* instead of *a te*	35, 6	92, 400	35, 6
19. *factum causa* instead of *causa factum*	37, 1	92, 423	37, 1
20. *magis* instead of *maius*	39, 7 and 8	94, 444 and 450	39, 7 and 8
21. *aditorum* instead of *auditorum*	43, 5	98, 496	43, 5
22. *connitudinis* instead of *concinnitudinis*	46, 2	100, 532	46, 2
23. *aliam rem* instead of *rem aliam*	47, 2	100, 545	47, 2
24. *erimus* omitted	49, 3	102, 570	49, 3
Variants in OP	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**
25. *reor omnibus* instead of *omnibus reor*	50, 2	102, 583	50, 2
26. *ultra* instead of *trans*	61, 10	114, 722	61, 10

27. *tutus esse non potest* instead of *esse non potest tutus; esse non potest* instead of *non potest esse*	63, 4 and 5	114, 741 and 742	63, 4 and 5
28. *an illius malis* instead of *malis an illius*	64, 10	116, 762	64, 10
29. *an illius malis* instead of *malis an illius*	65, 3	116, 766	65, 3
30. *uel talem* instead of *tandem*	65, 5	116, 767	65, 5
31. *quoque Xenophon* 32. instead of *Xenophon quoque*	65, 7	116, 770	65, 7
33. *optime* instead of *optimae*	66, 5	116, 778	66, 5
34. *suam secutus est artem* instead of *secutus est suam artem*	66, 9	118, 785	66, 9
35. *planiori* instead of *planiora*	68, 1	118, 807	68, 1

Variants in OP	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**

36. *laudas* instead of *laudes*	71, 9	122, 854	71, 9
37. *cedendum* instead of *concedendum*	72, 1	122, 858	72, 1
38. *mihi quam magis* instead of *magis quam mihi*	73, 1	122, 869	73, 1
39. *facta alia* instead of *alia facta*	74, 5	124, 892	74, 5
40. *A.* before *et*	80, 1	130, 967	80, 1
41. *haec pars habet* instead of *habet haec pars*	80, 6	130, 975	80, 6
42. *quodam momentum* instead of *momentum quodam*	80, 11	130, 980	80, 11
43. *rethoricae* instead of *rethori*	81, 7	130, 988	81, 7
44. *incompositae* instead of *compositae*	86, 2	136, 1052	86, 2
45. *domine mi rex tibi* instead of *tibi domine mi rex*	89, 2	138, 1097	89, 2

46. *in faucibus uel* instead of *uel in faucibus*	89, 8	138, 1105	89, 8
Variants in OP	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**
47. *finitum* instead of *infinitum*	91, 1	140, 1123	91, 1
48. *quoque* omitted	91, 2	140, 1123	91, 2
49. *metus non frangat* instead of *nec metus frangat*	93, 2	142, 1146	93, 2
50. *auctoritati venerandae* instead of *venerandae auctoritati*	95, 10	144, 1182	95, 10
51. *usu* omitted	99, 10	148, 1254	99, 10
52. *non* omitted	101, 4	148, 1280	101, 4
53. *uidetur esse iustitia* instead of *iustitia videtur esse*	103, 3 and 4	150, 1308	103, 3 and 4
54. *haec* instead of *hoc*	103, 5	150, 1311	103, 5
55. *labor* instead of *amor*	105, 2	152, 1339	105, 2

56. *inquisitiones has* instead of *has inquisitiones*	106, 8	154, 1364	106, 8

The abundance of matching readings between manuscripts O and P leaves no doubt that these two manuscripts have a strong relationship. Almost half of these variants show a different word order when compared to all the other manuscripts. However, despite the changes, this different word order does not interfere with the sense of the text. Other variants include omissions that either do not change the meaning of the text or else make the meaning incorrect (as does the omission of *non*, variant 52, Table X), leaving the passage so wrong that they could only have been mistakes. Other variants demonstrate a difficulty in reading and interpreting abbreviations or certain letters (for example, the use of *finitum* instead of *infinitum* on page 91). Due to the quantity of similarities, it seems highly probable that O is a copy of P, therefore, the readings of manuscript O were not included in my edition.

Zimmermann has also suggested other manuscript groups based on similarities that could prove certain manuscripts to be interdependent. Manuscripts B, D and d have some shared readings and errors not otherwise attested in the tradition. B and D are both very early manuscripts, probably copied in the first quarter of the ninth century and currently located in in England and Austria, respectively. Manuscript d is an incomplete manuscript, probably from the late eleventh century and located in Germany. The following have been noted:[330]

[330] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xv.

Table XI			
Variants in BD and d	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**
1. *excogitatio est* instead of *est excogitatio*	6, 8	70, 72-3	6, 8
2. *de* instead of *dum*	93, 3	142, 1147	93, 3
3. *haec ne* instead of *haecine*	104, 5	152, 1329	104, 5
4. *uere* omitted	105, 13	152, 1352	105, 13
5. *sapientia ita…clarius est* repeated	86, 11	136, 1060	86, 11
6. clamanter irae instead of *clementer ire*	95, 1	142, 1170-1	95, 1
7. *citemur* instead of *utemur*	42, 7	96, 488	42, 7

Manuscripts d bears enough similarities to manuscript D for us to consider its readings not relevant for the edition.

Zimmermann also noted the similarity of manuscripts Q, R, W, X which include some additions from the *De inuentione* as well as other additions from an unknown source.[331] Manuscript Q, located in the Vatican, is the oldest of this group. It was copied in the ninth century, whilst the other three are from the eleventh century. Table XII looks at the additions from Cicero:

Table XII			
Variants in QRWX	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number (provisory)**
1. *Et manus ad se tendentem* after *natantem*	14, 6	76, 175	14, 6

In this passage, Alcuin gives examples of legal constitutions. The whole passage is taken from *De inuentione,* II, 152.[332] The copyist, probably comparing Alcuin's text to Cicero's, noticed or remembered that there was a sentence in Cicero that was not in the manuscript of the *Disputatio.* In Cicero we read:

> Duo quidam, cum iam in alto nauigarent, et cum eorum alterius nauis, alterius onus esset, naufragum quendam natantem et manus ad se tendentem animum adverterunt misericordia commoti navem ad eum adplicarunt, hominem ad se sustulerunt.[333]

[331] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xvi.
[332] Ciceron, *De L'inuention,* II, 153.
[333] Ciceron, *De L'Inuention,* II, 153, p. 221.

And in Alcuin, we have:

> Duo quidam, cum in alto nauigarent, cum alterius nauis et alterius onus esset, naufragum quendam natantem misericordia moti sustulerunt in nauem.[334]

The passages are similar but not identical. The passage we find in Alcuin bears no resemblance to any of Cicero's manuscripts. We must conclude therefore that Alcuin summarised and adapted Cicero's text.

In Q, W and X (but not R) we have the following additions from *De inuentione*[335]:

Table XIII

Variants in QWX	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**
1. *et sibi victu fero vitam propagabant* after *vagabantur*	3, 9	68, 35	3, 9
2. *perniciosissimis satellitibus* after *abutebatur*	3, 13	68, 39	3, 13

In Variant 1 (Table XIII) we encounter the exact same phenomenon considered above, with Alcuin quoting Cicero's *De inuentione,* I, 2, word for word. The only difference between Cicero's and Alcuin's texts is that the excerpt *Et sibi victu fero vitam propagabant* found in

[334] Page 14, lines 5-8 of this edition.
[335] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xvi.

Cicero, is missing in Alcuin. Therefore, the passage appears to have been added by a very alert copyist.

Variant 2 in Table XIII is caused by the same act: an attentive copyist realising the passage was taken from *De inuentione*, I, 2 and deciding it would be better to fill in the quotation.

It is interesting that another addition occurs in this group (Q, R, W, X), although it is not from Cicero:[336]

Table XIV			
Variant in QRWX	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**
1. *huiusmodi* before *disputationem*	64, 3	116, 755	64, 3

It is worth noticing that manuscripts Q, W and X also share a significant reading:[337]

Table XV			
Variant in QWX	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**
1. *nimia significetur* after *existimatio*	43, 9	98, 499	43, 9

[336] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xvi.
[337] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xvi.

If we look at the passage as it should be, we see: *ut nequaquam assentatio nimia significetur, si de his quam honesta existimatio quantaque eorum iudicii….* It is likely that this, therefore, was another case of dittography.

It was also noted by Zimmermann that manuscripts G, K, L have some shared readings. This group is formed by three ninth-century manuscripts, with one of them (G) probably copied in the first quarter of the ninth century. Both G and K are located in the Vatican, while L is in France. These are the common readings:[338]

Table XVI			
Variants in GKL	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**
1. *spectat* instead of *spectatur*	62, 11	114, 736	62, 11
2. *nocet maxime* instead of *maxime nocet*	88, 2	136-7, 1081-2	88, 2
3. *uis maxime* for *maxime vis*	66, 1	116, 774-5	66, 1

It is possible that these variants occurred without any relationship between the manuscripts, since they are common variants to find. However, this does not mean that these manuscripts did not have a relation with each other, indeed, these readings might help us to prove that they did.

[338] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xvi.

After further investigation, I noticed one additional reading in common between manuscripts G, K, L.

Table XVII			
Variants in GKL	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**
1. *licet mihine* instead of *licetne mihi*	78, 5	128, 944	78, 5

I believe the changed place of the interrogative particle (which changes from a verb to a pronoun), uniquely found in these three manuscripts, indicates that they were all part of the same group and do have a closer connection.

Variants shared uniquely by manuscripts G and L are shown below:[339]

Table XVIII			
Variants in GL	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**
1. *minuandam* instead of *minuendam*	35, 11	92, 408	35, 11
2. *servabit* instead of *servabitur*	47, 9	100, 552	47, 9

[339] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xvi.

3. *ostendet* instead of *ostendetur*	48, 6	102, 560	48, 6
4. *confirmat* instead of *confirmatur*	61, 5	112, 716-7	61, 5
5. *frangat* instead of *frangatur*	90, 3	138, 1110	90, 3

The variants in Table XVIII could have been made in each manuscript individually, and thus do not prove any relation existing between them. We can see some confusion between the letters a and e and four possible difficulties in terms of misreading the abbreviation as the passive voice.

In my investigations I was able to trace some other readings uniquely shared by manuscripts G and L. These readings corroborate the existence of a closer relationship between these two manuscripts.

Table XIX			
Variants in GL	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**
1. *dissuasione* omitted	8, 4	*70, 93*	8, 4
2. *remouet* instead of *remouetur*	26, 7	*84, 307*	26, 7
3. *intellegunt* instead of *Intelliguntur*	53, 5	106, 622	53, 5

4. *intelligit* instead of *intelligitur*	53, 11	106, 628	53, 11
5. *magno opera* instead of *magnopere*	97, 3	144, 1203	97, 3

There seems to be some consistency in the variants displayed in the tables above. Most of them substitute the passive for the active voice. There is no attempt to correct the syntactical elements in these passages, which suggests the copyists were aware they were making these sentences grammatically incorrect. This could have happened due to a difficulty in reading the proper abbreviation for the passive voice in the exemplar.

Zimmermann also noticed some similarities between manuscripts K and L:[340]

Table XX			
Variants in KL	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**
1. *praesapiens* instead of *et sapiens*	4, 1	68, 40	4, 1
2. *praeiudiciali* instead of *et iudiciali*	7, 11	70, 89	7, 11
3. *navi* instead of *navem*	14, 7	76, 176	14, 7

[340] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xvi.

4. *sunt* omitted	30, 4	88, 342	30, 4
5. *est* omitted	34, 3	90, 386	34, 3
6. *sunt enim* instead of *enim sunt*	41, 5	96, 470	41, 5

I have found several more occasions in which manuscripts K and L have shared errors. They are listed below:

Table XXI			
Variants in KL	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**
1. *clemestrem* instead of *Clytaemnestram*	12, 10	74, 154	12, 10
2. *et* omitted	21, 7	82, 256	21, 7
3. *et* instead of *at*	22, 10	82, 269	22, 10
4. *sit* instead of *si*	38, 9	94, 440	38, 9
5. *in inuidiam…proferentur* omitted	42 and 43, 10 and 1	98, 491-2	42 and 43, 10 and 1
6. *sunt* instead of *erunt*	44, 5	98, 508	44, 5
7. *pertinentia* instead of *pertinentium*	48, 9	102, 565	48, 9

8. *conuiuat* instead of *uiuat*	52, 10	106, 617	52, 10
9. *secundum* omitted	55, 2	108, 643	55, 2
10. *propteruam* instead of *protervam*	55, 4	108, 646	55, 4
11. *uel* omitted before *facta*	55, 5	108, 647	55, 5
12. *primum* instead of *primo*	58, 10	110, 683	58, 10
13. *cum Xenophonte sermonem* instead of *sermonem cum Xenophonte*	65, 1	116, 764	65, 1
14. *captum esse* instead of *esse captum*	72, 10	122, 867	72, 10
15. *praehonore* instead of *et honoro*	78, 3	128, 941	78, 3
16. *et re aperta* instead of *et aperta*	82, 1	132, 995	82, 1
17. *te ante* instead of *tamen te*	96, 1	144, 1187	96, 1
18. *animae* instead of *animi*	97, 10	146, 1217	97, 10

19. *est uidetur* instead of *praeuidetur*	98, 5	146, 1230	98, 5

Finally, Zimmermann noted that manuscripts S, T, U also seem to form a group. Manuscript S, which is in the Vatican, was probably copied in the final years of the ninth century. Manuscript T, from Belgium, is from the ninth century, and manuscript U, from Germany, is from the tenth. They agree on the following variants:[341]

Table XXII

Variants in STU	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**
1. *in* omitted	15, 3	76, 181	15, 3
2. *iudicio* instead of *iudicatio*	21, 3	82, 253	21, 3
3. *oportuerit* instead of *potuerit*	36, 8	92, 417-8	36, 8
4. *dicitur* instead of *dicetur*	36, 11	92, 420	36, 11

[341] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. xvii.

5. *testis* instead of *testes*	40, 10	96, 461	40, 10
6. *haec* omitted	51, 6	104, 599	51, 6
7. *quid* instead of *quod*	75, 5	124, 901	75, 5
8. *sit* omitted	76, 13	126, 922	76, 13
9. *uirtute* instead of *mente*	104, 11	152, 1336	104, 11

Most of these variants are of little importance when analysed individually. They are easily explainable and do not change the meaning of the passages they are in. However, the final variant in this table does need to be analysed more carefully.

This is because Variant 9 in Table XXII creates a theological dispute. In the vast majority of manuscripts, the text reads:

> diligamus Deum et dominum nostrum ex toto corde et ex tota anima et ex tota mente.

However, the copyist involved in the making of the exemplar of manuscripts STU thought it would be better to change *mente* for *virtute*. If the majority of the manuscripts are correct[342], it is likely that the original reading follows Matthew (23, 37):

> Diliges Dominum Deum tuum in toto corde tuo et in tota anima tua et in tota mente tua;

However, the copyist of S,T,U thought that it was not Matthew who was being quoted, but Mark (12, 28):

[342] Manuscripts should be weighted, not counted, as West wrote. However, due to the quality of transmission of manuscripts of the *De rhetorica* in general, I believe, on this occasion, Matthew is the correct choice. Cf. M.L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique,* (Stuttgart, 1973), p. 49.

et diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua et ex tota mente tua et ex tota virtute tua.

So the copyist was either quoting Mark by heart (and therefore substituting *mente* for *virtute,* instead of simply adding *virtute*), or he made the decision to mix these evangelists.

After a more complete analysis, I found other occasions in which manuscripts S, T, U share the same variant.

Table XXIII			
Variants in STU	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and number**
1. *ditionem* instead of *conditionem*	24, 8	84, 288	24, 8
2. *capitale* instead of *capital*	32, 1	88, 362	32, 1
3. *suspicionis* instead of *suspiciones*	39, 5	94, 447	39, 5
4. *conquiritur* instead of *conqueritur*	77, 5	126, 968	77, 5
5. *fratres* instead of *fratris*	77, 6	128, 969	77, 6
6. *non* omitted	103, 6	150, 1313	103, 6

Regarding the two new manuscripts I had the opportunity to collate, one of them, Ve, does not agree systematically with any other. It is clear, however, that it does not belong to the Munich group, as it does not share any of the conjunctive errors of that recension.

On the other hand, manuscript Z seems to be part of the group of manuscripts which were most influentiated by additions from Cicero's *De inuentione,* as it is in agreement on different occasions

Table XXIV			
Variants in Z and in manuscripts influenced by Cicero	**Zimmermann's page and line**	**Howell's page and line**	**This edition's page and line**
1. perniciosissimis satellitibus QRXZ	3, 13	68, 39-40	3, 13
2. apo tu rethorisin XZ	5, 1	68, 53	5, 1
3. et manus ad se tendentem QRWXZ	14, 6	76, 174	14, 6

As we can see, there are important coincidences in these readings. The first and third occurrence is directed related to a passage in which the influence of Cicero's *De inuentione* is clear due to additions that cannot be found in other manuscripts.

Conclusions

The manuscripts of Alcuin's *De rhetorica* can be split into at least two main groups due to the presence of two major variants. The first is the absence of a passage about fortitude on page

100 of this edition. The fact that only the manuscripts of the Munich group (A, E, F, Y) have this passage omitted is enough to separate them from the other manuscripts.

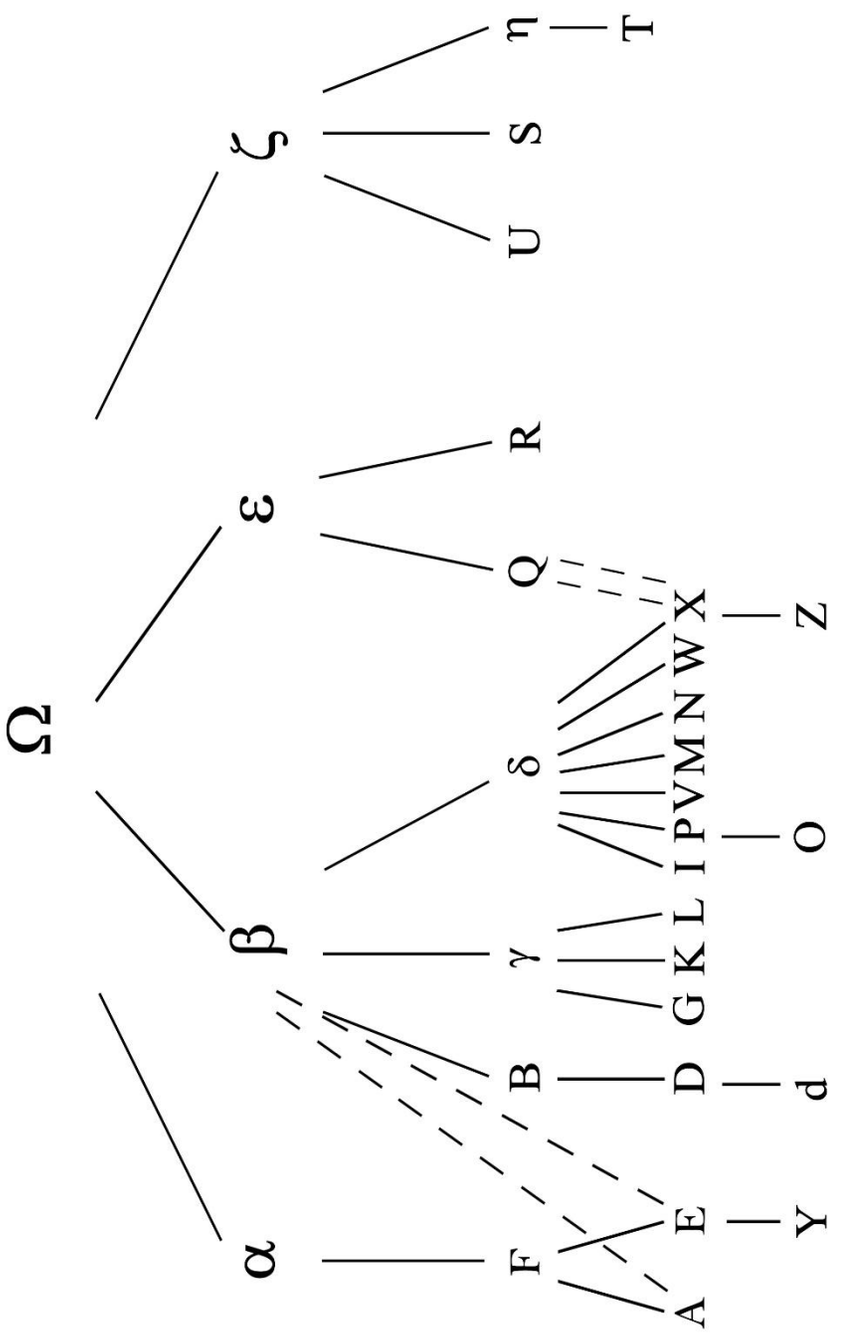
The second major variant is the misplacement in manuscripts I, O, P, V, W, X of a whole passage from page 23 of this edition. This variant leaves no doubt that these manuscripts are strongly connected.

After considering all the data collected above, it is safe to say that we can see how most of the manuscripts of the *De rhetorica* are related. This could be the first step in an attempt to establish a *stemma codicum*.

In the stemma I did not include manuscripts H, Ve, a, b and c. Manuscripts H and Ve do not agree with any other manuscript or recension of manuscripts consistenly. I am only certain they do not belong to the Munich group.

With these main variants in mind and paying close attention to all the readings exposed above, I have attempted to draw the first *stemma* ever created for the *Disputatio de rhetorica*.

4.4 The *stemma codicum*



4.5 Different readings proposed in this edition

Brief methodology overwiew

In this section I will address some of the textual choices made by Halm and Zimmermann in their edition of Alcuin's work. I will contrast them with manuscript readings and propose some alterations for a new edition. As discussed above, Alcuin's *De rhetorica* is well transmitted through a number of ninth-century manuscripts, requiring few amendments to make the text clear. The changes I suggest here do not alter the meaning of the text; occasionally they clarify some passages, but my aim is to respect the original use of the language whilst exploring in more detail some of the readings found in the manuscripts. My methodology, therefore, diverge from that of Halm, Howell and Zimmermann, who tried to make Alcuin's text closer to Classical Latin.

In this sense, my approach is to weight the variants and try to choose the variant that, perhaps, does not agree with what is expected of Classical Latin, but to what would be the more plausible in Alcuin's time and style. In order to help me in taking these decisions, I have read and studied Alcuin's works *De grammatica*[343] and *De orthographia,*[344] as it was suggested by Wallach.[345] However, they did not help me, because the problems that I had to face found no resemblance whatsoever in those texts written by Alcuin.

One important element when decinding which lessons I would choose was the fact that Alcuin's *De rhetorica* follows Cicero's *De inuentione* very closely. Therefore, it was extremely helpful to compare the readings of Alcuin's manuscripts with the readings found in manuscripts of the *De inuentione.*[346] In fact, due to this comparison, I was able to determine which family of Cicero's manuscripts Alcuin most likely had access to. The *stemma codicum* of Cicero's *De*

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[343] Alcuin, *Grammatica,* PL 101 col. 854 D.
[344] Aldo Marsili, *Alcuini Orthographia* (Pisa, 1952).
[345] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne,* 96.
[346] Cicerón, *De L'Invention.*

inuentione shows two distinct families: one made of manuscripts which contain the whole text and another which has the text mutilated, this family is called *Mutili.*[347] This family is made of nine manuscripts, four of which come from the ninth century (one of them, the *Herbipolitanos* dates from the beginning of the ninth century and was copied in Germany, therefore very close in space and time to Alcuin).[348]All of these manuscripts are younger thant the oldest manuscript of the *De rhetorica.* [349] However, the *Mutili* manuscripts of Cicero transmit the same readings as most of Alcuin's manuscripts of the *De rhetorica,* and, therefore, it seems evident that an older ancestral of the *Mutili* family was used by Alcuin to write his *De rhetorica,* as it will be clear below when I discuss each individual new reading. Because of this information, I could choose the variants with a higher degree of confidence.

Therefore, my methodology is straightforward: to respect as much as possible the readings of the older manuscripts. I am aware of the problems this choice might bring, but I am confident about the lessons the manuscripts transmitted, as there are very few important disagreements. Furthermore, where conflicting readings appear, we can usually compare them to Cicero's manuscripts of the *De inuentione*, as I mentioned above. Finally, I revised the changes made by Halm, Howell and Zimmermann as they tried to make Alcuin's Latin closer to our understanding of Classical Latin; because my intention is to be as faithful as possible to the manuscript readings, I changed some of their interference.

Dedicatory poem

There is a consensus about the authorship of the poem which opens Alcuin's *Disputatio de rhetorica*.[350] Wallach, in his discussion about the parts that constitute the *De rhetorica* does not question the authenticity of the opening poem.[351] In fact, he uses part of it not only to justify his

[347] Cicerón, *De L'Invention,* p. 44.
[348] Cicerón, *De L'Invention*, p. 34.
[349] Cicerón, *De L'Invention,* pp. 33-37.
[350] MGH Plac I, p. 300.
[351] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*. p. 83-9.

view of how the text makes sense as a whole (uniting the two subjects of rhetoric and virtues), but also to claim the text was written after Charlemagne was crowned emperor.[352]

Zimmermann made a curious choice regarding the poem. On line 3 he chose to retain the name *Karulus,* thus following the editorial choice of Halm (who followed the reading of manuscripts A, E, F), instead of changing it to *Karolus*, as can be seen in the manuscripts E,[2] H, I, K, L, N, O, R, S, W, X, Y, a. It is an especially odd choice as a few lines later, in the title of the work, Zimmermann chooses *Karoli,* but not *Karuli* (which does not appear in any manuscript) or *Karli* (the reading attested in manuscripts A, E, F, K, T, Y).

I see no reason to maintain Halm's reading. Most of the manuscripts not only attest to *Karolus*, but it also seems to be the preferred form of Alcuin and other writers from Charlemagne's court.[353] Additionally, neither does the hexameter in which this word is found suffer from the alteration between *u* and *o.*

The title

The title itself is a problematic issue, which is not unsual by any means, as it reads more like a description of the content than an actual title. Moreover, it varies significantly from one manuscript to another. Below are all the titles found in the manuscripts, along with the manuscripts in which they occur:

B[2] *Alcuini Rhetorica*

H *Disputatio de Rethorica e virtutibus sapientissimi Regis Caroli et Albini Magistri*

I *Disputatio Regis Karoli et Albini Ifegistri de rethorica et virtutibus*

V *Incipit de rethorica disputatio K et Alb.*

OW *Incipit Rethorica Albini Magistri*

[352] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, p. 47, especially note 27.
[353] Gabriel Silagi**,** *Karolus* – Cara Lux, in: *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters.* Weimar [später] Münster/Köln: Böhlau, Bd. 37 (1981), S. 786-791 **.**

Q *Dialogus Rethoricae Artis*

S *Incipit disputatio Albini Diaconi et Caroli Imperatoris Dissertissimorum Virorum de Rethorica et Virtutibus eius*

P *Incipit Rethorica Albini*

R *Dialogus Albini Magistri et Karoli Regis de Rethorica*

X *Incipit liber artis rethorice item sub interrogatione Karoli imperatoris et responsione Albini Magistri*

It is clear, therefore, that there was no medieval consensus on the manuscript's title. Another important issue is the variation in the use of *rhetorica* and *rethorica.* Not only does this variant appear in the titles but also in the texts. In all the manuscripts except for K, each time the world 'rhetoric' appears it is written *rethorica*. So many occurrences of this in so many manuscripts means that it is unlikely to be an error. Moreover, this spelling of *rethorica* appears in other, different, manuscripts. As an example, we have at least one manuscript of Isidore's *Etymologiae* which uses the spelling *rethorica.*[354] Furthermore, Cicero's *De inuentione*, the main source for Alcuin's work, also has several manuscripts where *rethorica* appears on every occasion, including in the title.[355] Further, it is the case that every time a foreign (i.e., non-Latin) word appears in Alcuin's text it coincides with a disagreement between the manuscripts, as we will see below. I believe that changing all the occurrences from *rhetorica* to *rethorica* is the best option: it takes into account the majority of the manuscripts, thus reflecting Alcuin's decision about the transliteration, and it is clearly not a mistake since its use is attested by other authors.

[354]British Library, Harley MS 2660, See webpage: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_2660_f001r (last accessed: 17/06/2015).
[355] Ciceron, *De L'Invention,* p. 56. At least two manuscripts from the ninth century (VP), among others, have this reading.

Now I turn my attention to the body of the text. I numerated the paragraphs to make clearer the different readings.

1. The next issue appears on page five in the first line of my edition. As mentioned above, every time a foreign word appears in the text, it generates different readings. In this case, it is a Greek phrase: *apo tu rhetoreum.* Halm chose to write this expression with Greek letters[356] but these do not appear in any of the manuscripts. I therefore agree with Zimmermann's option to keep what appears in manuscripts C, G, H, I, L, M, N, O, P, T, U, V:

> apo tu rethoreum.[357]

2. On page eight, starting on the second line, we have the following passage:

> Respexit dominus ad Abel et ad munera eius, ad Cain autem et munera eius non respexit.

Despite the fact that most witnesses (B, C, D, G, I, K, L, N, P^2, Q, S, W, Y) contain the above sentence and therefore make this reading the one chosen by editors, some others (H, M, O, P, R, T, U, V, X) include the variation:

> ad Cain autem et ad munera eius non respexit.

The addition of another *ad* before *munera* seems to maintain the parallelism present in this passage. The fact that there was an *ad* before the first *munera* seems to indicate the presence of the second *ad*, otherwise, the sentence would suffer from an unintentional lack of parallelism.

3. Still focusing on Zimmermann, page eight, line five, we find the name, *Chusai.* Because it is a foreign name, the manuscripts offer various transliterations. Let us consider the variants and the manuscripts in which they occur:

> **H^2I^2MV** *Chusai*

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[356] Halm, *RLM*, p. 526, 3.
[357] Zimmerman, *Critical*, p. 5.

RTa *usai*

R²U *cusai*

X *hysai*

S *absai*

HI et cett. *husai*

The names *Chusai* and *Husai* are interchangeable. I therefore believe it is best to keep *Husai* since this is the reading found in the majority of the manuscripts.

4. On page 11, lines 12 and 13, we find the sentence:

Quidam dux Romanus cum obsideretur ab inimicis nec ullo modo evadere potuisset, pactus est (...).

Halm,[358] Howell[359] and Zimmermann[360] all choose to transcribe the verb in an emended form, *potuisset*, instead of using what appears in all the manuscripts: *potuit.* The reason why these editors appear to have chosen this form, the pluperfect of the subjunctive, is because the previous sentence has a verb conjugated in the imperfect of the subjunctive, both of them subordinated to *pactus est*. It is a valid choice, but not the only way to build this sentence. In this passage, Alcuin's source is a passage of Cicero's *De inuentione* in which we read:

> Quidam imperator, cum ab hostibus circumsederetur neque effugere ullo modo posset, depectus est (…).[361]

In Cicero's case, we have the verb *posset*, imperfect subjunctive. If we follow Cicero, as Alcuin did, we should also use *posset* in this case. However, there is only one reading in all manuscripts: *potuit.* Even though it does not abide with the classical way of building this type of

[358] Halm, *RLM*, p. 527.
[359] Howell, *Rhetoric*, p. 74.
[360] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. 11.
[361] Ciceron, *De L'Invention*, p. 179-180.

sentence, I believe we must keep the perfect tense, since by using this we do not damage the meaning.

5. On page 12, line 10, there is another example of a foreign name causing problematic readings. Modern editors have all printed the word *Clytaemnestram* even though it does not appear in any of the manuscripts.[362]

The readings we find are:

R *clitemestram*

BCDGHI^{2}MHOPQSTUVWYa *clemestram*

KL *clemestrem*

I *clemenstram*

X *clementiam*

D^2*clomestram*

Manuscript R has the most Latinized form of the Greek name. However, in an eleventh-century manuscript this might not be the best variant for our purpose. In this case, I have chosen *Clemestram*, following the reading of the majority and the guidance of the oldest manuscripts. Even though *Clemestram* is not a known word, I believe it is the closest we have from the original name *Clytemnestram* and, therefore, is probably the best reading.

6. On the second line of page 17, we find the sentence:

et quae prius esset scripta, et quos quaeque habuisset legislatores.

The readings of the manuscripts are:

Halm *quos quaeque*

BDGKLNOPRSTUWXa *quosque*

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[362] Zimmermann, *Critical,* p. 12, l. 10.

AEFHIMVY *quos quae*

Q *quos*

I believe that the correction made by Halm and which was subsequently adopted by Zimmermann is not necessary. Firstly, it is understandable how the reading *quos quae* became *quosque*; the diphthong *ae* was usually written as *e.* Secondly, the pronouns *quae* and *quaeque* are synonyms.[363] Therefore, the reading *quos quae* found in some important manuscripts from the ninth century give enough sense to the passage without any need for amendments. For example:

et quae prius esset scripta, et quos quae habuisset legislatores.

And which (law) was written first, and which (law) had which legislators[364]

7. Still on page 19, on the ninth line, we find the word *iuridicalem.* However, this word is only present in Halm and manuscripts Q (ninth-century) and R (eleventh-century), both vastly influenced by Cicero's *De inuentione*. In Cicero's work, the manuscripts show both forms on every occasion this word appears.[365] All manuscripts of Alcuin's work include the word *iudicialem,* which I believe should be continued, as it seems that Alcuin's text was following a manuscript by Cicero with this same form. The same issue, with the same resolution, can also be found on page 26, line six.

8. On the second line of page 26, we are faced with another difficulty, this time involving the letter *h.* In Halm, Howell and Zimmermann we find the name *Horatia.* In the manuscripts we find two other options:

FIKLMQRSTWXYa *oratio*

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[363] Cf. Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, online edition: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0059%3Aentry%3Dquis1 (last accessed 20/09/16)
[364] Translation mine.
[365] Cicero, De L'*Invention,* pp. 69-70.

ABDEGHM^{2}NOPUV *oratia*

Since there is no *h* in any manuscript, the adopted reading should be *Oratia.* In fact, this passage is extracted directly from Cicero's *De inuentione* (II, XXVII, 79). All Cicero's manuscripts use the reading *Oratia.*[366]

9. On page 32, line 7, we find the verb *possent.* This reading, chosen by Halm,[367]and Zimmermann[368] is supported by manuscripts E,^{2} K, P,^{2} R, U, X, Y.

There is, however, another reading (*possint*) that is supported by manuscripts A, B, D, E, F, G, I, L, M, N, O, P, Q, S, T, V, W. Although *possent* is more grammatically appropriate, the reading *possint* is perhaps preferable due to the authority of the manuscripts. Moreover, this passage comes directly from Cicero's *De inuentione* (II, XXXI, 96) and the most ancient manuscripts of this work do bear the reading *possint.*[369] Therefore, because of the authority of Cicero's and Alcuin's manuscripts, and because the change of subjunctive tense does not completely compromise the meaning of the sentence, I believe *possint* is the best reading to adopt.

10. On page 33, third line, the word *quoniam* found in Cicero's *De inuentione*[370] and manuscript R (which is heavily influenced by Cicero's work) was kept by Halm[371] and subsequently repeated by Zimmermann.[372] However, no other manuscript of the *De rhetorica* includes this. The sentence is:

Tamen quoniam, quod lex iubet, factum non est,

I believe it will be more precise if we remove it.

11. On line 9 of page 34, we find the verb *accidere.* This reading, adopted by Halm and Zimmermann, is found in manuscripts D^2, E^2, I, L, N, P^2, Q^2, R, S, U^2, W, X, Y. Another

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[366] Cicero, De L'*Invention,* p. 184.
[367] Halm, *RLM*, p. 532.
[368] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. 32.
[369] Cicero, *De L'Invention,* p. 192.
[370] Cicero, *De inuentione,* II, 97.
[371] Halm, *RLM*, p. 532.
[372] Zimmermann, *Critical,* p. 33.

reading, *accedere*, is found in manuscripts A, B, D, E, F, G, H, K, M, O, P, Q, T, U, V, a. It seems to be another example of preposition plus verb resulting in a metaplasm common in classical Latin, but perhaps less common in Carolingian Latin. *Ac + caedo*, resulting in *accedere*, is indeed found in many important manuscripts. Moreover, this passage comes directly from Cicero's *De inventione* (I, XI, 15); additionally, the reading *accedere* is attested by some of the oldest manuscripts of the *De inventione.*[373]

12. On page 36, eighth line, we have the verb *fecit*. This verb is not found in any of the manuscripts, rather it represents an amendment proposed by Halm[374] and kept by Zimmermann.[375] Instead, all manuscripts use *facit.* Even though this tense might not be the most suitable for the sentence in which it is found, neither will keeping it sacrifice the meaning of the passage.

13. On page 42, sixth line, we find the verb *proferemus.* All manuscripts, however, use the form *proferimus.* The manuscript reading was amended by Halm and subsequently adopted by Zimmermann.[376] The passage, however, comes directly from Cicero's *De inuentione* (I, XVI, 22). Again, the most ancient manuscripts have the reading *proferimus*, that agree with all the readings of Alcuin's manuscripts.[377] I am convinced Alcuin had access to a manuscript in this family of ancient manuscripts relating to the *De inuentione.*

14. On page 53, line 12, we find the word *cognitu.* This reading can be found in manuscripts D^2, E^2, I^2, K^2, R^2, Y, but they are almost all corrections. The alternative reading, *cognito*, is found in manuscripts A, B, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y. It is not uncommon for words to change declension, and fourth declension words are often taken as the second declension.[378] This seems to be what has happened here. Therefore, I believe the reading *cognito* should be used.

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[373] Cicero, *De L'Invention,* p. 70. Both manuscripts H and S have this reading.
[374] Halm, *RLM*, p. 533.
[375] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. 36.
[376] Zimmermann, *Critical*, p. 42.
[377] Cicero, *De L'Invention,* p. 77. Manuscripts H,V, P have this reading.
[378] Stotz deals with this common phenomenon in Peter Stotz, *Lateinische Sprache des Mittlelalters*, (Munich, 2004), Vierter Band, pp. 42-43.

On page 57, line nine, we find the word *quilibet.* Halm made this amendment. All manuscripts read *quislibet.* My belief is that this form should be kept instead of the amendment, since it does not alter the meaning and *quislibet* for *quilibet* is a familiar phenomenon.[379]

On page 71, starting on line seven, we have the sentence:

> id est quod tuae causae officit, ut si, cum milites tuos hortari debeas, copias hostium et fortitudinem laudes.

Halm added *cum,* which does not exist in any manuscript.[380] He was followed by Zimmermann.[381] I suggest, instead, a punctuation change. If we put the comma before *si,* there will be no need to add *cum* and the meaning will remain intact. Therefore:

> ut, si milites tuos hortari debeas, copias hostium et fortitudinem laudes.
>
> As if you should exhort your own soldiers, but praise the numbers and bravery of the enemies.[382]

On page 78, line 2, we find *alteri.* This adjective is part of a select group of nine adjectives that have the dative singular ending *i,* rather than *o.* Manuscripts A, B, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, S, T, U, V, W, X have the form *altero* and it is common for an irregular form to become regular over time.[383] Therefore, I believe the form *altero* should is preferable in this passage.

On page 9, line 2, we find *accentu.* As with the word *cognitu* discussed above, some manuscripts (A, B, D, E, F, G, H, Q) use the word *accento.* This is another case in which a fourth declension word is changed into a second declension. I suggest this is the form we should keep in the text since in the later stages of the Latin language it is common for fourth declension words to change to the second declension.[384]

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[379] Peter Stotz, *Lateinische Sprache des Mittlelalters,* p. 132.
[380] Halm, *RLM,* p. 541.
[381] Zimmermann, *Critical,* p. 71.
[382] Translation mine.
[383] Peter Stotz, *Lateinische Sprache des Mittlelalters,* pp. 116.
[384] Peter Stotz, *Lateinische Sprache des Mittlelalters,* pp. 42-43.

Finally, I will not address a problematic part of the text or suggest a new reading, but instead investigate a curious occurrence found in one particular manuscript. On the second line of page 12, following the word *quibusdam*, manuscript N (a ninth century manuscript from St. Gall) contains an interesting addition: *maiestati ratu tenentur hi qui regiam maiestatem deserunt vel violaverunt vel qui rea publicam prodiderunt vel cum hostibus consenserunt.* This is an addition from Isidore's *Etymologies*.[385] The passage was perhaps a note in the margin from a previous manuscript which was copied into the text. It does treat the same subject (type of crimes), but does not make sense in Alcuin's paragraph.

[385] Stephen A. Barney et alii, Isidore, The *Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, (Cambridge, 2006) book IV, ch. 25.

4.6. Manuscript *sigla*

I kept the *sigla* used by Zimmermann with the addition of new *sigla* for the two manuscripts never used before.

A= Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 13084

B = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 25

C = Consensus A, E and F

D = Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2484

E = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14377

F = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 6407 (CLA. 9th. 1282)

G = Vatican, Blibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis latinus, 342

H = Wolfenbuttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, 579

I = Valence, Bibliothèque Municipal de Valence, 337

K = Blibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis, 1461

L = Valence, Bibliotèque Municipal de Valence, 404

M = Valence, Bibliothèque Municipal de Valence, 405

N = St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, 276

O = Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, 80

P = St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, 64

Q = Vatican, Blibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis latinus, 1209

R = Paris, Biblioteque Nationale, 2183

S = Vatican, Vat. Lat., 3850

T = Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 1372

U = Berlin, Staatsbibliotheck, Phillipps 1780 (Rose 176)

V = St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, 273

W = Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2269

X = Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 160

Y = Leipzig University Library, Paulinus 1493

Z = Hannover, Kestner-Museum, 3927 (Halberstadt Domgymnasium)

Ve = Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. Z. 497 (1811)

a = St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, 855

b = Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municiapal de Cambrais, 168

c = Autun, Bibliotèque Municipal de de Autun, 6A (6S)

d = Stuttgart, Bibli. Prov. Theol. 4º 262

4.7 The new edition of Alcuin's *Disputatio De rhetorica*

The edition below is based on the 29 manuscripts listed above. I have, however, removed, the readings of manuscripts **O** and **d** because I understand they are copies of manuscripts **P** and **D,** respectively. I also excluded the readings of manuscript **c** because these were few and none of them were relevant to the recension.

This edition used Zimmermann's edition as its base text.[386] I have recollated all the manuscripts and added the readings of two new manuscripts never used before. I adopt the same line division that Zimmermann used, for convenience, but with some changes in punctuation. Zimmermann's attentive reading of the manuscripts helped me learn how to produce a critical edition, indeed, Zimmermann's contribution to Alcuin's studies should have received far more praise and attention.

I also added in bold Roman numeral the division of the text adopted by Howell and explained in section 1.3 of this thesis. The edition below have also the page numbers reinitiated.

[386] Zimmermann, *Critical.*

Qui rogo civiles cupiat cognoscere mores,

Haec praecepta legat, quae liber iste tenet.

Scripserat haec inter curas rex Karolus aulae

Albinusque simul: hic dedit, ille probat.

Unum opus amborum, dispar sed causa duorum:

Ille pater mundi, hic habitator inops.

Neu temnas modico lector pro corpore librum:

Corpore praemodico mel tibi portat apis.[387]

DISPUTATIO DE RETHORICA ET DE VIRTUTIBUS SAPIENTISSIME

REGIS KAROLI ET ALBINI MAGISTRI

1 - 8 *om.* MPV **1** quid I rogo] ergo T **2** tenet iste liber Q tenet *om.* B **3** haec] autem IQS in curas F Karolus HIKLNPRSWX Karulus *Zimmermann et Halm*; carolus Ve **5** sed] si CGHINPQTU **7** neu] non IPSW; nec R temnas Ve **8** apis RSX; apes *cett.* **9** *tit.* K; *item* CLTY *praeter* rethorica; Alcuini Rhetorica B^2; Disputatio de Rethorica e virtutibus sapientissimi Regis Caroli et Albini Magistri H; Disputatio Regis Karoli et Albini Magistri de rethorica et virtutibus I; Incipit Rethorica Albini Magistri H; Dialogus Rethoricae Artis Q; Dialogus Albini Magistri et Karoli Regis de Rethorica R; Incipit disputatio Albini Diaconi et Caroli Imperatoris Dissertissimorum Virorum de Rethorica et Virtutibus eius S; Incipit Rethorica Albini P; Incipit de rethorica disputatio K et Alb. V; Incipit liber artis rethorice item sub interrogatione Karoli imperatoris et responsione Albini Magistri X; Rhetorica Alcuini ad Karolum Z; *nihil in* Ve

[387] In this poem we find some resemblance with the initial poem found in Fortunatianus *Ars rhetorica* (I, 1)*:*
Quisquis rhetorico festinat tramite doctus
ad causas legesque trahi bene perlegat artis
hoc opus et notum faciat per competa callem
And also with Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* (I, lines 1-2)*:*
Siquis in hoc artem populo non novit amandi,
Hoc legat et lecto carmine doctus amet.
This format indicates almost a pattern in didactic works.

I. Quia te, venerande magister Albine, Deus adduxit et reduxit, quaeso ut liceat mihi te de rethoricae rationis praeceptis parumper interrogare; nam te olim memini dixisse, totam eius artis vim in civilibus versari quaestionibus. Sed ut optime nosti propter occupationes regni et curas palatii in huiuscemodi quaestionibus assidue nos versari solere, et ridiculum videtur eius artis nescisse praecepta, cuius cotidie occupatione involvi necesse est. Verum ex quo mihi paucis tuis responsionibus ianuas rethoricae artis vel dialecticae subtilitatis claustra partim aperuisti, valde me in eas rationes fecisti intentum, maxime quia me in cellaria arithmeticae disciplinae pridie sagaciter induxisti vel astrologiae splendore illuminasti. A. Deus te, domine mi rex Karole, omni sapientiae lumine illuminavit et scientiae claritate ornavit, ut non solum magistrorum ingenia prompte

1 Albine *om.* B; Alcuine Z et] atque T et reduxit *om.* H; *in marg.* I **2** rethoricae *omnes*; *sic semper in omnibus praeter* K de *om.* T arte *ante* rethoricae Ve rationis] artis OV **3** praeceptis *om.* Ve **4** vim X^2; tum X **6** huiusmodi QR; eiusmodi S; huiuscemodi Q *et cett.* **7** nescire BPVW **8** occupationem involvi HS; occupationem volvi IMPV **11** me *post* valde] mihi F eas] has P maxime *post* cellaria Ve quia me] cum me Ve **12** cellaria *om.*V arithmeticae] artis metricae S pridie] pridem QR **13** A. *om.* H **14** Karle *om.* BQ; Q^2 *habet* inluminat T **15** ornavit U^2; inlustravit U prompte *om.* H; propter te SV

subsequi, sed etiam in multis velociter praecurrere possis,
et licet flammivomo tuae sapientiae lumini scintilla in
genioli mei nil addere possit, tamen ne me aliqui inobedientem
notent, tuis promptulus respondeo interrogationibus,
et utinam tam sagaciter quam obedienter. **II.** K. Primum mihi,
magister, huius artis vel studii initium pande. A. Pandam
penes auctoritatem veterum. Nam fuit, ut fertur, quoddam
tempus, cum in agris homines passim bestiarum more
vagabantur, nec ratione animi quicquam, sed pleraque viribus
corporis administrabant. Nondum divinae religionis, non
humani officii ratio colebatur, sed caeca et temeraria
dominatrix cupiditas ad se explendam corporis viribus
abutebatur. Quo tempore quidam, magnus videlicet vir

1 poteris QR; possit W; possis R^2 **2** ardenti *sup*. lumine QV; lumini V^2; luminis TU **4** respondebo M; respondo Z **5** tam *om.* GNR; $G^2N^2R^2$ *habent* tunc sapienter *sup*. tam sagaciter D^2 K. *om.* H mihi *om.* X **6** studii *om.* V A. *om.* H artis *om.* Z A.] M. - *Magister; item A. Auditor pro K.*: *sic usque ad p*. **78**, **10** Q **7** ut fertur *post* tempus Z **8** homines bestiarum passim X more *om.* G **9** *post* vagabantur: *Cic, De inu. I, 2*.: et sibi victu fero vitam propagabant *in marg.* Q, *loc. prop*. WX; et sibi victu fero vitam propugnabant Z rationem V quicquid PV animi *post* quicquam Z **10** corporis *om.* T **11** ratio *om.* G **12** donatrix V; dominatris W explanandam G **13** post abutebatur: e *Cic*.: perniciosissimis satellitibus *in marg.* Q, *loc. prop*. WXZ magnus videlicet] magnificus Z

et sapiens, cognovit quae materia et quanta ad maximas res opportunitas animis inesset hominum, si quis eam posset elicere et praecipiendo meliorem reddere: qui dispersos homines in agris et in tectis silvestribus abditos ratione quadam compulit in unum locum et congregavit et eos in unam quasque rem inducens utilem atque honestam primo propter insolentiam reclamantes, deinde propter rationem atque orationem studiosius audientes ex feris et immanibus mites reddidit ac mansuetos. Ac mihi quidem videtur, domine mi rex, hoc nec tacita nec inops dicendi sapientia perficere potuisse, ut homines a consuetudine subito con verteret et ad diversas rationes vitae traduceret. **III**. K. Unde

1 et sapiens] praesapiens KL ad *om.* N **2** in *ante* animis R animis *om.* Z eam] eum L possit GS **3** e eam *ante* meliorem *Halm*; *om. omnes* **4** tectis] terris Ve additos IOST; additos V; abditos *cett.* **5** unum in locum QR *et Cic*. locum *om.* Ve **6** quasque] quamque LVe inducens] introducentes S; inductis T **8** atque orationem *om.* Ve studiosus G ex inferis M; ex feribus T et *post* feris *om.* V immanibus] inmitibus X^2 ac *post* reddidit] et QR et *Cic*. quidem *om.* V; Z^2 *habet* **10** domine mi rex *om.* B rex *om*. Q nec *post* hoc] ne G; non PVWX hoc nec] hec non Z **12** ad] in S rationes *om.* G post rationes: copia locutionis T vitae *om.* SVe traducere

dicta est rethorica; A. Apo tu rhetoreum, id est copia locutionis. K. Ad quem finem spectat; A. Ad bene dicendi scientiam. K. In quibus versatur rebus; A. In civilibus, id est doctis quaestionibus, quae naturali animi ingenio concipi possunt[388]. Nam sicut naturale est omnibus se tueri et alium ferire, etiam si armis et exercitatione non didicerint, ita naturale fere est omnibus alios accusare et se ipsos purgare, etiam si exercitatione non didicerint. Sed utilius et promptius utuntur oratione, qui disciplinis instruuntur et usu exercentur; nam omnibus naturale est

1 apo tu rethoreum CGHILMNPTUV; apo tu rethorium B; apo tu rhetoreu K; apo to rethoreum a; apo tu rethoreiuin Q; apo tu rethoreun Q^2Z^2; apo tu rethoresin RS^2W; apo to rethoresin S; apo tou retoresin Ve; apo tu rethorisin XZ; apo tu rethoreu Y; apo tou rethoreuein *Halm*; *cum Zimmermann scripsi;* a copia PRSVe **2** KA quem F; K Ad quem F^2 exspectat V a bene P **3** civilibus] cubilibus T rebus *om.* Le **4** est *om.* S in doctis B naturalis W **5** omnibus hominibus Z tuere Q; tueri Q^2 *et cett.* **6** etiam si non Z ferire] ferre N armis et *om.* H exercione X et exercitatione *post* didicerit Le didicerit SWXLe; dediscat QR; dediscant R^2; didicerint Q^2 *et cett.* **7** est fere SWX alios *om.* Z **8** purgare] defendere B exercitationem HS; exertions T; exertitatione T^2; excitatione U; exercitatione U^2 didicerunt KLR; dedicerint GIQ; didicerint TV; didicerint T^2 V^2 *et cett.* **9** Sed utilius et promptius utuntur oratione, qui disciplinis instruuntur et usu exercentur *om.* Z utilius et bis T et promptius *om.* I oratione] ratione W **10** instruuntur *om.* B

[388] P. 4, l. 12 to p. 5, l. 5. This brief definition of rhetoric, where its name comes from and what is its goal comes from Cassiodorus, *Institutiones,* 2.02.01, but mainly Isidore, *Etymologiae,* II, 1,1.

loqui, at tamen multum excellit alios qui per grammaticam loquitur. K. Bene dicis magister, etiam omnis vita nostra disciplinis proficit et usu valet, quapropter huius rethoricae disciplinae regulas pande nobis: iam cotidiana occupationum necessitas cogit nos exerceri in illis: et primum quot sint illius artis partes dic. **IV**. A. Artis rethoricae partes quinque sunt: inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, pronuntiatio. Inventio est excogitatio rerum verarum aut verisimilium, quae causam probabilem reddant: dispositio est rerum inventarum in ordinem distributio: elocutio est idoneorum verborum ad inventionem accommodatio: memoria est firma animi rerum ac verborum ad inventionem

1 at] ad TU multum *om.* Z; Z^2 *habet.* excellet I; excellit I^2 *et cett.* alios] alium B; aliis U; alios U^2 *et cett.* **2** omnis *om.* Ve vita] ut X; vita X^2 *et cett.* **3** profici T; proficit T^2 *et cett.* quapropter] qui propter G **4** disciplinae rethoricae U magis *post* disciplinae Z regulas] reliquias S iam] nam RVe; quis Z **5** occupation *(ras.)* T; occupatio U; occupationum U^2 *et cett.* necessitas *in marg.* U^2 **6** quod U; *et cett.* artis *om.* G; artes P; artis P^2 *et cett.* partes artis QU primum *post* sint Z dic] pande Z **7** partem M; partes M^2 *et cett.* quinque sunt partes B dispositio] disputatio SV **8** excogitatio est B **9** aut] ac Z probabilemque X reddunt N **10** disputatio V **11** inventionum U **12** animi firma X inventionum L^{2}T; inventionem L *et cett.*

perceptio: pronuntiatio est ex rerum et verborum dignitate vocis et corporis moderatio[389]. Primum est enim invenire quod dicas, dein quod inveneris disponere, tum quod disposueris verbis explicare, quarto quod inveneris et disposueris et oratione vestieris memoria comprehendere, ultimum ac summum quod memoria comprehenderis pronuntiare. **V.** K. Si rethorica in causis et quaestionibus civilibus versatur, necesse est, ut mihi videtur, causas ipsas certa habere genera, quae voluissem scire exemplisque mihi monstrari. A. Ars vero rethorica in tribus versatur generibus, id est demonstrativo, deliberativo et judiciali. Demonstrativum genus est quod tribuitur in alicuius certae personae laudem

et] ac B **2** et] ac S moderatio] accommodatio Q K. ante primum S **3** quod] quid Ve dein BGQTYL^{2}P^{2}; deinde LP et *rel* disponere] dispone S disposueris] posueris H **4** verbis *om.* X; X**^{2}** habet quarto P**^{2}**; quartam P **5** vestieris] vestigareris S ac U^{2}; hac U **6** K. *om.* S **7** versatur *post* rethorica **9** scire *om.* F mihi *om.* O monstrari S**^{2}**; confirmari S **10** vero *om.* F; ve F; vero F^{2} *et rel*. est *om.* S **11** demonstrativa F; demonstratio L; demonstrativo L^{2} *et cett.* et *om.* B et *om.* Z et iudicale T; praeiudiciali KLU^{2}; et judiciali K^{2} L^{2}U *et cett.* **12** genus *om.* Z est *om.* F; *cett. habent* quod *bis* S

[389] Halm, *RLM*, 526, suggests that Alcuin is quoting Cicero, *De inuentione*, I,9. He is not completely incorrect. Alcuin does use the same words as Cicero. However, the fact that Alcuin writes about the five parts of rhetoric before writing about the three genres of rhetoric (as Cicero does) is suspicious. Isidore is the first author who writes these subjects in this order: first the five parts, then the three genres of rhetoric, but, due to the very concise nature of the work, he gives no examples in his *Etymologiae.* Cassiodorus, on the other hand, in the *Institutiones*, 2.02.02, following Isidore in the order and Cicero in the text, is, definitely, the example of Alcuin in this passage.

vel vituperationem, ut in Genesi de Abel et Cain legitur:

Respexit dominus ad Abel et ad munera eius, ad Cain autem

et ad munera eius non respexit. Deliberativum est In suasione

et dissuasione, ut in Regum legitur, quomodo Achitophel

suasit David citius perdere, et quomodo Husai dissuasit

consilium eius, ut regem salvaret. ludiciale est, in quo

est accusatio et defensio, ut in Actibus legimus Apostolorum,

quomodo ludaei cum Tertulliano quodam oratore Paulum

accusabant apud Felicem praesidem, et quomodo Paulus se

defendebat apud eundem praesidem. Nam in indiciis saepius quid

aequum sit quaeritur, in demonstratione quid honestum

1 et Cain *om.* B et de Cain H **2** autem non respexit et ad munera eius S **3** et ad munera HMPRTUVXZ deliberativum U^{2}; deliberatum U est *om.* Ve **4** et dissuasione *om.* GL livro *post* in Le; L^{2} *habet* legitur *om.* W libris *add post* legitur Ve **5** Absalom ante David $E^{2}Y$ Chusai $H^{2}I^{2}MV$; usai RTa; cusai $R^{2}ULe$; hysai X; absai S; husai HI *et rel* dissuasit *om.* T **6** eius consilium W in quo est *om.* V **7** legimus *om.* V; legitur BR apostolorum *ante* legimus **8** Tertulliano *omnes*; Tertullo *Halm* oratore S^{2}; causatore S **9** et quomodo Paulus se defendebat apud eundem praesidem *om.* UWLe; *in marg.* U^{2} se aput eundem praesidem defendebat M **10** apud *om.* X; X^{2} habet nam] cum B quid] quod O preaesidem *om.* Ve **11** aequum X^{2}; actum X; quin Z quid] quod T

sit intelligitur, in deliberatione quid honestum et utile

sit consideratur.[390] **VI.** K. Quot habet causa circumstantias? A.

Plenaria causa septem habet circumstantias: personam, factum,

tempus, locum, modum, occasionem, facultatem[391]. In persona

quaeritur quis fecerit, in facto quid fecerit, in tempore

quando fecerit, in loco ubi factum sit, in modo quomodo fieri

potuisset, in occasione cur facere voluisset, in facultate,

si ei suppeditaret potestas faciendi; per has enim et confirmari

causa potest et infirmari. Frustra enim quaeris in

controversiis quid factum sit, si persona facientis deerit:

et iterum personam frustra ostendis, si factum non aderit

personae. Item tali in tempore vel tali in loco talis res

fieri non potuit, item non eo modo fieri potuit, ut asseris,

1 sit intelligitur, in deliberatione quid honestum *om.* W *post* deliberatione: quid honestum sit intelligitur in deliberatione G honestius sit et utile sit invenitur T honestum sit et utile consideratur U **2** quot] quod BT; quot B² *et cett.* circumstantia T **5** quis fecerit] qui fecit T **6** fecerit] fecisset R ubi U^2; quando U **7** in occasione cur facere voluisset *om.* Ve occasionem G cur facere] perfacere T **8** subpeditasset PVWX; suppeditasset Z et *om.* X **9** et *ante* causa G potest causa *Halm* et Z; causa potest *cett.* infirmari Ve **10** controversus W; contraversia T facientis] acidientis T **11** ostendis frustra T **12** talis *post* res Z; tali in tempore] tali *om.* B; in *om.* G; in tali tempore X talis Q^2; tales Q res *om.* G **13** eo] eodem IP; eo *cett.* item non eo modo fieri non potuit T

[390] Alcuin's definition of the demonstrative genre of rhetoric follows closely Cicero, *De inuentione,* I,5,7. The Biblical example that comes with it, comes from *Genesis,* 4.4-5. The definition of the other two genres of rhetoric (deliberative and judicial) follows not Cicero, but Cassiodorus, *Institutiones, 2.02.03,* much closer. The biblical example for the deliberative genre comes from *Samuel,* 16-7. The example for the judicial genre comes from *Acts,* 24.

[391] Lines 2-4.This division does not appear in any ancient author, but it can be deduced from Cicero, *De inuentione,* I, 24-26, where Cicero teaches that all proofs derive from person or deeds. The other five circumstances are derived from deeds and can be found in Cassiodorus, *Dialectica,* chapter *De circunstantiis,* p. 551. Nevertheless, in Caius Julius Victor, *Ars rhetorica, 374. 17-18,* by the means of pronouns, we have the same seven circumstances found in Alcuin.

nec ideo facere voluit, nec talis homo talem habuit potes
tatem, ut hoc facere potuisset. **VII.** K. Loci controversiarum
quot sunt; A. Loci controversiarum, quos rhetores status
causarum appellant, id est, ubi quaestio consistit et primum
non convenerit inter partes, sunt rationales aut legales.
K. Quot sunt rationales; A. Quattuor, id est facti aut
nominis aut qualitatis aut translationis. K. Singulorum
exempla profer. A. Prima est facti ipsius controversia,
ut est: ’fecisti, non feci;' et haec prima controversia, quae
in facto constat, dicitur coniecturalis constitutio, quia
coniecturis exploranda res est, si fecisset an non. Aut cum
de facto convenit litigatores, tum saepe nominis controversiam
introducunt, quia accusator augere crimen ex nomine

1 voluit] potuit T habuit] potuit habere P **2** ut] in T potuisset *om.* T loci] loca STV^{2}; loci V *et cett.* controversiarum U^{2}; controversarium P; introversiarum U **3** loca V^{2}; loci V controversarium O **4** id est *om.* Ve **5** non] si Ve non] nec ne Ve convenit BN; convenerit *cett.* rationes F; rationales F^{2} *et cett.* Videndum est *add* Ve **6** K. *om.* M aut legales *add* Ve A. *om.* M **7** nominis, H^{2}; nomines H; non finis T **8** profert G; dic Ve **10** constitutio, quia coniecturis exploranda res est, si fecisset an non *om.* T stitutio quia coniecturis *om.*V **11** coniecturis *om.* PWLe; P^{2} *habet*; conlecturalis G fecisset] fecit Z aut BFHPTLe; et S; at P^{2} *et cett.* Aut cum] Actum Z **12** inter *ante* litigatores KOQWX; *om*. *cett.* saepe *om.* F; pro F

nititur et defensor minuere: ut si quis sacrum ex privato surripuerit, utrum fur sit nominandus an sacrilegus. De fensor vult furem esse, quia fur quadruplum solvat, accu sator sacrilegum, quia sacrilegus capite plectitur: et haec constitutio definitiva dicitur, quia et quid sit fur et quid sacrilegus definiendum est ratione et videndum, in cuius definitionem cadat qui sacrum de privato loco surripuit. Si vero inter accusatorem et defensorem convenit de facto et de nomine facti, tum quaerenda est aesti matio facti, id est quale sit factum, iustum an iniustum, utile an inutile: et haec constitutio generalis dicitur, cuius exemplum est: Quidam dux Romanus cum obsideretur ab inimicis nec ullo modo evadere potuit, pactus est cum

1 loco *post* privato WX si Ve^{2} **2** furaverit *sup*. surripuerit E^{2}Y^{2} utrum] ut reus T sit fur S an] aut **3** furem] ferem T solvit E^{2}P^{2}RYa; solvet Le; solvat EP *et cett.* **4** et] ut X **5** et *om.* CY et *Halm* sit *om.* S **6** et ante quid *om.* BD quid] qui IV est *om.* CT et *Halm* diffiniendum Ve videndus S^{2}; videndum S *et cett.* diffinitione Ve **8** subripuerit S; subriperit T et] uel Ve **9** et de nomine facti *in marg.* I nomine] monimine G aestimatio] existimatio K **10** iniustum] iustum PS; iniustum P^{2}S^{2} *et cett.* id est *om.* Ve **12** est *om.* Z Romanus dux X Romanorum G obsideret T **13** potuisset *Halm et Zimmermann*; potuit *om.* pactus est D^{2}E^{2}P^{2}U^{2}Ya; pacatus est BDGIKLMNPQRSTUVWX; pacatus autem H; pacatus AEF

hostibus ut arma daret; armis vero datis salvum eduxit exercitum: accusatur a quibusdam reus esse maiestatis. Hic de facto et de facti nomine convenit inter ambas partes, sed quale sit factum quaeritur hoc modo, utrum satius esset amittere milites an ad hanc conditionem turpissimam venire: cuius constitutionis plures sunt partes, de quibus post dicemus. In quarta constitutione, quam translativam nomi namus, quaeritur, an facere rem debeat qui fecit, aut eo tempore, vel eo modo, vel in eo loco, aut cum illis cum quibus fecit: ut si Orestes accusetur clemestram matrem suam occidisse: non iuste filium occidisse matrem, licet

1 duxit Pa; eduxit P^{2} *et cett.* **2** accusator CSWX; accusatur $C^{2}X^{2}$ *et cett.* maiestatis] magestatis Z *post* quibusdam: maiestati ratu tenentur hi qui regiam maiestatem deserunt vel violaverunt vel qui rea publicam prodiderunt vel cum hostibus consenserunt N esset S **3** de *ante* facti *om.* QR; Q^{2} habet de nomine facti ambos Z partes *om.* Z BD **4** qualem T **5** milites amittere U hanc H^{2}; huc H turpissimam conditionem $BDP^{2}Z$; conditionem turpissimam P *et cett.* **6** turpissiam *ante* condicionem Ve; constitutiones Q; conditiones X; constitutionis X^{2} *et cett.* **7** dicimus T dicionem Ve condicionem Ve^{2} in *om.* a **8** quareritur] quare Ve dicemus] docebimus Ve is post an QR rem *om.* S rem facere U debeat rem BDW aut eo] an eo BD **9** vel in] aut R eo in loco BD **10** accusaretur NS^{2}; accusatur OPV; accusetur SP^{2} *et cett.* clitemestram R; clemestram BCDGHI**2**MHPQSTUVWYLaVe; clemestrem KL; clemenstram I; clementiam X; clomestrara D^{2}; cletemestram Z; Clytemnestram *Halm et Zimmermann* **11** non iuate filium occidisse matrem *om.* R suam *post* matrem W matrem *post* filium Z licet X^{2}; luet X

illa occidisset Agamemnonem patrem suum, regem Graecorum.

Hic quaeri debet per translationem, si iuste fecisset an non.

VIII. K. Statu causae invento quomodo tunc status ipse considerandus est;

A. Constitutione causae reperta statum placet

considerare, utrum quaestio causae sinplex sit an iuncta.

Simplex est, quae unam in se continet quaestionem, hoc modo:

Corinthiis bellum indicamus an non; Coniuncta est quaestio,

quae ex pluribus quaestionibus constat, hoc pacto; utrum

Carthago diruatur, an Carthaginiensibus reddatur, an eo

colonia deducatur. **IX.** K. Sed legales nunc constitutiones

exemplis confirma. A. Considerandum est, sicut iam dixi,

1 cum *post* licet Z illa *post* ocidisset Z occidisse FG agamemnomen BGZ; agameimonem RX; aganemnonem T; agamemnon A; agamem non e E; agamem non est N; agamen non e E^2; agamem P; agamemnonem P^2 *et cett.* **2** quaeri] que G si] an QR an] vel R iuste Z^2 **3** K. *om.* V K. ante quomodo V status] statur; satis Z **4** causa SZ reperte T **5** coniuncta RVK^2ZVe; iuxta T; iuncta K *et cett.* **7** indicemus BDP^2; inducemus Ve; indicamus P *et cett.* indicamus bellum V quaestio *om.* QR **8** quaestionibus *om.* X; X^2 habet **9** dirivatur BOPS; dirimatur B^2; diruatur P^2S^2 *et cett.* eo *om.* S **10** colonis Z deducat G nunc *post* constitutiones Z constitutiones] quaestiones F; institutiones a; constitutionibus T; constitutionis P; constitutiones P^2 *et cett.* **11** confirmat G; confirma G^2 *et rel*. **11** considerandus ABDEFILMPQTUV; considerandum $D^2E^2P^2U$**2**V^2 *et cett.* est *om.* G si ante sicut R diximus WX dictum est Z in *om.* H; H^2 *habet*

in ratione an in scripto sit controversia. Nam scripti controversia
est ea, quae ex scripta lege nascitur, hoc modo:
Lex: 'qui in adversa tempestate navem reliquerint, omnia
amittant, et eorum sint onera et navis qui remanserint in ea'.
Duo quidam cura in alto navigarent, cum alterius navis et alterius
onus esset, naufragum quendam natantem misericordia
moti sustulerunt in navem. Postea cum aliquanto plus
ipsos quoque tempestas vehementius iactare coepit, usque adeo, ut
dominus navis, cum idem gubernator esset, in scapham

1 an] aut Z in] sin T scripta AEFS; scripto A^2E^2 *et cett.* sit *om.* a; sicut F contraversia DE; controversia D^2E^2 *et cett.* scripti] scripto V **2** ea *om.* K ex *om.* SV **3** quae P; qui P^2 *et cett.* est *sup*. qui R^2 in *om.* TZ adversa] diversa S reliquerunt FGHKLRSTUVa; reliquerit $B^2D^2N^2PQ$; relinquerit BD; relinquerunt AE; relinquerint E^2F^2NY; reliquerint IMP^2Q^2WX **4** amittat $BDHNP^2T$; amittant H^2PT^2 *et cett.* onera] opera T; honera Ve et S^2; ut S naves QRSV qui] quae H remanserunt GIKLRU^2VZa; remanserint I^2U *et cett.* **5** quidem PWZ in *om.* R altum BDP^2Z; alto P *et cett.* alterius] altius S; alteris H alterius esset Z naves QR; navis R^2 *et cett.* alterius] altius S **6** quendam] quidam R post natantem: e *Cic*.: et manus ad se tendentem *in marg.* U^2, *loc. prop.* QRWXZ **7** sustulerint IN; sustelerunt P; sustulerunt- P^2 *et cett.* navi KL cum *omnes, sed expunctum* ADP aliquando S aliquantum Z ipso T **8** quoque] quoniam G coepit] fecit Ve ut X^2; cum X

confugeret, quae religata navi cohaerebat et inde quantum potuit navi opitulabatur, ille autem, cuius merces erant, in gladium ibidem in navi occumberet; naufragus vero ad gubernacula accessit, navem regebat. Sedata tempestate navis in portum pervehitur. Ille, qui in gladium incubuerat, leviter saucius ex vulnere recreatus est. Navem cum onere horum trium iuxta scriptam legem quisque suam dixit. Et hic ex scripto quaestio nascitur, cuius sit navis, definitionibus adhibitis, quid sit relinquere navem et quid sit remanere in navi. Item ambiguitas saepe in scripta lege facit quaestio nem, hoc modo: Meretrix coronam ne habeat; si habeat, publicetur. Hic ambiguitas in scripto est, an meretrix vel

1 confugeret] consurgeret V religata T^2; regata T **2** opitulabat K erat Z in navi in gladium ibidem V in navi gladio incumberet Z **3** in *om.* STU occubuit a; incubuit Ve; occumberent X; occumberet X^2 *et cett.* vero *om.* Z **4** accessit] accedens Ve sedata] seda HT in] ad gladio ZV **5** pervehitur] pervenit G; pervehit L; vehitur Q occubuerat Qa leniter S **6** saucius K^2; paucius K ex vulnere *post* est Z onere] honore HSTWX; honere Ve; onera F; onere H^2X^2 *et cett.* horum trium *om.* V **7** suam *om.* X; X^2 habet scriptam *post* legem Z duxit G et hic *om.* V hic ex] haec a **8** sit *om.* U; U^2 habet cum onere *post* nauis *add* Z diffinitionibus Ve **9** adhibitis U^2; adhibitus U sit ante remanere *om.* TV **10** lege scripta V *post* lege: nascitur et BDP**2**; nascitur N^2 questionem facit X **11** ne habeat coronam M ne coronam habeat Z ne] non GRa habeat post ne] habuit U; habeat U^2 habeat post si] habuerit F; habuit U; habeat U^2 *et cett.* si habeat *om.* Z **12** vel] an Q

corona publicanda sit. Ex contrariis quoque saepe legibus
nascitur quaestio, dum de una re alia lex aliter cavet,
aliter et altera, lex: 'qui tyrannum occiderit, rem quam
volet praemii loco a magistratu roget, et accipiet. Altera:
'tyranno occiso quinque quoque eius proximi cognatione occidentur.'
Alexandrum, qui in Thessalia tyrannidem occuparat,
Thebe uxor sua noctu occidit. Haec filium suum, quem ex
tyranno habebat, sibi in praemii loco deposcit. Sunt qui ex
lege occidi puerum dicant oportere: sunt qui dicant oportere
reddi matri praemii loco. Res in indicio est. Et hic

1 publicetur QV; publicanda sit V^2 *et cett.* quoque *om.* V; V^2 habet; quoniam G; quae S; quoque S; *et cett.* saepe *om.* a legibus saepe P **2** quaestio nascitur P lex] res B; *(ras.)* D **3** et *om.* QV; Q^2 habet quam U^2; quem U **4** rogat G; reget a accipiat GR lex *ante* altera., *sed ex-punctum* V **5** occiso H^2; occasio H quoque] quoniam G; autem Ve quod S proximi cognatione occidentur $E^2K^2Q^2$ WXYZVe; proximi cognatione occidantur R; proximos cognatione occidentur ABDFGHKLMNQSTUV; proximos cognatione occidantur a; proximis cognatione occidentur OP; proxim (ras.) cognatione occidentur EK; proximos cognatione occidendos D^2P^2; proximos cognatione magistratus occidito *Halm* **6** occuperat AEF; occupaverat A^2E^2YZ et *Halm*; occuparat rel. **7** nocte Z ex] de W **8** in *om.* Z **9** puerum occidi Q dicant puerum a dicunt V sunt qui dicant oportere *om.* G dicunt V **10** matre prae mi G in *om.* A; A^2 *habet*

considerandum est, quae lex ad maiorem utilitatem pertineat,
et quae prius esset scripta, et quos quae habuisset legis
latores. Ex scripto et sententia controversia consistit, cum
alter verbis ipsis quae scripta sunt utitur, alter ad id,
quod scriptorem sensisse dicet, omnem adiungit dictionem, ut:
lex aperire noctu portas vetat. Quidam aperit et amicos in
oppidum accipit, ne ab hostibus opprimerentur, si foris
mansissent. Accusator solam intendit litteram, defensor sen
tentiam: scriptorem legis pro inimicis claudi, non pro
amicis iussisse portas oppidi. Fiunt per ratiocinationem
vel definitionem legis quaestiones, dum alia ratione alter
scriptum interpretari nititur, alia alter, vel si diverso modo
scriptoris sententiam conantur definire; et eiusmodi, ut dixi,

2 et *ante* quos *om.* K quaeque *om.* Le; quos quaeque *Halm et Zimmermann*; quosque BDGKLNPRSTUWXa; quos quae AEFHIMVY; quos Q habeat BD^{2}NP^{2}; habebat D; habuisset P *et cett.* legislatoris G; legislatorem T **3** sentia DL; sententia D^{2}L^{2} *et cett.* **4** sint T ad *om.* BD **5** dicat S; dicit Ve omnem] humanam Ve est *post* ut R **6** vetat] valet Z; Z^{2} *habet* **7** accepit OPRWXZa opprimerent G; reprimerentur BD opprimeretur a foras R **8** litteram intendit X solam *ante* sententiam *add* Z sentiam V **9** scriptorem *om.* S claudi non pro amicis *om.* T pro *om.* M pro inimicis vississe claudi portas oppidi non amicis Le **10** rationationem B^{2}KLT; ratiocinationem BK^{2} *et cett.* **11** definitionem *om.* Z; diffinitionem Ve per post vel N rationem STUX alter Q^{2}; aliter Q **12** interpretare ABDEFGHILMP^{2}STUVWa; interpretari B^{2}E^{2}P *et cett.* nititut *om.* Ve alter alia W alter] aliter S si *om.* BD, *expunctum* P **13** sententia G conatur TVe diffinire Ve

ex scripto fiunt quaestiones. **X.** K. Perspecto controversiae
loco secundum quod dixisti. an in ratione sit vel in scripto,
quo tunc animus ferendus est; A. Videndum est quae quaestio,
quae ratio, quae iudicatio et quod firmamentum causae sit.
K. De his singulis dic. A. Quaestio est constitutio, in
qua causae disceptatio constat, hoc modo: 'non iure fecisti,
iure feci:' ratio est, qua utitur reus, quare iure fecisset,
ut Orestes si accusaretur matricidii, non habet defensionem,
nisi hoc dicat: iure fecit, illa enim patrem meum occiderat:
iudicatio est ex ratione deducta summa huiusmodi: rectumne
fuerit ab Oreste matrem occidi, cum illa Orestis patrem
occiderit. Firmamentum est firmissima argumentatio defensoris,

1 ex *om.* G; et H fiunt ex scripto V perfecto BDT; perspecto D^2 *et cett.* **2** ratione vel in scripto sit PWXZ vel] an QVLe; vel V**2** et rel; in post vel *om.* F **3** tunc] tam R; nam R^2; nunc D^2; tunc D *et cett.* inferendus a A. *om.* HV videndus T est *om.* Z **4** iudicio T et *om.* T quod M^2; quia M; quid B **5** his *om.* R; *post* singulis Le A. *om.* H **6** A. *ante* disceptatio H **7** est *om.* PWX quare] quo F *in ras.* iure post quare *om.* S fecisti P; fecisset P^2 *et rel*. **8** accusetur D^2E^2 MP^2R^2YVe; accusatur Z; accusaretur DEPR *et cett.* **9** dicat hoc S ille BD; illa D^2 *et cett.* meum *om.* QR; Q^2 habet occiderat meum P **10** rectum efuerit G **11** fuisset Q orestes P; orestis P^2 *et cett.* occiderat AEF; occiderit E^2 *et cett.* ex *om.* Z; Z^2 *habet* **11** illa] ipsa Le **12** firmissima] firma Z argumentatio T^2; argumentio T defensores I; defensiores H; defensoris H^2I^2 et *cett.*

ut si velit Orestes dicere eiusmodi animum matris suae fuisse in patrem suum, in se ipsum, in regnum et omne genus suum, ut ab ea poenas liberi sui potissimum expetere debuissent. **XI.** K. De generali constitutione prius dixisti, quod plures partes haberet: illas rogo ut pandas mihi, magister, exemplisque confirmes per singulas, me tacente et probante. A. Faciam; illa enim controversia, quae et quale illud factum sit, quod reo obicitur, constitutio generalis vocatur, et habet partes duas, iudicialem et negotialem. Negotialis est, in qua quid iuris sit ex civili more et

1 orestis AEFIKLMQSTUVVe; orestes E^2 *et cett.* animam Ve suae *om.* MU **2** in *ante* omne a, *Halm et Zimmermann*; *om. rel*. **3** poenas] ponas T liberi] liberis BVe K. ante potissimum H expetere] petere W; expectare Z **4** debuisset PQVa; potuissent T; debuissent $P^2Q^2V^2a^2$ *et cett.* K. *om.* H generale AEF; generali E^2 *et cett.* constitutionem T **5** quod *bis* a partes *post* haberet Z illas] duas Z illas vero ut pandas mihi rogo magister PWXZ; illas vero ut mihi pandas magister V magister *om.* BDa **6** partes post singulas QR, *in marg.* U et] ac Q **7** probante U^2; confirmante U flagito post probante V A. *om.* T faciam *om.* R ille BD; illam S; illa D^2S^2 *et cett.* id est demonstrat *sup*. controversia E^2Y quae quale E^2RY; quae quaerit quale *Halm*; quae et quale E *et cett.* **8** constitutio X^2; constituto X **9** vocatus Y negotialem et iudicialem Z iuridicialem QR, *Halm et Zimmermann*; iudicialem *rel*. **10** negotiales HP; negotialis H^2P^2 *et cett.* est] enim R iuris H^2; iures H

aequitate consideratur, cui diligentiae praesunt iudices, et habet in se implicatam controversiam civilis iuris, hoc modo: Quidam dum filium non habuit, pupillum sibi fecit heredem. Sed pupillus ante mortuus est, quam hereditas in eius venisset potestatem. Fit controversia a secundis heredibus patris: nostra est possessio. Intentio est propinquorum pupilli: 'nostra est pecunia, de qua testatus non est propinquus noster': depulsio est: 'immo nostra, qui heredes testamento patris sumus:' quaestio est, utrorum sit; ratio: 'pupillo enim pater testamentum scripsit, quare quae eius sunt,

1 considerant G; considerat L **2** implicatam BDGHILQ^{2}RSVWXa; inplicatam AEFMPU; inplicitam A^{2}E^{2}Y; implicitam KN; inplacatam T; conplicatam Q hoc modo] huius modi QR **3** fecit sibi NX heredem S^{2}; adoptivum S **4** ante *om.* W antea Ve **5** in *sup*. potestatem D **6** possessio. Intentio est propinquorum pupilli nostra *in marg.* M^{2} **7** testatus est IMN^{2}PV^{2}WXZVe; testatur non est G, U^{2} *in marg.*; testatur nos est U; testus non est AEF; testatus non est A^{2}E^{2}NV *et cett.* **8** nostra] nostram G qui P^{2}; que P testamenta P; testamento P^{2} *et cett.* **9** patri QR sunt PT; sumus P^{2}V^{2} *et cett.* est *om.* R *utrorum sit om. omnes, sed cum Halm addidi* e *Cic*. rationis E^{2}IMN^{2}PQ^{2}V^{2}WXY; ratio ENQV *et cett.* est *post* ratio Q pater enim pupillo QR **10** noster *post* pater T

nostra fiant necesse est:' infirmatio rationis: 'Immo pater sibi scripsit secundum heredem, non pupillo: quare testamento illius vestra esse non potest hereditas:' iudicatio: possitne quisquam de filii pupilli re testari; an heredes secundi ipsius patris familias, non filii quoque eius pupilli heredes sint. **XII**. Iudicialis est, in qua aequi et iniqui et praemii aut poenae ratio quaeritur. Huius partes sunt duae, absoluta et assumptiva: absoluta est quae in se continet iuris et iniuriae quaestionem, hoc modo. Cum Thebani

1 nostra fiant] nostram esse BD fiant E^2NS^2Y; faciant a; sint P; fiunt ES *et cett.* necessarium S est post infirmatio a **2** sibi scripsit X^2; subscripsit X fecit *add. post* pupillo Z testamentum C; testamento E^2 *et cett.* **3** vestra] nostra W esse *om.* Y potuit Q iudicio STU; iudicatio S^2U^2 *et cett.* **4** possetne *omnes*; possitne *Halm*, *Cic* et Z filio R; filiis $D^2GKN^2PQSTUV^2WXZ$; filii DNV *et cett.* retestari $D^2E^2P^2YZ$; rem testare BD, restare RT; re certare X; re testare EPX^2 *et cett.* **5** ipsius] illius Z patrifamilias G quoque] quoniam G **6** sunt H Post sint P *habet fragmentum paginae quod continet*: de Grais . . posuimus, *cum notatione loci proprii*. iuridicialis QR et *Halm*; iudiciales AU; iudicialis A^2U^2 *et cett.* in qua et iniqui et aequi P **7** et *om.* KL; aut X; et X^2 *et cett.* **8** est *om.* CY et *Halm*; *cett. habent*

Lacedaemonias bello superavissent et fere mos esset Grais, cum Inter se bellum gessissent, ut ii qui vicissent tropaeum aliquod in finibus statuerent, victoriae modo in praesentiam declarandae causa, non ut in perpetuum belli memoria maneret, aeneum statuerunt tropaeum. Accusantur apud commune Graeciae concilium. Intentio est ‘non oportuit: ‘de pulsio est oportuit:' quaestio est 'oportueritne:' ratio est: 'eam enim ex bello gloriam virtute peperimus: ut eius aeterna insignia posteris nostris relinquerentur, statuimus tropaeum:' infirmatio est: 'at tamen aeternum inimicitiarum

1 lacedaemonios $D^2E^2P^2RYZVe$; ledemonias demonias T; lacedaemonas L^2; lacedaemonias DELP *et cett.* superassent Q; superavisset M; superavissentM^2 *et cett.* mons T; mors S; mos S^2 *et cett.* esset KQRU; est *cett.* Grais] gravis S **2** ut Q^2; et Q ii] hi Z vicissent X^2; vivissent tropaeum] thopheum ZX **3** aliquot BG; aliquid H modi S; modum Z; mox Ve praesentia HIM; praesentiarum R **4** declamandae KLU^2; declarandae K^2U *et cett.* causam G; causae Ta non] nam F^2K; non F *et cett.* ut *om.* PVWX; P^2V^2 habent in] im BDIKV **5** heneum Ve sed tantum *add* Z *ante* statuerent; statuerunt *om.* S tropaeum] templum N; tropheum Z commune] communione G **6** concilium Greciae U gretiae P^2TW; gratiae OP; grecae BDN; greciae D^2N^2; graeciae rel. **7** est post depulsio *om.* R oportuit eritne T; oportuitne PU; oportueritne P^2U^2 *et cett.* **8** est *om.* I; I^2 habet sup. belli Y eius ut Z **9** insignia aeterna X insigna EGY poteris BDGV; posteris D^2V^2 *et cett.* statuimus tropaeum *om.* R et *Cic*. tropheum Z **10** infirmatio] infirma B at] et KL; ad TU; ut X

monumentum Graios de Grais statuere non oportet:

‘indicatio est: cum summae virtutis celebrandae causa Grai de Grais aeternum inimicitiarum monumentum statuerunt. recte an non fecerint? Assumptiva est, cum ipsum factum probari non potest, sed aliquo foris assumpto argumento defenditur. Cuius partes sunt quattuor, comparatio, relatio criminis, remotio criminis, concessio. **XIII.** Comparatio est, cum aliud aliquod factum rectum aut utile contenditur, quod ut fieret, illud quod arguitur dicitur esse commissum, ut in illo exemplo, quod paulo ante posuimus. Cum dux Romanus ab hostibus

1 monumentorum a de Grais ... posuimus (p. 23, 10) *post* daretur (p. 27, 8) IVW; P *habet* post sint (p. 21, 5) **2** celandae TU; concelebrandae QR et *Cic*.; celebrandae U^2 *et cett.* causae BCDGHIKPQSTUVXa; causa $D^2E^2P^2$ *et cett.* causae de grais grai U Grai] grais T; graios BDN^2; grai D^2N *et cett.* **3** statuerunt a^2; statuerint a recte an non] rectene an contra QR et *Cic*. **4** fecerunt CLRSX; fecerint E^2R^2 *et cett.* **4** adsumptivum N est *om.* O **5** argemento T **6** comparatio, relatio criminis, remotio criminis, concessio *om.* X **7** concessio $E^2F^2MOQRV^2WY$; confessio EFV *et cett.* **7** est *om.* H aliquid TUVe; aliquo E^2Y; aliquod EU^2 *et cett.* **8** aut] an BDP **9** quod] quo S **10** paulo *om*. BDPSX; S *et cett. habent* posuimus Q^2; exposuimus Q **10** cum] quod G

obsederetur, nec ullo pacto evadere potuit, nisi pacaret ut hostibus arma daret: armis datis milites conservavit, sed post accusatur maiestatis. Intentio est 'non oportuit arma relinquere:' depulsio est 'oportuit: ‘quaestio est 'oportueritne:' ratio est: 'milites enim omnes perissent, si hoc non fecissem:' infirmatio est 'non ideo fecisti.' Ex quibus iudicatio est, perissentne, et ideone fecisset. Comparatio, an melius esset ad hanc turpissimam conditionem venire, vel milites perire. Relatio criminis est, cum reus id quod

1 obsederetur CGILVY; obsideretur I^2L^2 *Halm, Zimmermann et cett.* ne C; nec E^2 *et cett.* paucaret T; parcaret F; pacaret F^2 *et cett.* **2** cum hostibus ut arma QRU^2; ut hostibus arma U *et cett.* ab post ut N, sed expunctum conservavit milites U **3** accusator AEGST; accusatur A^2E^2 *et cett.* accusator reus Z intentio] inventio a oportuit S^2; potuit S relinquere arma P **4** est post depulsio *om.* Ra est post quaestio *om.* a oportueritne] oportuitne TY **5** enim *om.* FGU; $F^2G^2U^2$ *et cett.* habent omnes *om.* BDM **6** non *ante* fecissem *om.* P; P^2 *et cett.* habent fecissem] fecisset R Ex quibus iudicatio est, perissentne, et ideone fecisset *om.* Z **7** iudido GT ideone] ideo non GY fecissent GHU est post comparatio I^2MQ; *om.* I *et cett.* **8** conditionem $A^2BDE^2I^2MNP^2Y$; deditionem R^2; dictionem STU; ditconem K; detectionem Z; ditionem AEIPR *et cett.* vel] et Q **9** ralatio DE; relatio D^2E^2 *et cett.* est *om.* HS; *cett. habent* id] hic SU; hid T

arguitur confessus alterius se inductum peccato iure fecisse
demonstrat. Ea est huiusmodi. Horatius occisis tribus curiatiis
et duobus amissis fratribus domum se victor recepit.
Is animadvertit sororem suam de fratrum morte non laborantem,
sponsi autem nomen appellantem identidem Curiati cum gemitu
et lamentatione» Indigne passus virginem occidit; accusatur.
Intentio est: 'iniuria sororem occidisti:' depulsio 'iure
occidi:' quaestio est 'iurene occiderit:' ratio est: 'illa
enim hostium mortem lugebat, fratrum neglegebat, me et
populum Romanum vicisse moleste ferebat:' infirmatio est:

1 arguitur] agitur U; arguatur U^{2} *in marg.* peccato] peccat S; peccati VX; peccato V^{2} *et cett.* fecisset S **2** Horatius] Gracus R occisis] excisis T; est occisus P; occisis P^{2} *et cett.* tribus *om.* G Curiatiis *scripsi cum Halm et Zimmermannn*; curiatis D^{2}P^{2}QR; curiatibus DPQ^{2} *et cett.* **3** victo G **4** is] hic S; his TU animadvertit] enim advertit CY; animadverteret S; animadverterit S^{2}; anima advertit BD; animadvertit D^{2} *et cett.* sorem G fratris KTU; fratrum U^{2} *et cett.* fratrum morte] fratu minor te W **5** sponsi autem nomen appellantem *om.* G Identidem] idem itidem R Curiatio a **6** lamentione Q accusatoris Ve; accusator ABFGISTU; accusatur A^{2} *et cett.* **7** est *post* iniuria Q, *sed expunctum* est *post* depulsio HQRZ et *Cic*. **8** occidi U^{2}; feci U est post ratio *om.* R **9** enim *om.* U; U^{2} et rel, habent neglebat H; negligebat L^{2}RZ; neglegebat L *et cett.* **10** vicisse] vixisse Ve est *om.* S

'tamen a fratre indemnatam sororem necari non oportuit.'

Ex quo iudicatio fit: cum oratia fratrum mortem neglegeret, hostium lugeret, fratris et publicae rei victoria non gauderet, oportueritne eam a fratre indemnatam occidi; **XIV**. Remotio criminis est, cum eius intentio facti, quod ab adversario infertur, in alium aut in aliud crimen demovetur. Id fit bipertito; nam tum causa, tum res ipsa removetur; causae remotionis hoc nobis exemplo sit: Rhodii quosdam legarunt

1 indamnatara CSa; indemnatam A^2E^2 *et cett.* necare S; negari F non bis F; item E, sed unum *in ras.* oportuit] potuit S **2** quo R^2; qua R iuditio PT; iudicatio P^2 *et cett.* fit] erit R oratio FIKLMQRSTWXYa; oratia M^2 *et cett.*; Horatia *Halm et Zimmermann* sororem *add* Ve mortem fratrum U neglegebat Q; negleges M; neglexerit PWX; neglegerit a; negligeret R; neglegeret M^2 *et cett.* **3** et *om.* R **4** oportuitne BDWX; oportuit V; oportueritne V^2 *et cett.* indamnatam CKSa; indemnatam A^2E^2 *et cett.* occidi] necari QR et *Cic*. **5** eius *om.* S quod] quae K; qui L ad abversario T **6** fertur NX dimovetur D^2P^2UZ; demovetur DPU^2 *et cett.* id fit bipertito ... removetur *om.* S **7** nam tum causa, tum res] natum cum satum res T tum ante res B^2D^2; dum BD renovetur a; removet GL; movetur N causae B^2 et *Halm*; causa B *et cett.* **8** hic BD; hoc D^2 *et cett.* fit BCDHP^{2}STY; sit P *et cett.* rhodii $A^2D^2EK^2P^2Y$; rhrodi H; hrodii N; rodi T; rhodi ADKP *et cett.* quasdam BCDGLMQSTUTa; quosdam $B^2D^2E^2S^2V^2$ *et cett.* legarunt] legerunt S; legatorum N

Athenas: legatis quaestores sumptum, quem oportebat dari,
non dederant: legati profecti non sunt, accusantur. Intentio est
'proficisci oportuit:' depulsio est 'non oportuit:
‘quaestio est 'oportueritne?' ratio est: 'sumptus enim, qui
de publico dari solet, his ab quaestore non est datus:
‘infirmatio est: 'vos tamen id, quod publici vobis erat negotii
datum, conficere oportebat:' iudicatio est: 'cum his, qui
legati erant, sumptus qui debebatur de publico non daretur,
oportueritne eos conficere nilominus legationem. Ipsius
autem rei fit remotio, cum id quod datur crimini, negat

1 miserunt post Athenas N legati H oportebant Q; oportet Z; portebat C; oportebat C^2 *et cett.* **2** dederunt HQRS et *Cic.*; dederent V; dederat B; dederant $B^2S^2V^2$ *et cett.* accusator TU; accusant G; accusatoris Ve; accusantur U^2 *et cett.* **3** est post intentio *om.* CY et *Halm* proficissi S; proficisse T **4** quaestio est *om.* AEF; E^2 habet *in marg.* oportueritne D^2GNPQRU; oportuitne D *et cett.* **5** ad questorem S; a questore S^2; ad questore T **7** iudicio T **8** debatur IT; debebatur I^2 *et cett.* de omes; ex *Halm* de publico debebatur X daretur] dabatur BDP; datus sit *post* daretur invenitur: de Grais ... posuimus (p. 23, 1 - p. 23, 10) IVW; *item* P, *sed expunctum hoc loco*. **9** oportueritne eos conficere nihilominus legationem *om.* X nilominus AEIMNQVa et *Halm*; nihilominus E^2 *Zimmermann et cett.* **10** autem] ergo M rei *om.* R remotio X^2; motio X quod M^2; qui M criminum TU; crimini U^2 *et cett.*

neque ad se neque ad officium suum reus pertinuisse, nec si quod in eo sit delictum, sibi attribui oportere. Id causae genus est huiusmodi: In eo foedere, quod factum est quondam cum Samnitibus, quidam adolescens nobilis porcum sustenuit iussu imperatoris, foedere autem ab senatu improbato et imperatore Samnitibus dedito, quidam in senatu eum quoque dicit, qui porcum tenuerit, dedi oportere. Intentio est, dedi oportere: depulsio est 'non oportet:' quaestio est 'oporteatne': ratio 'non enim meum fuit officium nec mea potestas, cum et id aetatis non habui et privatus essem,

1 suum *om.* I; I² habet reus ora. L; L² habet pertenuisse GHMV; pertinuisse H²M²V² *et cett.* **2** si *om*. T sic PR²; si RT² *et cett.* fit CRVY; sit *cett.* delicta TU **3** est post genus *om.* BD factum] pactum Z **4** quandam BD; quondam B²D² *et cett.* nobilis *om.* BDa sustenuit BCDGHILMV; sustent Q; sustinuat U; sustinuit B²D²E²H²LQ² *cett. Halm et Zimmermann* **5** foedere] sedere S autem *om.* Q ab BDI²KMPRWX; a A²; hoc G; ob AI *et cett.* improbatu X **6** dedito T²; daeto T quoque] quoniam G; quod S **7** dicit *om.* L; L² *habet* porcum] prior cum S tenuit BD; sustenuerit QZ; tenuerit Q**2** *et cett.* dedi *om.* G oportere] oportuere N; oportere N² **8** dedi] dici W oportere] oportet R; oporteret I; oportere I² *et cett.* est post depulsio *om.* PVWX **9** oporteatne] oportuitne T est post ratio QRU² et *Cic*. officium *om.* B; B² habet **10** et post cum *om.* CY et *Halm*; *cett.* et *Cic*. *habent* non habui *om.* QR; Q² *et cett. habent* habuit a et *post* habui] ut a sum *ante* essem W

et summa cum auctoritate et potestate imperator mandavit, qui videret ut satis honestum foedus feriretur.' Infirmatio est: ‘At enim, quoniam particeps tu factus es in turpissimo foedere summae religionis, dedi te convenit.' Indicatio est: cum is, qui potestatis nil habuerit, iussu imperatoris in foedere et in tanta religione interfuerit, dedendus sit hos tibus necne. Hoc genus causae cum superiore differt, quod in concedit se reus oportuisse facere id quod fieri dicat accusator oportuisse, sed alicui rei aut homini eam causam attribuit, quae voluntati suae fuerit impedimento: in hoc autem non accusare alterum nec culpam in alium

1 esset ante summa QR et *Cic*. mandavit imperator X mandavit *om.* QR et *Cic*.; Q^2 *et cett. habent* **2** qui videret] quideret Ve feriretur L^2; ferretur L **3** at QR et *Cic*.; et K^2; *om.* K *et cett.* enim *om.* BDP^2; P *et cett. habent* tu] tunc Ve tu particeps FRX tu factus es particeps BD es Q^2; est Q **4** te *om.* BDQ; D^2Q^2 *et cett. habent* convenit] oportet BD iudicio G; indicatio S; iudicatio S^2 *et cett.* **5** is] his GST pestatis T nil Ve nil potestatis BD **6** tanta in relegione M; in tanto scelere B^2 *in marg.*; in tanta religione B *et cett.* dedendusne QR et *Cic*. **7** hoc ante differt QR et *Cic*. differt L^2; differ L **8** in illo Z concedere T se *om.* T oportuisset T; obtinuisset Z **9** oportuisse accusator GIKLMNPVWX aliqui a **10** voluntatis CGKLSTUXYVe **11** hoc *om.* U; ho T; hoc U^2 *et cett.* accusare] causare a nec] non PVWX; nec P^2V^2 *et cett.* alium] alterum U.

transferre debet, sed monstrare eam rem nihil ad se nec ad suam potestatem neque ad officium suum pertinuisse aut pertinere. **XV.** Concessio est, per quam non factum ipsum probatur ab reo, sed ut ignoscatur id petitur: cuius partes sunt duae, purgatio et deprecatio. Purgatio est, per quam eius qui accusatur non factura ipsum, sed voluntas defenditur: ea habet partes tres, imprudentiam, casum, necessitudinem. Imprudentia est, cum scisse aliquid is, qui arguitur, negatur, ut: Apud quosdam lex erat, ne quis Dianae vitulum immolaret: nautae quidam cum adversa tempestate in alto iactarentur, voverunt, si eo portu, quem conspiciebant, potiti essent,

1 sed demonstrare RZVe *et Cic.*; se demonstrare Q; sed monstrare Q^2 *et cett.* rem *om.* H **2** pertenuisse G **3** confessio S^2U^2; concessio SU *et cett.* probatus X **4** post id: quia M; quod M^2 sunt *om.* KL **5** deprecatio] depurgatio T **6** accusator AGX; accusatur A^2 *et cett.* ipsum *om.* G sed *om.* T voluntatis T ea] et U partes habet a **7** tres partes H hi *ante* tres a tres *om.* Q casum V^2; causam V necessitudinem N^2; necessitatem N **8** est *om.* L scisse $D^2E^2P^2$QRSYa et *Cic.*; scisse se DEPQ^2 *et cett.* arguitur negatur] accusator negat Z **9** apud *om.* C; A^2E^2 *et cett. habent* quosdam U^2; quodam U vitulum *om.* Ve **10** nauto TU; nautae U^2 *et cett.* quidam S^2; quidem S alto] lato S **11** noverunt a; voluarunt CW; voverunt A^2E^2 *et cett.* se ante si Q si eo portu] se oportu T portu a^2; porto a potiti] po *(ras.)* V potiti ei essent deo T.

ei deo, qui ibi esset, se vitulum immolaturos. Casu erat in eo portu fanum Dianae eius, cui vitulum immolare non licebat. Imprudentes legis cum exissent, vitulum immolaverunt; accusantur. Intentio est: ’vitulum immolastis ei deo cui non licebat:’ depulsio est in concessione deposita: ratio est ‘nescivi non licere:’ infirmatio est: ’tamen, quoniam fecisti quod non licebat ex lege, supplicio dignus es.’ Iudicatio est: cum id fecerit, quod non oportuerit, et id non oportere nescierit, sitne supplicio dignus; Casus autem infertur in concessionem, cum demonstratur aliqua fortunae vis voluntati obstitisse, ut in hac re: Cum Iacedaemoniis lex esset, ut hostias nisi ad sacrificium quoddam redemptor

1 ei deo] et ideo S esset] adessent T se *om.* R; sed T immolaturus ST; immolaturos S *et cett.* **2** portu] porcus T eius cui vitulum] ei vitulum Ve eius *om.* HM; et *cett. habent* cui] cuius T **3** leges BD; legis D^2 *et cett.* exissent] ecissent a vitulum bis F accusator T accusatoris Ve **4** immolatis T ei deo immolastis BD ei deo] et ideo SW deo *om.* R cui *om.* S **5** depulsio D^2IMOPQRU^2WX; inpulsio DU *et cett.* confessione V **6** quoniam *om.* S **7** Iudicatio ... dignus *om.* CY iudicatio S^2; indicatio S **8** id post cum] ad G non oportuerit X^2; fecerit X **9** sicne S **10** non inferitur Ve infertur] inseritur R concessione A demonstra BD; demonstratur B^2D^2 *et cett.* fortuna X **11** vos TU; eius X; vis U^2 *et cett.* voluntati V^2; voluntate V re *om.* R et *Cic*. **12** ut *om.* S nisi ad . . . hostias *om.* BD nisi *om.* A^2S; A et *cett. habent*

praebuisset, capital esset, hostias is qui redemerat, cum sacrificii dies instaret, in urbem ex agro coepit agere, cum subito magnis commotus tempestatibus fluvius Eurotas, is qui praeter Lacedaemonem fluit, ita magnus et vehemens factus est, ut eo traduci victimae nullo modo possent. Redemptor suae voluntatis ostendendae causa hostias constituit omnes in litore, ut qui trans flumen essent videre possint. Cum omnes studio eius subitam fluminis magnitudinem scirent fuisse impedimento, tamen eum quidam capitis arcesserunt. Intentio est: 'hostiae, quas debuisti, ad sacrificium

1 capital esset EFGHIKMQU²V²Ya et *Cic.*; capitale esset STUVe et *Halm*; capitales sed OPWX; capitalis esset K²; capita esset V; capitales esse R; capitalem *(ras.)* L; sententiam ferret L² *in marg.*; capitale sed A; capitali esset sed N; sententia plectendus sup. esset N² ut ante hostias a his FG; is F² *et cett.* redinerat A²BD²KSTXa; redemeret V; redemerat ADX² *et cett.* **2** cepit X; caepit EW; coegit Q; coepit E²Q² *et cett.* agere X²; currere X **3** magnis] magis S commotis T is bis G **4** lacedemonam OP; Lacedaemoniam *Halm*; lacedemonem rel. **5** est *om.* N tradici S nullo modo] non Q **6** suae X²; seve X ostende GTU causae Va hostias P²; hostiam P **7** videri STU²; videre O *et cett.* possint BCDGILMNPQSTVW; possunt H; possent E²F², *cett. Halm et Zimmermannn* **8** fluminis tempestatem Z magnitudinis V scire V **9** impedito OP; impedimento P² *et cett.* tamen] tunc R **10** hostiae S²; hostias S debuisse V

praesto non fuerunt:' depulsio concessio: ratio 'flumen enim subito accrevit et ea re traduci non potuerunt:' Infirmatio: 'tamen quod lex iubet, factum non est, supplicio dignus es:' iudicatio est: cum in ea re contra legem redemptor aliquid fecerit, qua in re studio eius subita fluminis obstiterit magnitudo, supplicio dignusne sit. Necessitudo autem infertur, cum vi quadam reus id quod fecerit fecisse defenditur, hoc modo. Lex est apud Rhodios, ut, si qua rostrata navis in portu deprehensa sit, publicetur. Cum magna in alto tempestas esset, vis ventorum invitis nautis in Rhodiorum portum navem coegit: quaestor navem populi vocat: navis domin**s** negat oportere publicari. Intentio est:

1 ratio] oratio Ve **2** ea re] care T; eam rem G; ea rem LNV victimae post traduci Q **3** quoniam R *et Cic*. *Halm et Zimmermannn cett. om.* supplici G **4** es] est X ea re] eam rem G; ea rem N **6** magnitudo obstiterit magnitudo Q **7** fertur D; cum fertur H; infertur D^2 *et cett.* vi] in a; vim GHNTVW id *om.*Ve quid Q **8** apud *om.* T; T^2 habet radios GTV; rodioa CILMNQSU; hrodios BDa; rhodios $B^2D^2E^2L^2S^2$ *et cett.* **9** prostrate U; rostra L; rostrata L^2 *et cett.* in portu navis R portum C; portu E^2 *et cett.* deprehensa sit] deprehendit T **10** magno G vi S^2; vis S *et cett.* **11** in *om.* X rodiorum LQTU; hodiorum G; hrodiorum M; rhodorum a; rhodiorum L^2 *et cett.* cogit TZ; cohesit S **12** domini BD; dominis M; dominus D^2M^2 *et cett.* oportet H publicare P; publicari P^2 intentio est *om.* F; F^2 habet

'rostrata navis in portu deprehensa est:' depulsio

concessio: ratio 'vi et necessitate sumus in portum coacti:'

infirmatio est: 'navem ex lege tamen populi esse oportet.'

Iudicatio est: cum rostratam navem in portu deprehensam lex publicarit, cumque haec navis invitis nautis vi tenpestatis in portum coniecta sit, oporteatne eam publicari; Deprecatio est, cum et peccasse et consulto peccasse reus se confitetur, et tamen ut ignoscatur postulat, quod genus perraro potest accedere, in quo non defensio facti, sed ignoscendi postulatio continetur. Hoc genus vix in iudicio probari

1 portum G **2** vim AGHV necessitati CGHIMTVa; necessitate $E^2I^2M^2$ *et cett.* summus G coacti in portum X in portum *om.* BDP^2; P et rel, habent **3** ex lege *post* tamen Ve est *om.* KL tamen] tunc G tamen *post* esse, *sed expunctum* O **4** iuditio V portum CGKLQRSTUV; portu E^2Q^2 *et cett.* **5** publicarit QR et *Cic.*; publicaverit *Halm*; publicavit *cett.* vim AGHNPT; vi P^2 *et cett.* **6** convecta T; deiecta BDP^2; coniecta P *et cett.* oportetne BD; oportuitne a publicare T **7** et *om.* Ve consulto] consulte T; cum subito a se *om.* LR; L^2 *et cett. habent* **8** et QR et *Cic.*; *om. cett.* postulat B^2; postolat B **9** potem GMV; potest M^2V^2 *et cett.* accedere BCDGHKMPQTUVa; accidere $D^2E^2P^2Q^2U^2$ *cett. Halm et Zimmermann* defessio factis S. **10** postolantia B; postulantia B^2 **10** dicio KL; iudicio K^2 *et cett.*

potest, ideo quod concesso peccato difficile est ab eo, qui peccatorum vindex esse debet, ut ignoscat impetrare. **XVI**. Ecce habes de locis quaestionum et de statu causarum et de partibus institutionum, quae omnia cotidiano usu natura pandente agnoscis. K. Agnoscam, si naturarum conditor me adiuverit, et tamen habeo quod adhuc a te quaeram. A. Quaere quod placeat, pergam quo me ducis. K. Quot personae solent in iudiciis esse; A. Quattuor: accusator causae, defensor causae, testes, iudex. K. Quo quisque utitur officio; A. Iudex aequitate, testes veritate, accusator intentione ad amplificandam causam, defensor extenuatione ad minuendam causam, nisi forte in laude vel praemii petitione sit causa

1 quod M^2; quia M concessio Q; confesso S peccati Q difficilem Q est *om.* Q ab] ad a eo] ea T **2** in ante ignoscat F; *(ras.)* ante ignoscat A **3** locis P^2; loco P quaestionum G^2; quaestionem G de ante partibus *om.* S **4** coditiano Q naturae G; naturarum R **5** K.] A. T K. Agnoscam ... ducis *om.* BD agnoscas M agn *(ras.)* Ve adiuverit $A^2E^2L^2PS^2WXY$; adiuvaverit AELS *et cett.* **6** et] at R adhuc quod U ad te G; ante P; a te P^2 *et cett.* **7** quod M^2; quia M placent H; placet Ve pergam] per quam V quo] quod G duces R quot] quod AEGTY; quot A^2E^2 *et cett.* **9** causae *om.* Ve testis $A^2B^2D^2MRSTUWXa$; testes $ABDR^2$ *et cett.* et *ante* iudex R **10** aequitatem T testis $A^2B^2MSTUWXa$; testes AB *et cett.* intertione G **11** amplicandam GPS; amplificandam P^2S^2 *et cett.* minuandam GL; muniendam a **12** forte in] fortem H.

posita: tunc converso ordine accusatori extenuatione et defensori amplificatione utendum est. **XVII**. K. Quot modis fit amplificatio vel extenuatio causae; A. Duobus: ex impulsione vel ratiocinatione. Impulsio est, quae sine cogita tione per quandam affectionem animi facere aliquid hortatur, ut amor, iracundia, aegritudo, vinolentia, et omnino omnia, in quibus animus ita videtur affectus fuisse, ut rem perspicere cum consilio et cura non potuerit, et id quod facit impetu quodam animi potius quam cogitatione fecerit. Ratio cinatio autem est diligens et considerata faciendi aliquid aut non faciendi excogitatio. Ea dicetur interfuisse tum, cum faciendi aliquid aut non faciendi certa de causa vitasse

2 est *om.* N quot] quod GTY quot modis] quomodo R fit *om.* Z **3** duabus T in expulsione STUWX; in impulsione M; ex pulsione P; in pulsione X^2; ex impulsione $M^2P^2U^2$ *et cett.* **4** racicinatione S **5** quendam T; quandandam S; quandam S^2 *et cett.* affectione FG **6** iracundiae G violentia S et ante omnia Q **7** videtur ita X affectus *om.* G **8** cum consilio] cum silio W poterit MQ; oportuerit STU; potuerit Q^2U^2 *et cett.* fecit *Halm et Zimmermann*; facit *omnes* impetum Ga **10** autem *om.* CQY et *Halm*; *cett. habent* **11** excogitatio X^2; excogitatione X dicitur STU et *Cic*. tum] enim W **12** faciendi post cum] faciendo T aliquid faciendi QR et *Cic*. aliquid aut non faciendi *om.* G aut *om.* S faciendo T causa ante certa S de *om.* X

aut secutus esse animus videbitur, si amicitiae quid causa factum dicitur, si inimici ulciscendi, si metus, si gloriae, si pecuniae, denique ut omnia generatim amplectamur, alicuius retenendi, augendi adipiscendive commodi, aut contra reiciendi, diminuendi devitandive incommodi causa. **XVIII**. K. Qualiter accusator vel defensor impulsione seu ratiocinatione uti debet; A. Ergo accusator, cum impulsione aliquid factum esse dicet, illum impetum et quandam commotionem animi affectionemque verbis et sententiis amplificare debebit et

1 esse X^2; est X causa quid U factura post quid OP causae GPSTa; causa P^2 *et cett.* **2** factum *om.* P inimici] micitii W inimici ulciscendi] inimicitiae ulciscendae PX si metus *om.* N si ante gloriae *om.* S **3** si *ante* denique QR et *Cic*. **4** re *ante* retinendi Q retendi H; retenendi BDFGMNV; retinendi B^2D^2 *cett. Halm et Zimmermann* augendi ... reiciendi *om.* W contra reiciendi] contrarie tendendi S reiciendi AIKL^{2}ORTX; reiciundi HU et *Halm* reieciundi BDEFGI^{2}MN; reieciendi IQV; reeiciundi a; reciendi P **5** diminuendi *om.* K diminuendive S devitandive *om.* S; divitandive CGHNTVa; devitandive E^2 *et cett.* commodi SX; incommodi X^2 *et cett.* causae G K. *om.* A 7 A. *om.* a vel defensor ante cum, sed expunctum U aliquod BDP^2; aliquid P *et cett.* **8** dicit GU^2; dicitur X; dicet UX^2 *et cett.* T affectionem EINPVWX; affectionemque E^2P^2 *et cett.* **10** et post verbis] ac a amplicare TV; amplificare V^2 *et cett.*

ostendere, quanta vis sit amoris, quanta animi perturbatio ex iracundia fiat aut ex aliqua causa earum, qua impulsum aliquem id fecisse dicet, ut non mirum videatur, si quod ad facinus tali perturbatione commotus animus accesserit, et exemplis confirmare ante actis, qui simili impulsu aliquid simile commiserunt. Cum autem non impulsione, verum ratio cinatione aliquem commisisse quid dicet, quid commodi sit secutus aut quid incommodi fugerit, demonstrabit et id augebit quam maxime, ut: si gloriae causa, quantam gloriam consecuturam existimarit: item si dominationis, si pecuniae, si amicitiae, si inimicitiarum, et omnino quicquid erit,

1 ostendere] ostendit re G **2** ex ante iracundia] et IQ; ex L^2Q^2 *et cett.* fiet N; fit V; fiat V^2 *et cett.* aliqua] qua S fiat ante causa T qua R; quae *cett.* **3** dicit Ga; decet S ad] at M; *om.* LV; L^2V^2 *et cett.* habent **4** cum motus W **5** actis] captis R simile C; simili E^2 *et cett.* **6** cum miserunt W impulsionem T; inpulsa K **7** commisse Qa; cum misise W; commisisse Q^2 *et cett.* **8** secutus] sequitur ST incommodi P^2; commodi P demonstravit CH; demonstrabit E^2 *et cett.* augebit Q^2; fugebit Q **9** si] sit KL quid *post* si P, *sed expunctum* P^2 gloriose X **10** consequatur S; consecuta rem P; consecuturam P^2 *et cett.* aut ante existimarit S existimaret Ua; existimant T; existimaverit MPQ^2WX; existimarit M^2QU^2 *et cett.* dominationis P^2; dominationes P **11** et] aut Ve quidquid GQVa; quid L; quicquid L^2 *et cett.*

quod causae prodesse dicet, id summe augere debebit. Defensor autem ex contrario primum impulsionem aut nullam fuisse dicet, aut si fuisse concedet, extenuabit et parvulam quandam fuisse demonstrabit, aut non ex ea solere huiusmodi facta nasci docebit. Ratiocinationis autem suspiciones infirmabit, si aut commodum nullum fuisse aut parvum aut aliis maius esse, aut nihilo sibi maius quam aliis: aut incommodum sibi maius quam commodum dicet, ut nequaquam fuerit illius

1 causae I^2; causa I suae post causae QR prodisse GHQSVa dicit GU^2a; dicet Ua^2 *et cett.* id summa ... dicet *om.* S id] u G; ip a summum T; summae FHIM augeri R **3** dicit S; dicat X; dicet X^2 *et cett.* concedet ... fuisse *om.* BD; D^2 habet *in marg.* Extenuavit $CD^2GHMPQS^2TVWXa$; extenuatione S; extenuabit E^2M^2 *et cett.* et… demonstrabit *om.* EIY; I^2 habet *in marg.* **4** quendam U demonstravit AF aut] at D^2N^2; aut DN *et cett.* ex *om.* B; B^2 habet ea *om.* S **5** facto nasu X; factum nasci X^2 decebit S; docebat V; docebit V^2 *et cett.* **5** rationationis a suspicionis STU; suspicionem S^2; suspiciones *rel*. infirmavit C; infirmabit E^2 *et cett.* **6** aliis maius] magis aliis S **7** maius ante esse K^2L^2; magis KL *et cett.* esse] fuisse QR maius] magis OP quam ... sibi maius *om.* W aliis] illiis T incommodum] incommodius S; commodum F **8** sibi maius] magis I; sibi magis OP; maius sibi BD; sibi maius I^2 *et cett.* commodum S^2; commodam S dicit G illius] illis T

commodi, quod expetitum dicatur, magnitudo aut cum eo in commodo, quod acciderit, aut cum illo periculo, quod subeatur, comparandum. Qui omnes loci similiter in incommodi quoque vitatione tractabuntur. **XIX**. K. Quia personas causarum dixisti, dic, obsecro,' et loca singularum personarum. A. Dicam, licet hoc non tantum ad artis praecepta pertineat, quantum ad officii decorem. Iudex in tribunali, causa in medio ante eum ad laudem vel ad poenam posita, ut forte patriae defensio vel proditio: accusator ad sinistram causae et defensor ad dextram, testes retro. K. An insignia sua singulae ex illis habent; A. Habent. Iudex sceptro aequitatis armandus est, accusator pugione malitiae, defensor

1 commodi] modi Q dicitur T eo] illo Ve **3** conparandamV; cum parandum W qui] quia K^2S; quae KS^2 omnia loca S^2; omnes locis a; omnes loci S *et cett.* similiter *om.* I; I^2 *habet* incommodi L^2; commodi L **4** vitatione] tutatione S K. *om.*Va quia] quid T **5** dic *om.* QR; Q^2 *et cett. habent* et *om.* Ve et loca singularum personarum *omnes praeter* CY et *Halm, qui habent* loca singularum A. *om.* Va **6** hoc tantum non R tandum T **8** ad *ante* laudem *om.* BD in *ante* laudem G ad *ante* poenam *om.* M **9** defenso G vel] aut BD perditio M accusator] accusantur G **10** dextram] sinistram Q; dexteram Ve testis STU K. *om.* a **11** singuli Q^2; singulae Q *et cett.* habent post illis] habeant GIMNPSVX; habebant W; habeat P^2 *et cett.* A. *om.* a habent *post* A.] habeant S ex ante sceptro S **12** est Q^2; erit Q malitiae P^2; militiae P.

clipeo pietatis, testes tuba veritatis. K. Etiam his omnibus causae adiacentibus circumstantiis repertis, quid tunc quaerendum est, magister; A. Quid nisi singulae totius causae partes; K. Quae vel quot illae sint, audire desidero. A. Sex enim sunt partes, per quas ab oratore ordinanda est oratio causae: exordium, narratio, partitio, confirmatio, reprehensio, conclusio. **XX**. K. Quid est exordium; A. Oratio animum auditoris idonee comparans ad reliquam dictionem. K. Quomodo hoc efficitur; A. Primo ut bene volum, attentum, docilem efficias auditorem. K. Ut mihi videtur, hoc summe curandum est, ut benevolus, attentus, docilis efficiatur auditor: sed quonam modo hoc idem effici

1 testis STUX tuba V^2; turba V K. *om.* Va **2** adiacentibus HT circumstantiis V^2; circumstantibus V quod T **3** magister *om.* a A. *om.* Va **4** K. *om.* Va quod AEGHTVWXa; quot E^2 *et cett.* **5** A. *om.* Va sunt enim KL sunt *om.* MQR; M^2 *et cett. habent* **6** ordinandi T; ordinata W est *om.* T **7** K. *om.* a **8** A. *om.* a animi T ad H^2; et H **9** K. *om.* a *om.* ST A. *om.* a ut] ad ST; ut S^2 *et cett.* **10** attendum W efficies H; facias U efficias U^2 *et cett.* K. *om.* IMVa **11** summum T benivolum T benevolus, attentus, docilis, efficiatur auditor] benevolum, attentum, docilem, efficias auditorem QR **1^2** efficiatur D^2; efficiator D K. *ante* sed IMV quonam U^2; quomodo U.

possit, velim scire. A. Quattuor ex locis benevolentia comparatur, ab nostra, ab adversariorum, ab iudicum persona, a causa. Ab nostra, si de nostris factis et officiis sine arrogantia dicemus, si crimina illata et aliquas minus honestas suspiciones iniectas diluemus, si quae incommoda acciderint aut quae instent difficultates proferimus, si prece et obsecratione humili ac supplici utemur. Ab adversariorum autem, si eos aut in odium aut in invidiam aut in contemptum adducemus. In odium ducentur, si quod eorum spurce, superbe, crudeliter, malitiose factum proferetur: in invidiam, si vis

1 vellem PWX; vellim AEV; velim E^2 *et cett.* A. *om.* a benivolentiam F **2** ab *ante* adversariorum *om.* G; ad T ab iudicum] ad iudicum T; iudicio a S; ab iudicium VY; ab iudicum rel. **3** a causa] accusa a; causa V sine arrogantia] si non rogantia G **5** suspicione G; suspicionis S deluemus L^2 diluemus L *et cett.* incommodo X acciderunt G **6** aut s^2; at S vae post quae H instant H proferemus *Halm et Zimmermann*; proferimus *omnes* **7** utimur KU; citemur BD; utemur D^2 *et cett.* ab ad adversariorum Y **8** autem] aut CY; ut F^2; autem *rel*. in *ante* invidiam *om.* CGIKNQVY; I^2M^2 et rel, habent contentum Q **9** dicuntur BD; ducuntur D^2P^2; ducentur P *et cett.* spure KLa; spurce K^2 *et cett.* **10** proferatur a; profertur D; proferetur D^2 *et cett.* in invidiam ... proferentur *om.* KL; K^2 *habet in marg*. in *om.* CGMQSUY; *et cett. habent* invidia T

eorum, potentia, divitiae, cognatio, pecuniae proferentur, atque eorum usus arrogans et intolerabilis, ut his rebus magis videantur quam causae suae confidere: in contemptum adducentur, si eorum inertia, neglegentia, ignavia, desidiosum studium et luxuriosum otium proferetur. Ab auditorum persona benevolentia captabitur, si res ab his fortiter, sapienter, mansuete gestae proferentur, ut nequaquam assentatio nimia significetur, si de his quam honesta existima tio quantaque eorum iudicii et auctoritatis exspectatio sit ostenditur: a rebus, si nostram causam laudando extollemus, aliorum causam per contemptum deprimemus. Attentos autem faciemus, si demonstrabimus ea, quae dicturi erimus, magna,

1 proferent G **2** et *om.* Q ut his Q^2R et *Cic*.; et his CQY; ut et his V; et ut his rel. **4** eorum neglegentia aut inertia ignavia BD neglentia S; neglelentia H **5** studium *om.* G aditorum P; unditorum T; auditorum P^2 *et cett.* otium] studiosum Z **6** his *omnes*; iis *Halm* **7** proferuntur PY ut ne qua QR et *Cic*.; ut nequaquam Q^2 *et cett.* assentio T **8** nimia] minima T si V^2; sed VVe his *omnes*; iis *Halm* honestam S **9** nimia significetur *post* existimatio QXWZ iudicii eorum Xa auctoritatis V^2; auctoritas V **10** extollemus R; extollimus *cett.* **11** aliorum] adversariorum QR et *Cic*.; aliorum Q^2 *et cett.* deprimimus $E^2L^2NU^2$YVe; depromimus a; deprimemus ELU *et cett.* **12** demonstravimus AE; demonstrabimus E^2 *et cett.* dictu E; dicituri BD; dicturi D^2E^2 *et cett.* eramus N sumus Z

nova, incredibilia esse, aut ad omnes aut ad eos qui audient aut ad aliquos illustres homines aut ad deos immortales aut ad summam rei publicae pertinere, et si pollicebimur nos brevi nostram causam demonstraturos, atque ex ponemus iudicationem aut iudicationes, si plures erunt. Dociles auditores faciemus, si aperte ac breviter summam causae exponemus, hoc est, in quo consistat controversia. Sed qui bene exordiri volet, primo necesse est ut suae causae genus diligenter agnoscat. **XXI**. K. Quot sunt causarum genera; A. Quinque: honestum, admirabile, humile, anceps, obscurum. Honestum causae genus est, cui statim sine oratione nostra favet auditoris animus: admirabile, a quo est alienatus

1 eos] deos S audiant C et *Halm*; audiunt E^{2}Y; audient *cett. et Cic*. **2** aut post audient] ut W ad *ante* aliquos *om.* L viros *ante* homines, sed expunctum Q ad eos ABDLTYa; ad deos A^2 D^{2}L^{2}Y^{2}a^2 *et cett.* **3** pollicebimur QR et *Cic*.; pollimur W; pollicemur *rel*. **4** demonstraturas H **5** indicationem IPQ^{2}VX; iudicationem P^{2}Q *et cett.* indicationes PQ^{2}VWX; iudicationem Q; iudicationes P^2 *et cett.* erunt E^{2}QRUY; sunt KL; erant E *et cett.* **6** ac] aut N **7** constat T; consistit BDP^2; consistat P *et cett.* **8** est *om.* N causae *om.* E; E^2 habet **9** K. *om.* Va quod GT A. *om.* Va **10** ammissabile G obscurus T **11** est genus P est *om.* S; S^2 habet cui] cuius V nostram G; *om.* Ve **12** animus auditoris Z elienatus

animus eorum qui audituri sunt: humile, quod neglegitur ab auditore et non magnopere attendendum videtur: anceps, in quo aut iudicatio dubia est, aut causa et honestatis et turpitudinis particeps, ut benevolentiam pariat et offensionem: obscurum, in quo aut tardi auditores sunt aut difficilioribus ad cognoscendum negotiis causa est implicata, K. An semper perspicue exordiri debet orator; A. Aliquando perspicue, aliquando per circuitionem. Perspicua oratio est, cui mox animus auditoris favet, ut in honesto genere causae est: illa vero, quae per circuitum fit, clam subit animum auditoris, ut in humili, ancipiti vel obscuro causae genere faciendum est. Sed et hoc sciendum est, quod exordium sententiarum et

1 auditores R quod] qui BCDGHLMSTUa; quod $D^2E^2S^2$ *et cett.* neglitur G **2** non *om.* FP; P^2 et *cett. habent* attendendum A^2; attendum A videt N **3** aut ante iudicatio *om.* X iudicio T aut causa] et causa a honestis T **4** particeps S^2; participes S pariad M **5** tardi] tradi T sunt *om.* Ve **6** ad cognoscendum] agnoscendis S cognoscendam a K. *om.* Va **7** perspicue ante exordiri] prospicue I; perspicua X; perspicue X^2 *et cett.* oratori F; oratio F^2 A. *om.* Va **8** perspicua oratio] perspicuatio S cui PQ^2RWX; qua Q *et cett.* **9** in honesto] non testo S causae genere Q est causae M causa AHNS est *om.* R **10** circuitum *omnes*; circuitionem *Halm* subit $D^2E^2KL^2P^2RY$; subire N; subiit DELP *et cett.* **12** et post sed *om.* CYVe et *Halm*; *cett. habent* est post sciendum *om.* N.

gravitatis plurimum debet habere et omnino omnia quae ad dignitatem pertinent, ostentationis vero et concinnitudinis minimum, propterea quod ex his suspicio quaedam artificiosae diligentiae nascitur, quae maxime orationi fidem et oratori adimit auctoritatem. **XXII**. K. Ecce habeo quo modo exordiri debeat causa, nunc narrationis textum expone. A. Narratio est rerum gestarum aut ut gestarum expositio, quae tria debet habere, id est ut brevis, ut aperta, ut probabilis sit. Brevis erit, si unde necesse est, inde initium sumat, et non ab ultimo repetetur, et si cuius rei satis erit summam dixisse, eius partes non dicentur: nam saepe satis est quid factum sit dicere, ut ne narres quemadmodum sit factum: et si non

1 ea *ante* omnia S **2** ostentationes H cognitudinis WX; connitudinis P; concinnitudinis P^2 *et cett.* **3** minimum Q^2; nimium Q suscipio FT quaedam artificiosae diligentiae nascitur, quae maxime *om.* Ve **4** dilientiae a orationi] orato in BD; oration D^2 *et cett.* oratorii M **5** K. *om.* a debeat exordiri X debet T; debeant K; debeatur R **6** nunc] nam a A. *om.* a narrantio T **7** aut ut gestarum *om.* KVe **9** enim *ante* erit T sumitur Q; sumatur R **10** repetur BDH; repetatur MPRSVe; repetetur $B^2D^2H^2p^2$ *et cett.* summa M eius dixisse CY **11** eius *om.* BD dicent S; dicere S^2 quod CY sit factum X **12** sit *ante* dicere *om.* T dicere *om.* G narras HI; narres I^2 *et cett.* quemadmodum] quomodo BD factum *om.* S.

longius quam opus est in narrando procedetur, et si nullam
in rem aliam transiet oratio, et si ita dicetur, ut nonnum
quam ex eo quod dictum sit, id quod non sit dictum intelligatur,
et si non modo id quod obest, verum etiam id quod nec
obest nec adiuvat praeteribitur: et non minus rerum non necessariarum
quam verborum multitudine supersedendum est.
Aperta autem narratio poterit esse, si ut quidque primum
gestum erit, ita primum exponetur, et rerum ac temporum ordo
servabitur, ut ita narrentur res, ut gestae erunt aut ut potuisse
geri videbantur. Hic erit considerandum, ne quid
perturbate, ne quid contorte dicatur, ne quam in aliam rem

1 lon *ante* longius G producetur P; procedatur S^2; procedetur S *et cett.* **2** aliam rem OP transit G; trans ibitur QR et *Cic*.; transiet Q^2 *et cett.* oratio *om.* QR et *Cic*.; Q^2 et *cett. habent* dicatur S^2; dicetur S *et cett.* non umquam PV^2; nonnumquam P^2V *et cett.* **4** verum ... obest *om.* T quod *ante* nec] quae K nec] non Q **5** nec *om.* F; F^2 habet praeteribit IMOX si *post* et M necessariarum U^2; necessiarum U **7** si ut] sicut T quodque RU; quisque O; quidque O^2U^2 *et cett.* **8** gestum erit ita primum *om.* Y primus T **9** servabit GL ut ita narrentur res, ut gestae erunt aut ut potuisse geri videbantur *om.* Ve ut *ante* ita] et S^2 ; ut S *et cett.* narrarentur G; narrantur BD; narrentur D^2 *et cett.* erant $D^2E^2L^2NP^2Y$; erunt DELP *et cett.* ut *post* aut *om.* STUX potuisse X^2; poti se X **10** se ante geri S gere G videbuntur QR et *Cic*. erat GN **11** perturbate ne quid *om.* M dicantur a ne quam X^2; neque X rem *om.* W; rex S; rem S^2 *et cett.*

transeatur. Probabilis erit narratio, si in ea videbuntur inesse ea quae solent apparere in veritate, si personarum dignitates servabuntur, si causae factorum exstabunt, si fuisse facultates faciendi videbuntur, si tempus idoneum, si spatii satis, si locus opportunus ad eandem rem, qua de re narrabitur, fuisse ostendetur, si res et ad eorum qui agent naturam et ad vulgi rumorem et ad eorum qui audient opinio nem accommodabitur. **XXIII.** K. Ordo deposcit ut de partitione dicas. A. Dicam. Partitio est rerum ad causam ipsam pertinentium divisio, quae recte habita perspicuam et illustrem totam orationem efficit. Quae duas habet partes: una pars est, quae quid cum adversariis conveniat et quid in controversia

probalis T erit S^2; erat S narratio Q^2; narratur Q videbantur G **2** ea *om.* CT et *Halm*; *cett. habent* inesse *om.* Ve apparere O^2; apperire O veritate] virtute S **3** adstabunt V^2; exstabunt V *et cett.* **5** locis GV; locus V^2 *et cett.* ad *om.* a **6** ostenditur Q; ostendet GL ad *om.* a **7** vulgi rumorem] vulgerum morem X rumorem] rumorum B; favorem T ad *ante* eorum *om.* M audient] acdient T **8** accommodatur S K. *om.* a partione X **9** A. *om.* a partio T participatione Z pertinentiam KL; pertinentium L^2 *et cett.* **10** partitio] participatione Z perspiciam G oratione H **11** partes habet X habet] autem a est *om.* X **12** quid ante cum] quod U; qui a; quid U^2 *et cett.* convenit T conveniet Z controversia] troversia H.

relinquatur ostendit, ex qua certum quiddam destinatur auditori, in quo animam debeat habere occupatum: altera est, in qua rerum earum, de quibus erimus dicturi, breviter expositio ponitur distributa; ex qua conficitur, ut certas animo res teneat auditor: nam et haec pars habere debet brevitatem, absolutionem, paucitatem. Brevitas est, cum nisi necessarium nullum assumitur verbum: absolutio est, per quam omnia quae incidunt in causam genera, de quibus dicendum est, amplectimur in partitione: paucitas est, quae eas res tantum ponit in partitione, quae necessarie sunt dicendae iterum, et ne plura quam satis est demonstraturos nos dicamus, hoc modo: 'ostendam adversarios quod arguamus et potuisse facere et voluisse et fecisse,' cum fecisse satis est ostendere.

1 relinquamur T quidam a auditori] adiutori IMOS **3** erimus *om.* P; P² *et cett. habent* exposita IOPVWX; expositio P² *et cett.* **4** et post ponitur NY distributa N et *Cic*. et *Halm*; distributio N² *et cett.* ex] est Ve res teneat] resteat T **5** audiator G pars haec QR brevitatem] brevi tamen G **6** cum nisi X²; carius X necessarium] cessarium a **7** quam] quem T **9** amplectitur BD P²X; complectimur R; amplectimur PR² *et cett.* tantum R² tam R ponit X²; potuit X partione T necessarie M; necessaria F; necessae X; necessariae *cett.* dicende ABMTU; dicendae *rel*. **11** demonstraturas TU **12** si ostendam Ve quos LPS²VWXVe; quod P²S *et cett.* arguimus D²MP²R; arguamus DP *et cett.* **13** cum fecisse *om.* S K. *ante* ostendere I

XXIV. K. Nunc ad confirmationis praecepta te verte, magister, quae maxime omnibus reor necessaria, ut suam quisque sciat confirmare causam, et licet hoc voluntarie faciat, tamen non satis digne nisi praeceptis et usu agi potest. A. Ita est, domine mi rex, ut dicis. Nam omnes argumentationes ad confirmationum tendunt rationes: sed tam grandis est argumentorum silva, ut vix sub brevitate huius dialogi nostri aliquid aperiri possit. K. Tamen stringe paucis plura: nam saepe una clave multae thesaurorum gazae aperiuntur. A. Faciam prout possum. Confirmatio est argumentatio, qua tuae causae fidem et auctoritatem comparas, quae duobus modis fit

1 K. *om.* Ia ad S^2; et S praecepta *om.* G te] re a verte BE^2DI^2PRVXY; vere W; vertere EI *et cett.* magister *om.* a **2** quam D^2QR; quod L^2; quae DL *et rel*. omnium B reor omnibus P necessarium $GKLU^2$; necessariam D^2RQ; necessaria DQ^2U *et cett.* **3** et *om.* U **4** A. *om.* a ista BD; ita D^2 *et cett.* **5** domine mi rex *om.* BDa rex *om.* Q argumentationes omnes S omnia a argumen *(ras.)* T confirmationem PUVWXa **6** rationis Q^2Wa; orationis IPVX rationes Q *et cett.* tam] tamen S argumentatorum W **7** brevitati GIMQV; brevitatem K; brevitate I^2 *et cett.* **8** possit L^2; potest L *et cett.* K. *om.* a tamen] *Hic resumit b* plur] *Hic explicit a* **9** una] in una hac S clavi $KLSU^2$; clave U *et cett.* multa M gazae] divitiae Ve gatae M; gazae B^2D^2 *et cett.* **10** possum S^2; possim S; *Hic explicit b* quae QW; qua Q^2 *et cett.* **11** causae *om.* G sit EK.

id est ex personis aut ex negotiis. Et personis quidem has
res attributas putamus, nomen, naturam, victum, fortunam,
habitum, affectionem, studia, consilia, facta, casus, orationes:
nam ex his singulis argumenta possunt fieri, prout
se commoditas causae affert. **XXV**. K. Etsi brevitati studeas,
tamen haec plenius desidero. A. Ex nomine fit argumentum
hoc modo, ut si dicamus idcirco aliquem Calidum vocari, quod
sit temerario et repentino consilio, ut sacrae scripturae
quoque utamur exemplo. Nam Esau de Iacob fratre suo dicit:
recte vocatur nomen eius Iacob, id est supplantator: en
altera vice supplantavit me. In natura sexus, natio, patria,
cognatio, aetas consideratur: in sexu vir an mulier: in

1 et] a GQ; ac R; ex BDF^{2}P^{2}STV; et FP *et cett.* **2** natura F commoda *add* Z *post* naturam **3** consilia *om.* CY; A^{2} *et cett.* habent facta *om.* R **4** argumenta S^{2}; armenta S **5** etsi] et sibi G b *habet*: K. Etsi ... desidero **6** haec *om.* STU; U^{2} *et cett.* habent audire *post* plenius R A. *om.* INV; V^{2} *et cett. habent* ; dici *post* plenius *add* Z **7** damus T calidum BDGHLMNQTUVVe; callidum B^{2}Q^{2} et *rel*. et *Halm* **8** fit T temeratio T quoque scripturae Q **9** quoque *om.* Ve utamur quoque X utemur G fratre suo Iacob CY et *Halm*; Iacob fratre suo *cett.* **10** nomen *om.* GS eius *om.* S subplantavit me iam en altera vice BD vicem G consideratur post natura QR **12** consideratur *om.* QR **12** an U^{2}; aut U

natione Graecus an barbarus: in patria Atheniensis an Romanus:
in cognatione, quibus maioribus, quibus consanguineis
sit: in aetate puer an adolescens, natu grandior an senex.
Item saepe ex commodis vel incommodis naturae coniectura
sumenda est hoc modo: valens an imbecillus, longus an brevis,
formosus an deformis, velox an tardus, acutus an hebes, memor
an obliviosus, dolosus an simplex. Et ex victu multae trahuntur
suspiciones, cum quemadmodum et apud quos et a quibus
educatus et eruditus sit, quaeritur, et quibuscum vivat et
qua ratione vitae et quo more domestico vivat. Et ex fortuna

2 cognatione X^2; cognitione X **3** an post puer om. OPX; p^2 *et cett. habent* an adolescens] anolescens T in ante natu S natura PSUWX; natu P^2 *et cett.* anolescens *post* grandior T **4** vel incommodis *om.* GKP; K^2P^2 *et cett. habent* natura M coniecturae ST **5** valuns AE; validus A^2; valens E^2 *et cett.* imbecillus R; inbecellis GIV^2; inbecelles QV; inbicillis BD; imbecillis D^2; Imbecillis rel. brevis an longus BD an post longus] ac M **6** formosis G **7** inobliviosus G **8** cum quemadmodum] cumque admodum EFHY et ante apud] aut BDP^2; et P *et cett.* a *om.* T **9** educatus sit et eruditus AF et *Halm*; educatus et eruditus sit *cett.* et post quaeritur *om.* KLS quibuscum] quibus BDKL; quibuscum D^2 *et cett.* vivat] convivat KL; iuvat X **10** et *post* vitae *om.* R more] amore R vivat] iuvat X et quo more domestico vivat *om.* Ve

saepe argumentatio nascitur, cum servus an liber, pecuniosus
an pauper, nobilis an ignobilis, felix an infelix, privatus
an in potestate sit aut fuerit aut futurus sit consideratur,
aut denique aliquid eorum quaeritur, quae fortunae
esse attributa intelliguntur. Habitus autem in aliqua perfecta
et constanti animi aut corporis absolutione consistit,
quo in genere est virtus, scientia et quae contraria sunt:
res ipsa et causa posita docebit, et quid hic quoque locus
suspicionis ostendat. Nam affectionis quidem ratio perspicuam
solet prae se gerere coniecturam, ut amor, iracundia,
molestia, propterea quod et ipsorum vis intelligitur, et
quae res harum aliquam rem consequantur faciles cognito sunt.

1 argumento T; argumantio D; argumentatio D^2 *et cett.* nascit G **2** an post felix] aut Y infelix] felix BD; infelix B^2D^2 *et cett.* **3** aut *post* sit] a I; an GV aut *post* fuerit] an G **5** intellegunt GL autem] quoniam Q; quando R **6** constantis L^2N; constanti L *et cett.* **7** scientiae KSTU; scientia U^2 *et cett.* **8** et *post* ipsa *om.* R docebit posita M et quid *omnes*; ecquid *Halm* hoc T loco G **9** ostendet R; ostentat T Post ostendat in P, duae paginae amissae sunt; textum resumit uno crimine (p. 58, 6) effectionis BDM; affectionis B^2D^2 *et cett.* **10** prae] per INRSTVWX **11** ipsorum] eorum Q intellegit GL **12** aliquem EF; aliquam E^2 *et cett.* consequantur E^2K^2Y; consequamur T; consequatur EK *et cett.* cognitu $D^2E^2I^2$ K^2R^2Y; cognit (ras.) F; cognitu DEIKR *cett. Halm et Zimmermann* cognite erunt Ve

Studium autem quoniam est assidua et vehementer aliquam ad rem applicata magna cum voluptate occupatio, facile ex eo ducitur argumentatio, prout res ipsa in causa desiderabit.

Item ex consilio sumitur aliquid suspicionis; nam consilium est aliquid faciendi non faciendive excogitata ratio.

Facta autem et casus et orationes tribus ex temporibus considerabuntur: quid fecerit aut quid ipsi acciderit aut quid dixerit, et quod faciat, quid ipsi accidat, quid dicat, aut quid facturus sit, quid ipsi casurum sit, qua sit usurus oratione. Ex quibus facile erit videndum, quid afferant ad

1 est *om.* S vehementer *omnes*; vehemens *Halm* ad rem applicata aliqua S; ad aliquam rem N aliquam DKNQVWX; aliqua *rel*. et *Halm* ad] et BDI; ad D^2I^2 *et cett.* **2** voluntate LMQSTU; voluptate $L^2Q^2Q^2$ *et cett.* **3** ducetur QR et *Cic*.; dicitur F res *om.* Q desiderabilis ST; desiderabat X; desideravit C; desiderabit E^2 *et cett.* **4** sumetur R suspicionis V^2; suspicionibus V **5** est *om.* ST excogita CS; excogitata C^2S^2 *et cett.* **6** autem *om.* R casus V^2; causas V tribus ex] quibus Ve considerabuntur L^2; considerantur L **7** ipsi] sibi G **8** quid ante faciat] quod EFY; quid F^2 *et cett.* quid *ante* ipsi] quod EYVe accidat S^2; accidit S quid ante dicat] quod EY **9** quid ante facturus *om.* M; quod EY; quid *rel*. facturus] futurus X sit *post* facturus *om.* CY et *Halm* quid *post* sit] quod EY **9** ipsi casurum sit *om.* G ipsi] sibi W casurum] causarum X qua sit usurus] quasiturus G.

confirmandam coniecturam suspicionis. **XXVI.** K. Sunt haec loca accusatori seu defensori communia; A. Fiunt secundum utri usque causae commodum. K. Quo modo; A. Nam accusator eius vitam ante aciam, quem arguit, vel protervam eius naturam seu studia malitiosa vel mores improbos vel facta cruenta improbare debebit et ostendere, si potuerit, si in quo pari ante peccato convictus sit, et quam turpis aut cupidus aut petulans aut cruentus esset, ut mirandum non sit talem hominem ad tale facinus proruisse. Quantum enim de honestate et auctoritate eius qui arguitur detractum erit, tantum erit de facultate totius eius defensionis imminutum.

1 confirmandum T **2** accusatori] accusato satori X utriusque secundum BD secundum *om.* KL; K² *et cett.* habent utrisque AH; utriusque A² *et cett.* **3** causae *om.* A; A² habet commodum] quo modum G A. *om.* I **4**; ante actam eius vitam S actum N quam CV; que S²; quem E²S *et cett.* arguit *om.* H proptervam KL; protervam K² *et cett.* **5** seu] vel Q vel *ante* facta *om.* KL **6** ostendere D²; ostende D potuerit CKLN²Y; poterit N *et cett.* **7** *ante* pari BD patri G pari ante] pariento S; pariente S² et] aut BD turbis H **8** aut *ante* petulans] an KLMOVX; ante G; a I; aut I² *et cett.* aut *ante* cruentus] an K; aut K² cruentus D²; cruentis D mirandum S²; mirandus S **9** facimus G **10** detractum erit] tractaverit R enim *om.* Ve **11** eius totius S imminutum BCDH²KSUY; de inminutum GHIMNVWX; deminutum QR; in deminutum L; intium T

Si nullo ante acto peccato reus infamari poterit, hortandi sunt iudices, non veterem famam hominis, sed novum facinus esse iudicandum. Nam ante celatum esse qualis esset, nunc autem manifestum esse: quare hanc rem ex superiori vita non debere considerari, sed superiorem vitam ex hac turpitudine improbari. K. Si haec omnia accusator reo ingerit, quis locus defensionis relinquitur ei; A. Relinquitur defensionis idoneus locus; saepe uno protegente scuto multa nocentis repelluntur spicula. Defensor primo, si poterit, debebit eius vitam honestissimam, fidelissimam demonstrare, aut

1 si nullo] sine nulla BD; sin nullo D^2 nullum Ve acto *om.* H peccato reus] peccator eius T infirmari U potest BD non] ne Q hominis *om.* Q sed] ne Q **3** esse qualis] aequalis U **4** rem *om.* I ex] haec H; huic H^2 **5** considerari *cum Halm et Zimmermannn scripsi*; considerare *omnes* superiorum R vitam] famam U ex hac] ad hanc Q; acta R; ex hac Q^2 *et cett.* qualis esset *om.* Ve **6** improbari *cum Halm et Zimmermannn scripsi*; improbare *omnes* K. *om.* GI **7** relinquitur ei; A. Relinquitur defensionis *om*. W relinquitur *ante* ei] relinquetur R; relinquitur R^2 A. *om.* GI relinquitur ei locus defensionis idoneus QR **8** Post saepe *Halm* addidit enim e parva *rasura* in A; *rel*. *om.* protegentis R nocentes BD; nocentum R; nocentis D^2 *et cett.* **9** primo *om.* BD potuerit A et *Halm*; poterit rel. **10** primo ante eius BD vitam eius QR fidelissimam *om.* S; fidelissima atque OQ^2WX; fidelissimam Q *et cett.* aut] an G

in rem publicam aut in parentes, cognatos, amicos, et eius
bene gesta fideliter ac fortiter si quae sunt proferenda;
et miserum esse tam insignia bona tam parvo reatu obscurari.
Nec hoc ipsum aliqua cupiditate vel malitia seu infidelitate
perpetrasse, sed casu et ignorantia aut alterius suggestione
fecisse, nullumque patriae profectibus vel pietati parentum
vel dignitati morum studere velle, si quolibet parvo vel levi
reatu priora bona adnullanda sunt. Et hoc optimis viris esse
perniciosum, ut malitiosus quislibet bonos insimulare audeat.
Sin autem et in ante acta vita aliquae turpitudines erunt,

1 in cognatos vel parentes seu amicos S **2** fideliter] fidelibus S ac] vel QR quae] qua L^2U^2 ; que U; quae L *et cett.* sunt proferenda sunt QR; sunt proferenda Q^2 *et cett*. **3** insigna I parva T obscurari G^2; obscurare G **4** nec] ne M hoc *om.* S; ob T infelitate H **5** casa T; causa U; casu U^2 *et cett.* et] aut R **6** nullisque B; nullque D; nullumque D^2 *et cett.* plus ante patriae H^2 pietati L^2R^2; pietate LR *et cett.* **7** dignitati L^2R^2; dignitate LR *et cett.* velle] valle G si] sed N parvo] ficta Q; ficto R; parvo Q^2 *et cett.* vel levi] velle in W **8** priorA] propria H adnullanda sunt bona QR optimum S; optissimis B; optismis D; optimis D^2 *et cett.* **9** quilibet *Halm et Zimmermann*; quislibet *omnes* bonis KU^2; bonos U *et cett.* studeat BD **10** sin] sint M et *om.* R et *Halm*; *cett. habent* antea R turpitudinis GY; turpitudines Y^2 *et rel*

has eum aut imprudentiae necessitudine aut adolescentiae persuasione perpetrasse, aut aliquorum invidia fictas aut falsa opinione illatas esse dicendum erit. Si vero nullo modo vitae turpitudo aut infamia leniri potest oratione, negare oportebit de vita eius et de moribus quaerere, sed de uno crimine, de quo arguatur, quare ante actis omissis illud quod instat agi oportere. **XXVII**. K. Dixisti quod alia argumenta a personis, alia a negotiis; haec enim a personis sunt, quae modo dixisti: sed superest ut a negotiis dicas, et primum quid negotium nomines dicito. A. Negotium est ipsum factum, in quo inter accusatorem et defensorem controversia est. Dum vero ex negotiis argumenta sumenda erunt, tria consideranda sunt: primo, quid sit ante rem, quid in re,

1 has eum *cum Halm et Zimmermannn scripsi*; haec cum CNY; has D^2; hae BDGHIKLMPQRU**2**VW; haec STUX aut *pos*t has *om.* N; autem O **2** factas SX; fictas S^2X^2 *et cett.* aut *post* fictas] ac Q **4** turpitudo] turpissimo T infama N laniri BD; lenire G; linari T; liniri U; leniri D^2 *et cett.* orationem G **5** oportebat S **6** uno] Hic resumit P uno quo Z arguitur PWX **7** quod post dixisti V^2; quid V **8** a negotiis alia a personis U haec] hoc H **9** quae modo] quomodo R **10** negotium post quid] negotias C; negotia C^2Y; negotium *cett.* nomines D^2P^2; nominatos T; nominas DP *et cett.* **11** opus ante factum T **12** est] fit QR dum *omne*s; cum *Halm* erunt] sunt Q **13** primum KL re] rem HK.

quid post rem, ut in facto cauponis ante rem fuit, quod in
itinere illi duo familiariter ibant, quod simul diverterent
in hospitium et simul cenarent: in re nox, somnium, occisio:
post rem, quod solus ierit, quod socium reliquerit, quod cruentum
gladium habuerit. Est quoque quartum, quod ad negotium
pertinet, id est, quae lex sit eius rei vel qui sint auctores
eius vel quo id nomine quod factum est appellari debeat.
Ante enim rem causa facti consideranda est, id est, an spe
lucri vel causa inimicitiarum vel metus vel amici occiderit
hominem: nam frustra hominem occidere velle incredibile est.
Omnino in gestione rei locus, tempus, occasio, modus,

1 cauponis] causae ponis GU^2; cauponis U *et cett.* *post* cauponis: quod paulo ante exposui KQRU; quod paulo ante posui X quid GV; quod V^2 *et cett.* in post quod *om.* S **2** familiater T quod V^2; quid V **3** rem H mox PX; nox P^{2}X^2 *et cett.* nox somnium] somnum nox BD somnum BCDQRTU; omnium S; somnus D^{2}E^{2}P^{2}Y; somnium PU^2 *et cett.* **4** quod post rem] quia M solum BD; solus D^2 *et cett.* ierit] gerit GH socium U^2; solum Ureliquerit BD cruento T; cruentem BD; cruentum D^2 *et cett.* **6** id est *om.* T sit *om.* G eius rei sit **4** sunt ST eius auctores BDU **7** eius *om.* R quo] quod S id *om.* X debebit BD; oporteat M; debeat rel. **8** an] a HX; ante BD; an D^2 *et cett.* **9** inimiciarum V **10** hominem post frustra] hominum H velle occidere X incredibili BD **11** locus rei W rei *om.* R modus] mundus T

facultas considerari solat, id est, in quo loco vel in quo tempore vel per quam modum vel qua occasione aut facultate occiderit hominem, quaerendum est. Post gestam rem considerabuntur signa quaedam gestae rei, ut cruor caedis signum est et fuga reatus saepe signum solet esse. **XXVIII.** K. Commemoratis locis argumentorum et confirmationum, sed ipsa argumentatio, ut reor, nequaquam uniformis esse potest. A. Non uniformis, sed omnis argumentatio, quae ex his locis quos commemoravimus conficitur, aut probabilis aut necessaria debet esse. Necessaria est quae aliter fieri non potest, ut 'si peperit, concubuit cum viro.' Haec vero per complexionem seu per

1 considerare NQ; considerari Q^2 *et cett.* solet X^2 ; debet X **2** quae C; qua E^2 *et cett.* **4** gesta C; gestae E^2 *et cett.* cruor] crucior M cruorae K dis B; cruor cae K dis D; cruor caedis D^2 *et cett.* **5** et] ut BD et fuga reatus] effugaret X fuga reatus] fugati U; fuga reati U^2 reatus $D^2E^2N^2P^2RY$; rei S^2; reati DENPRS *et cett.* K. *ante* saepe IN K. *om.* BDIN; D^2 *et cett. habent* commemoratis locis *omnes*; commemorasti locos *Halm* **6** confirmationem C; confirmationum A^2E^2 *et cett.* argumentio V **7** uniformis *ante* esse] uniformi M non] nam H **8** argumentatio E^2; argumenta E quos] quae R **9** probalis PS **10** est omnes; sunt *Halm* alter BD; aliter D^2 *et cett.* potest *omnes*; possunt *Halm* aut BD; ut D^2 *et cett.* **11** cum viro concubuit BD vel *post* vero R per complexionem... fiunt *om.* HM; M^2 habet *in marg.* complexionem q^2; amplexionem Q

enumerationem vel per simplicem conclusionem fiunt: per complexionem, in qua utrum concesseris reprehenditur ad hunc modum: 'si improbus est, cur tueris; si probus, cur accusas;' Per enumerationem, in qua pluribus rebus inductis una necessario confirmatur, hoc pacto: 'necesse autem inimici tiarum causa ab hoc esse hunc occisum aut metus aut spei aut alicuius amici causa, et si horum nihil est, relinquitur ab eo hunc non esse occisum; nam frustra homo occidi non potest.' Per simplicem conclusionem hoc modo: 'si vos me istic eo tempore dicitis hoc fecisse, ego eo tempore trans

1 numerationem K; innumerationem G per *post* vel *om.* AFKS et *Halm*; *cett. habent* **2** utrum] vel cur PQ²X² cur V²; utrum P²QXV *et cett.* concessurus R an non *post* concesseris V² **3** tueris] tu ieris G; tuerit T; tuearis X; uteris Q; tueris Q²X² *et cett.* **4** innumerationem G ductis V **5** necessario V²; necessaria V confirmat GL est *post* necesse KQRUVe autem] aut QR et *Halm*; au ABFKU; aut EHMVWX; autem *cett.* **6** aut metus ... occisum *om.* WY **7** amicitiae S²; amici S *et cett.* nihil] non ST relinquitur I²; reliquetur I **8** ab eo hunc non esse occisum IMNPQRP²VX; ab eo hunc esse occisum BDGHKLSTU; ab eo hunc occisum C; ab hoc non esse occisura *Halm* et *Cic*. occidi homo N **9** hunc BD; hoc D² *et cett.* **10** istic D²PV²X; istud R; istuc DV *et cett.* et *Halm* hoc ante fecisse *omnes*; *om. Halm* ipso *ante* tempore R trans] ultra P

mare fui; ideo id quod vos dicitis, non modo non feci, sed
ne potuerim quidem facere. K. Haec, ut intelligo, omnino
necessaria sunt, sed et, ut video, diligenter videndum est,
ne quo pacto hoc genus argumentationis refelli possit. A.
Est, ut intelligis. **XXIX**. K. Haec argumenta quae dixisti necessaria
sunt: lam probabilia quoque dic. A. Probabilia sunt
quae fere fieri solent, ut 'si mater est, diligit filium:
si avarus est, neglegit ius iurandum.' K. Num probabilia
semper vera sunt; A. Alia vero in opinione, alia in
similitudine: in opinione, ut 'inferna esse sub terra:
similitudo in contrariis et in paribus spectatur. K. Quomodo

1 fui *om.* CY; *cett. habent* id *om.* H vos *om.* QR et *Cic*. non *ante* modo *om.* E^2LY; EL^2 *et cett.* habent modo] me R feci] fecisse R **2** potuerim *omnes*; potui *Halm* **3** ut et TU et *om.* BKLMPQRSVWX; B^2L^2 et *cett. habent* ut *om.* G est *om.* CY et *Halm* **6** post iam: probalia I; probabia U; probabilia U^2 *et cett.* **7** fere *cum Halm et Zimmermannn scripsi*; vere *omnes* si mater est] materem T diligat M suum post filium S Num] numquid Z **8** K. *om.* S^2 num] nam NST; numquid PQ^2V^2WX; num QV *et cett.* probabilia sunt non semper vera sunt N probalia M **9** semper *om.* B semper vera sunt] rem pervenerunt R A. *om.* S^2 alia vero ... in paribus *om.* H vere R; vera *Halm*; vero *cett.* alia iterum post vero QR **10** est ante ut S inferna] infirma G **11** paribus] partibus T spectat GKL; expectat U; expectatur T; spectatur *cett.*

in contrariis et in paribus; A. In contrariis hoc modo:

'nam si his, qui imprudenter laeserunt, ignosci convenit,

illis, qui necessario profuerunt, haberi gratiam non oportet.

Ex pari sic: 'nam ut locus sine portu navibus esse non potest

tutus, sic animus sine fide stabilis amicis non potest

esse.' K. An omnis argumentatio ex his tantum locis confirmatur,

ornatur et consideratur; A. Sunt quoque argumentationes,

quae per inductionem vel ratiocinationem tractantur,

sed hae magis ad philosophos pertinet. K. Dic

tamen de illis. **XXX**. A. Inductio est oratio, quae per certas res

quaedam incerta probat et nolentem ducit in assentionem.

1 et in] vel QR in paribus] im paribus KX **2** is MU; his M^2 non prudenter Ve **3** his QR; illis Q^2 *et cett.* necessaria W habere Q **4** pari] impari M lacus U**2**; locus U *et cett.* navimus T; navi B; navibi D; navibus B^2D^2 *et cett.* tutus esse non potest OP; non potest esse tutus N; esse tutus non potest L; esse non tutus potest L^2 **5** totus DS; tutus D^2S^2 *et cett.* animus] amicus T fide] fine U amicus BD; amicis D^2 *et cett.* esse non potest P **6** K. *om.* BCDGHTU; $C^2D^2U^2$ *et cett. habent* omnes N; hominis S; omnis *rel*. **7** A. *om.* BCDGHTUVe; $C^2D^2U^2$ *et cett. habent* armentationes L **8** per *ante* ratiocinationem QR rationem QT **9** haec HNSTUW; hae *et cett.* **10** de *om.* M A. *om.* F **10** inductio oratio est oratio G certas], centas M **11** ascensionem S; assentionem BCDGHIKLMNPTVWX; assensionem $D^2E^2S^2$ *cett.*, *Halm et Zimmermann*

K. Hoc mirum videtur, si facere potes, ut nolens consentiat.

A. Audies et forte exemplo credes. Nam philosophus quidam cum Xenophonte quodam et eius uxore iniit disputationem, et primum cum uxore sermonem instituit. 'Dic mihi, quaeso, Xenophontis uxor, si vicina tua melius habeat aurum, quam tu habes, utrum illudne an tuum malis; Illud, inquit. Quid si vestem et ceterum ornamentum muliebrem pretii maioris habeat, quam tu habes, tumm ne an illius malis; Respondit, illius vero. Age, inquit, quid si virum meliorem habeat, quam tu habes, utrumne tuum virum malis an illius;' Hic mulier

1 K.] A. F mirum] modo I; motum I^2; minimum Z potest CY et *Halm*; potes *rel*. volens T; nolentes BD; nolens D^2 *et cett.* assentiat S; consentiant B^2; consentiat BS^2 *et cett.* **2** audias M credis exemplo M credes $D^2E^2I^2L^2P^2$RSY; credis DEILP *et rel*, et *Halm* **3** Xenophonte R; *cett. habent* Zenophonte *vel* Zenofonte; sic frequenter quidam T et] ex T uxore eius P iniit ... cum uxore *om.* H huius modi *ante* disputationem QRU^2WX **4** cum] dum W quaeso *om.* G **5** habeat] habet FRS **6** habes] habeas FP; habes F^2 *et cett.* illud *om.* M inquid BCDGMNTUVY; inquit D^2 *et cett.* **7** ceterorum G ornatum D^2R et *Cic*. et *Halm*; ornamentum D *et cett.* muliebre A^2HI^2NX; muliebrem AI *et cett.* **8** quam] quantum V utrumne post habes W illius malis] illum malis BD malis] modis G **9** inquid BCDGHMNV; inquit D^2E^2 et rel quid *om.* PQX; X^2 *et cett.* habent illa post virum QR et *Cic*. **10** an illius malis

erubuit. Philosophus autem sermonem cum Xenophonte instituit.

‘Quaeso, inquit, Xenophon, si vicinus tuus equum meliorem habeat, quam tuus est, tuumne equum malis an illius? Illius, inquit. Quid, si fundum meliorem habeat, quam tu habes, utrum tandem fundum habere malis? Illum, inquit, meliorem scilicet. Quid, si uxorem meliorem habeat, quam tu habes, utram malis;' Atque hic Xenophon quoque ipse tacuit. Post philosophus: 'Quoniam uterque vestrum, inquit, id mihi solum non respondit, quod ego solum audire volueram, egomet dicam quid uterque cogitet. Nam et tu, mulier, optimum virum

1 cum Xenophonte sermonem KL; cura Xenophonte ipso sermonem Q; cum ipso Xenophonte sermonem R; sermonem cum Xenophonte *rel*. instituit] instituitionem T **2** inquid BCDGMV; inquit D^2E^2 *et cett.* meliorum B^2D; meliorem BD^2 *et cett.* **3** tuus est] tuum S an illius malis P illius semel habent BCTY **4** inquid BCDGTV; inquit D^2E^2 *et cett.* quid] qui K **5** utrumne tuum an illius fundum M utrum] verum W tandem] talem $A^2D^2IQ^2S^2V^2WX$; vel talem P; tandem ADQSV *et cett.* inquid BCDGMV; inquit D^2E^2 *et cett.* **6** quid U^2; quod U habes] habeas T **7** utram *cum Halm et Zimmermannn scripsi*; utrum omnes quoque Xenophon P quoque ipse *om.* HQ; ipse H^2; quoque ipse Q^2 *et cett.* **8** inquid BCDGIMNV; inquid $D^2E^2I^2$ *et cett.* id *om.* T solum mihi H **9** quod] quia M solum] sum BD; summe D^2 audiere N volueram S^2; volebam S **10** et] ut T virum *om.* G

vis habere, et tu Xenophon, uxorem habere lectissimam maxime vis. Quare, nisi hoc perfeceritis, ut neque vir melior neque femina lectior in terris sit, profecto semper id, quod optimum putabitis esse, maxime requiretis, ut et tu maritus sis quam optimae, et haec quam optimo viro nupta sit.' Hic rebus non dubiis dubia probavit propter similitudinem inductionis. Quod si quis separatim quaereret, forte non concederetur. K. Iste philosophus non fuit evangelicus. A. Non fuit evangelicus, sed rhetoricus. K. Cur credimus ei; A. Ille se cutus est suam artem. K. Quid ad haec; Sequamur et nos

1 habere vis BPS habere *post* uxorem *om.* CKXY et *Halm*; K^2X^2 *et cett. habent* laetissimam G; electissimam R vis maxime GKL **2** perficeritis HT; feceritis Z melior] neque mulier T **3** perfecto M; profecta E; profecto E^2 *et cett.* **4** putabitis *om.* CT est E^2Y; esse E *et cett.* multo ante maxime QRUWX et *Cic*. queritis M; requiretis L^2; requiritis L *et cett.* ut *cum Halm et Zimmermannn scripsi*; *om. omnes* et] ut E^2Y; et E *et cett.* **5** quam *ante* optimo *om.* N optime OP; optimo P^2 *et cett.* **6** probabit MN^2; probavit N *et cett.* **7** quis U^2; quid U forte *om.* H cederetur C; concederetur E^2 *et cett.* **8** euvangelicus DOP; evangelicus D^2 *et cett.* A. non fuit evangelicus *om.* M evangelicus *om.* H **9** K. *om.* M A. *om.* IPV^2WX; V *et cett. habent* suam secutus est artem P **10** K.] A. IPVWX; *om.* M; K. P^2 *et cett.* sequamus C; sequamur E^2 *et cett.* et *om.* R nos *om.* LT

Nostram; A. Sequere quae velis, sequar te sequentem. K. Qualis debet esse illa inductio; A. Similis semper ei rei, cuius causa inducitur. K. An lucida vel obscura; A. Vi dendum est diligenti cura, ut non intelligat adversarius, quo spectent illae primae inductiones et ad quem finem sint perventurae nam qui videt, aut tacendo aut negando non sinit longius ire interrogationem. K. Si negat; A. Ostendenda est similitudo earum, quae ante concessae sunt. K. Si tacet; A. Iam elicienda est responsio aut, quia tacitur nitas imitatur confessionem, concludenda est argumentatio, sicut in concessis. **XXXI.** K. Quomodo per ratiocinationem confirmanda est argumentatio; A. Illa enim fit propositione,

1 A.] K. M; *om.* IPWX; P^2 *et cett. habent* K. *om.* DMV; D^2V^2 *et cett. habent* **2** esse debet T inductio] iniunctio G; ductio ST **3** causa inducitur] causam ducitur AV inducit G K. M^2; A. M K. *om.* G A. *om.* G **4** summa diligentis Z est *om.* H diligenti C^2; dilenti C **5** quo] quid H spectant S inductiones B^2D^2; indictiones BD **6** negando] regando G **7** K. (*in ras.*) S^2 nego BD A. *om.* S **8** cessae IKLPVWX; concessae $K^2P^2X^2$ *et cett.* sint L K. *om.* S **9** A. *in ras.* S^2 elicenda G aut *om.* PX; P^2 *et cett. habent* **10** K. *post* argumentatio **11** rationem KM; rationationem CU; ratiocinationem $E^2K^2M^2$ *et cett.* **12** illae BD; illa D^2 *et cett.* fit] sit B propositione Q^2; probatione Q

approbatione vel assumptione et conclusione. K. Planiora haec exemplo quolibet fac. A. Propositio est, ut 'melius accurantur quae consilio geruntur quam quae sine consilio administrantur.' Approbatio est: 'domus ea, quae ratione et consilio regitur, omnibus rebus est instructior quam ea, quae sine ratione et consilio administratur.' Assumptio est: 'Nil autem omnium rerum melius quam omnis mundus administratur.' Hic altera probatio inducitur: 'nam signorum ortus et occasus et annuae frugum, temporum et dierum mutationes satis mirabili ordine et certa vicissitudine disponuntur, quae signa sunt magno consilio mundum regi.' Tum spectata

1 approbatione Q^2WX; *om.* CY; probatione Q *et cett.* planiora P^2; planiori P **2** haec *om.* IMPV; autem WX; haec P^2 *et cett.* exemplo X^2; exempla X pro *post* exemplo V quodlibet Y **3** accurrantur BDEFGLOPTY; accurentur R; accurantur $B^2D^2L^2P^2R^2$ *et cett.* sine] sibi M **4** probatio S **5** regitur] geritur F instructior *om.* BD; locupletior D^2 *in marg.*, item P^2 *in marg.*; P et *cett. habent* instructior ea quae] aeque B; *(ras.)* quae D; ea quae D^2 *et cett.* **6** ratione et *om.* QR administrantur BDN^2; administratur D^2N *et cett.* **7** rerum *om. Halm*; *omnes habent* **8** adducitur QR; inducitur Q^2 *et cett.* **9** et post occasus] ex S et dierum ... ordine *bis* habet M et *ante* mutationes F **10** disponuntur $D^2E^2K^2L^2P^2$Y; disponentur U^2; disponantur DEKLPUY *et cett.* **11** signo R regi tum] regitur T.

conclusio proferenda est hoc modo: quodsi melius geruntur ea, quae consilio quam quae sine consilio administrantia:, nil autem omnium rerum melius administratur quam totus mundus, consilio igitur mundus administratur. Hoc argumentum ad versus eos valet, qui dicunt mundum casu agi, non consilio regi. K. Quid stultius est quam hoc putari; A. Stultus stulta aestimat, cui tamen iuxta Salomonem respondendum est, ne sibi sapiens videatur. **XXXII.** K. Recolo te, magister, inter orationis partes reprehensionem nominasse, sed tantam confirmationum seriem audivi, ut vix videatur reprehensori aliquis locus relictus, quo possit infirmare confirmatam his

1 conclusio] consilio G est *om.* quodsi] quia M; qui si T; quodsi M² *et cett.* **2** ea quae] aeque BD; ea quae D² *et cett.* consilio post quae] conclusio G quam quae sine consilio *om.* M *post* administrantur: quam totus mundus E, *sed expunctum* **3** quam administratur Q administrantur BDPST; administratur D²P² *et cett.* **4** igitur] agitur H **6** regi] rei M stultius] stultus BDT; stultius B²D² *et cett.* est *om.* N **7** stulta] ista M Salemonis Z **8** recolo I²; recola I inter orationis] interrogationis S **9** orationes BDP; orationis D²P² *et cett.* partis BD; partes D² *et cett.* tantum BCDSTU; tantam D²E² *et cett.* confirmationis H; confirmatione A; confirmationum A² *et cett.* **10** videatur D²E²GKL²P²R²U²Y; videretur T; videtur DELPRU *et cett.* reprehensiora T aliquus BDEGQ; aliquis Q² *et cett.* **11** quo] qui Y infirmari TU.

argumentis causam. A. Relinquitur ei locus infirmandi, sed non nos de ea debemus laborare: paene omnis causa in se ipsa habet loca confirmandi et loca reprehendendi. K. Suspensus sum tamen, quid de ea velis dicere. A. Dicam, et breviter dicam. Reprehensio est, per quam argumentando adversariorum confirmatio aut infirmatur aut tollitur. Haec autem isdem ex locis sumitur, quibus et confirmatio, quia omnis res paene unde confirmari potest, inde et infirmari potest; quod sic evenit, si aut falsum est unde componitur confirmatio, hoc modo: 'non potest sapiens esse, qui pecuniam neglexerit' — multi sapientes pecuniam neglexerunt: — aut commune, quod nihilo minus ab adversariis potest dici hoc modo: 'idcirco, iudices, quia veram causam habebam, breviter peroravi:' aut

2 de ea nos R de ea *om.* T debeamus T omnibus BD; omnis D^2 *et cett.* **3** habeat G reprehendi HIMV; reprehensibilia T; deprehendi C; deprehendendi A^2E^2Y; reprehendendi M^2V^2 *cett.* suspensus R^2; suspectus R **4** sum *om.* T quid] qui G; quod ABDEY; quid E^2 *et cett.* vellis G **5** argumento S; argumentata S^2; argumentatio T **6** affirmatio Z haec B^2; hae B **7** sumetur QR omnis *post* paene D, sed expunctura **8** unde *om.* QR; undo C; unde $A^2E^2Q^2$ *et cett.* inde] unde R sic] si GU; hoc modo QR; sic Q^2U^2 *et cett.* **9** si aut] sicut S **10** neglexit QR; neglexerit Q^2 *et cett.* **11** commone BDGH; commune D^2H^2 *et cett.* qui BD; quod D^2 *et cett.* **12** adversario T **13** habebam D^2; habebant U.

leve est: 'si in mentem non venisset, non commisisset:'
aut remotum et longius incipit quam satis est: 'Si Scipio
Tiberio Graccho filiam suam Corneliam non dedisset, haec se
ditio a filiis eorum in populo non accidisset: quare Scipioni
hoc malum deputandum est.' Aut offensum est, id est quod
eorum qui audiunt laedit voluntatem, ut si forte ante avarum
accuses pecuniae amorem: aut adversarium, id est quod tuae
causae officit, ut, si cum milites tuos hortari debeas, copias
hostium et fortitudinem laudes. Item complexio reprehenditur,
si converti potest hoc modo: 'nam si veretur, non
est accusandus, quia probus est: si vero non veretur, scit
se innocentem esse, et ideo non est accusandus.' Hic vereri

2 Tiberio *om.* Ve aut] et P; ut P^2 et] aut BD **3** Cornelio F non dedisset Corneliam GHKL; non Corneliam dedisset IMNOPVWX; Corneliam non dedisset N^2P^2 *et cett.* **4** filiis E^2; filii E accedisset AGQ; accidisset A^2 *et cett.* Scipioni] si spicioni T; si scipioni U **5** offensus F; affensum X; offensum X^2 *et cett.* **6** eorum qui audiunt] audientium R voluntate F avarum] aurum S **8** similiter ABD; simi lit *(ras.)* E; si militem R; si milites $D^2E^2R^2$ *et cett.*;. cum *ante* milites *Halm add.*; *om. omnes* debeas L^2; debes L **9** laudis H; laudas P; laudes P^2 *et cett.* **9** item *om.* RS **11** est *ante* accusandus *om.* HIV; I^2 *et cett. habent* quia probus ... est accusandus *om.* CY; A^2 habet *in marg.*; *cett. habent loc. prop*. **12** in ante se M verere GQ; vereri Q^2 *et cett.*

eum sive non vereri dicas, hoc putat concedendum, ut neges esse accusandum: quod conversione sic reprehenditur: 'immo accusandus est, si veretur, testatus se innocentem non esse: si vero non veretur, probus non est ac ideo accusandus est.'

Item enumeratio reprehenditur, si praeteritur quiddam in enumeratione, hoc modo: 'quia habes equum istum, aut emisti eum aut hereditate tibi evenit aut munere datus est tibi aut domi natus est aut, si horum nihil est, surripueris eum necesse est.' Quod hoc modo reprehenditur, si dici potest ex hosti bus esse captum. His et aliis multis modis reprehendi possunt argumentationes, qui summo studio cavendi sunt oratori

1 vereri] vere si G cedendum P; non cedendum IMV; concedendum P^2 *et cett.* negas C; neges A^2E^2 *et cett.* **2** accusandum esse AF et *Halm*; esse accusandum A^2 *et cett.* quod] qui M conversionem T; conversio non SU; conversione U^2 *et cett.* immo] iam M **3** accusandus] accusandum R testatus GKLQR; testatur rel. se H^2; si H non m. GST; G^2S^2 *et cett. habent* **4** non est probus QR **5** quidam S **6** quia]) qui G aequum ABDGT; equum B^2 *et cett.* emisti $D^2E^2F^2KP^2Y$; emsisti ADET; tempsesti S; emistsi F; sisti U; empsisti PS^2U^2 *et cett.* **7** evenit] venit RS tibi datus est F aut domi natus est *om. Halm*; aut donatus est KU^2; aut donatus est tibi Q; aut domi natus est U *et cett.* **8** nihil] non ST surripueris] si arripueris O **10** captum esse KL aliis] illis motis T multi BD; multis D^2 *et cett.* modis F^2; modi F **11** oratori X^2; oratores X

magis quam mihi propter brevitatem explanandi. **XXXIII**. K. Restat conclusio sola, quam sex partium orationis posuisti extremam, de qua ordo postulat ut dicas. A. Conclusio est exitus et determinatio totius causae. K. Quot habet partes; A. Tres: enumerationem, indignationem, conquestionem. K. Enumeratio conclusionis quae est; A. Enumeratio conclusionis est,' per quam res dispersae in unum locum coguntur et reminiscendi causa unum sub aspectum simul subiciuntur, hoc modo: ‘quid nam amplius desideratis, o iudices, cum vobis hoc et hoc dixi, et hoc et hoc vobis planum feci;’ K. Quid efficit indignatio? A. Odium in adversarium vel offensionem in eius causam.

1 mihi quam magis P; magis quam mihi P^2 *et cett.* sunt post explanandi S **2** sex] ex HX sex partium] sextam partem S **3** A. *om.* ST **4** quod DGIMT; quot D^2I^2 *et cett.* **5** conquestionem] questionem TU K. Enumeratio conclusionis quae est *om.* V enumeratio] et numerati G **6** conclusionis ante quae] questionis U quid OP; quae P^2 *et cett.* conclusionis *ante* est *om.* QR et *Cic*.; Q^2 *et cett.* habent **7** reminiscenda BD; reminiscendo Ve; reminiscendi D^2 *et cett.* **8** causae G uno Z suspiciuntur O; subaspiciuntur BD; aspiciuntur D^2; subiciuntur O^2 *et cett.* **9** amplius] ampli S; amplo S^2 **10** et primo loco *om.* X et *Halm*; *cett. habent* vobis *om.* HM vobis planum] palam in vobis BD K. *om.* GT efficit] fecit H **11** offensionem] defensionem Q causa GS

K. Hoc maxima velim scire, quomodo id effici possit. A. Eius praecepta plurima sunt alia: si demonstramus illam rem, quam adversarius defendit, diis immortalibus, sapientissimis hominibus, senatui, omni populo indignam videri; item si demonstramus adversarii alia facta crudelia, iniusta, avara, inhonesta, contumacia; item si transactam eius vitam moresque improbamus; item quid mali sit futurum, si non puniatur; item voluntario maleficio vel inconsueto veniam non debere dari; item si superbiam vel arrogantiam eius ostendimus; item ut de se ipse iudex cogitet vel de suis caris, si quid tale eis

1 K. *om.* GI; I² *et cett. habent* id *om.* DT; D² *et cett. habent* effici D²; effi D; fieri Z A. *om.* I; I² *habe*t **2** ius BD; eius D² *et cett.* alia *omnes*; talia *Halm* sunt alia sunt QR; sunt sed alia S si *om.* SY **3** sapientissis T **4** omni *om.* CY et *Halm*; rel. habent item si...contumacia *om.* T demonstravimus X **5** facta alia OP avara, inhonesta, contumacia *om.* I; I² *habet in marg.* **6** si] sit G moresque] mores Q; et mores S **7** quod S mali V²; male V fit BCDGLUVY; sit D²E² *et cett.* futurus I puniatur] putatur T **8** voluntaria BD; voluntario D² *et cett.* non debere *om.* X; X² habet **9** si *om.* IMNPSUVWX; P² *et cett. habent* arrogantiam] ignorantiam Y attendimus Q; demonstramus X; ostendimus Q²X² *et cett.* ut *om.* S **10** ipso R vel] et Q aut Ve caris] casis K; casus L caris si] carissimis T si quid tale eis *om.* G eis *om.* X.

accidisset: item multos alacres exspectare, quid statuatur de hac re, ut ex eo quod huic concessum sit, sibi quoque tali de re quid liceat intelligere possint. Item indignamur taetrum, crudele, nefarium, tyrannicum scelus non ulcisci, quod remotum sit ab omni lege et aequitate, tale factum non vindicari. Item in eos, qui neque laedere alium nec se de fendere potuerunt, crudeliter facta dicemus, ut in pueros, senes, mulieres, infirmos; item in peregrinos, in hospites, in vicinos, in amicos atrocia gesta. Item ut iudex videat, si ipse interfuerit ac praesens viderit. Item si ostendi potest ab eo factum, a quo minime oportuerit, et a quo, si

1 eis *post* accidisset X multos U^2; multum U expectari T quid] quod N statuatur] constituatur IMNPVWX **2** re D^2; rem D ex eo] et ex ea M quod] quid TU concessumpsit T quoque sibi de tali X **3** tale CDGHILMQRSTUV; talem B; tali $D^2E^2H^2I^2L^2Q^2U^2V^2$ *et cett.* de re] dare DRU; de hac re M; dolorem B; de re D^2U^2 *et cett.* quid] liquid T; quod U; quid U^2 *et cett.* possit IMNV; possint N^2 *et cett.* **4** crudelem CT; crudele E^2 *et cett.* **5** quid STU **6** neque QRU^2 et *Cic.*; *om.* U *et cett.* defendere se M se *om.* AE; E^2 et rel. habent **7** potuerunt U^2; potuerint U **8** senes, mulieres omnes; mulieres, senes *Halm* infirmas R in post item *om.* EL; E^2L^2 habent in ante hospites] et BD **9** in ante vicinos] et BD gesta K^2; facta K iudex ut X **10** interfuit BD; interfuerit D^2 *et cett.* **11** ab eo potest X a *om.* G et a quo] et aliquo ST.

alius fecerit, prohiberi conveniret. His et aliis plurimis modis, prout se causa, locus et tempus et persona affert, indignationem aut offensionem in adversarium concitare debes.

XXXIV. K. Bene intelligo de eiusmodi oratione posse animos audientium ad indignationem instigari. A. Nam, ut dixi, ex his argumentationibus, quae ex personis aut ex negotiis veniunt, amplificationes et indignationes nasci possunt. K. Possunt, ut certum teneo: sed quid sit conquestio et quid efficiat et quomodo sit perficienda edicito. A. Conquestio est oratio auditorum misericordiam captans. In hac primum animum auditoris mitem et misericordem conficere oportet, quae multis modis fit, ut quae commoda perdiderit et in quibus incommodis sit, ut in morte filii amor, spes, solacium, educatio,

1 prohibere BDK; prohiberi D^2K^2 *et cett.* **2** effert BD; offert P^2; afferet D^2P *et cett.* **3** in *om.* Y, expunctum E^2; E *et cett.* habent **3** adversariis CY et *Halm*; adversarium rel. **4** K. *om.* A intellegendo T huiusmodi MN ratione TU; oratione U^2 *et cett.* odientium X **5** ad] et BD; ab M; ad D^2 *et cett.* instigare FU; instigari F^2 *et cett.* A. *om.* G **6** ex post aut *om.* QX **7** et indignationes *om.* BDP^2ST; P *et cett. habent* K. *om.* G **8** ut] aut G; et R **9** perficiendo F; perfienda T **9** est *om.* I **10** captans C^2; capans C animum F^2; animus F **11** misericordiam BDG; misericordem D^2 *et cett.* **13** sit *om.* STU; U^2 *et rel habent*.

item quanta bona fecisset ei, qui tanta mala fecisset sibi;
item quam turpes res et illiberales adversarius profert; item
quam miserum vobis videretur, o iudices, si affuissetis; item,
dura bona speravi, venerunt mihi mala. Item inopia infirmitas
infelicitas conqueritur, item disiunctio amici, parentis,
filii, fratris, uxoris et suavium personarum; item quod male
tractetur ab eis, a quibus non conveniat, amicis, servis;
item quam misericors essem in illum. Nam gravitas sermonis
et auctoritas plus proficit saepe ad misericordiam quam humilitas
et obsecratio. Sed nunc habes de prima et maxima parte
rethoricae artis, id est inventione: iam transeamus ad alias
partes. **XXXV**. K. Transeamus, sed primum dic, quae sit sophistica

1 qui tanta] quanta HT fecisset *post* mala CHSUXY; fecit U^2X^2 *et cett.* sibi X^2; ei X sibi item *om.* QR; Q^2 *et cett. habent* **2** sed *ante* quam R turpis LX; turpes X^2 *et cett.* **3** miserum] miserunt S **4** inopia infirmitas *omnes praeter* CY et *Halm, qui habent* infirmitatis **5** conquiritur STU; consequitur W; conqueritur U^2 *et cett.* parentes U; partes S; parentis U^2 *et cett.* **6** fratres STU; fratris U^2 *et cett.* **7** tractetur *om.* S; tractatur I; tractare M; tractaretur M^2; tractetur S^2 *et cett.* non *om.* S amicis] amissis S **8** misericors essem in] misericordem esse R misericors] misericordi T sermonum BD **9** auctoris ST **10** habes *om.* N maxime M parte *om.* NX; X^2 *et cett. habent* **11** iam] nunc QR aliam partem BDP^2; alias partes P *et cett.* **12** quid CQYZ et *Halm*; quae *cett.*

Locutio; A. Si me alius quis de scola palatii tui interrogasset,
forsan ostendissem ei. K. Cur altero et non mihi;
an invides me scire; A. Non invideo, sed parco et honoro.
K. Non video honorem mihi esse, dum interrogata negas. A.
Licetne mihi interrogare te; K. Cur non; nam interrogare
sapienter est doceres et si alter sit qui interrogat, alter
qui docet, ex uno tamen, hoc est sapientiae, fonte, utriusque
sensus procedit. A. Etiam procedit, et si alter est qui
interrogat, alter qui respondet: tunc tu quidem non idem es
qui interrogas, quod ego qui respondeo. K. Nequaquam idem.

1 me alius] melius S **2** forsitan IRSTUX alteri $D^2E^2L^2P^2RY$, *Halm et Zimmermann*; altero DELP *et cett.* **3** invidis CDGILMPQUV; invides $A^2D^2E^2I^2$ *et cett.* equidem *ante* invideo WXZ equidem *post* invideo QR Non invideo *om.* Ve et honoro] praehonore KL parco *om.* Z **4** mihi honorem X mihi *om.* T esse *om.* S A. *om.* IM **5** licetne BDHIMNPQRSTUVWX; licet CGKLY et *Halm* mihine GKL; me M; mihi *rel.* te *om.* Q K.] A. IM A. *ante* nam PWX sapienter interrogare QR **6** A. *ante* et V **7** est *om.* R sapientia S utrisque C et *Halm*; utriusque A^2E^2 *et cett.* **8** A.] K. IMPVWX A. *ante* et IMPVWX **9** est *ante* qui X respondet $D^2E^2NP^2RSWXY$; respondit DEP *et cett.* K. *ante* tunc N idem es *omnes*; es idem *Halm* **10** quod] quia M ego qui X^2j ego quod X K.] A. N; *In codice Q, ab hoc loco usque ad p.* 79, 7, *sigla* A - Auditor, et M - Magister *generaliter mutata sunt in K et A. cf. p.* 3,6.

A. Quid tu; K. Ego homo. A. Vides quomodo me potes concludere; K. Quomodo; A. Si dicis, si non idem ego et tu, et ego homo, consequens est ut et tu homo non sis. K. Consequens. A. Sed quot syllabas habet homo; K. Duas. A. Numquid tu duae syllabae illae es; K. Nequaquam, sed quor sum ista? A. Ut sophisticam intelligas versutiam et videas quomodo concludi potes. K. Video et intelligo ex prioribus concessis, dum concessi, ut et ego homo essem, et homo duae syllabae sunt, concludi me posse, ut ego hae duae syllabae

1 A. *ante* quid *om.* U; K. NT; A. T^2U^2 *et cett.* K.] A. NU; K. U^2 *et cett.* A. *ante* vides *om.* N; K. U; A. U^2 *et cett.* potes me CUY et *Halm*; me potest WX; me potes rel. **2** K. U^2; A. U A. U^2; K. U si *ante* non *om.* HQ ego *om.* S ego U^2; homo U **3** ut et] et ut R K. U^2; A. U **4** A. *ante* sed *om.* MNQ; K. U; A. N^2Q^2 *et cett.* quod DGIT; quot B^2 *et cett.* homo *habet* VX homo *om.* CY K.] A. MU; K. U^2 *et cett.* A. *post* duas] K. M **5** tu] istae S tu duae] tuae T illae syllabae QR illae *om.* CY et *Halm* es *om.* QR K.] A. M K. *ante* sed M quorsum ista] cur sum ita B **5** A. *om.* Q **7** potest GSTX K. *om.* N; N^2 habet ex] de X proprioribus BD; prioribus D^2 *et cett.* **8** dum concessi *om.* V ut et] quod QRU^2; ut X; ut et U *et cett.* ego *om.* HST **9** sunt *bis* habet G conclude B; concluda D; concludi B^2D^2 *et cett.* me *om.* T et ante ego F ego *om.* H hae *om*

sim. Et miror, quam latenter induxisti me prius ut concluderem te, quod homo non esses, post et me ipsum, quod duae syllabae essem.[392] **XXXVI.** Memini te, magister, post inventionem posuisse dispositionem, in qua praecepisti inventas res oratorem ordinate distribuere. Si haec quoque aliqua habeat praecepta, pande mihi. A. Non multa per se habet haec pars ad se solam pertinentia praecepta, quae non inveniantur in inventionis praeceptis vel elocutionis. Nam et haec rebus et verbis maxime prodest et ornamentum fidemque argumentationibus praestat et laudem orationi tribuit, cum omnia enim non solum ordine, sed etiam momento quodam atque iudicio dispensanda

1 A. *ante* et OP letentur BD; latentur B^2 *et cett.* indixisti BD; vinxisti R; induxisti B^{2}D^2 *et cett.* ut] et S **2** post] potest G **3** non *ante* essem OPV^{2}WX; V *et cett. om.* A. *ante* memini R; K. BHINOPR^{2}S; *cett. om. (Hic codex Q habet A. - Auditor; ex hoc loco iterum M. - Magister et A. - Auditor habentur usque ad finem.)* autem *post* te *add.* Z dispositionem posuisse N **4** in *om.* BDP^2; P *et cett. habent* praecipuisti G **5** si R; sed R^2 quoque] quoniam G aliqua *om.* R **6** haec pars habet OP haec *om.* S se *om.* H **7** invenimtur S; veniant L in *om.* ATX; A^{2}X^2 *et cett. habent* inventiones C; inventionis A^{2}E^2 *et cett.* **10** in laude Z orationi] oratori QR K. *ante* cum N cum *om.* Y, expunctum E^2, cui GQR; cum E *et cett.* Post cum explicit X enim *om.* R **11** quodam momento OP momento] monimento H

[392] P. 79, l. 1 to p. 80, l. 3. All this explanation about sophistry was judged to be original by Howell, but Wallach (*Alcuin and Charlemagne,* p. 40*),* on the other hand, thought that Alcuin used Aulius Gellius (*Noctes Atticae*, 18.2.9). It is possible that Gellius' passage indeed influenced Alcuin, who knew it, if not in first hand, by Augustine (*De doctrina christiana,* 2.48.117). In any case, the comparison of the word *homo* to being *duae syllabae* in a sophistical argument is still the work of Alcuin.

et componenda sunt, prout praesens ratio utilitatis aut decoris
aut necessitatis exegerit. Sed quod ad verborum dispositionem
pertinet, satis plene docetur, cum de elocutione tractatur:
de rerum vero dispositione per singula membra
orationis in inventionis praeceptis traditum est. **XXXVII**. K. Iam
nunc nos ordo disputationis ad elocutionis deduxit
inquisitionem, quae magnam causae affert venustatem et rhetori
dignitatem: nec te ab huius tam facile excusas responsis,
quam in dispositionis te praeceptis eruisti. A. Non me excuso,
sed tuas, domine mi rex, licet tardo pede, non tamen
tarda voluntate sequar interrogationes. K. Primo qualis

1 ratio] oratio BD **2** exigerit OPS; exegerit *cett.* **3** pertinent BD; pertinet D^2 *et cett.* plane RU; plene R^2 *et cett.* **4** tractetur F; tractabitur V^2; tractatur F^2V *et cett.* vero] verbo D; verborum B; vero D^2 *et cett.* orationis membra Q **5** in *om.* MQRTU; U^2 *et cett.* habent K. *om.* IMNPW; P^2 *et cett. habent* **6** nos] vos CST; nos E^2 *et cett.* ordo disputationis *om.* S dispositionis BDP^2; disputationis P *et cett.* inquisitione G **7** magnam causae] magna causa est S rethoricae P; rethori P^2 *et cett.* **8** K. *ante* nec IMPVW; *om.* P^2 *et cett.* facile] felice Y excuses K; excausas CGT; excusas A^2E^2 *et cett.* responsionis F **9** A. *ante* quam H A. *om.* H non me] nonne ST excuso Q^2; accuso Q **10** mi. *om.* M rex *om.* QR; Q^2 *et cett. habent* tamen non S **11** voluntatem T

esse debeat elocutio aperi. A. Facunda debet esse et aperta. K. Quomodo aperta; A. Aperta erit, si uteris significantibus et propriis verbis et usitatis sine ambiguo, non nimis procul ductis translationibus nec interposito hyperbaton. K. Quomodo facunda; A. Facunda erit, si grammaticae regulas servat et auctoritate veterum fulcitur. K. Qualiter ad auctoritatem priscorum potest oratio nostra pervenire; A. legendi sunt auctorum libri eorumque bene dicta memoriae mandanda; quorum sermone assueti facti qui erunt, ne cupientes quidem poterunt loqui nisi ornate. Neque tamen

1 debeat esse KLU debeat] debet N esse debet W et aperta *om.* N et re aperta KL **2** uteris] uteribus G; veteris BD; uteris *et cett.* **3** significationibus BDKLP^{2}SU; significantibus PU^{2} *et cett.* **4** nimis] minis G; minus H procul ductis] productis N ductis] dictis W interpositio PT; interposito P^{2} *et cett.* **5** hyperbaton E^{2}QRSX^{2}Y; yperbaton *rel.*; hyperbato *Halm* K. *om.* H facunda E^{2}; fecunda E **6** auctoritati K; auctorita G fulcit G; fulciter M; fulciatur R; fulcitur R^{2} *et cett.* **7** ad] et S **8** sunt q^{2}; sint Q auctori AE; auctorum A^{2}E^{2} *et cett.* libri eorumque] librorumque G eorumque] eorum quoque S memoria *ante* bene G bene *om.* Ve **9** mandanda] mandata R; mananda W assueti facti] assuefacti D^{2}E^{2}MRY; assueti QST; assueti facti DEQ^{2} *et cett.* qui erunt] querunt BDT; qui erunt D^{2} *et cett.* **10** nec MRSV^{2}; ne V *et cett.* potuerunt Q loqui] loci C; loqui E^{2} *et cett.*

utendum erit verbis priscis, quibus iam consuetudo nostra non utitur, nisi raro ornandi causa et parce, sed tamen usitatis plus ornatur eloquentia. K. An magis ornatur in singulis verbis vel in coniunctione verborum eloquentia; A. Utrumque; nam et in singulis verbis et in coniunctione verborum decus orationis constat. K. Si in utrisque constat, de utrisque dic. A. In singulis verbis duo sunt, quae orationem illustrant, aut si sit proprium verbum aut translatum.

In propriis illa laus est, ut abiecta et inconsueta fugiamus, electis et illustribus utamur, in quibus plenum quiddam et consonans inesse videatur, in quo consuetudo etiam bene loquendi valet plurimum. In translatis late patet ornatus, quem genuit necessitas, inopia coacta at angustiis, post

1 priscorum A; prisci EF; priscis E^2 *et cett.* **2** rari H; rora D; raro D^2 *et cett.* ordinandi PST; ornandi P^2 *et cett.* et parce *om.* BD **3** plus ornatur] plus loquatur ED **4** vel] aut N in *om.* S **5** utrumque] utrum quam G nam *om.* QR; Q^2 *et cett.* habent in post et *om.* I et post verbis] vel ST in ante coniunctione *om.* HS; S^2 *et cett. habent* **6** in *om.* G; non F **7** utriusque M **8** aut proprium si sit verbum QR; aut si proprium sit verbum IMNPVW **9** inconsueta] consueta GN; incomposita S **10** quoddam Q; quidam S **11** sonans QR; consonans Q^2 *et cett.* videantur BD; videatur D^2 *et cett.* K. ante in V **12** A. ante in V **13** necessitas genuit R angustus BD; angustiis D^2 *et cett.*

autem delectatio iucunditasque celebravit. Nam ut vestis frigoris repellandi causa reperta primo, post adhiberi coacta est ad ornatum etiam corporis et dignitatem, sic verbis translatio instituta est inopiae causa, deinde frequentata est delectationis et ornatus. Nam gemmare vites, luxuriare messem, fluctuare segetes etiam rustici dicunt; quod enim declarari vix verbo proprio potest, id translato illustratur. Ea tamen transferri oportet quae clariorem faciunt rem, ut est horrescit mare et fervet aestu pelagus. Nonnumquam etiam brevitas translatione conficitur, ut telum manu fugit; imprudentia enim teli missi propriis verbis exprimi brevius non posset, et quoniam summa haec laus est verbi translati, ut sensum aperiat. K. An undecumque licet ducere translationes;

1 delectatio iucunditasque *omnes*; delectatio et iucunditas *Halm* **2** coacta *omnes*; coepta *Halm* **3** sic] si M **4** translatio QRW; translativis *rel*. constituta M casa BD; causa B^2D^2 *et cett.* **5** dilectionis RU^2; delectationis U *et cett.* **6** segetes] regentes G quid SV; quod V^2 *et cett.* **7** clarari S verbo proprio vix M translato U^2; translata U **8** ea] et HS **9** est horrescit] e more scit G inhorrescit QR fervet KPRSU^2; fervit U *et cett.* nonnumquam] nam numquam S **10** teli manus B; telim manus D; telum manus D^2 figit L^2T; fugit L *et cett.* **11** missis BD; missi D^2 *et cett.* brevius non posset] verbius posse G **12** K. *ante* et IMNPV summum T **13** K. *om.* INPVW

A. Nequaquam, sed tantum de honestis rebus. Nam summopere fugienda est omnis turpitudo earum rerum, ad quas eorum animos qui audiunt trahet similitudo, ut dictura est 'morte Africani castratam rem publicam' et 'stercus curiae:ʾ in utro que deformis cogitatio similitudinis. Item non sit maior translatio, quam res postulet, ut 'tempestas litis,' aut contra minor, ut 'aer tonat, ceu dormiens stertit.' Est quoque pulchra translatio per metonymiam, cum res per auctorem rei significatur, ut pro bello Martem et pro frugibus Cererem: aut cura virtutes et vitia pro ipsis, in quibus sunt, appellamus, ut 'in quam domum luxuries irrupit, avaritia penetra vit.' Est et synecdochica translatio pulchra, cum ex parte totum aut ex toto partem significamus, ut pro tota domu tecta

1 summo opere BDIV; summopere D^2V^2 *et cett.* **2** animas H **3** trahit Q **5** ut *ante* non R **6** translatioris Y quam] quia S postulat BDE^2IY; postulet EG^2I^2 *et cett.* aut] ut H **7** minor] maior T tona F; notat BT; tonat *cett.* ceu] *Hic resumit* X stertit $D^2E^2K^2N^2P^2QR^2SV^2Y$; stertet DEKNPRV *et cett.* **8** auctorem X^2; auctoritatem X **9** rei] eius S Martem] artem G **10** cum *om.* X pro ipsis] propinsis G **11** luxurias S post irrupit, *Halm addidit* et **12** parte totum aut ex toto *om.* G **13** totum X^2; domum X aut *om.* S ex parte totum BDF; ex toto parte H; ex toto partem D^2F^2 *et cett.* domo KLR; domu R^2 *et rel* tectum Ve

dicamus aut pro undis mare. **XXXVIII.** K. Qualis oportet verborum esse coniunctio; A. Decens et composita et compacta, ut ne sit hiulca vocalibus, ut 'placida aura adest:' nec aspera consonantibus, ut multum ille luget: nec ab ultima syllaba prioris verbi sequens verbum incipiat, ut prima mater: ne prima cura ultima efficiat obscenitatem, ut numerum numquam intellexi. Cavendum quoque est ne inania verba non rei agendae, sed structurae tantummodo implendae causa proferantur, et, ut ad summum veniamus, sicut reliquarum rerum fundamentum est sapientia, ita et in eloquentia quoque; ut enim in vita, ita et in oratione nil clarius est quam omnia sapienter fieri. Quapropter oratori summopere praevidendum est, quid

1 ducamus BD; dicamus B^2D^2 *et cett.* aut] ut G K. *om.* Q esse verborum I **2** A. *om.* Q incomposita OP; consona R; composita P^2 *et cett.* compacta] conpuncta H ne] non U; nec E^2Y; ne E *et cett.* **3** vocalibus U^2; vocabulis U **4** ne CKLMQRSTV; nec E^2 *et cett.* ab] ad M **5** verbi] verbis G nec D^2HOPVWX; ne DV^2 *et cett.* **6** obscetatem CD; obscenitatem $A^2D^2E^2$ *et cett.* **7** est quoque N quoque] quoniam G verba *om.* ST rei] recte B sunt *post* agendae S **8** sed *om.* S causae GTX **9** ut *om.* G summam BDKP^2U^2; summum PU *et cett.* **11** ita *om.* K et *om.* R quoque *ante* nil Q post est BD *habent repetitionem*: sapientia ita et in eloquentia quoque ut enim in vita ita et in oratione nil clarius est **12** summo opere BDIRV; summopere D^2R^2 *et cett.* providendum KS.

sibi deceat et suae conveniat causae, non in sententiis solum, sed etiam in verbis; non enim omnis fortuna, non omnis honos, non omnis auctoritas, non omnis aetas, nec vero locus aut tempus aut auditor omnis eodem aut verborum genere tractandus est aut sententiarum, semperque in omni parte orationis, ut vitae, quid deceat est considerandum. **XXXIX.** K. Quid dicis de nobilissima, ut reor, rethoricae parte, memoria; A. Quid aliud nisi quod Marcus Tullius dicit; quod thesaurus est omnium rerum memoria, quae nisi custos cogitatis inventisque rebus et verbis adhibeatur, intelligimus omnia, etiamsi praeclara fuerint, in oratore peritura. K. Suntne aliqua eius praecepta, quomodo vel illa obtinenda sit vel augenda; A. Non habemus eius alia praecepta, nisi discendi

1 deceat] debeat T causae conveniat PX sentiis BD; sententiis B^2D^2 *et cett.* **2** solum U^2; locum U in verbis etiam N fortuna non omnis] fortunae non enim omnis T omnis honos] omne onus S **3** honos] homo BD vero] verbo W **4** aut *ante* tempus] et BD tractatus C; tractandus E^2 *et cett.* **5** aut sententiarum *om.* H omni V^2; omne V **6** quid post vitae] ut T deceat X^2; dicat X est *om.* CY et *Halm*; *cett. habent* K. *om.* A **7** memoriae BD; memoria D^2 *et cett.* *post* memoria: quae nisi custos S **9** inventisque] que I **11** sunt neque T aliqua] alia N **12** eius *om.* TU; U^2 *et cett. habent* quo vel modo R agenda FKL **13** discendi omnes; ediscendi *Halm* et *post* discendi BDT; D^2 *et cett. om.*

exercitationem et scribendi usum et cogitandi studium et ebrietate cavenda, quae omnibus bonis studiis maxime nocet, quae non solum corpori aufert sanitatem, sed etiam menti adimit integritatem. K. Sufficiunt haec praecepta, si quis idoneus est ad haec implenda; nam ut video tam ardua sunt sensu quam rara verbis. A. Etiam ardua et utilia. **XL.** K. Sed ordo meae interrogationis postulat, ut tua responsio ad pronuntiationem procedat, quam quintam partem artis rethoricae esse in principio nostrae disputationis memini te dixisse, magister. A. Pronuntiatio est verborum dignitas vocis sensibus accommodatio et corporis moderatio. Haec enim in tantum excellit, ut etiam secundum sententiam maximi Tullii indocta oratio laudem tamen consequatur, si optime proferatur,

1 studium cogitandi Q **2** ebrietatem cavendam ELNY cavendi T bonis] causis BD et ante studiis D^2; *om.* D nocet maxime GKL **3** corporum G **4** K. *om.* IPWX; P^2 *et cett. habent* ut *post* sufficiunt *add.* Z **5** implenda X^2; adimplere X explenda Ve A. *ante* nam M nam] non S tam *om.* F sunt] sed S **6** A.] K. IMPWX; A. P^2 *et cett.* utilia] alia G K. *om.* IMPVWX; P^2 *et cett.* habent K. **7** me A^2BD; meae A *et cett.* **8** partis BD; partem D^2 *et cett.* rethoricae artis S **9** disputationis nostrae R dixisse K^2; dixisti K **10** voces BD; vocis D^2 *et cett.* **11** accommodata KTU **12** sententiam maximi *om.* Ve Marci *ante* Tullii N **13** indocti Ve indocto BD; indocta D^2 *et cett.* si optime proferatur *om.* Q; habet *in marg.*

et quamvis expolita, si indecenter pronuntietur, contemptum irrisionemque mereatur, nisi forte tibi, domine mi rex, aliter videatur. K. Mihi nequaquam aliter, sed huius quoque partis praecepta sequenda vel vitia cavenda velim ut dicas.

A. Primo exerceri debet vocis et spiritus moderatio et corporis et linguae motus, quae non tam artis sunt quam laboris. Vitia quoque si quae sunt oris, diligenti cura sunt emendanda: ne verba sint inflata vel anhelata vel in faucibus frendentia nec oris inanitate resonantia, non aspera frendentibus dentibus, non hiantibus labris prolata, sed pressim et aequabiliter et leniter et clare pronuntiata, ut suis quaeque

2 forte domine mi rex tibi OP tibi *om.* AT mi *om.* G rex *om.* R **3** mihi *om.* M se BD; sed D^2 et *rel*. quoque partis *om.* I **4** partis] artis Q ut dicas] indicas Q **5** et ante corporis *om.* R **6** et bis habet G sunt *om.* S **7** qua IL^2M; quae L *et cett.* oris *om.* W emendenda Q; emendata S; emendantia T **8** ne] nec T sunt TV; sint V^2 *et cett.* inflate] inflecta V vel *post* inflata *om.* BD anhelata in faucibus vel OP vel in] nec in QR faucibus V^2; fulcibus V frendenda BD; frendentia D^2 *et cett.* **9** nec] ne BD non] nec IMNPVWX dentibus *om.* DV; D^2V^2 *et cett. habent* **10** dentibus *om.* Ve non] nec K libris BD; labris B^2D^2 *et cett.* pressim] pressi O; presenssia G aequaliter EIQTXY; aequabiliter I^2X^2 *et cett.* **11** clara BDG; clare D^2 *et cett.* suis quoque TU; suisque BD; suis quaeque D^2 *et cett.*

litterae sonis enuntientur, et unumquodque verbum legitimo accento decoretur, nec immoderato clamore vociferetur, vel ostentationis causa frangatur oratio, verum pro locis, rebus, personis, causis et temporibus dispensanda est. Nam alia simplicitate narranda sunt, alia auctoritate suadenda, alia cum indignatione depromenda, alia miseratione flectenda, ut semper vox et oratio suae causae conveniat. Haec te praecepta ad pronuntiationis laudem deducunt, et tibi honestatem et tuae causae fidem efficient. **XLI.** K. Quid est quod paulo ante corporis moderationem dixisti esse servandam; A. Dixi, quia necessarie observandum est, ut recta sit facies, ne labra detorqueantur, ne immodicus hiatus rictus distendat, ne supinus vultus, ne deiecti in terram oculi, ne inclinata

2 accento BCDGHQ; accentu $A^2D^2E^2$ *cett. Halm et Zimmermann* decoretur] ornetur M immoderata V **3** frangat GL; frangitur X; frangatur X^2 *et cett.* **4** nam] non S **5** alia *post* sunt] aut N **6** depromena G; depremenda S; depromenda S^2 *et cett.* **8** deducent PQ^2V^2WXZ; deducunt QV *et cett.* **9** efficiunt KLN; efficiant Q; efficient L^2 *et cett.* quod *om.* IV; I^2V^2 *et cett. habent* modo post quod T **10** dixisti corporis moderationem esse S moderatione V; motionem X esse dixisti H servandum X quia] qui G; quod M; que T **11** necessariae BFGMSUW; necessaria AH; necessario H^2 ne] non IMNPVWX labram N **12** torqueantur CY; detorquentor G; non torqueantur Ve rictus] rectus TX destendat BD **13** sopinus NS ne ante deiecti] nec NQ ne ante inclinata] nec S

cervix, neque elata aut depressa supercilia. Infinitum enim
in his quoque rebus momentum est, quia nihil potest placere,
quod non decet et, ut ait Marcus Tullius 'caput artis est decere
quod facias.' Labra lambere vel mordere deforme est,
cum etiam in efficiendis verbis modicus esse debeat eorum
motus; ore enim magis quam labris loquendum est. **XLII.** K. Haec,
venerande magister, iucunda esse et honesta fateor mihique
multum placabilia: sed, ut video et intelligo, iugera exercitationem
et cotidianum usum postulant, et ad plenam consumationem
nisi continua meditatione et instanti exercitatione
non possunt pervenire, sine qua nullam disciplinam

1 neque] ne QR; neque Q^2 *et cett.* alata D; elati T; elata D^2 *et cett.* finitum P; infinitum P^2 *et cett.* **2** quoque *om.* PVe; quoniam G monimentum NPV^2WX; manifestum T momentum P^2V *et cett.* est *om.* P; P^2 *et cett. habent* quia] quod M placare potest S **3** ait *om.* G **4** decere] facere Q; dicere RTU; docere FX; decere $F^2Q^2U^2$ *et cett.* quod facis labra lambere vel mordere *om.* T quod] quae K; quid X; quod X^2 *et cett.* facias] deceas Q; facis *Halm*; facias Q^2 *et cett.* labra] labia F **5** efficiendis] edificiendis A; efficientis S; effiendis T **6** magis labris quam W **7** ioconda Z et honesta esse U **8** iugem] iugiter T in ante exercitationem H **9** postulant L^2; postulat. L **11** possunt A^2; possum A

illustrem esse puto. A. Ita est, domine mi rex, ut dicis;
nam exercitatio ingenium et naturam saepe vincit, et usus
omnium magistrorum praecepta superabit. Quamobrem inventio
et dispositio et elocutio et memoria et pronuntiatio usu acri
et exercitatione intentissima convalescant; naturae enim
vicem paene obtinet consuetudo. Unde a philosophis secunda
dicitur natura consuetudo. Nam in arte qualibet exercitata
consuetudo confidentiam constantiamque procreat, sine qua nil
ars proficit. Quid enim timidis arma? Amet laudem iuvenis,
magnumque esse sciat multis tacentibus solum audiri; nam
licet ipsa vitium sit ambitio, frequenter tamen causa virtutum

1 esse] effici posse QR; effici U^2 *in marg.*; esse U *et cett.* puto esse Y domine mi] domi T rex *om.* Q; Q^2 habet ut dicis *om.* Ve **2** nam *om.* S natura N saepe *om.* I; I^2 habet **3** praecepta *om.* Y superavit CNY; superabit N^2 *et cett.* **4** pronuntio G acri] cari BD; agri S; acri D^2 *et cett.* **5** convalescunt E^{2}K^{2}QY; convalescant EKQ^2 *et cett.* natura Y **6** vicem] vicae G; vice T; vicet BD; vicem D^2 *et cett.* unde ... natura consuetudo *om.* CY et *Halm*; *cett. habent* **8** constantiamque] et constantiam R; constantiam AQ; constantiamque Q^2 *et cett.* **9** quid enim timidis arma *om.* Q; Q^2 habet timidus I^{2}L^{2}R; timidis IL *et cett.* amet] et B; armet D; an et V; amet D^{2}V^2 *et cett.* **10** magnumque] magnum A; manumque G **11** vitium] viciosum S; vitiosa B; viti *(ras.)* D; vitii D^{2}P^{2}d; vitium P *et cett.*

est. Discat ab adolescentia non reformidare ante multos
loqui, ut eum nec metus frangat nec ultra modum reverentia
retardet, ut, dum omnibus oratoris sit opibus instructus,
animi quoque praestantia et oris fiducia illi non desit. **XLIII.** K.
Quapropter, ut mihi videtur, illis sermocinandi ratio, qui
causis civilibus et negotiis saecularibus interesse aestimandi
sunt, mox a pueritia multo studio habenda est vocis
quoque et verborum exercitatio, ut ab ineunte aetate assuescat
vocis fiducia et verborum copia et decenti corporis motu,
ut sine formidine faciat in publicis quaestionibus, quod cum

1 est *om.* U dicat H ab *om.* M reformidari BD; reformidare D^2 *et cett.* multos X^2; multas X **2** eum] enim I eum metus non frangat OP; eum metus frangat P^2 **3** retardet $D^2E^2K^2L^2NP^2RSTUY$; retardat DEKLP *et cett.* dum] de BD in post dum PQ^2WX; Q *et cett. om.* opibus sit QR opibus] opus T instructum T; instructis I; instructus I^2 *et cett.* **4** nobilitas sup. praestantia d fiducia et studia Z non desit illi Q illi D^2; illis D K. *om.* IMNPQVWX; I^2P^2 *et cett. habent* **5** quapropter ut mihi X^2, quo mihi ut propter X ut] non BD; ut D^2 *et cett.* illis *om.* QR; illi BD; illis D^2Q^2 *et cett.* **6** aestimandi sunt] manifestum est T **7** sunt H^2; sit H multo mox a pueritia studio S multo sutdio *om.* T **8** quoque *om.* QR; quoniam G; quoque Q^2 *et cett.* exercitatio ... et verborum *om.* H ab eunte S; in abeunte BX; ab ineunte B^2 *et cett.* **9** fiducia] fluentia B et *ante* verborum] ad Q **10** faciat] fiat T cum *om.* RX

consuetudine gessit in privatis. A. Vere intelligis et optime prosequeris. Nam ut in castris miles, sic in domo orator debet erudiri, ut quod solus exercuerat, inter multos facere non formidet. K. Iam quoque necesse esse video, ut domesticus usus cavere incipiat, quod publicus conventus detrahere possit. Nec enim inhonestis verbis inter suos uti debet qui honestis inter alienos loqui desiderat, cum in omni parte vitae honestas pernecessaria est, maxime in sermonibus, quia fere cuiusque mores sermo probat, nisi tibi, magister, aliud videatur. A. Mihi vero de hac re nil aliud videri potest, ac ideo consuetudinaria sermocinatione verba sint lecta, honesta, lucida, simplicia, plano ore, vultu quieto, facie composita, sine immoderato cachinno, clamore nullo prolata. Nam bonus modus est in loquendo, tamquam in

1 A.] K. IMNPVWX; A. $I^{1}P^{2}$ *et cett.* **2** castris D^{2}; castres D sic X^{2}; sit X domu HILMRV; domo L^{2} *et cett.* **3** orator] oratur G exercuerit QRT; exercuit c **4** facere] fieri T formidet $D^{2}E^{2}I^{2}KL^{2}NP^{2}QRSTUY$; formidat DEILP *et cett.* K. *om.* IMNPVWX; $I^{2}P^{2}$ *et cett.* habent esse] est BDQ; esse D^{2} *et cett.* **5** domesticos $L^{2}Q$; domesticus L *et cett.* **6** non *ante* possit Q inhonestus T alienos loqui] alios uti Q **8** honestitas S; honestatas T **9** quia] quod M fere] vere IQ; facile U^{2}; fere $Q^{2}U$. *et cett.* sermo mores X **10** aliud X^{2}; aliter X videri potest V^{2}; videatur V **13** sine X^{2}; sive X **14** modus] modestus H in *post* tamquam *om.* DGHIKLMNQRSTUV; $Q^{2}V^{2}$ *et cett. habent*.

ambulando, clementer ire, sine saltu, sine mora, quatenus omnia medii moderaminis temperantia fulgeant, quae est una de quattuor virtutibus, de quibus ceterae quasi radicibus procedant virtutes, in quibus est animae nobilitas, vitae dignitas, morum honestas, laus disciplinae. K. Intelligo philosophicum illud proverbium non solum moribus, sed etiam verbis esse necessarium. A. Quodnam; K. Ne quid nimis. A. Est et vere est in omni re necessarium, quia quicquid modum excedit, in vitio est. Ideo virtutes in medio sunt positae, de quibus tuae venerandae auctoritati plura dicere potuissem, si non disputatio nostra ad finem festinaret, et si non superfluum videretur tecum de virtutibus agere, quem virtutum non tantum scientia, sed etiam ornat efficientia.

1 clamanter irae BD; clementer ire D^2 *et cett.* mora B^2; more B quantinus L^2PRX; quatenus L *et cett.* **2** moderamines D; moderamine B; moderaminis D^2 *et cett.* est] esse X **4** procudant E^2; procedant E *et cett.* animae est CY et *Halm*; est animae *cett.* **5** *post* disciplinae *explicit* Q **7** quidnam IMNPRVWX; quodnam P^2R^2 *et cett.* numquid BD; ne quid D^2 *et cett.* **8** re] rem GHP quia] quod K **9** vitium S positae sunt R sunt *om.* T **10** auctoritati venerandae OP auctoritati I^2; auctoritate I **12** quae S^2; quem S *et cett.* **13** virtutem H tantum R^2 tam R etiam *om.* W

XLIV. K. Non tamen te, magister, prius dimittam calamum responsionis claudere, quam mihi nomina et partes quattuor virtutum exponas, quas radices aliarum esse virtutum dixisti. Paulo ante inter nos constitit, sermocinationis exercitationem esse necessariam; in quo melius est habendum sermonis studium quam in virtutum excellentia, quae utrumque et scribentibus et legentibus multum prodesse valet; A. Prodest, ut dicis, domine mi rex, sed inter utrumque coartor; nam succincta brevitas pauca postulat et res ardua plura desiderat. K. Tempera te in utrumque, ne aut prolixitas fastidiam aut brevitas ignorantiam generet. A. Primo sciendum est, quod quaedam res tam clarae et tam nobiles sunt, ut non propter aliud

1 tamen] tam F; tunc S tamen te] te *ante* KL; tamen te K^2 *et cett.* demittam DHIV; dimittam D^2 *et cett.* **2** claudere] claudemus H **3** virtutum esse PX nam ante paulo K^{2}RUWXVe; K *et cett.* **4** ante *om.* G constitit A^{2}D^{2}E^{2}KLRU^2; consistat S; consistit ADEU *et cett.* exercitionem H **5** necessaria G habendum on. R **6** in *om.* S **7** prodisse GHILMV; prodidisse R^2; prodesse I^{2}L^{2}R *et rel*. *post* valet *explicit* B prodest domine mi rex ut dicis V ut *om.* S ut dicis *om.* H **8** rex *om.* R inter] in FN; inter N^2 *et cett.* succinta DGU et *Halm*; succincta *rel*. **9** plura] prura N tempera te] temperare T **11**generat HS; generet S^2 *et cett.* quad *om.* C; E^2 *et cett. habent* **12** et *om.* R nobiles E^2; nobile E

emolumentum expetendae sint, sed propter suam solummodo dignitatem amandae sunt et exsequendae. K. Has ipsas res magnopere velim cognoscere. A. Hae sunt: virtus, scientia, veritas, amor bonus. K. Numquid non has Christiana religio apprime laudat; A. Laudat et colit. K. Quid philosophis cum his; A. Has intellexerunt in natura humana etiam et summo studio coluerunt. K. Quid tunc distat inter philosophum talem et Christianos; A. Fides et baptismum. K. Prosequere tamen philosophicas definitiones de virtutibus et primum dic, quae sit ipsa virtus. [393]A. Virtus est animi habitus, naturae decus, vitae ratio, morum nobilitas. K. Quot habet partes; A. Quattuor: prudentiam, iustitiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam. **XLV**. K. Quae est prudentia; A. Rerum et

1 demolumentura EY; emolumentum E^2 *et cett.* sint E^2L^2RY; sunt EL *et cett.* solummodo suam ST **3** magno opere GL cognoscere X^2; cognoscendae X haec G virtus P^2; virtutes P **4** veritas *om.* M non *om.* U; U^2 habet **5** apprime laudet GH quid] quod E **6** etiam *om.* CY et *Halm*; *cett. habent* **8** fides] fideles S baptismum *omnes*; baptismus *Halm* **9** tamen *om.* L; L^2 habet **10** animi est T; animae est S; est animae KL; est animi K^2 *et cett.* **11** nobilitas morum S nobilis T et *ante* quot S quod DGIM; quot D^2 *et cett.* **12** quattuor . . . partes (p. 98, 1) *om.* T **13** temperantia E

[393] Wallach (*Alcuin and Charlemagne,* p. 42-43) shows that this final part of Alcuin's dialogue, concerning virtues cannot be considered original (differently than what Halm and Howell appear to do, since they do not ascribe any source for this part of the dialogue) because it resembles passages in other works written by Alcuin, such as *De virtutibus et vittis, De animae ratione* etc. Even if these treatises were written before the *De rhetorica,* the main issue still prevails: this final part of the dialogue is original to Alcuin's thought and it is his major contribution to the rhetorical discussion, for it explains the definition of *uir bonus* in a way none of Alcuin's sources and predecessors did.

naturarum scientia. K, Quot habet partes; A. Tres: memoriam, intelligentiam, providentiam. K. Harum quoque definitiones dicito. A. Memoria est, per quam animus repetit illa quae fuerunt: intelligentia, per quam ea perspicit quae sunt: providentia, per quam futurum aliquid praevidetur ante quam fiat. K. Justitiae rationem expone. A. Iustitia est habitus animi unicuique rei propriam tribuens dignitatem: in hac divinitatis cultus et humanitatis iura et aequitas totius vitae conservatur. K. Eius quoque partes pande. A. Partim illa est ex naturae iure, partim ex consuetudinis usu. K. Quomodo ex naturae iure; A. Quia partes illius quaedam naturae vis inserit, ut religionem, pietatem, gratiam, vindicationem, observantiam, veritatem. K. De his singulis lucidius aperi. A. Religio est, quae superioris cuiusdam

1 naturam FPX; naturarum P^2X^2 *et cett.* quod DGI; quot D^2 *et cett.* **4** fuerunt S^2; fuerant S ea] ego T perspicitur L; perspiciuntur L^2 ea *ante* quae X **5** futuram T praevidet MVWX; providet N; videtur R et *Cic*.; est videtur KL; providetur K^2; esse videtur L^2; praevidetur *rel*. **6** fiat] fiet N; faciat T; factum est R et *Cic*. **7** ut ante unicuique T propriam] publicam T **8** aequitas D^2; aequitatis D **9** quoque] que F partes *om.* C; E^2 *et cett. habent* **10** natura H **11** ex post quaedam S **12** vis] ius X regionem GS; religionem G^2 *et cett.* **13** veritatem D^2; vanitatem D **14** superiores D; superius G; superioris D^2 *et cett.*

naturae, quam divinam vocant, curam caerimoniamque affert: pietas, per quam sanguine coniunctis patriaeque benevolis officium et diligens tribuitur cultus: gratia, in qua amicitiarum et officiorum alterius memoria et remunerandi voluntas continetur: vindicatio, per quam vis aut iniuria et omnino omne quod offuturum est defendendo aut ulciscendo propulsatur: observantia, per quam homines aliqua dignitate antecedentes cultu quodam et honore dignantur: veritas, per quam ea quae sunt aut ante fuerunt aut futura sunt dicuntur.

K. Quomodo ex consuetudinis usu iustitia servatur; A. Ex pacto, pari, iudicato et lege. K. Plus quaero et de his quoque. A. Pactum est, quod inter aliquos convenit: par in omnes aequabile est: iudicatum, quod alicuius magni viri aut

1 curam *om.* T **3** officium X^2; hospitium X inimicitiarum CY; amicitiarum A^2 *et cett.* **4** voluntas] voluntatis I; cultus N **5** continetur *om.* G omnino] omni modo LU^2; omnino U *et cett.* **6** futurum G pulsatur TU; propulsatur U^2 *et cett.* **8** quodam cultu X quodam] quam T honore] honorare F **9** in *ante* ea R aut ante fuerunt *om.* H aut ante MNX; ante aut *rel.*; *hic resumit* Q dicuntur] dicunt GIQ; dinoscuntur WX **10** usu *om.* P; iure QR; usu P^2 *et cett.* servatur *om.* R **11** pacto D^2; pecto D pari] pati T iudicatione Ve et lege $A^2D^2E^2P^2RY$; ex lege APEP *et cett.* plus quoque et de his quaero X **12** inter] in R aliquos] alios d par in] pari non T in] quom Ve **13** aequale T quod] quo I; quodsi Q

aliquorum sententiis constitutum est: lex est omni populo scriptum ius, quid cavere vel quid observare debeat. **XLVI.** K. Nunc fortitudinem cum suis partibus ut depromas flagito. A. Fortitudo est magno animo periculorum et laborum perpessio: eius partes sunt magnificentia, fidentia, patientia, perseverantia. K. Harum rationes patefac. A. Magnificentia est rerum magnarum et excelsarum cum animi ampla quadam et splendida propositione cogitatio atque administratio: fidentia est, per quam magnis et honestis in rebus multum animus in se fiduciae certa cum spe collocavit: patientia est honestatis aut utilitatis causa rerum arduarum aut difficilium voluntaria ac diuturna perpessio: perseverantia est in ratione bene considerata stabilis ac perpetua permansio. K. Restat tibi

1 constitum GH **2** conscriptum KLU^2; scriptum U *et cett.* ius] vis T quid *ante* cavere] quo id L; quod RX; quid L^{2}R^2 *et cett.* quid *ante* observare] quod GIU; quid I^{2}U^2 *et cett.* K. nunc ... perseverantia (1, 5) *om.* CY; A^2 *et cett. habent* **4** anima I; amici V; animo I^{2}V^2 *et cett.* **7** magnarum excelsarumque S et *ante* excelsarum *om.* CDGIQR; D^{2}E^{2}Q^2 *et cett. habent* excelsorum M splendidam T **8** propositio U; conpositione H; propositione U^2 *et cett.* **9** magnis] magis T animus] in animis Q; animo Ve; animis GHKU^2; animus K^{2}U *et cett.* in *ante* se *om.* S **10** certe G spe] se H arduarum rerum S aut *ante* difficilium] ac QR et *Cic*. **12** ac] a M; in *om.* S **13** ac omnes *praeter* R et *Halm*, *qui habent* et.

de temperantia dicere, a qua orta est nobis de virtutibus inquisitio, cuius proprietatem et partium illius audire expecto. A. Temperantia est rationabilis in libidinem atque in alios non rectos impetus animi firma et moderata dominatio: eius partes sunt continentia, clementia, modestia. Continentia est, per quam omnis mala cupiditas magna consilii gubernatione regitur et deprimitur: clementia est, per quam iniuriae et odia miti animo retinentur: modestia est, per quam totius vitae modus seu animi seu in corporis motibus ubique honesti cura servatur. **XLVII**. K. Honor eximius est coram hominibus haec servanti et laus apud deum. Sed miror nos christianos, si illi philosophi has virtutes ob illarum tantum dignitatem vel laudem vitae servaverunt, cur nos ab his

1 est *om.* D **3** libidem C; libididem F^2; libidinem E^2 **4** alios] aliquos R non *om.* P; P^2 habet moderata Q^2 ; moderatio Q **5** eius] cuius X **6** consilio G **7** deprimitur] exprimitur QR est *om.* MT **8** iniuriae E^2QRY et *Halm*; iniuria E odio HX; odia X^2 est *om.* G **9** modus X^2; modos X suae H in ante animi QRU^2c; *om.* U in *om.* E^2N^2SY; EN *habent* **10** honesti] modesti H; honesta S K. *om.* INPVWX; I^2P^2 *habent* **11** servanti] observanti M; servantia S K. *ante* sed NV miror] minor O **13** vel laudem *om.* S vel] et QR

in multis devio errore declinamus, cum haec nunc in fide et caritate observantibus aeternae gloriae ab ipsa veritate, Christo Iesu, praemia pollicentur. A. Plus miserandi quam mirandi sumus, quia plurimi ex nostris sunt, quos nec terror poenarum nec gloria praemiorum ad virtutum dignitatem revocat. K. Agnosco et sine lacrimis non dico multos esse tales, attamen rogo, ut quam breviter possis edisseras, quomodo hae excellentes virtutes in nostra relegione christiana intelligendae atque observandae sint. A. Nonne tibi videtur sapientia esse, qua Deus secundum modulum humanae mentis intellegitur et timetur et futurum eius creditur iudicium; K. Intellego et assentio nihil hac sapientia excellentius,

1 declinamur N haec nunc] hunc G; nunc haec QR; autem nunc L in ante fide *om.* X; X^2 *habet* **3** praemii G A. *om.* IPWX; P^2 *habet* miserandi] mirandi M **4** mirandi] miserandi FGT; mirandi F^2 quia] quod M **5** praemiorum X^2; poenarum X post praemiorum: a dedecore vitiorum QRX; a dedecore U^2; dedecore vitiorum W; U *om.* revocat] excitat S **6** et *om.* H dico] dicam G esse multos W tales esse X tales] malos F **7** attamen] at non M hae] haec F **8** intelligendae *om.* U; U^2 habet **9** sunt ESX; sint E^2S^2 **10** qua] quia H mentis *om.* A; A^2 *habet* **12** assentior Y esse *om.* CY et *Halm* hac sapientia RS^2; hac sapientiae N; huic sapientiae S

et in Iob recolo scriptum: ecce hominis sapientia pietas,
et quid pietas, nisi dei cultus; qui Graece dicitur theosebeion.
A. Bene intellegis et vere, sed quid tibi iustitia
videtur esse nisi caritas Dei eiusque mandatorum observatio;
K. Et hoc agnosco, nihil hac iustitia iustius, immo nullam
aliam esse nisi istam. A. Numquid non fortitudinem esse
cernis, qua hostis antiquus vincitur et adversa mundi fortiter
tolerantur; K. Cerno equidem nec aliquid hac victoria lauda
bilius aestimo. A. An temperantia non est, quae libidinem
refrenat, avaritiam reprimit, omnes animi inpetus sedat et
temperat; K. Est et vere est et valde necessaria omni homini,
sed adhuc quaero: ad quem finem harum observatio virtutum
spectat; A. Ut diligatur Deus et proximus, an aliud

1 Iob] ob DGS; iob D^2S^2 homines DT; hominis D^2 **2** et quid pietas *om.* W **3** videtur esse iustitia P **4** videatur X observatio] observantia H **5** hoc] haec P; hoc P^2 cognosco X hac] haec PVW; hac P^2V^2 **6** non *om.* STU; U^2 habet **7** qua] quia GIL; qua L^2 fortiter *om.* COPY; P^2 habet **8** equidem] quidem DG **10** frenat Q **11** et *ante* valde *om.* RSX valde *om.* X necessaria valde ST omni homini *om.* V; V^2 habet. **13** spectat CGY; species X; spectet VeX^2 A. *om.* N

aestimas; K. Nil equidem aliud, sed quam breve auditu est,
tam factu difficile et arduum. A. Quid facilius est
amare species pulchras, dulces sapores, sonos suaves, odores
flagrantes, tactus iocundos, honores et felicitates saeculi?
Haecine amare facile est animae, quae velut volatilis umbra
recedunt, et Deum non amare, qui est aeterna pulchritudo,
aeterna dulcedo, aeterna suavitas, aeterna flagrantia, aeterna
iocunditas, perpetuus honor, indeficiens felicitas; maxime
cum divinae scripturae nil aliud nobiscum agant, nisi ut
diligamus Deum et dominum nostrum ex toto corde et ex tota
anima et ex tota mente, et proximum nostrum tamquam nosmet
ipsos. Nam promissum habemus ab illo, qui fallere ignorat.

1 K.] A. N equidem] quidem N A. *ante* sed IPWX brevem M auditu DE^{2}KLNP^{2}RX; auditum EP. **2** facto TU A.] K. INPVWX; *hic resumit* B quid] quam H est *om.* ST quam *Halm add*. *om. omnes* **3** K. *ante* amare M sopores X **4** fraglantes E^{2}L^{2}RY; flagrantes EL *et cett.* tactos M et *om.* P **5** A. *ante* haecine IMNPVWX haecine] haecne BD; R facile *om.* X; X^{2} habet velud MVW ; velit O; ut X; velut O^{2} *et cett.* **6** non *om.* X facile est *post* non R aeterna *om.* S **7** fraglantia E^{2}L^{2}RY; flagrantia EL *et cett.* **9** divina M scripturae *om.* M **10** et *post* corde *om.* M **11** mente] virtute STU tua *post* mente W tamquam X^{2}; itaque X

Iugum, inquit, meum suave est et onus meum leve. Laboriosior est enim huius mundi amor quam Christi; quod enim in illo anima quaerit, non invenit, id est felicitatem et aeternitatem, quoniam haec infima pulchritudo transit et recedit, vel amantem deserit vel ab amante deseritur: teneat igitur anima ordinem suum. K. Quis est ordo animae? A. Ut diligat quod superius est, id est Deum, et regat quod inferius est, id est corpus, et socias animas dilectione nutriat et foveat; his enim sacrificiis purgata atque exonerata anima ab hac laboriosa vita et aerumnosa revolvet ad quietem et intrabit in gaudium domini sui. K. Magnum quendam virum et vere beatum praedicas, o magister. A. Magnum te faciat Deus et vere beatum, domine mi rex, et in hac virtutum quadriga, de qua paulo ante egimus, ad caelestis regni arcem geminis

1 inquid CGIMTUV; inquit E^2 *et cett.* meum *ante* suave *om.* P; P^2 *habet* **2** amor] labor P; amor P^2 *et cett.* quod M^2; quia M **3** et *om.* NV **4** quoniam] quam S infima *om.* R; infirma ES; infima E^2S^2 *et cett.* **5** ab *om.* S amante] amantem G igitur *om.* N **6** suum E^2; suam E quis] quid BDGP **7** quod M^2; quia M **9** foveat] vehat R purgata] flagrata R exonerata V^2; exorata V **10** revolvet PWX; revolat E^2Y; revolet E *et cett.*; revolabit *Halm* **11** intravit A quendam magnum S **12** vere *om.* BD **13** rex *om.* b et in] ex S in *om.* T virtutum V^2; virtutem V **14** qua] quo ST arcem] aram BDb; artem N

dilectionis pennis saeculum hoc nequam transvolare concedat.

K. Fiat, fiat gratia divina donante. A. Sermo iste noster,

qui de volubili civilium quaestionum ingenio habuit initium,

hunc aeternae stabilitatis habeat finem, ne aliquis nos incassum

tantum disputandi itineris peregisse contendat. K.

Quis est qui nos frustra sermocinari audeat dicere, si aut

honestarum est saeculi scrutator curiosus artium aut excellentium

sectator virtutum; Nam me, ut fateor, ad has inquisitiones

scientiae amor adduxit, et tibi gratiam habeo quod

inquisita non negasti, ac ideo hanc tuarum responsionum bene

volentiam probo et studiosis profuturam esse arbitror, si

modo macula livoris legentem non corrumpit.

1 dilectionis *om.* S saeculum] secundum b nequam] neque S **2** fiat semel habet S donante divina T **3** qui] quem C; qui E^2 *et cett.* civium CS; civilium E^2S^2 *et cett.* habuit initium *omnes*; initium habuit *Halm* **4** hunc] haec G nec NR; ne R^2 *et cett.* nos incassum] nostri casum S **6** sermocinari $D^2E^2RWXY^2$; sermocinare DEY *et cett.* A. *ante* si N **7** curiosius H excellenti BDb; excellentium D^2 *et cett.* **8** sectator *omnes*; scrutator *Halm* me *om.* L ad *om.* T inquisitiones has P inquitiones N **9** adduxit] induxit K^2; adduxit K quod] quia M **10** ac] hac U; hanc b **11** profutura S **12** laboris BCMVb; liboris GIV; livoris $A^2E^2I^2U^2$ *et cett.*

V. Conclusions

This thesis has explored a number of different questions regarding Alcuin's *Disputatio de rhetorica.* Similarly to Alcuin's dialogue itself, which was considered to have two different sections, so does this dissertation. The first section dealt with issues raised by modern readers over how the dialogue should be interpreted, such as the date of composition, the connection between rhetoric and virtues and the use of diagrams found in older manuscripts. The second section dealt with the edition of the text itself: how it was previously edited, the manuscripts collated, new readings, and the edition of the text.

In the first chapter of this dissertation I examined the problem of the dating of the *De rhetorica.* We could see that different arguments were used by previous scholars in an attempt to ascertain precisely when Alcuin wrote his dialogue. Howell tried to use a letter in which Alcuin might have made reference to the *De rhetorica* to argue 794 was the year of its composition. Wallach criticized Howell's reasoning and date; moreover, he proposed a new way to look at this problem. Firs Wallach dismisses Howell's explanation by saying it is wrong to take what is written in a fictional text as proof of reality, as Howell did with the first line of the dialogue. Then Wallach argues that the poem opening the dialogue contains a clue to our problem with dating the text. Because Alcuin refers to Charlemagne as '*pater patriae'* the text could only have been written after Charlemagne's coronation as emperor in the end of year 800. The problem with this approach is very simple, as it takes into consideration what is written in a poem as reality. Also, the dating of the oldest manuscript (prior to 800) also denies this approach. Finally the most plausible dating criteria came from Donald Bullough, who identifies the period of composition of Alcuin's dialogues with his period of teaching in Charlemagne's court. Therefore, although it is not possible to determine the precise date of composition of the *De rhetorica*, it is possible to accept the period of 793 until 797 as the period in which Alcuin had access to key texts and was exercising what is the goal of the dialogues: teaching.

The tables at the end of chapter one, which outline the contents of Alcuin's dialogue and the source material used to create this text, demonstrate that Alcuin borrowed heavily from earlier manuals of rhetoric. While Cicero's *De inuentione* was clearly Alcuin's main source, the tables also show that Caius Julius Victor's *Ars rhetorica* played a major role in shaping Alcuin's tract. This allows us to speculate on Alcuin's deep acquaintance with Julius Victor's work, which in turn has considerable implications on the way in which Alcuin's dialogue should be interpreted.

The second chapter was dedicated to the interpretations of the dialogue. I believe it was clear how Alcuin's dialogue was received in the 19th and beginning of 20th centuries: with a mix of disdain and disproval. Amidst this lack of interest for the text, Wallach was the first one to seek a purpose for the dialogue. It was his interpretation that became standard for years to come. Wallach proposed that Alcuin's *De rhetorica* was not a treatise on rhetoric, but a mirror for the prince: Charlemagne. We saw how this interpretation presents difficulties, but it was responsible for renovating the interest for Alcuin's dialogue. Kempshall's interpretation of the dialogue denies Wallach's views and proposes an elaborate new vision. I believe I offered sufficient evidence to sustain my own interpretation of the dialogue. It is, first of all, a dialogue, therefore it obeys rules of this genre (which Alcuin learned from Julius Victor's *Ars rhetorica*). Secondly, modern scholars should not be surprised to find a section on the virtues in a dialogue about rhetoric. It constitutes, for Alcuin, what makes a 'good man' (*uir bonus*). This passage is Alcuin's most relevant contribution to the rhetorical precepts, as it explains what Quintilian had postulated to the question of what is an orator: *uir bonus peritus dicendi.* We could see that previous scholars who have looked at *De rhetorica* have expanded a great deal of time and ink on pondering why Alcuin appends a discussion on the virtues to the conclusion of his dialogue on rhetoric. As a result, scholars have offered a range of (often rather complicated) explanations that tend to try and analyse *De rhetorica* as

something more than a dialogue. Scholars have also approached *De rhetorica* with a desire to find a ground breaking new treatise on rhetoric, penned by one of the greatest minds of the Carolingian age - only to be sorely disappointed, therefore becoming rather critical of the text. This thesis offers a new approach by analysing *De rhetorica* for what it is: a dialogue. Not only does it look at the positive details we can glean from this treatise - rather than focusing on the fact that Alcuin did not compose a work to rival Cicero's *De inuentione*, as it was never his intention – but it also redirects the discussion of *De rhetorica* back to the manuscript context of this treatise.

This approach is extremely useful, as it sheds valuable light on the educational practises of the Carolingian court. It seems that the classical texts were no longer fit to be used as textbooks, or, at least, not the best way to introduce students to the subject. Therefore there was a need to rewrite some of the precepts (rhetorical, philosophical etc.) in a dialogical format, with familiar characters. These new features, combined with the addititon of diagrams, would form a new didactic approach for the people in Aachen.

The third chapter concerned the diagrams present in some of the oldest manuscripts of the *De rhetorica.* I compared these diagrams with others present in Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* about the same subjects. It became clear that the diagrams in the text of Alcuin do not represent what is written in text itself. They are probably a simplification of the diagrams found in manuscripts of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* and added to Alcuin's *De rhetorica* as an appendix, which provided a further tool for elucidating these precepts. These findings again support my hypothesis that it is most productive to analyse Alcuin's *De rhetorica* as a teaching text, rather than a more complex treatise on rhetoric or political thought.

Finally, the fourth chapter was dedicated to the previous editions of Alcuin's *De rhetorica,* as well as my own edition. The first thing we learn is that the manuscripts are

very well preserved and do not show too many different readings from each other. Therefore, Halm, who saw only three manuscripts was able to produce an excellent edition. However, Halm, Howell (who did not see any manuscript) and Zimmermann (who saw twenty seven manuscripts) all tried to 'polish' Alcuin's Latin, making it distant from what we find in the manuscripts and closer to our idea of classical Latin. My hypothesis was different from theirs. I wanted to be as faithful as possible to the manuscripts, even if it meant not following the standard rules of classical Latin. This task was made possible due to the help of manuscripts of Cicero's *De inuentione.* One family of the manuscripts, the so called 'mutilated', has remarkable resemblance to most of the oldest manuscripts of the *De rhetorica.* One of these manuscripts of the mutilated family was even produced in Germany around the time Alcuin was there. It is highly possible than that Alcuin had a copy of one of the manuscripts of this family of Cicero's *De inuentione* and used it to write his dialogue. I also had the privilege of using all the twenty nine manuscripts available of the *De rhetorica,* even though the two manuscripts I saw that haven't been seen before did not bring any new relevant reading to the final edition.

I hope that this study has helped to clarify some of the issues surrounding Alcuin's *De rhetorica:* the integration between its 'two parts' (namely rhetoric and virtues), the use of the diagrams accompanying the text in many of the oldest manuscripts and how these relate to its use as a teaching text and its importance to the reception of the work. I believe that the precise dating of *De rhetorica* will continue to be a mystery, but this does not greatly hinder our understanding of this work. I hope that this study will open the way to new research not only on *De rhetorica* itself, but also on all Alcuin's dialogues, as they all seem to have been designed to complement each other.

ABBREVIATIONS

Bischoff, *Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen*	Bernhard Bischoff, *Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit: Die Bayrischen Diözesen* (Wiesbaden, 1974). Vol. II: Die vorwiegend Österreichischen Diözesen, 1980.
Bischoff, *Manuscripts*	Bernard Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne.* Translated by Michael Gorman (Cambridge, 2007).
Bischoff, *BBK*	Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der Festlandischen Handschriften des Neunten Jahrhunderts.* Vols. I, II and III (Wiesbaden, 1998-2004).
Bullough, *Achievement*	Donald Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation, Being Part of the Ford Lectures Delivered in Oxford in Hilary Term 1980*, in: Education and Society in

	the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 16 (Leiden, 2004).
Halm, *RLM*	Karl Halm ed., *Rhetores Latini Minores* (Leipzig, 1863).
Howell, *Rhetoric*	Wilbur Samuel Howell, *The Rhetoric of Alcuin & Charlemagne; A Translation, with an Introduction, the Latin Text, and Notes* Russell & Russell Inc. (New York, 1965).
MGH Ep. IV	Duemmler, E. ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Epistolae* IV, *Epistolae Karolini Aeui* II (Berlin, 1895).
MGH PLAC I	Duemmler, E. ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetae Latini Aeui Karolini*, Vol. I, (Berlin, 1881).
PL 100	Migne, J. P., *Patrologia Latina*, (Paris, 1863). Vol. 100.

Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*	Wallach, Luitpold, *Alcuin and Charlemagne: Studies in Carolingian History and Literature,* (New York, 1968).
Zimmermann, *Critical*	Zimmermann, H. L., *A Critical Text: Alcuin's De rhetorica et de Virtutibus Sapientissimi Regis Karoli et Albini Magistri* (St. Louis University, PhD Dissertation, 1968).

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Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale (olim Bibliothèque Municipale), 168 (163) II, ff. 110v-111v

Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 342, ff. 1r-33r

Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1209, ff. 50v-92v

Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1461, ff. 1v-29v

Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3850, ff. 21v-43r

Hannover, Kestner-Museum, Nr. 3927 (Cul. I 2 - 364), ff. 1v-33r

Leipsig, Universitatsbibliothek 1493, ff. 62v-74v

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6407, ff. 1v-43r

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München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14377 I, ff. 1r-30v

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 25 (S.C. 5137) II, ff. 60v-75r

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 2183, ff. 27r-43r

Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 64, pp. 312, 321-389

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Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 276 II, pp. 150-217

Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 855, pp. 132-179

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Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 405 (387), ff. 4r-40r, 68

Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. Z. 497 (1811), ff. 96r-105v

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 160, ff. 50r-68r

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2269, ff. 3v-6vc

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