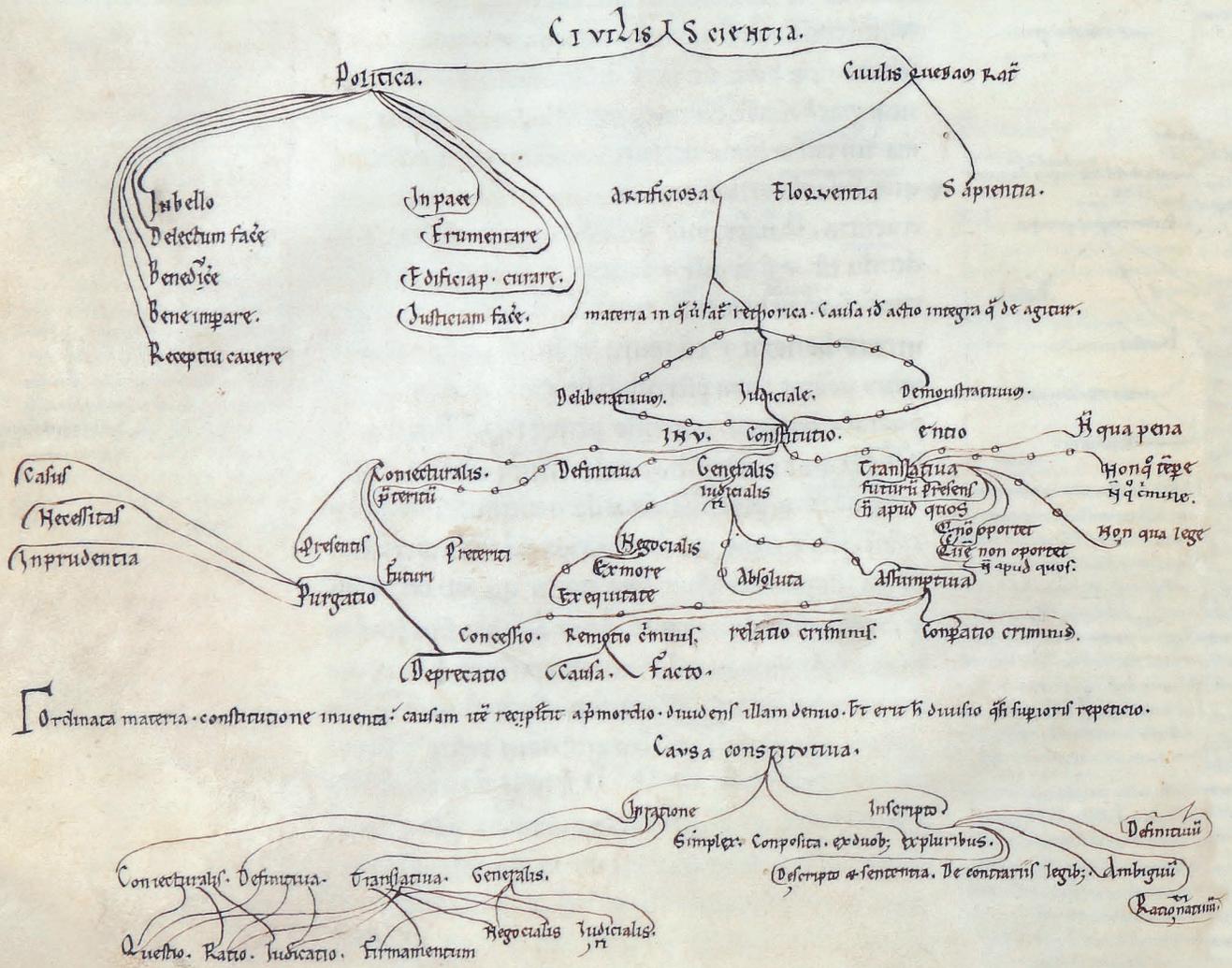


# Cicero's *Rhetorica vetus* from a Medieval German Scriptorium



Lib Primus Rethoricaꝝ artium Incipit.

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Cicero's *Rhetorica vetus*  
from a Medieval German Scriptorium

Abbas et domine verbi manegolde minister  
Verba tibi scripsit meginher amande magister  
Non tulit hoc anno licus meliora nec hister

(vv. 1200-1202, fol. 40v)



## Cicero, Marcus Tullius (106-43 BC). *De inventione*.

Decorated Latin manuscript on parchment. Southern Germany or Austria (monastery Rein, Styria?). End of the eleventh century–first half (possibly first decades) of the twelfth century.

330 x 240 mm. ii + 58 + i leaves. COMPLETE. Eight quires. Collation: 1-7<sup>8</sup>, 8<sup>2</sup>. 58 leaves, unfoliated. Modern foliation in pencil in the inner lower margin of each recto. Fols. 1r and 58v blanks. Quire-marks in Roman located in the center middle of the lower margin of the last page of the quires 1-7, and written by at least two different scribes: the quire-marks I-III are supplemented with the abbreviation sign –us, and decorated with serpentine; the quire-marks IV-VII between two simple dots. Text block: 220 x 110 mm, one column, 31 lines (fols. 1-33), 31-33 lines (fols. 34-58); glosses in 66 lines (generally two lines of glosses correspond to one line of text). Ruled with lead point, double set of prickings for horizontal lines (a set for text, another set for glosses) survives on the outer margin of each leaf (apart a few leaves lightly trimmed, in which only the prickings set for glosses is visible); prickings for vertical lines on the top and bottom of the leaves.

Old repairs to the margins of a few leaves, using strips of parchment or pieces of paper. Some leaves trimmed, the blank portion of the last leaf cut away, and replaced with later parchment. Some parchment flaws, a few round organic holes, the scribes had written the text around them. Some cuts originally mended, with yellowish-white yarn, probably by a unique craftsman who prepared parchment.

Some corrections *in rasura* in text. A few annotations in different hands on the flyleaves, among these on the verso of the rear flyleaf a quotation taken from the *First Epistle* of Peter, 2:2, 'Quasi [modo] geniti infantes, rationale sine dolo lac concupiscite'.

### TEXT

fol. 1v

*Incipit:* Marci Tullii Ciceronis in librum Rethoricorum artium Prologus incipit

fol. 3v

Liber primus rethoricarum artium incipit

fol. 4r

Civilis quaedam ratio est

fol. 31r

Liber secundus: Crotoniatae quondam cum florerent

fol. 58r

*Explicit:* Quae restant in reliquis dicemus



## HANDWRITING

The Cicero text is written in two different hands.

The first hand (Hand A) has written in black ink (in some lines the ink appears diluted) the text and the extensive marginal and interlinear glosses on fols. 1v-33v, in a neat regular late Caroline with features more angular, revealing the transition to Gothic script (Pregotica). The abbreviation for –us touches the letter. Rustic capitals for headings; titles in red ink on fols. 1v (Marci Tullii Ciceronis in librum[m] Rethoric[arum] artium Pro[lo]gus incipit.), 3v (Lib[er] Primus Rethoric[arum] Incipit.), 31r (Marci Tullii Ciceronis Lib[er] Se[cun]di[s] Rethoric[arum] artiu[m] incipit.).

A different hand in late Caroline or Pregotica (Hand B) is responsible for the text on fols. 34r-58r, written in chestnut-brown ink. In this case the letters are broader. A third hand (Hand C) has added presumably in the second half of the twelfth century on the margins of fols. 33v-41v numerous verses (versus leonini), not related to Cicero's text. Hand C has also added the numbering of the verses in the lower margin of the leaf.

The manuscript was produced in a scriptorium, as demonstrated by the instruction written for internal consumption in the outer margin of fol. 12r, 'incipit II. pars fac de minio.', i.e. 'write the incipit of the second part in red ink' (as it indeed was made, on fol. 31r). The lacking of any subscription, colophon, etc. does not allow to ascribe its production to a specific scriptorium, although paleographic as well as codicological considerations allow to establish that the manuscript here presented was produced in a monastic school of writing located in Southern Germany or in Southern Austria, maybe in the Cistercian monastery Rein (Styria). This abbey, founded in 1129, was famous in the tradition of collecting classical texts, housed a scriptorium and a large library, and was an active hub of education.

## DECORATION

On fol. 1v seven-line puzzle initial 'S' in blue, with red and yellow foliate infill, and penwork decoration in red. On fol. 4r, at the beginning of the first Book, nine-line puzzle initial 'C' in blue, with red and yellow foliate infill, and penwork decoration in red and yellow. Numerous five- to one-line unembellished calligraphic red initials in majuscule form, decorated with dots; capital letters highlighted in red and brown. Silhouette initials placed on the left vertical line. Some of these contain individualistic features in the decoration. Decorating signs for special markings. Five-line blank space for capital on fol. 31r.



## BINDING

Late fourteenth-century - early fifteenth-century binding, possibly executed in Southern Germany or Austria. Dark brown leather over thick wooden boards, slightly bevelled and stamped in blind. Covers enclosed within large frame of crossing fillets, forming different shapes and a central lozenge. Single clasps to the head and tail, as well as the fore-edge, attaching onto catches on the lower board (entirely preserved the one to head-edge; stubs of leather fastening on fore-edge); original nails and embossed catch-plates in three different designs – two depicting the agnus dei on hatched ground (one regardant, i.e. looking backwards), the third one showing a blazing sun with the sacred monogram 'YHS'. Brass three-foliolate cornerpieces with edge guards, decorated with small rosettes, the inscription 'maria' in a scroll, and the repeat of a minuscule 'a', lettered in Gothic; floral patterned center-piece, set in the middle of a blazing sun a small cross making up the 'H' of the monogram 'YHS'. Smooth spine, divided into compartments by blind fillets; the title 'M.T. CICERON DE ARTE RET.', inked on paper label, is a later addition. A well-preserved binding, a cracked spine.

## PROVENANCE

'Domus Dei Tridenti', ownership inscription legible under UV lamp on fols. 1r and 57v; see also the later (sixteenth century?) inscriptions 'Domus Dei' (fol. 23r) and 'D.D.' (fols. 1r and 2r), supplemented with the drawing of a scourge or flagello; on fol. 52r the inscription 'Domus Dei', without scourge.

The 'Domus Dei Tridentinae', i.e. the Church Domus Dei in Trento, founded in 1340 ca., was seat of the 'Flagellantium Sodalitium', also called 'Domus Dei Batutorum Laicorum de Tridento' (see Giangrisostomo Tovazzi, *Monumenta Domus Dei Tridentinae* (1797), Trento, Biblioteca BSB, ms. 15).

The manuscript might be arrived in Trento through the humanist and bibliophile Johannes Hinderbach (1418-1486), who in 1465/1466 was elected bishop of Trento. His close relationships and book exchanges with the abbots of monasteries located in Southern Germany and Austria (including the Cistercian monastery of Rein in Styria) are attested.

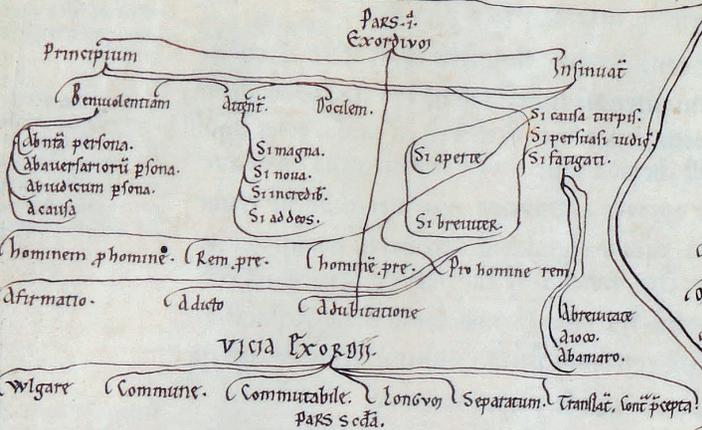
si Pars.

**CON  
SIO**

Connumatio. Perspicue. Artificio. Varie. Enumerationes actio. Ex nostra persona. Exsup posita. Ex aliqua  
Indignatio. Abauctoritate. Amplificatione. Quid euenturum. Plures aliter. Non posse corrigi. Consulto peccasse.

Conquestio. Disertie. Quid futuri sit. Vnum qdq; deponat modis. Res tunc. Omnia in commoda ante oculos. Desperatio.  
6 f h e  
hoxes tvoj hvoile

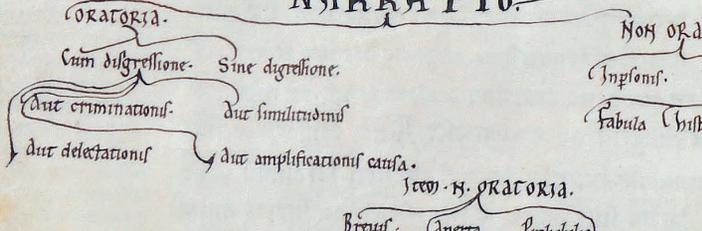
**O RATIO.**



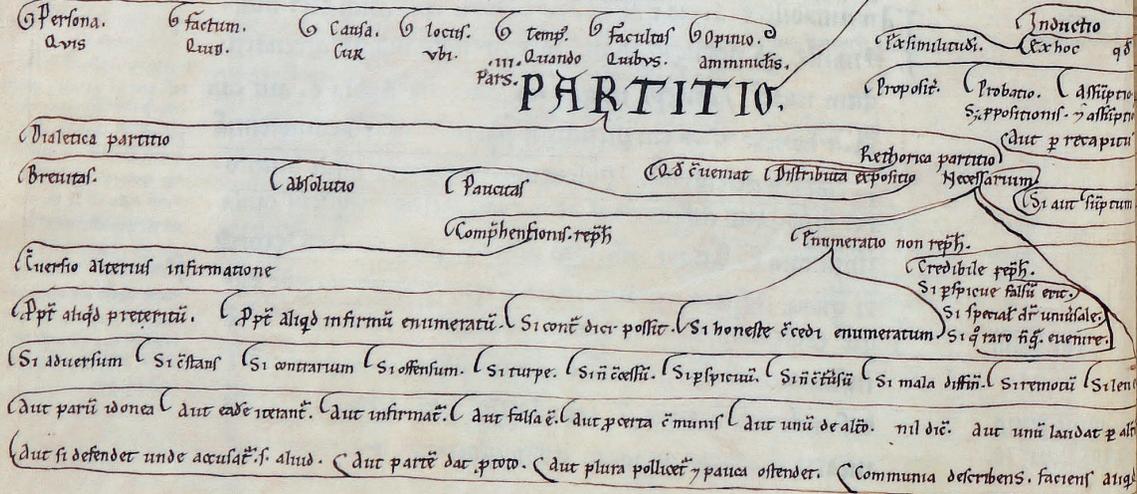
**CON F**



**NARRATIO.**



**PARTITIO.**



ducta  
 radele factū. (Rarum. Pessimio simile. Collatio omnium.) Contumelia ē inuria  
 Hostia quo oportet  
 ad p̄m̄m accid.  
 ad p̄paretur  
 tam inimicos dolere.

Distinctio  
 Similis casus  
 ad q̄ oportet  
 Translat. ad insensib.  
 Infirmis.  
 D' ep̄oratio alicui miserie

ad q̄libet vitium euen  
 obsecratio  
 Hōn nra s; mōrū.  
 Hōn m̄ericordes  
 ostendimus.

**Ratio.** D' tribus negotiis.  
 aucta (victus. Fortuna. habitus) Affectio (studii) Consilium. (factū) Casus (Orationes).  
 cernendū. (Animi. corporis) a res.  
 Sertius anliber. 7 rel.  
 Apud quos. Quo more 7 rel.  
 m. Puer adoleſc. Quibus maiorib.  
 Leticia. cupiditas. 7 rel.

uncta negotii. Equae magnū.  
 Simile.  
 Contrarium.  
 Disparatum.  
 Genus.  
 Pars.  
 Causa.  
 Futurum.  
 Preteritum.  
 Present.

(In digessione neg.  
 Tempus  
 Futurū imp.  
 Fut. pf.  
 Present p.  
 Present imp.  
 Preterit pf.  
 Preterit imp.)

Occasio  
 Publ.  
 Com.  
 Sing.

Modus  
 Ratio  
 Impulsio  
 Clam. Palā. u. p̄suar

Facultas.  
 Quib' facit  
 Sine q̄b.  
 Continencia nego.  
 Cum plerū summe  
 Causa summe.  
 Ante rem.  
 Post rem.

Inscientia (Casus. Probabile.  
 Necessitas. Involenta. Inacundia. 7 rel.)

ARGVMENTO  
 nationem. (Per similitudinē conditū. (P̄ ea q̄ fieri solent. (P̄ id qd' ē inopin. (P̄ similitudinē  
 s̄e probable (P̄ contrarium. (P̄ par. (P̄ conationale.

Approbatum. Dignum. Inreprehensibile. Iudicium. Comparabile. Imago. Collatio. Exemplū.

**ARGVMENTO**  
 cedi nolunt. (Ratiocinatio)  
 (Ex clusione.) (Quinq; p̄na. Quadrupla. (Tripartita)

(Probat. (Conclusio) (Propositio. (Probat. (Assumpt. (Conclusio. (Propositio. (Assumptio. (Conclusio.)  
 lationē. Aut ex contrarij. (Aut p̄ solum qd' ē ficit inferendo. (Aut qd' consequitur

**REPREHENSIO.**  
 non ceditur. (Aut coplexio negat. (Aut genus uiciosum ostenditur. (Aut q̄ firma. (Firmior opponit. (P̄ quo necessarium.  
 Probabile coplexio reprehendit. Cum aliq̄ infert. (Tunc honestum.

Signū reprehendit. (Compabile reph.  
 Aut n̄ signo reph.  
 Aut parum magnū  
 Aut a se pot̄ stare.  
 Aut in alia suspitione  
 dicit posse abaslarus.

(Si vulgare (Si comune. (Si falsio)

tucum. Aut nil lau dat.

decent. (Hec graue nec magnum aliquid continent)

Judicium reph.  
 Irreparatione eoz q̄ iudicat  
 Dissimilitudine eius rei de q̄ agit.  
 Com memorando eoz rephendū iudicū.  
 Demonstrando istud iud. n̄ p̄tinere ad illud.

Simplex clusionis reph.  
 Si qd' sequit̄ necessario n̄ coheret c̄ eo qd' p̄cedit.  
 Si ipso iudicū erit. (Si etiā accommodat̄ ad qd' instituit.  
 dicit̄ dē. (Aut res ex hominis uicio uicuperat (V.R.)

## THE TEXT OF THE *DE INVENTIONE*

The manuscript contains the complete text of Cicero's *De inventione*, also called by the medieval scholars as *Ars minor* or *Rhetorica vetus* (in regard to the *Ad Herennium*, or *Rhetorica maior* or *nova*, also ascribed to Cicero). This work "because of its extensive treatment and marshalling of the topical resources of argument, and the existence of an extensive pre-Christian commentary on it (that by Victorinus), had an early ascendancy in the medieval schools" (*The Rhetoric of Cicero*, p. 20). The work first appeared in print in 1470 in Venice, issued from the printing press established by the French proto-typographer Nicolaus Jenson.

The *De inventione* has a complex manuscript history. The earlier manuscripts to contain the complete text dates back to the tenth century. Of the work more than 170 manuscripts (tenth-twelfth centuries) are survived, mostly copied in volumes which also contain the text of the pseudo-Ciceronian *Ad Herennium*, and often supplemented with glosses and diagrams. A construction of a stemma is indeed impracticable, owing to the contamination of the text, often presented with Marius Victorinus' commentary.

Generally, the recorded manuscripts of the *De inventione* are in small format (octavo). Only the famous ms. Laud lat. 49 preserved nowadays in the Bodleian Library of Oxford, and produced in Mainz (Germany) in the eleventh century, has dimensions comparable to those of the manuscript here presented. Furthermore, although numerous manuscripts of the *De inventione* are accompanied by diagrams, it is rare to find a so comprehensive and detailed series of schemas as here.

## THE GLOSSES

The manuscript presents an extensive apparatus of marginal as well as interlinear glosses, which are written in a smaller module. Only a few notes are correcting scribal errors, or insert missing words (e.g. on fols. 3r[interl.], 6r, 11r, 13v, 15r, 19v, 21v, 25v); the major part of them are commenting on and illuminating Cicero's text.

The apparatus is not – like in other recorded manuscripts of *De inventione* – a compilation of sporadic or unfinished *marginalia*, but "it may reflect the strenght of institutionalising and validating authorities (magistri, studia, university etc.)" (John O. Ward, *Ciceronian Rhetoric in Treatise, Scholion and Commentary*, p. 59). Space had been specifically left for glosses, and the notes in marginal space are carefully set aside in the page layout.

The major glosses are keyed to the text on each page by alphabetical cross-reference signs. They reveal heavy reliance upon the antique commentary on the two books of the *De inventione* by C. Marius Victorinus or Victorinus Rhetor (ca. 300 – after 362), and known under the title *Explanationes in Ciceronis Rhetoricam*, which had a widespread circulation especially in Northern Europe. The *Explanationes* are survived in twenty-seven manuscripts (four are fragments). The first edition of Victorinus' *Explanationes* appeared in Milan in 1474, printed by Antonius Zarottus. The scribe generally copied almost literally passages from this commentary, especially on the Ciceronian preface: the opening gloss reports with minor variants Victorinus' famous division of the practitioners of *ars dicendi* into rhetors, sophistas, and orators. In a few cases Victorinus' commentaries are paraphrased, summarised, or itemised.

There are some references to the *Ad Herennium* (e.g. fol. 13r: 'In libro videlicet as herennium ubi de dispositione tractat'), to Boethius (fol. 14v: 'Boetius quadruplicit[er] deffinit in libro de s[an]c[t]a trinitate'), as well as references or quotations from another late-antique commentary to the *De inventione*, that of the Byzantine grammarian Gril-

lius (for example on fol. 7r: 'H. hunc locum diligenter perscrutare in grillio', and on fol. 7v: 'Non ita Gril:'). The *Commentum in Ciceronis rhetorica* by Grillius was possibly composed in the fifth century, and survived in only eight manuscripts (two are fragments).

The scribe therefore had at his disposal copies of Victorinus' as well as Grillius' commentaries, and the study of their transmission and a close scrutiny of early inventories of medieval libraries might give us some significant information on the possible scriptorium responsible for the copy of this manuscript. Specially noteworthy is, for example, an inventory of the library of Tegernsee monastery in Bavaria, which reports the title of the volumes gifted by a certain monk Reginfridus in the second half of the eleventh century, among others "Rethoricam cum Victorino et Grillio" (*Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*. IV.2. *Bistum Freising*, pp. 750-751).

## THE DIAGRAMS

In addition to the textual glossing this manuscript presents a considerable number of diagrammatic notations to the *De inventione* on the margins of fols. 1v-29r, and full-page schematic diagrams on fols. 3v, 9v, 10r, 30r, 30v. These elaborate diagrams are contemporaneous with the rest of the manuscript; they were executed in the same hand of the copyist who wrote the first 33 leaves of the text and related glosses (Hand A), and were drawn in the same dark ink. The schematic subdivisions are generally connected with lines emanating from the main nodes and the subsidiary ones; only a few labels are enclosed in small boxes. Some diagrams are decorated with pen flourishes, decorative sprouts, undulate strokes, or drolleries (see for example fols. 24r, 27r, 30v).

The manuscript appears to have been designed to receive this diagrammatic glossing, as a teaching and learning aid; in fact, this visual apparatus is not accumulated in haphazard, or spontaneous fashion, but rather reflects original and clear intentions of the copyist on its structure. Five leaves were left entirely blank for tracing diagrams, and the note introducing the first full-page diagram on fol. 3v clearly declares the intention to offer a visual *accessus* to the First Book of the *De inventione*, and generally to the art of rhetoric: 'h[a]e figur[a]e primi libri, <di>uisionum summa[m] comprehenduntur. H[a]e ingredienti diligenter expositit[a]e faciunt illi facile enatare' (i.e. 'these diagrams to the First Book include all the subdivisions, in order to illustrate diligently its entire content').

The diagrams are surprisingly informative, and carefully constructed and drawn, especially those filling a whole page, which show a very complex set of divisions and subdivisions, itemising the parts of the *De inventione*, or classifying its arguments and definitions. "Around sixty manuscripts of the *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* contain diagrams, which complement and supplement the information of the text. These attest to the popularity of the use of diagrams in the study of rhetoric in the Middle Ages [...] The text of the *De inventione*, in particular seems to have been particularly suited to diagrammatic exposition due to its tendency to itemise, enumerate, and subdivide parts of rhetorical argument" (I. O'Daly, "Diagrams of Knowledge and Rhetoric in Manuscripts of Cicero's *De inventione*", p. 87).

Although the manuscripts of the *De inventione* are often accompanied by diagrams, it is rare to find a so rich, comprehensive and detailed series of schemas. Almost each page of this manuscript is complemented with diagrams, extending along the margins.

Some diagrams are faithfully relied upon Victorinus' commentary (see for example the diagram on fol. 13r); others seem to derive from Cassiodorus or Boethius.

Capit ipsa spei fructu lux alma dicit.  
Post te pelatū sine fine que dicitur.  
Haurta mari passi soluit de litorē class.  
La pelag' sentis oposa negotia genit.  
Et mala dana min meuis t' nautica pin.  
Haud muly tca uolucere n tep' opacu.

Partes longiq' h' tene cæsserat i q's.  
Ouat castitru perita phalax acieru.  
Plebs q'c' seruat. neq; se n' r'p' cætuat.  
Dedit huc sonu' n' e' exc'it' ou.  
Partib' ignaru n' e' op' excubiaz.  
Aere sub nudo iugulu fac' sollicitudo

Gente custod. 7 uoce p'cula p'det.  
Candida uen' aul. alib' emula puul.  
Qua logo rost' uer' dabit affrica n'ro.  
Ver' sol' affere uolucres e' uiscere t're.  
Q' hyeme tota uice' r'one remota  
Quis genit' fouit. mat' p'serpuua nouit.

Q'ada p' signe facies. si  
decoquis igne  
O' acris 7 i tepido scis oua  
reponere iudo.  
D' eniq; mat' abut nec  
ei nata uacabit.  
E' humilis per sane bus.  
hispidu. t'et.  
Cu' uig' illata noua ma  
teries medicata.  
P'ign' ut 7 audu iag' de  
sub alite crudu  
A' cepies illu seruare  
mentu lapillu  
F'rigid' i uenerē. p' eu' ua  
let in miltare.  
Hec si portet' queuis ste  
rile patet.  
H' ita semp' erat. si quis  
mania querat  
I' p'is caus' bonis coruo  
fuit illa coronis  
Vt breuit' dicit' qua phe  
b' habebat amica.  
Si t'n causis' i' d' potio  
ra tulisset.  
Phlegma ser' mat' uolud  
color unde sit ater.  
Verisur ad dotes sua t'ul  
tulit all' bootes  
A' ringer' ipa iouis p'p'is  
supinidat' ouis.  
Q' plus feruet. q'and  
ut edita feruet.  
H' e' sit' uunore uidet' ab  
sorbenda calore.  
L'igo cauta latus. lapide  
fert' si g' d' t'ant'  
H' e' p'ia h' mudo stue  
ut pone nudo  
Q' semel ibuta reddut  
pignera tuta.  
H' e' t'ia formos' lapid' e'  
hic qm' p'cios.  
A' ufer' icest'. carna  
les nungat' clus.  
S'ia uolucres panda uer'  
specie memoranda  
V' t' t'at' notis q'aru sit  
p'ond' honoris.  
Q' uununt' r'apto uolu  
t'et' si uera coapto  
A' facit' illos n' certo t'epore pullos  
O' b' t'uat' pign' p'ietatis. aq' p'p' e' cign.  
A' d' m'au' let' sedet' i' r'amus aliet'  
T'unt' ai' filica cu' p'ico deniq; p'ica.

in reu' capitul' p'uidiciu' fiat. Hic is q' agit. iudiciu' pu  
ru' postulat. Ille q'cu' agit. exceptione' addi aut oportet.  
Questio e'. excipiendu' sit an n'. Ratio. H' eni' oportet re  
cupatorio iudicio ei' p'uidiciu' malefici de q' ficari' que  
rit' exceptione' fieri. Infirmatio rationis. C'umodi se in  
iure. ut de his indignu' sit n' p'mo q' t'epore iudica  
ri. Judicatio. dicitas iniuriar' satis sine cause' sit. Q' re du  
de ea iudicat. de aliq' maiore maleficio de q' iudicium  
c'oparatu' sit p'uidicet. atq; ex'ceptu' q'dem hoc e'. In omni  
au' causa ab utiq; q'ri oportebit. a q'. & p' q's. & q'm. & quo  
t'epore. aut agi. aut iudicari. aut q'd statu de ea re  
ueniat. Id ex partib' iuris de q'b' p' dicendu' e' sumi  
oportebit. & rationari' q'd in similib' reb' fieri soleat.  
& uidere utru' malitia aliud agat' aliud simulet'.  
an stulticia an necessitudine. q'd alio m' agi n' possit.  
an occasione agendi sic sit iudiciu' & actio i' t'ituta.  
an recte sine ulla re eimodi res agat'. Loc' au' comu  
nis cont' eu' q' t'nslatione' inducet'. fuge iudiciu' ac  
pena. q' cause' diffidat'. a t'nslatione' au' omniu' fore  
p' b'atione'. si n' ita res agant' & in iudiciu' ueniant. q'  
pacto oporteat. hoc e'. si aut cu' eo agat' q'cu' n' oportet  
at'. aut alia pena. alio emine. alio t'epore. atq; hanc  
ratione' ad p' b'atione' iudicioz' omniu' p'tine. Tres g'  
he' i' t'utiones q' partes n' habent. ad he' modu' tracta

**N** V H e' generale' i' t'utione' & partes. V bunt.  
ei' i' h' d'emus. Cum & facto & facti nomine' c'esso.  
neq; ulla actionis i'nlata i' t'rou'ia. uis & nata &  
genus ipsi' negocii' q'rit'. i' t'utione' genale' appellam.  
Hui' p'mas e' partes duas nob' uideri dixim'. negociate  
& iuridiciale. Negotiale e'. que in ipso negotio iuris  
ciuilis habet implicita' i' t'rou'ia. Ca e' hui' modu'. Q'das  
pupilla herede' fec'. pupill' au' ante mortuus e'. qua  
in sua tutela uenit. De hereditate ea q' pupillo

H' a' p'p'is adit' manet  
uulul' p'uer' t'et.  
Que' mat' d'ra ship mac  
taur' m'ra.  
Q' n' sit c'elul'. p'p' t' pa  
t'it' sit elul'.  
Q' mure' facido' n'ugm'  
uoltrabit' hirundo  
S' n' uocri' patrat' illa  
ta forori.  
L'ucera' plane' carabit  
laudula' mane  
S' da' dat' alcione' r'ara  
f'et' r'one.  
D'ent' q' n' t'e  
p'ida' susp'ed' ab arbore  
uictu'. Hec' sol' in ue  
r' t' ad aul' oua fo  
S' cu' stip' mo' ma. S' uere  
g'it' alget' i' eche' nemo  
O' ua' uacet' cruda' pela  
g' statione' sub yda.  
Vix' aliq' parte' p'pa  
fulcet' ab arte.  
Q' tu' pelare' potes' o  
natura' uunare  
S' alia' sit' ut' soboles' ad  
u'et' nos' edita' soles.  
S' ydera' na' pacat'. u'et'os.  
a'ual'. mare'. placat'.  
E' t' fact' i' t'enta' t'em'p'  
p'ull' ele'mta.  
E' t' u'itales' donec' no  
ua' hauriat' alef.  
H' e' q' bella' pelagi' c'iet  
at'ra' p'ella.  
H' e' t' q'de' nautis' res e'  
notissima' carnis'  
Q' p'p' r'ob' famulant'  
in h'ice' d'ia.  
D' u' q' p'uenit' tute'  
comercia' fiunt.  
Vax' mea' succubis'. si  
n' d' h'icare' colubis'  
T'urib' q; u'chis'. data  
gens' e' illa' q' r'el'is'.  
H' e' d' u' letant' genatu'.  
caruisse' putant'.  
Dat' fet' auca. dat'  
anas'. gallinag'. r'ancia.  
S' coruus' uere' nouo  
mator' i' d'et' ouo. Q'

vult' cardwell. r'icela' parix. amarill'.  
Haud' arethusa' tace' m'liu' c'umyricorac'.  
E' t' cu' pauone. p'itaco. mergo. strutione.  
T'ur'u. p'uce'. i'p'ratu' merlen' 7 orice'.  
S' t'ur'u. bubone. simul' 7 u'esp' t'rou'one  
Vt uer' iducal' i' t'ant' cucule' c'icai'  
S' cito' d'el'it'. ad c'era' t'epoin' t'ristis'.  
Inferu' t' feris' q'd e' lasciuia' ueris'

## THE POEMS IN LEONINE HEXAMETERS

Another great point of interest of this manuscript lies in the presence on the margins of fols. 33v–41v of Latin verses, not relating to Cicero's text.

The margins of these leaves are in fact extensively annotated: the second scribe copied 1,398 leonine hexameters, or *versus leonini*, so called after a twelfth-century abbot Leonius from St. Victor, or a contemporary Magister Leoninus from the School of Notre-Dame. In this metrical form the syllable before the caesura rhymes with the final syllable of the line; the *versus leonini* are frequently encountered in Carolingian and Ottonian poetry.

The first poem is a theological–philosophical composition in 1,202 leonine verses (*inc.*: 'Nec rabies levis est ubi mortua vis est'; *expl.*: 'Non tulit hoc anno licus meliora nec hister'), composed by Meginardus or Meginher (fl. twelfth century, South Germany), who dedicates his verses to Manegold of Lautenbach (ca. 1030–ca. 1103), an Augustinian canon from Alsace mostly active as a teacher in Southern Germany: 'Abbas et domine verbi manegolde minister / Verba tibi scripsit meginher amande magister / Non tulit hoc anno licus meliora nec hister' (vv. 1200–1202). The poem narrates the itinerary of the author towards a mysterious villa called Clavenna. In his journey Meginardus passes through the territories of the Cumaean Sybil and climbs on the Mount Parnassus where, surrounded by the Muses, he meets Apollus who hangs around his neck the harp, and invites him to write panegyrics and to sing and dance along with fauns and dryads. It then follows an eclogue inspired by classical models. By the end of the poem Meginardus rails against the writers of the ancient world, in particular Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Martianus Capella, and Aristotle (accusing him of teasing the young people with 'periermeniis et cathategoriis'). The only author saved is Cicero, who is considered as a master of style. This final part of the poem is particularly interesting because it gives an insight into the transmission of the Greek and Latin culture in mid twelfth-century Europe. Meginardus provides an overview of many classical authors, including Euclid and Pythagoras, seems to know in depth many topics, including music, and even quotes the Arab astronomers Albumazar and Alcor. The poem also contains a few references to contemporary persons. In particular, the author mentions the emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180) and Jacobus Veneticus (Giacomo Veneto, d. after 1147), a translator from Greek active in Venice, about whom he says that he had died two years before.

The second poem is a pleasant and vivacious hymn, in 196 leonine verses, to the beginning of spring (*inc.*: 'Omnibus omnino quodam fotu genuino'; *expl.*: 'Dives pauperque gradus omnis sexu uterque'). The author (perhaps Meginardus as well) shows a predilection for the different species of birds, which the author enumerates and describes with particular affection.

The greatest part of the poems copied in this manuscript seem to be unrecorded. Only about 300 verses of them could be traced, with some textual variants, in two poems already edited, and published in 1877 by Wilhelm Wattenbach: the *Panegyricus ad abbatem Manegoldum ministrum* by Meginardus (Walther, *Initia*, no. 19601), and the poem *Vere novo*, dedicated to Robert abbot of Ebersberg (Walther, *Initia*, no. 5058), and possibly to be also ascribed to Meginardus (see W. Wattenbach "Bericht über eine Reise durch Steyermark im August 1876", pp. 386–396). These two poems were until now testified in a unique twelfth-century manuscript in the Cistercian monastery of Rein in Styria, founded in 1129 and which was in the thick of a poetic flowering of twelfth-century. This codex of the Stifbibliothek Rein (ms. 84) contains the text of the *Expositio In Libros Exodum et Leviticum* by Rupert von Deutz, and the aforementioned *carmina*, consisting in all of 419 hexameters, were copied in the last three leaves. These poems, known as *Carmina Runensia*, are among the oldest examples of this poetic genre in Austria. In comparison with these edited poems, the manuscript now discovered contains about 800 verses apparently unrecorded, offering therefore a relevant contribution to our knowledge of the medieval poetic production in the German or Austrian areas.

## USER-CONTEXT

Cicero's *De inventione* had been largely used in the formal study of rhetorics in the monasteries, cathedrals, universities and studia of Middle Ages. About 160 manuscripts produced in the eleventh and twelfth centuries are survived (see B. Munk Olsen, "The Production of the Classics in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries", p. 17).

The manuscript here presented was planned ambitiously. The wide format (comparable only to the aforementioned ms. Laud lat. 49 of the Bodleian Library, Oxford), the complicated ruling pattern, the plain regular script, the fine initials, the numerous and carefully constructed diagrams attest in fact that this manuscript belonged to the higher level of execution. Its dimension and the broad margin space balancing written and empty space are not only determined by the glossing, but also intended luxury, indicating that the manuscript was destined for a very distinguished recipient, and not for a school master.

This hypothesis is also suggested by the well-known philologist Birgit Munk Olsen, University Copenhagen – the author of the authoritative work *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles* – who has examined this manuscript in January 2017, confirming its datation, and area of production.

Owing to its importance Munk Olsen has decided to include the mention and a brief description of this until now unrecorded manuscript in his forthcoming census of the *De inventione*.

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