

TEXT AND CONTEXT

*Series Editor: Frank Coulson*



# CLASSROOM COMMENTARIES

Teaching the *Poetria  
nova* across Medieval  
and Renaissance Europe

MARJORIE  
CURRY  
WOODS



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TO THE MEMORY

of my parents

Marjorie Williams Woods

Mark William Woods

and of my Doktormütter

Sister Frances Nims

Virginia Brown



## CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS	XI
PLATES DESCRIBED	XV
PLATES	XVII
PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	XXXIII

### chapter 1

WHY WAS THE <i>POETRIA NOVA</i> SO POPULAR?	I
“The Efficient Cause of This Book”	I
Off with His Head!	2
The Other Audience	5
Shaping the Student	8
Better than the Ancients	12
The Arts of Poetry and Prose	15
“The Usefulness of the Work”	16
The Success of the <i>Poetria nova</i>	21
The <i>Accessus</i> and Frame	26
A Double Structure	35
Purple Patches	41
Proverbial Wisdom	44
The Masterpiece	47

### chapter 2

THE <i>POETRIA NOVA</i> AS SCHOOL TEXT	50
Reading between the Lines	50
Back to Basics	53
Dominican Reiner von Cappel	54
Shaping the Narrative	58
Better than Sex	60

Pyramus and Thisbe in the <i>Poetria nova</i>	63
Shorter Is Better	66
The Female Body in the Classroom	67
Description and Circumlocution	70
Shortest Is Not Best	72
Transference and Transformation	73
The Display of Figures	75
Sermons?	79
Separating the Men from the Boys	85
Conversion: The Origin of Style	87
Student Determination	91

## chapter 3

THE <i>POETRIA NOVA</i> AS EARLY HUMANIST TEXT	94
Our Englishman in Italy	94
Bartholomew of Pisa / Bartholomeus de Sancto Concordio	96
The Subject Is Rhetoric	98
A Preacher and a Teacher	100
The <i>Poetria nova</i> and the Preaching Orders	104
Pace of Ferrara	107
The Subject Is Poetics	112
Pace on Mussato	118
Divide and Elevate	120
In Season	128
Stand and Counterstand	132
Geoffrey and Barzizza	136
Meanwhile, Back in Padua: Guizzardo of Bologna	138
Women in the Margin	141
Bible Stories in Composition Class	144
"It's Muglio"	146
A Teacher of Notaries in Ravenna	148
Franciscellus Mancinus, Benedictine Humanist	152
Comedy and the <i>Commedia</i>	158
Back and Forth	161

## chapter 4

THE <i>POETRIA NOVA</i> AS UNIVERSITY TEXT IN CENTRAL EUROPE	163
Questioning Authority	164
A University Text	166

The <i>Poetria nova</i> as Dictaminal Treatise	169
Repetition, Redundancy, and the Learning Curve	172
The Importance of Being Aristotelian	175
The <i>Poetria nova</i> at Prague	178
Dybinus of Prague	182
<i>Scripta</i> , <i>Dicta</i> , and <i>Reportata</i>	183
<i>Scripta</i> vs. <i>Dicta</i> in Practice	187
The <i>Poetria nova</i> at Vienna, Krakow, and Erfurt	210
Monks at University	219
Two Students at Leipzig	222
Excursus on the English Orbit	227

## chapter 5

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY COMMENTARIES ON THE <i>POETRIA NOVA</i>	234
The English Encyclopedists	234
Athanasius Kircher, Jesuit Polymath	240
Zacharias Lund: Classical Scholar and Poet	245
An End and a Beginning	251

## afterword

	253
Looking Back	253
Geoffrey after Quintilian	255
Erasmus and Geoffrey	258
Looking Ahead	264

## APPENDICES

I. Transcription of List of Contents of the <i>Poetria nova</i> in Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 311	269
II. <i>Scripta</i> vs. <i>Dicta</i> in Practice: Transcriptions	273

MANUSCRIPT LIST OF THE <i>POETRIA NOVA</i> AND COMMENTARIES	289
LIST OF INCIPITS	309
BIBLIOGRAPHY	319
INDEX LOCORUM	353
INDEX OF MANUSCRIPTS CITED	356
GENERAL INDEX	359



## ABBREVIATIONS <sup>1</sup>

<i>add.</i>	added
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BL	British Library
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
cent.	century
<i>corr.</i>	corrected
esp.	especially
ff.	and following
fol(s).	folio(s)
<i>in marg.</i>	in the margin
<i>in ras.</i>	erased
l(l).	line(s)
lit.	literally
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
mm	millimeters
n.d.	no date
n.p.	no publisher
no.	number
<i>om.</i>	omitted
p(p).	page(s)
vol(s).	volume(s)

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1. Full bibliographical information for works not cited here is in the Bibliography; shortened versions of citations are used throughout the notes.



- Auct. Aris.*      *Les Auctoritates Aristotelis. Un florilège médiéval. Étude historique et édition critique.* Ed. Jacqueline Hamesse. Louvain 1974.
- Black, *Humanism*      Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century.* Cambridge, UK, 2001.
- Camargo, “Models”      Martin Camargo. “Beyond the *Libri catoniani*: Models of Latin Prose Style at Oxford University ca. 1400.” *Mediaeval Studies* 56 (1994): 165–87.
- Camargo, “*Tria sunt*”      Martin Camargo. “*Tria sunt*: The Long and the Short of Geoffrey of Vinsauf’s *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi*.” *Speculum* 74 (1999): 935–55.
- CIMAGL      *Cahiers de l’Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin.*
- CTC      *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Medieval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries.* Ed. Edward Cranz, Virginia Brown, and Paul Oskar Kristeller. Washington, DC, 1960–.
- CWE      *Collected Works of Erasmus.* Toronto, 1974–.
- DBI      *Dizionario biografico degli italiani.* 69 vols. Rome, 1960–2007.
- DBL      *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon.* 27 vols. Copenhagen, 1933–34.
- EC      *An Early Commentary on the Poetria nova of Geoffrey of Vinsauf.* Ed. [and trans.] Marjorie Curry Woods. New York, 1985.
- Far.      Edmond Faral. *Les arts poétiques du xii<sup>e</sup> et du xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle. Recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du moyen âge.* Paris, 1924; rpt. Paris, 1962.
- IRHT      Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire des Textes, Paris.
- Iter ital.*      P. O. Kristeller. *Iter italicum: A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and Other Libraries.* 8 vols. London-Leiden, 1963–2003.
- Jaffe, *Declaracio*      Samuel P. Jaffe. *Nicolaus Dybinus’ Declaracio Oracionis de beata Dorothea: Studies and Documents in the History of Late Medieval Rhetoric.* Wiesbaden, 1974.
- Kelly, *Arts*      Douglas Kelly. *The Arts of Poetry and Prose.* Turnhout, 1991.
- MBDS      *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz.* Vol. I. Munich, 1990.
- Munari, *Catalogue*      Franco Munari. *Catalogue of the Mss of Ovid’s Metamorphoses.* London, 1965.
- Munari, *Catalogo*      Franco Munari. *Mathei Vindocinensis opera.* Vol. 1, *Catalogo dei manoscritti.* Rome, 1977.
- Nims      Margaret F. Nims, trans. *Poetria nova of Geoffrey of Vinsauf.* Toronto, 1967.
- PN      *Poetria nova*

- Polak, *Eastern Europe*    Emil J. Polak. *Medieval and Renaissance Letter Treatises and Form Letters; A Census of Manuscripts Found in Eastern Europe and the Former U.S.S.R.* Leiden, 1993.
- Polak, *Western Europe*    Emil J. Polak. *Medieval and Renaissance Letter Treatises and Form Letters; A Census of Manuscripts Found in Part of Western Europe, Japan, and the United States of America; The Works on Letter-Writing from the Eleventh through the Seventeenth Century Found in Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Ireland, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Japan, and the United States of America.* Leiden, 1994.
- Szklenar, *Magister Nicolaus*    Hans Szklenar. *Magister Nicolaus de Dybin. Vorstudien zu einer Edition seiner Schriften. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der literarischen Rhetorik im späteren Mittelalter.* Munich, 1981.
- Walther    Hans Walther. *Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris latinorum. Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Versanfänge mittellateinischer Dichtungen.* Göttingen, 1959.
- Witt, *Footsteps*    Ronald G. Witt. *"In the Footsteps of the Ancients": The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni.* Leiden, 2000.
- Verfasserlexikon*    *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon.* Berlin, 1977–.



## PLATES DESCRIBED

1. Short *accessus* or introduction to the *Poetria nova*, describing its double structure as both a work on rhetoric and a rhetorical treatise. Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, A.IV.10, fol. 93r.<sup>1</sup>
2. First page of a glossed French copy of the *Poetria nova*. Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, 523, fol. 1r.
3. The short *accessus* or introduction to the *Poetria nova* by the Dominican schoolteacher Reiner von Cappel in the upper right-hand corner. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 286 Gud. lat., fol. 1r.
4. Glosses in several hands added to a thirteenth-century copy of the *Poetria nova* owned by the Dominicans at Leicester. Cambridge, Trinity College, R.14.22, fol. 13v.
5. Bartholomew of Pisa's introduction to Geoffrey of Vinsauf's example of digression. Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 311, fol. 23v.
6. First page of the commentary by Pace of Ferrara, copied separately (without the text) in 1395. Seville, Biblioteca Capitulare y Colombina, Col. 5-4-30, fol. 2r (5r).
7. Guizzardo of Bologna on Geoffrey's examples of description. A later reader has identified in the margin Jove's lovers (Alcmena, Callisto, Io, Europa) whose stories are summarized in the commentary. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 3291, fol. 6r.
8. A comparison of the *Poetria nova* with the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*—to the advantage of the medieval text. Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III," Vind. lat. 53, fol. 1r (upper right-hand corner).
9. *Dicta* (dictated) version of the commentary by Dybinus of Prague

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1. The form of the manuscript signature on each plate is that preferred by each library, although a standardized format has been followed in the rest of the volume.

- recorded at the University of Prague on August 10, 1375. Prague, Národní Knihovna České Republiky, XII.B.12, fol. 11r.
10. *Scripta* or written version of the same commentary copied in 1389. Prague, Národní Knihovna České Republiky, VIII.H.22, fol. 271 (bis).
  - 11a–b. Numbers added over words in the *Poetria nova* to indicate prose order as well as copious commentary. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 4959, fols. 102v–103r.
  12. First page of the *Poetria nova* and glosses copied at Leipzig in 1462 in a manuscript owned by Hartmann Schedel. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 237, fol. 151.
  - 13a–b. *Accessus* and glosses on the first lines of the *Poetria nova* copied by Johannes Tegernpeck, future abbot of St. Emmerau, when he was a student at Leipzig in 1465–66. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14529, fols. 3v–4r.
  14. Anonymous *accessus* added at the end of a fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Poetria nova* used at the University of Oxford. London, British Library, Royal 12.E.XI, fol. 52r.
  - 15a–b. Geoffrey of Vinsauf (*Ganfredus*) as Quintilian's good orator. St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 856, pp. 296–297.



## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many years ago at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, when I was first working on manuscripts of the *Poetria nova*, I glanced up and saw open on another desk a beautiful, three-foot-high illuminated parchment codex, with tiers of gorgeously colored narrative. The person working on it I recognized from graduate school. With a sigh I looked down at the school and university manuscripts in front of me: no pictures, written on smelly parchment or rough-cut paper, and full of illegible writing that I was supposed to be able to read. Yet the worn condition and even the poor materials of glossed copies of the *Poetria nova* suggest how widely and avidly the text was used. The manuscripts reproduced in the plates in this volume reflect the much lower status of those for whom the commentaries on the *Poetria nova* were written: teachers and students.

The *Poetria nova* is a two-thousand line poem written at the beginning of the thirteenth century that teaches Latin verse composition according to rhetorical principles. It vividly demonstrates the craft that it describes, and generations of students across Europe learned how to write by studying Geoffrey's virtuoso examples and savoring his aphorisms and sly wit. That he was a gifted poet was recognized immediately, and the assessment of his ability and achievement has been part of the academic tradition of interpreting the *Poetria nova* from the beginning. Yet, although incredibly popular during the late Middle Ages and the early Renaissance, today the *Poetria nova* can fall through scholarly cracks, or at least be pushed to the edges of our disciplines; modern scholars often come across

it when they are pursuing something else. Here I have tried to create a sense of how it appeared to those for whom it was a work of special satisfaction and appreciation. The attention to student capacities and interests on the part of the scribes and commentators indicates a sophisticated pedagogy focused on providing students with an acquired linguistic culture. This culture of *latinitas* was trans-European, and what it lacked in gender participation it made up for in international inclusiveness.

As you can see from the Manuscript List near the end of the volume, more than two hundred and twenty manuscripts or fragments of the *Poetria nova* have survived (and others will probably turn up). This number is five times that of any other medieval *ars poetriae*, or art of poetry and prose. Less than a quarter of these have no glossing whatsoever; more than a quarter contain only sporadic glosses, or at least rubrics and notes that help guide the reader to various parts of the text; and about half that number contain sufficient interpretive material—sometimes in several hands—to suggest what teachers thought was important and how they imparted such information to their students. Short, discrete glosses that stayed close to one section of text at a time were favored by those teaching younger or less prepared students; students at a more intermediate level were taught ways of connecting parts of the text together and making comparisons with other works; and sophisticated, continuous-text commentaries incorporated new interpretive approaches for the most advanced students.

A book about centuries-old teachers' notes on a school text that relatively few modern scholars or teachers have actually read would not normally reach an audience beyond a few specialists, so I have tried to make the material described here as appealing as possible while keeping access to it relatively straightforward. The chapters are broken into small units with many cross-references to make it possible to devise one's own path through them. And, because the *Poetria nova* is itself a witty book, full of allusions and echoes intended to instruct and delight, in the subtitles to the chapters I have tried to create a modern analogue of the premodern experience of studying it. The casual reader browsing the table of contents might be attracted enough by "The Female Body in the Classroom" or "The Importance of Being Aristotelian" to turn to one of these sections first. But for those already interested in medieval rhetoric, poetics, or pedagogy, the chapters are arranged to expose readers to the teaching of the *Poetria nova* in stages that roughly follow a medieval student's pedagogical development.

The first chapter—"Why Was the *Poetria nova* So Popular?"—places Geoffrey's work in a general context, much as a medieval *accessus* or academic introduction introduces the genre to which a text belongs and answers traditional questions about it. This chapter approaches the *Poetria nova* from a variety of perspectives: descriptions of the author and the work, including comparisons

with classical treatises; the rhetorical force of the dedication to Pope Innocent III; the student audience; the contents and self-referential structure of the text; and the pedagogical uses to which it could be put in teaching both rhetoric and poetics.

The second, third, and fourth chapters concentrate on large groups of commentaries; each represents a significant mass of the material remains of the text, and each provides a different kind of insight into the medieval classroom. Chapter 2 provides a horizontal view of lower school commentaries across Europe; chapter 3 looks at several levels of commentaries written in one geographical area; and chapter 4 looks at university-level texts in one particular region. These chapters suggest that the institutional level for which commentaries were intended and the competence in Latin that students had attained were as important in determining the approaches to the text as where or when the commentaries were composed. Most of the evidence for establishing the level of student for which a specific commentary is intended is relational (how it compares or contrasts with other commentaries, especially those for which we have a known pedagogical setting) or contextual (who owned it—if this is known—and what other works are copied with it). Such data are open to interpretation, and I have tried to be as clear as possible about the criteria on which a conclusion about the level of teaching is based.

The second chapter, “The *Poetria nova* as School Text,” looks at the most basic commentaries on the text from across Europe, those that concentrate on very small portions of the text. This chapter moves sequentially through major sections of the *Poetria nova* as the teachers did; it introduces the passages whose interpretations these teachers considered important and that will be examined in the other chapters as well for comparison. It provides at least partial answers to the following questions: on what did medieval teachers of younger or less prepared students focus? What did those teachers think that their students needed help with, or would catch their attention? What might their comments imply about classroom exercises based on the rhetorical techniques that Geoffrey describes and exemplifies? School commentaries engage students in the creative process at a minute level. For those of us who teach pre-modern literature, this chapter demonstrates the kind of analytical techniques learned and compositional training undergone by almost all late medieval and early Renaissance writers, in Latin or the vernacular. As James J. Murphy has remarked, “The most frequently overlooked influences on medieval literature are the fundamental processes by which authors learned how to write (and to speak).”<sup>1</sup>

The next two chapters of *Classroom Commentaries* follow the *Poetria nova*

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1. Murphy, “The Discourse of the Future,” 368.

through time, across space, and up the educational ladder. Chapter 3, “The *Poetria nova* as Early Humanist Text,” examines the commentaries on the *Poetria nova* written by the early humanists and later teachers in Italy who shared their special interest in the work. That a majority of the surviving manuscripts of these commentaries date from the fifteenth century indicates the continuing relevance and longevity of their approaches to the text. These men used the *Poetria nova* as part of their campaign to raise the textual and stylistic analysis of Latin texts to an advanced discipline. One of the contentions of this chapter is that specific characteristics of the *Poetria nova* were well fitted to the approaches to texts that these teachers were developing. The context provided by the other works with which their commentaries on the *Poetria nova* were copied places the poem squarely within a literary as well as a rhetorical tradition. Most of the commentaries discussed in this chapter were aimed at intermediate or advanced students. Their teachers continued the focus on minutiae of the text while expanding the application of rhetorical and aesthetic principles to larger structural units, interpretive issues, and other works in the curriculum.

The fourth chapter, “The *Poetria nova* as University Text in Central Europe,” draws on statutory as well as manuscript evidence to show that the work occupied an important transitional position in the faculties of arts in this region. While ensuring that students gained sufficient training in prose rhetoric, especially the art of letter writing, the commentaries on the *Poetria nova* examined in this chapter also introduced students to the elements of basic logical analysis drawn from the elementary works of Aristotle. This chapter includes a discussion of the English manuscripts of the *Poetria nova* that can be associated with the universities at Oxford and Cambridge. Because students in northern Europe entered universities at an earlier age and sometimes were less advanced in their study of Latin, the teachers whose work is recorded in these manuscripts often worked through the *Poetria nova* word by word while also introducing students to theoretical analytical discourse at the same time.

The structures of these three chapters intentionally mirror the pedagogy that they describe. In each I have quoted from one commentary in more detail than the rest in a such a way as to convey the experience of the textual education of the student. In chapter 2, for example, short extracts from the basic commentary by Reiner von Cappel, which concentrate on the interpretation of specific words and phrases, are interspersed throughout. Chapter 3 compares intermediate-level commentaries by known teachers like Bartholomew of Pisa and Guizzardo of Bologna with the sophisticated commentary by Pace of Ferrara, which was almost always copied as a separate text. Pace’s approach to the *Poetria nova* combines a focus on poetics with a scholastic division into analytic subsets and was very popular. And chapter 4 provides an extensive comparison of the *accessus* and first glosses on the *Poetria nova* in two different versions of



the influential commentary by Dybinus of Prague, one of which was taken down on the spot from dictation.

Chapter 5, “Seventeenth-Century Commentaries on the *Poetria nova*,” examines the work of two contemporary later scholars, one of whom assessed the *Poetria nova* for the current pope and was somewhat critical of it, while the other gathered an almost 400-page compendium of excerpts from the best Greek and Latin writers to illustrate it. Although both were teachers, neither looked at the *Poetria nova* as a pedagogical tool; it had become an historical artifact of medieval literary culture instead. The Afterword suggests some of the reasons why the *Poetria nova* disappeared from the classroom. It examines the evaluations of Geoffrey and the *Poetria nova* by two late-fifteenth-century commentators, one Italian and one central European, written after the rediscovery of important classical rhetorical treatises. The penultimate section of the Afterword considers Erasmus’s early reference to Geoffrey, the relationship of his *De copia* to the *Poetria nova*, and what our knowledge of the commentaries on the *Poetria nova* may reveal about how he was taught as a boy. At the end I suggest how we might look at the *Poetria nova* not just as scholars, but as teachers ourselves.

Unless there is evidence to the contrary, I have assumed that a commentary reflects classroom practice. Techniques and phrases that as late as the twelfth century could suggest that a commentary was written for other purposes have, by the time that most of the commentaries on the *Poetria nova* were composed, been assimilated into approaches clearly intended for schools or universities.<sup>2</sup> Because I have already edited and translated one complete commentary on the *Poetria nova* (with variants of a second version),<sup>3</sup> selections from as wide a variety of commentaries as possible are presented here. I have endeavored to pick representative as well as intriguing examples, and I have sought evidence that both helps us describe medieval and early Renaissance<sup>4</sup> teaching methods in general and suggests patterns that may be potentially applicable to other large bodies of commentary material as well.

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2. Lodi Nauta cautions against “taking glosses as direct and unambiguous reflections of the actual teaching in the class,” in his edition of William of Conches’s commentary on Boethius’s *Consolation of Philosophy*, xxix. For a careful examination of general principles that can help us distinguish between pedagogical and non-pedagogical contexts of glossing practices, see the work of Gernot Wieland, particularly “The Glossed Manuscript.”

3. *An Early Commentary on the Poetria nova of Geoffrey of Vinsauf* (New York, 1985); hereafter *EC*. The version of the commentary for older students is edited and translated in its entirety; differences in the version for younger students are reproduced (untranslated) in the extensive two-part textual apparatus at the back.

4. I have deliberately not used the term “early modern” because of the concentration of early-fifteenth-century texts and the almost complete disappearance of the *Poetria nova* for nearly two centuries afterwards.

## TERMINOLOGY AND LAYOUT

Although some medieval commentators on other texts, most famously William of Conches, made careful distinctions among terms that they used to refer to commentaries or parts thereof, I have not found consistent terminology in the manuscripts that I have studied. When a commentator uses a specific term (e.g., *glossa*, *declaracio*, etc.), I have tried to render it in English as closely as possible, although I have allowed myself some latitude when otherwise I would repeat the same word over and over. The phrase “interlinear gloss” refers to a word or short phrase written above a line of text (as in plates 2, 3, 4, 8, 10, 11a, 12, 13b). “Gloss” and “comment” are used interchangeably to refer to individual notes on a section of text; often these are introduced in the manuscripts with paragraph marks (plates 1, 4, 5). I use the term “commentary” loosely to refer to any connected or coherent sequence of glosses and/or comments; some of these are rather spare (e.g., plate 3), while others are very dense (plates 6 and 11b); most are somewhere in between (plates 2, 8, and 12). In a few important cases a commentary is copied by itself without the text of the *Poetria nova* (plates 6, 7, and 9).

An *accessus* (plural also *accessus*) is a standard academic introduction, often organized as a conventional series of questions and answers. It can be short (plates 1, 3, 8, and 14) or long (plates 6 and 9). A *lemma* (plural *lemmata*) is a word or phrase from the beginning of a section of the text being commented on; it is often underlined or sometimes written in a different script in order to distinguish it from commentary (plates 1, 2, 5, and 7). Commentators also used *lemmata* rather than line numbers in cross references; the first few words would have been enough to generate the rest of the passage, or at least the rest of the sentence, in the students’ heads (as with most modern students’ ability to continue, at least for a phrase or two, “To be or not to be”). Because of the mnemonic advantages of this technique and the effect that it has had on my knowledge of the *Poetria nova* after spending so many years reading commentaries, I have adopted a similar method with the cross-references in this volume and identify them by section title.

The term “incipit” refers to the first words of a text (or commentary), “explicit” to the last words. The latin word *incipit* (“here begins”) is often part of the official title of a work in a given manuscript: “*Titulus talis est Incipit liber magistri Galfidi de Uino Salvo*’ . . .” (“The title is as follows: ‘Here begins the book of *magister* Geoffrey of Vinsauf . . .’” [Cambridge, Trinity College, R.14.22, fol. 2r]). A colophon is a statement added at the end by the scribes; sometimes it includes the word *explicit* (“here ends”): “*Explicit liber Poetrie. Amen.*” (“Here ends the book of the *Poetria*. Amen” [London, British Library, Harley 2586, fol. 45v]).

Quotations are translated into English in the body of the text. The Latin of unpublished commentaries (and works printed before 1800) is provided in the footnotes.<sup>5</sup> Manuscript orthography is retained, while capitalization, punctuation, and emphasis such as bolding are editorial unless otherwise noted.<sup>6</sup> Alterations to the manuscript readings follow traditional usage in editing English for the translations (square brackets [ ] for all alterations and additions) and those in Latin for the transcriptions (pointed brackets < > enclose additions or alterations to manuscript readings, while square brackets [ ] indicate otiose material to be deleted and also rejected manuscript readings). Curved brackets { } identify the sources of quotations. Three asterisks \*\*\* indicate an illegible reading. Emendations have been kept to a minimum, and translations aim for accuracy and clarity rather than elegance. When using Latin terms I have (reluctantly) altered them to classical spelling for greater ease of recognition. The titles of medieval Latin texts have not been classicized. In referring to commentators' names I have translated them into English or kept the Latin, except when they are so well known that such usage would be confusing. Titles of works familiar to an English-speaking audience have been translated (e.g., *The Consolation of Philosophy*, but *De disciplina scolarium*).

*Lemmata* identifying a gloss are printed in block capitals; sometimes these have been expanded in the translation if the shorter form employed by the commentator would not make sense in English or could be misunderstood. Although premodern teachers identified lines of text by *lemmata* alone, the seventeenth-century commentator Zacharias Lund cites verse numbers. All other line numbers are editorial and refer to Edmond Faral's edition and Margaret F. Nims's translation; the latter is also the source for quotations from the text of the *Poetria nova*, sometimes altered without comment to clarify a gloss or problem.

THE TASK of adequately expressing my gratitude to those who helped with this book is almost as daunting as writing it was. But such a debt is also a pleasure and a reflection of the supportive, inclusive nature of the disciplines of the history of rhetoric and related fields. I could not have been more fortunate in my choice of research.

Working with Margaret (Sister Frances) Nims before her untimely death and with her wonderful translation of the *Poetria nova* throughout this project was a delight. Manuscript training first with Leonard Boyle and then more extensively with Virginia Brown provided me with research tools of the highest caliber and sage, practical advice. Virginia continued to be an inspiration, and she passed away while I was writing these acknowledgments. I feel especially

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5. The Latin text of the edited *Early Commentary* normally has not been included.

6. The capitalization and punctuation of works published before 1800 and manuscripts copied after 1600 are retained.

fortunate that I was able to spend time with her in Rome during the year that this study was brought to final completion. John Conley's generosity with his microfilms both at the beginning of my work on the commentaries and near the end provided a different kind of foundation.

In preparing the book manuscript itself—the final step in a long process of working with the commentaries on the *Poetria nova* that began in graduate school—I was fortunate to have a spectrum of readers willing to offer suggestions and corrections as well as encouragement: Linda Ferreira-Buckley suffered through an early, unreadable draft. Samuel Baker, Daniel Birkholz, and I formed a writing group in which all of us finished our manuscripts. Peter Mack gave me a deadline and the courage to pull out of other commitments to meet it. Rita Copeland, Greti Dinkova-Bruun, Mitchell Harris, Peter Jelavich, Manfred Kraus, Alastair Minnis, James Simpson, Vessela Valiavitcharska, Gernot R. Wieland, and an anonymous reader helped to refine and correct the book manuscript, and Laurie Frick gave me an artist's perspective. I owe most, however, to Martin Camargo, who, besides reading the whole manuscript more than once, has unstintingly shared with me his unparalleled knowledge of rhetoric in late medieval England and of dictaminal materials throughout Europe; and to Frank Coulson, who chose this book for his new series and watched over its revisions and production with an attentive and benevolent eye. Any inaccuracies and errors that remain must be laid at my door.

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out medieval school exercises themselves and to discuss that experience and this project with me, and my research assistants Mark Mitchell, Donna Hobbs, Brad Irish, Jennifer Lehman, Jason Leubner, Mary MacCarthy, Ninamarie Ochoa, Sarah Stanford, and Joey Taylor organized my manuscript materials and kept up my spirits and enthusiasm. The librarians and staff at the University of Rochester and The University of Texas at Austin made possible the extensive use of secondary sources that put the manuscripts in context.

I am grateful, too, for institutional support at every stage of the project. The University of Rochester purchased microfilms from the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library and other collections, and the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Philosophical Society, and the National Endowment for the Humanities provided funds for travel. The University of Texas at Austin generously provided three Faculty Research Assignments and a Dean's Fellowship, as well as several Special Research Grants for research materials. Especially fruitful were two senior fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities, residencies at the National Humanities Center and the Centro Studi Ligure in Bogliasco, and a Virginia Brown Fellowship at the Center for Epigraphical and Palaeographical Studies at The Ohio State University. The Paul W. Mellon Rome Prize in Renaissance and Early Modern Studies at the American Academy in Rome during 2007–2008 for my next project allowed me to work out last-minute details on this one as well.

But it is the manuscripts of the *Poetria nova* that generated this book. The staff at the many libraries that provided microfilms or answered questions, and especially those that I was fortunate enough to visit over the years, generously shared with me their collective knowledge and insights in addition to their archives, and while I cannot thank them individually here, I hope that the short descriptions that I have been able to provide in the Manuscript List will help to convey my appreciation. Special mention should be made of those libraries that granted permission to reproduce pages from their codices as illustrations of the range of glosses on the *Poetria nova*.<sup>7</sup> These include, in the order in which their manuscripts are reproduced, the Biblioteca Civica Queriniana in Brescia, Bibliothèque municipale d'Angers, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Trinity College Cambridge, Biblioteca Cansanatense, Biblioteca Capitulare y Colombina, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Biblioteca Nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III," Národní knihovna České republiky, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, British Library, and Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen. Dr. Paolo Vian, Director of the Department of Manuscripts at the Vatican Library; Nuria Casquete de Prado Sagrera, Managing Director of the Institución Colombina in Seville; Gianmaria Porini of the Biblioteca Querini-

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7. The form of the manuscript signature on each plate is that preferred by each library, although a standardized format has been followed in the rest of the volume.

ana; and Tomáš Klimek of the National Library of the Czech Republic were especially helpful. The richness of surviving collections of premodern material, in many of which there are manuscripts that have not been studied since they were first deposited centuries ago, is beyond description and belief. The allure of lost or forgotten manuscripts pales for me in comparison with the unused resources that we already know about. I hope that this book will encourage more scholars to work on them.

The most recent phase of this project has been one of the most pleasant: working with The Ohio State University Press on the production of the volume itself was an enlightening exercise in cooperation. I want to thank general editor Malcom Litchfield, managing editor Eugene O'Connor, and production manager Jennifer Shoffey Forsythe, who made seemingly difficult tasks easy and even enjoyable.

Finally, my siblings, Shauna Colton Woods, Rondi Woods Pike, Pace Woods Wilson, Robert Black Woods, and Mark Williams Woods, their families, and my uncle, F. Pace Woods, have always enjoyed my weird interests and celebrated my accomplishments. To them and to all those who have brought love into my life I am more grateful than I can express.

Marjorie Curry Woods  
The University of Texas at Austin

# I

## why was the *poetria nova* so popular?

### “THE EFFICIENT CAUSE OF THIS BOOK”

[T]he efficient cause of this book was Geoffrey, the notary of King Richard of England.<sup>1</sup>

—Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1084

The author of this book is Master William the Englishman, but some do not know [his] name.<sup>2</sup>

—Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek der Stadt, Amplon. Q.75



Sometime during the late twelfth century, Galfridus (or Galfredus or Gamfredus or Ganfredus or Gualterus) de Vino Salvo, an Englishman who had studied rhetoric at Paris,<sup>3</sup> returned to his homeland, where he began teaching. This Geoffrey of Vinsauf, as his name is translated into English, was also called Galfridus (with all variants thereof) Anglicus: Geoffrey the Englishman. According to a short complaint poem found in one of the most famous of all medieval rhetorical manuscripts, a certain Geoffrey who was probably ours began lecturing at Northampton.<sup>4</sup> Here he fell afoul of another teacher named Robert,

1. “causa efficiens presentis libri fuit Ganfredus notarius regis Rigardi [*sic*] Anglie . . .” (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1084, fol. 232r). The use of the Aristotelian four causes to introduce a text is discussed in “The *Accessus* and Frame” later in this chapter.

2. “Auctor istius libri est magister Willelmus Anglicus, sed quidam ignorant \*\*\* <nomen> [nomine *MS*] (Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek der Stadt, Amplon. Q.75, fol. 83r).

3. “He received much of his rhetorical training in Paris, where he may possibly have encountered Matthew [of Vendôme] and Alan [of Lille]; it is certain that he knew the works of both men” (Nims, “*Translatio*,” 222).

4. It is referred to as the “Causa Magistri Gualfredi” or by its incipit, “Si liceat michi

who tried to take Geoffrey's students and even attacked him physically. Geoffrey's short poem is a presentation of the case to the Archbishop of Canterbury. There is no archival record of such a case, but the dozen or so early English manuscripts of the *Poetria nova* and the English manuscript traditions of two related works support the hypothesis that he taught for many years in England.<sup>5</sup> In the dedication of the *Poetria nova*, Geoffrey states, "England sent me to Rome" (31). No archival evidence supports this statement either, although there is no reason to doubt its veracity,<sup>6</sup> and Geoffrey also was rumored to have taught at the University of Bologna.<sup>7</sup> Other than these few snippets we know nothing about him; some medieval commentators knew much less: at most that he was English, sometimes not even his own name. Whoever wrote the popular *Early Commentary* on the *Poetria nova* simply calls him "the author."<sup>8</sup> Everything that we do know points to a career spent in the schools—both the more sophisticated international university centers on the continent as well as regional schools in his native country. His own background in various pedagogical settings may be one of the reasons that his work was useful to so many kinds of teachers over such a long period of time.

## OFF WITH HIS HEAD!

The word "acephalous" comes from *a* which means "without" and *cepha* which means "head," [like] a monk who has left the cloister without the permission of his abbot.<sup>9</sup>

—from a manuscript that belonged to the monastery of St. Georgensberg

Geoffrey begins his *Poetria nova* with an arresting image: the decapitation of the pope, or at least of his name. He dedicated the work to the current pontiff,

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pauca loqui," in Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 511 (V.8.14), fol. 101r–v. On this manuscript see Faral, "Le manuscrit 511"; Harbert, *A Thirteenth-Century Anthology*; and Rigg, *History of Anglo-Latin Literature*, III. On Geoffrey's teaching career see Richardson, "Schools of Northampton"; Southern, "From Schools to University," 11–12; and Rigg, *History of Anglo-Latin Literature*, 68. On the relationship of this poem to other works by Geoffrey, see Rigg, *History of Anglo-Latin Literature*, 108–109.

5. Geoffrey's early work, the *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi*, has survived in five manuscripts of English origin. The influence of another work that draws on Geoffrey's *Documentum* and has been called the longer version of the *Documentum* (now called the *Tria sunt*) is also confined to England, where it inspired much of the teaching of rhetoric in late medieval Oxford. See Camargo, "*Tria sunt*." These and the other *artes poetriae* are discussed in "The Arts of Poetry and Prose" later in this chapter.

6. An otherwise unidentified clerk "W(alter?)" is listed as one of the envoys of archbishop of Canterbury in Pope Innocent III's calendar of 1214; Cheney and Cheney, *Letters of Pope Innocent III*, 162 (976). There is no other evidence to identify this person with Geoffrey, however. For Walter as a variant of Geoffrey's name, see "The English Encyclopedists" in chapter 5.

7. See "Our Englishman in Italy" in chapter 3.

8. *EC accessus*, passim.

9. "Accephalus dicitur ab 'a' quod est sine et 'cepha' quod est caput, quasi sine capite, idest monachus qui sine licentia abatis exit de clauistro" (London, BL Add. 18153, fol. 4r); cf. Balbus, *Catholicon*, "acephali"; and Eberhard of Béthune, *Grecismus*, 8.86.



Innocent III (1198–1216), whose name, *In-no-cens*, composed of one short syllable between two long ones, does not fit into dactylic hexameter, the traditional metrical form for didactic verse. Geoffrey’s solution to this metrical problem is ingenious; he turns an insurmountable compositional problem with the name of his dedicatee into praise of that dedicatee. Making a strength out of a potential problem is an excellent lesson for students to learn at the beginning of a text on how to write:

Holy Father, wonder of the world, if I say Pope Nocent I shall give you an acephalous name; but if I add the head, your name will be at odds with the metre. That name seeks to resemble you: it will no more be confined by metre than your great virtue by the shackles of measure. There is no standard by which I may measure your virtue; it transcends the measures of men. But divide the name—divide the name thus: set down first “In,” then add “nocent” and it will be in friendly accord with the metre. In the same way your excellence, if it is divided up, is equalled by many, but taken in its wholeness it is equalled by none. . . . (*PN* 1–9)

The playful audaciousness that was one of the attractions of Geoffrey’s work is evident in this very first image: Innocent’s name can be cited only in an acephalated or headless state. That the potential dangers of such a headless condition were recognized is clear from the gloss on “acephalous” quoted at the beginning of this section.

But this version of the name, *Nocens*, is a present participle that means “causing injury.” Thus, there is something not just playful but even subversive in removing the first syllable or head of the word. Another passage addressed to the pope, a plea for clemency for the ruler of England, occurs at the end of the work in a number of manuscripts. Here the verb *nocere* (“to harm, to injure”) appears three times in two lines (2086–2087):

Quando *nocere* potes, noli: satis est *nocuisse*

Posse *nocere*. . . .

(Although you can **inflict injury**, do not wish to; the power to **injure** is already **injury** enough. . . .)

Here again the verb is couched in praise, but it is hard to imagine anyone literate in Latin not reacting with a little gasp to this echo of the pope’s acephalated name in the beginning of the poem.

Nor is this the only such example: the first words of the text are *Papa stupor mundi*, “Holy Father, wonder of the world.” The phrase *stupor mundi* is echoed later in the longest set piece in the *Poetria nova* comprising all the figures of thought (patterns of repetition and variation in meaning or content). While

nominally focusing on the responsibilities of the pope, this section of the *Poetria nova* is, like all of Geoffrey's set pieces, a virtuoso display with surprising twists and turns. Although at first it appears to be a general address about the potential abuse of power by any pope, the phrase that Geoffrey puts into the mouth of the pope in this section, "sole wonder of the sphere" (*stupor unicus orbis* [1315]), echoes the phrase "wonder of the world" (*stupor mundi*) in the first line, suggesting that Innocent himself has the potential to abuse power. This echo is apparently so obvious that many commentators do not bother to point it out. When they do, however, it is more like a reminder than a discovery, as when one notes, "THAT I AM THE SOLE WONDER OF THE SPHERE as in the beginning, 'Holy Father, wonder of the world.'"<sup>10</sup> There is a potentially negative meaning of *stupor*, of course: its original one of "bewilderment," as in the modern English meaning of "stupor." Given that Geoffrey plays with the negative meaning of *nocens* in his Dedication, it is conceivable that he also wants us to think of both connotations of *stupor*, but the double meaning is rarely discussed in glosses.<sup>11</sup> One commentator in a late-fourteenth-century French school manuscript that is described in the next chapter does mention the negative connotation, but dismisses it: "*STUPOR* In one way it means a mental state, but it is not used like that here; in another way it means admiration of something out of the ordinary, and that is how it is used here."<sup>12</sup>

After the introductory lines quoted above, Geoffrey connects Innocent's incomparable name to his incomparable rhetorical talents, his *gratia linguae* (14). Geoffrey's praise of Innocent's rhetoric is more than merely conventional, although it could have been based on reputation rather than personal knowledge. According to an anonymous but knowledgeable contemporary, Innocent was "as fluent in the vernacular as in Latin."<sup>13</sup> An account of the consecration ceremony of Santa Maria in Trastevere, which took place in 1215, the year before Innocent's death, says that "the Lord conferred on him [Innocent] such grace in preaching that not only his friends but also his enemies listened to his preaching gladly."<sup>14</sup> It was said of Innocent's voice that it "was so sonorous that every-

10. "1315 UT SIM STUPOR Unde in principio, 'Papa stupor mundi.'" A note added in one of the manuscripts of the *Early Commentary* (EC 1315 in "Omissions and Variants," p. 400).

11. Matthew Paris used the phrase to refer to Pope Innocent III in 1217 in his *Historia Anglorum seu chronica minor* ("Eodem anno papa Innocentius, qui vere stupor mundi erat"), though he had described Frederick II with the same phrase in an earlier work (*Chronica maior*). Since Matthew was not fond of Innocent, it is quite possible that he is using the phrase ironically. See Egger, "Papst Innocenz III.," 1-4; also Sommerlechner, *Stupor mundi?*, 226. I am grateful to Christoph Egger for fruitful discussions regarding this phrase and for references to Innocent's rhetorical ability.

12. "STUPOR Vno modo dicitur prout est asinacio mentis et sic non sumitur hic; alio modo ut est admiracio de re inconsueta et sic sumitur hic" (Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, 523, fol. 1r; plate 2). For more on this manuscript see "Back to Basics" in chapter 2. Pace of Ferrara's negative interpretation of "stupor" is quoted in "Divide and Elevate" in chapter 3.

13. "sermone tam vulgari quam litterali disertus" (*Liber pontificalis*, quoted in Gress-Wright, ed., "Gesta Innocentii III," p. 1.7-8).

14. "Tantam itaque ei dominus gratiam in predicatione contulit, quod non solum amici sed etiam

one could hear and understand it even though he spoke softly.”<sup>15</sup> While there is surely an element of hyperbole in these statements, there was also enough truth in them not to render Geoffrey’s praise absurd.

## THE OTHER AUDIENCE

. . . this work that I undertake for the benefit of your sons on the *Poetria novella* of Geoffrey, which I lecture on every year so that they may be instructed in the fruits and meters of rhetoric.<sup>16</sup>

—Giovanni Travesi

[T]he subject of comedy is light; to such a subject the sportive period of youth readily devotes itself.<sup>17</sup>

—Geoffrey of Vinsauf

Geoffrey dedicated the *Poetria nova* to Innocent, but he wrote it for students. While the range of verbal attractions of the *Poetria nova* eventually made it useful at all levels, it was probably originally intended for intermediate students, that is, those with some knowledge of Latin who were able to comprehend larger sections of text at a time, rather than just line-by-line analysis. Most early-thirteenth-century English manuscripts of the *Poetria nova* were originally unglossed, and the works with which it is copied in them are Latin verse texts considerably longer and more complex than those in the manuscripts produced for more basic instruction that are discussed in the next chapter.<sup>18</sup> For example, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 406, once owned by Matthew Parker, contains what might be the earliest English manuscript of Seneca’s tragedies, the *Architrenius* of John of Hautville, Bernardus Silvestris’s *Cosmographia*, the Troy poem of Dares Phrygius (thought during the Middle Ages to be an eyewitness account), Alan of Lille’s *Anticlaudianus*, and Walter of Châtillon’s *Alexandreis*.<sup>19</sup> These are all literary texts highly regarded and widely taught during the Middle

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inimici eius predicationem libenter audiebant” (transcription of Vatican City, BAV Vat. lat. 10999, fol. 152a by Christoph Egger). The text has been published in an incomplete and in some places unreliable version in Morettus, *Ritus dandi presbyterium papae*. For more information about the source see Schimmelpennig, “Mitbestimmung,” 455–470.

15. Petrocchi, “L’ultimo destino perugino,” cited in Paravicini-Bagliani (*The Pope’s Body*, 194), who continues, “Moreover, Innocent is described as handsome (*pulcher*), though the author also emphasizes that the pope’s countenance (*aspectus*) was ‘much respected and feared by all.’”

16. “hoc opus . . . quod in uestrorum filiorum utilitatem facio super *Poetria novella* Gualfredi quam annuatim lego ut fructibus et rethorice metricis imbuantur” (Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, Cap. 56–2–27, fol. 2r).

17. *PN* 1912–1914.

18. These are among the manuscripts whose texts of the *Poetria nova* Margaret Nims deemed most important for a revised edition of the text.

19. On Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 406, see James, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, II, 2, 288–91; Ludwig Gompf, *Joseph Iscanus*, 27–29; and Schmidt, *Architrenius*, 94 (B).

Ages for their rhetorical style as well as exciting content. Another Cambridge manuscript dating from the first half of the thirteenth century, Trinity College R.3.29, contains an important collection of school texts: Horace's *Epistles* and *Satires*, the *Satires* of Persius, Alexander de Villa Dei's *Doctrinale*, Ovid's *Remedia amoris* (Cures for Love), and John of Garland's *Equivoca* (Homonyms).<sup>20</sup> Several of the texts have interlinear glosses (including some in the vernacular), and an *accessus* added to the *Poetria nova* is discussed later in this chapter.

Perhaps the most important early English copy of the *Poetria nova* is the Glasgow manuscript that Edmond Faral made famous in the early part of the last century as Hunterian 511, now also known by a second signature of V.8.14.<sup>21</sup> A small volume (168 x 101 mm), it contains all the works now attributed to Geoffrey of Vinsauf, Matthew of Vendôme's *Ars versificatoria* (attributed to Geoffrey in the manuscript), Gervase of Melkley's *Ars versificaria* (which quotes Geoffrey), and forty-nine short poems.<sup>22</sup> Some of these are anthology pieces on themes like the Trojan War also found in other school collections. Others are thought to be student composition exercises on mythological subjects probably drawn from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: three each on Phaethon and on Apollo and the Python; two each on Pyramus and Thisbe (more on this couple in the second chapter), Deucalion and Pyrrha, Lycaon, and Niobe.<sup>23</sup> Those on Niobe appear to be a matched pair, one an exercise in condensation and abbreviation, the other a showpiece using almost all the figures of words in order,<sup>24</sup> techniques described in sections of the *Poetria nova* to which commentators pay special attention. Although the *Poetria nova* is unglossed, there are a few marginal comments on other works in the manuscript, such as a reference to Thisbe in Ovid's *Ars amatoria* (*Tybie, ut in Ovidius de arte amandi*, although it is in the *Metamorphoses* that she and Pyramus appear) in a gloss on Geoffrey's *Summa de coloribus rhetoricis*.<sup>25</sup> Such references to other works are characteristic of intermediate rather than elementary commentaries (levels that will be examined in full in the later chapters).

Another clue to the level of student for which the work was written may lie in an alternate title found in some manuscripts and book inventories, mostly in Italy<sup>26</sup>: *Poetria novella*. *Novella* is a diminutive form of the adjective *nova* ("new"); hence *Poetria novella* means "New Little Poetics." But the masculine

20. On Cambridge, Trinity College, R.3.29, see James, *Western Manuscripts*, 2.104–106; and Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin*, 1.89–91.

21. On this manuscript see above, note 4.

22. One of these short pieces is the autobiographical complaint by a Geoffrey cited in "The Efficient Cause of This Book" earlier in this chapter.

23. Harbert, *Thirteenth-Century Anthology*, 4 and *passim*.

24. On the Niobe poems see Faral, "Le manuscrit 511," 34–35; and Woods, "Teaching of Poetic Composition."

25. Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 511 (V. 8. 14), fol. 36v.

26. E.g., the popular commentary by Pace of Ferrara that is a focus of chapter 3. The title by which the work was usually known, *Poetria nova*, is explained in "Better than the Ancients."

form *novellus* can also mean “intermediate,” as in the first line of Alexander de Villa Dei’s *Doctrinale*: “I prepare to write the *Doctrinale* for the intermediate little academics (*clericulis novellis*).”<sup>27</sup> As one commentator on the *Doctrinale* notes on this passage: “he adds *novellis*, for with that word he designates writing for those at the middle level. . . .”<sup>28</sup> During the later Middle Ages such students would have ranged in age from about eleven to eighteen years, although many entered university at around fourteen.<sup>29</sup>

The *Poetria nova* shares important characteristics with other works that were written for students in what we would call the teenage years.<sup>30</sup> That young men of the age group that we refer to as adolescents were the intended audience for many medieval works is a fact.<sup>31</sup> That adolescence in the modern sense was in any way a medieval concept is less well established, although research in this area is increasing.<sup>32</sup> Texts widely read in medieval schools during the late Middle Ages contain stories, images, and techniques that were thought to have a particular, even transgressive appeal to boys at this liminal stage of life.<sup>33</sup> Perspicacious writers like Geoffrey took advantage of what were considered to be student interests and incorporated these in their teaching, while earlier works that were chosen for basic readers may have been picked for content as well as increasing length and hence difficulty.<sup>34</sup> Works from outside the Latin curriculum also show an attempt to appeal to adolescent males by using similar techniques. Specific verbal patterns and themes in some twelfth- and thirteenth-century Hebrew lament poems, for example, suggest that they were written for “a core of adolescent and young adult men” to help them resist the allure of Christian conversion tactics directed against those of this gender and age group. These

27. Suggestion of Robert Black, e-mail correspondence, May 2001.

28. “cum dicit novellis. Nam isto vocabulo mediocribus scribere designat” (Thurot [1868], 120, n.3, on v. 1; Alexander de Villa Dei, *Doctrinale*, 7).

29. Moran, *Growth of English Schooling*, 65. Some manuscripts and commentaries intended for younger students are discussed in chapter 2.

30. Cf. Kelly, *Arts*, 91–92.

31. The Latin adjective “adolescens” could refer to anyone who had not yet reached full manhood. Augustine used it to refer to himself at twenty-nine, just before his conversion, and see the discussion of different ages associated with the term in Chojnacki’s chapter on “Measuring Adulthood: Adolescence and Gender,” *Women and Men in Renaissance Venice*, 185–205. Kline, drawing on Seymour’s edition of Trevisa’s translation of *On the Properties of Things*, notes that “‘children’ has been taken to mean the age cohorts from infancy (*infancia*) to childhood (*puericia*) through adolescence (*adholencia*) and does not exclude a mixed child-adult audience” (*Medieval Literature for Children*, 5). See also the collection of essays edited by Classen, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, especially the resources outlined in Carlsmith, “The Child in the Classroom.”

32. E.g., Jordan, “Adolescence and Conversion in the Middle Ages”; Eisenbichler, ed., *The Premodern Teenager*; Einbinder, *Beautiful Death*; also the works cited in the previous note.

33. As Einbinder notes with regard to the Hebrew martyrdom poems, “The crude vulgarity of some of the polemical segments complements the sophisticated reinforcement of scholarly authority in ways that might appeal especially to privileged and intelligent young men” (*Beautiful Death*, 181); also see Wheatley, *Mastering Aesop*, 91–96. On the tastes of modern male pre-adolescents, see Blos, *Adolescent Passage*, 120. For techniques considered effective with adolescent women during the Middle Ages, see Millett and Wogan-Browne, *Medieval English Prose*, xvii–xviii.

34. Woods, “Teaching of Poetic Composition”; and Woods and Copeland, “Classroom and Confession.”

poems emphasize “the bold and heroic ideal” and “the conjunction of refined and vulgar elements,”<sup>35</sup> characteristics also found in the *Poetria nova* and other Latin school texts. The *Ilias latina*, which was sometimes included in the *Liber Catonianus* (a Latin school reader), was a verse summary of Homer’s narrative that emphasizes a simplistic version of the heroic ideal, with “the battle fray [as] the most significant action in the poem; in the body of the poem Baebius presents us with an almost interminable series of clashes between individual Greek and Trojan heroes.”<sup>36</sup>

Fraught but funny wordplay of the kind that Geoffrey uses in his opening address to Innocent is also typical.<sup>37</sup> Images of inverted power, such as the aforementioned pontiff without a head, church luminaries silenced, and the lecture to the pope on potential abuses of papal power were intended to amuse students as well as adults. In addition, the *Poetria nova* contains examples of God chastised (412), a boy made master (438–443), and an anecdote of three poor friends, perhaps students (the work when copied separately goes by the title of *De tribus sociis*), who get the best of an irascible if righteously indignant shopkeeper (1888–1909).<sup>38</sup> When Geoffrey provides more than one example of a rhetorical technique, his practice is to end with a light or funny example, such as when the lament of the cross is followed by a lament of a worn-out tablecloth. Putting the comic example in the stronger position is another indication of his intended audience, since “comedy is an immature form, attractive to green years” (1911–1912). Geoffrey’s association of humor with youth is one of the reasons that there are so many humorous examples in his teaching.<sup>39</sup>

## SHAPING THE STUDENT

Transfer the iron of the material, refined in the fire of the understanding, to the anvil of the study.<sup>40</sup>

—Geoffrey of Vinsauf

Medieval schools, whether monastic or urban, sought to inculcate students with habits of mind and thought that formed new bonds among them while separating them from the environments in which they had grown up. Bourdieu’s *Language and Symbolic Power* has offered medievalists several terms with which

35. Einbinder, “The Voice from the Fire”; also *Beautiful Death*, 181, and note 33 above.

36. McKinley, “The Medieval Homer,” 5.

37. Wheatley notes the ludic aspects of medieval school texts (*Mastering Aesop*, 91).

38. Several of these examples are discussed in the next chapter.

39. On medieval theory of satire and comedy, including Geoffrey’s “iocosa materia,” see Gillespie, “From the Twelfth Century,” 223–233. For more on this subject see “Comedy and the *Commedia*” in chapter 3.

40. *PN* 723–24.

to analyze aspects of this process,<sup>41</sup> and Freud notes that “Society must defend itself against the danger that the interests which it needs for the establishment of higher social units may be swallowed up by the family; and for this reason, in the case of every individual, *but in particular of adolescent boys*, it seeks by all possible means to loosen their connection with their family—a connection which, in their childhood, is the only important one” (emphasis mine).<sup>42</sup> Many of the rhetorical examples in the *Poetria nova* may have helped to foster a sense of solidarity among boys and young men while introducing them to the hierarchies of the church and academic life. Satirical sketches such as the “boy-made-master” mentioned earlier could serve to reinforce traditional roles, especially since Geoffrey’s description exemplifies one who is ridiculous. He introduces it by saying, “A lively theme is under discussion: ‘Boys are raised up and made masters.’ Let their ‘masterly status’ evoke laughter” (437–438). Then comes the example: “Now he sits, loftily graced with the title of master, who up to now was fit for the rod. For laymen, the cap on his head guarantees him authentic; as do the cut of his robes, the gold on his fingers, his seat at the head, and the crowd in his study” (439–443). Geoffrey assumes that this exercise will be delivered orally to an audience (“have recourse to gestures, but let these be consistently fitting” [435]). Other evidence that we have of how students wrote rhetorical exercises in medieval classrooms, while sketchy, does suggest that such work was presented in a group context and at times composed extemporaneously.<sup>43</sup> Sometimes a student had the last word, however. The formulaic, positive ownership statement in a fifteenth-century Italian copy of the *Poetria nova* in the university library in Turin is implicitly contradicted by an amateurish sketch beneath it. The former states, in words probably dictated if not written by the teacher, “This book belongs to me, Johanotus de Georgis; I go to the school of *dominus* Euxobus of Vercelli, who is a good grammar teacher.”<sup>44</sup>

41. E.g., Wheatley on Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus* (*Mastering Aesop*, 52–54) and Copeland on his “rites of institution” (*Pedagogy*, 84–85).

42. “Transformations of Puberty,” 225. See also Blos, *The Adolescent Passage*, 118. I am grateful to Debra Roth for these references. Cf. Münster-Swendsen, “Model of Scholastic Mastery . . . c. 970,” 317.

43. A medieval source on group exercises is John of Salisbury’s oft-quoted description of Bernard of Chartres in the *Metalogicon* (1.24). While some composition theorists have decried the competitive nature of such practice (an assessment with which St. Augustine would have agreed), others have suggested possible positive results in the modern classroom; see “Looking Ahead” in the Afterword. Wenger notes differences between shared and individual learning throughout *Communities of Practice*. On extemporaneous composition in the medieval classroom see “Conversion: The Origin of Style” in chapter 2.

44. “Iste liber est mei Iohanoti de Georgis qui vado ad scholas domini Euxobi de Uercellis, qui est bonus magister in sua gram<ma>tica” (Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, F.IV.11, fol. 41v). This is a composite manuscript in which the *Poetria nova* is bound with works on speculative grammar including Martin of Dacia’s *De modis significandi* and legal *consilia* by Bartolus de Saxoferrato and Baldus de Perusio, both entitled *De duobus fratribus simul habitantibus*; see Mazzatinti and Sorbelli, *Inventari dei manoscritti* 28.92; *Iter ital.* 2.180; Paradisi, “La diffusione europea,” 1.438; and Ascheri, “*Consilia* collection,” 195. Compare the wording of ownership notes in New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book Room and Manuscript Library, 597: “uado ad scholas uenerabilium magistrorum et <sapientium> [sapientiam *MS*] magistri Gaspari ac Simonini praeceptoris gramatice loyce [= logice] rethorice” (fol. 46v; information supplied by Robert G. Babcock and Eric Knibbs, private communication); in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E 129 sup.: “Iste liber

Drawn below, however, is a sketch of someone wearing what looks like the soft academic cap of those with a university degree. His hand is raised and he is pointing his finger in the air. The figure could be a pontificating professor—or an unprepared one, as in Geoffrey’s rhetorical example. Whoever he is meant to be, he is being hit, possibly even stabbed, from behind.<sup>45</sup>

Educational theorist Etienne Wenger contends that, for a pedagogy to be successful, “Information . . . must capture our identities and expand them. . . . A learning community must become self-conscious about appropriating the styles and discourses of the constellations in which it expects to have effects.”<sup>46</sup> Medieval pedagogy drew on the rhetorical tradition for some of its most basic concepts. One of these was the *captatio benevolentiae*, or capturing of the good will of the audience, outlined in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (1.9). There the author explains in some detail the methods of making the hearer “receptive (*docilem*), well-disposed (*benivolum*), and attentive (*adtentum*).”<sup>47</sup>

The pseudo-Boethian *De disciplina scolarium* (On the Learning/DisCIPLining of Students), written at the University of Paris during the thirteenth century, uses this terminology to describe how a student should make himself receptive to the teacher’s influence: “through *attencio* (the student must listen), *benevolentia* (the student must show good will towards his master), and *docilitas* (the student must let himself be formed without showing resistance to the master’s teaching or person).”<sup>48</sup> Students were familiar with these terms, either from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* itself or from the commentaries on the *Poetria nova* where they are used to describe how Geoffrey approaches Pope Innocent III in his dedication, e.g., “Note here the first part of the discourse, namely the Introduction, where the good will (*benevolentia*) and receptiveness (*docilitas*) and attention (*attentio*) of the listener are secured. . . .”<sup>49</sup>

Image clusters in the text of the *Poetria nova* that describe the molding of

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est Christofori de Rufino pergentis ad scholas magistri Bartolomei de Panciis” (fol. 47v, information supplied by Marco Petoletti); and in colophons quoted in Gehl, *Moral Art*, 49 and 278 (here another manuscript of the *Poetria nova*, Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 874, fol. 39v).

45. The two parts of the drawing may have been made by different students. See also the beginning of a colophon quoted in Gehl, *Moral Art*, 48: “Finito libro frangamus ossa magistro” (“This book’s done, now let’s break teacher’s bones!”).

46. Wenger, *Communities of Practice*, 273 and 274. A more nefarious interpretation based on Foucault’s elaboration of power relationships could be made here, beginning with the resonance between the titles of *Discipline and Punish* and *De disciplina scolarium*.

47. *Ad Her.* 1.7; the advice on how to accomplish this shaping of the audience occupies several paragraphs (1.7–8). For the medieval and early Renaissance tradition of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, see Ward, *Ciceronian Rhetoric*; also Camargo, “Latin Composition Textbooks.”

48. Münster-Swendsen, “Making of the Masters,” 94–95, paraphrasing *De disciplina scolarium* 2.1: “Debet autem discipuli subieccio in tribus consistere: in attencione, benivolencia et docilitate. Docilis ingenio, attentus exercisio, benivulus animo. Attentus, inquam, ad audiendum, docilis ad intelligendum, benivulus ad retinendum.” The text has been edited by Olga Weijers, and see also Lewry, “Grammar, Logic and Rhetoric,” 408–409.

49. *EC* 1. Compare the description of Guarino’s approach in his commentaries (Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism*, 22–23).



rhetorical discourse have also been interpreted as analogous to the molding of students. Mia Münster-Swendsen draws on the *Poetria nova* in her study of power relationships in medieval universities; as she suggests, “The majority of [the metaphors] derive from the world of artisans—of craftsmen, thus stressing that education meant formation—shaping—fashioning.”<sup>50</sup> The violence of some of these metaphors does give one pause; here is how Geoffrey evokes the full effort of the mind needed to condense material effectively: “Let the hammer of the intellect make it pliable; let repeated blows of that hammer fashion from the unformed mass the most suitable words” (725–727). From such a perspective the student’s struggle to subdue words becomes the passing on of physical abuse.<sup>51</sup> But Geoffrey’s examples are for the most part positive and generative: they emphasize the endless possibilities of rhetorical composition and how the student can control at least that aspect of his world. It is also possible to see the association of shaping students with shaping matter (by the students) as a holistic version of the pedagogy of creation, with rhetoric as the foundation.<sup>52</sup>

Commentators vary the degree of technical explanation that they provide according to the level of their students. For example, in the version of the *Early Commentary* on the *Poetria nova* intended for younger students, the gloss on the necessity of dividing Innocent’s name is very short (“through a figure, namely tmesis”) and omits any mention of the metrical problem. In the version intended for older students, more explanation is added but still without discussion of the metrical problem: “He says that this name can be put into the line [of verse] through a figure, namely tmesis (through which a word is completed after the insertion of a word or phrase) in between the parts.”<sup>53</sup> Teachers of more advanced students go into more technical detail. Benedict of Aquileia, who taught at a notarial school in Ravenna, describes a point of contention among various commentators about this same passage:

Note that some criticize the author here, saying that since *Innocens* is a proper name, and a proper name can be put into the meter at the author’s discretion, they want to put *Innocens* in the verse as it stands. To this criticism others say that it is only the first syllable of a proper name that can be put into the meter at the author’s discretion.<sup>54</sup>

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50. Münster-Swendsen, “The Model of Scholastic Mastery, c. 1000,” unpublished paper quoted with the author’s permission. (The published version does not contain this reference to the *Poetria nova*.) See also Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 67–108.

51. On physical abuse in medieval schools (a practice that did not end, of course, with the end of the Middle Ages), see Enders, “Rhetoric, Coercion, and the Memory of Violence”; and Münster-Swendsen, “Making of the Masters,” 54–56, and “Model of Scholastic Mastery . . . c. 970,” 313–316.

52. Compare the description of the (re)creating of the physical world in rhetorical terms at the beginning of Bernardus Silvestris’s *Cosmographia* (Wetherbee, 68; Dronke, 1.60–64), a work discussed at the end of this chapter in “The Masterpiece.”

53. *EC* 6.1 (translation revised) and p. 177 in “Omissions and Variants.”

54. “Nota quod quidam reprehendunt hic autorem dicentes quod cum Innocentius sit proprium nomen

I have not (so far) discovered evidence of this controversy in other commentaries, and the dispute may have been invented by Benedict in order to explain this aspect of metrics to his students.

Such a gradation makes sense.<sup>55</sup> It is important to remember that a commentary is affected by both academic context and the background of the students. For example, the degree of abstraction in marginal commentary is determined more by whether the students are studying the *Poetria nova* in a university setting than by how much Latin they already know. But the density of interlinear glossing may be affected by both the degree of Latin literacy that the students have attained (especially if found in a student-owned manuscript) and what a teacher might feel would be helpful in order to construe at sight in class. That some commentators were so attuned to the needs of students may help to explain their preference for the *Poetria nova* over classical texts that covered some of the same material.

## BETTER THAN THE ANCIENTS

The reason for undertaking the project . . . was so that he might expound perfectly the art of poetry, which Horace had taught in too condensed and confused a way.<sup>56</sup>

—Pace of Ferrara

When he saw that Tully's *Rhetoric* [*Rhetorica ad Herennium*] was somewhat prolix because of the overabundance of examples, succinctly gathering together what seemed most useful for pupils, he composed this abbreviated little work.<sup>57</sup>

—Franciscellus Mancinus

Many medieval and early Renaissance teachers recognized the unparalleled efficacy of the *Poetria nova* in the classroom. Horace's *Art of Poetry* was too short,

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et proprium nomen ponatur ad libitum petunt ponere Innocentius in metro. Ad quod dixerunt aliqui quod sola prima sillaba proprii nominis erat ad libitum ordinanda." (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III," V.D.6, fol. 2r) Benedict's commentary is described in chapter 3.

55. Compare Grendler, *Schooling*, 244: "By the time of the Renaissance, the paraphrase-commentary served the student from his first serious reading of the text through university studies. The teacher might offer a simple paraphrase to 12 year olds, to be followed by more comprehensive treatment in the secondary school. The university professor commented at length on the basis of his own research, while the degree candidate wrote down as complete a set of notes as possible to serve his future needs." The kinds of commentaries on the *Poetria nova* described in the following chapters suggest that it was taught at various levels.

56. "Causa suscepti operis fuit . . . ut perfecte artem poeticam posset determinare quam Oratius nimis confuse et compendiose docuerat" (Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, Col. 5-4-30, fol. 2va [5va], plate 6). See "Pace of Ferrara" in chapter 3.

57. "Quia cum uidisset *Rethoricam* Tullii prolixam <ali> quantum propter copiam exemplorum confusam, <colligens> compendiose que vtiora sibi ad vtilitatem scolarium uisa sint, hoc opusculum sub breuitate composuit" (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III," Vind. lat. 53, fol. 1r [plate 8]). See "Franciscellus Mancinus, Benedictine Humanist," in chapter 3.

the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* was too long, but the *Poetria nova* was just right. The clarity of the *Poetria nova* praised by the early humanist commentators quoted above is in contrast to both the later Renaissance emphasis on elegance and classical style as well as the modern equation of clarity with simplicity. The *Poetria nova* is constructed according to medieval pedagogical values: it is clear in that it is definite (what is being taught is overstated for pedagogical effect) and self-explanatory (the author does what he says while he is saying it). Yet these values are not medieval only: while to modern scholars the *Poetria nova* can appear indirect, difficult, and needlessly complex, modern students often find the work useful not just for understanding how writers in earlier periods composed but also for honing the rhetorical focus of their own writing.

When an innovative book like the *Poetria nova* breaks into syllabuses (as it clearly did), it may be because it presents in a more efficient fashion trends that are developing in the interpretation and use in the classroom of earlier texts that have long been available. The combination of rhetorical and poetic doctrine in the *Poetria nova*, for example, was anticipated in the commentaries on Horace.<sup>58</sup> The success of the *Poetria nova* came in no small part from the author's seamless dovetailing of compositional techniques with rhetorical strategies in a work that exemplified as well as taught them. As a Dominican teacher of the late fourteenth century put it, "The subject of this book is a method of persuading taken from what is common to the art of poetry and rhetoric."<sup>59</sup> The commentators saw Geoffrey's *Poetria* as a new version of Horace's *Ars poetica*, called the *Poetria* during the Middle Ages. Geoffrey took from Horace not only the verse form but also much of the same doctrine and advice, such as a consideration of audience and the methods of describing character and action according to conventional modes. The *Poetria nova* amplifies this doctrine in an exaggerated way meant to make it clear to those students for whom the sophistication and allusiveness of Horace's work could present problems, as Pace of Ferrara notes above. For medieval students still struggling with basic compositional principles, the old *Poetria* was not so practical as the new one, even though (or perhaps because) Horace's is a more pleasurable text for adults, especially mod-

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58. Gillespie, drawing on Friis-Jensen, notes, "The blending of rhetoric and poetic, the reapplication of Cicero's oratorical dicta to poetry and the creative synthesis of different strands of theoretical discourse . . . was already there in embryo in the earlier tradition of commentary on and imitation of Horace's *Ars poetica*" ("From the Twelfth Century," 177).

59. "Subiectum huius libri est modus persuadendi ex hiis que communia sunt arti poetice et rethorice" (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 286 Gud. lat., fol. 1r). See chapter 2 for more on this commentary by Reiner von Cappel. Murphy notes the "high correlation between the ideas of Horace and the rhetorical precepts of Cicero" (*Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts*, xi), and Fredborg reminds us that the "conflation of rhetorical and Horatian doctrine was to have far-reaching consequences for literary studies. . . . It meant that purely inventional matters, topics for arguments used in a wider context as the basis for character delineation and plot, became tied up with categories of elocutional and stylistic concerns . . ." ("Ciceronian Rhetoric and the Schools," 32).

ern scholars, to read.<sup>60</sup> Yet Geoffrey did not replace but rather complemented Horace. These two *Poetriae* are found together in more than ten percent of the manuscripts of the *Poetria nova*, where they reinforced each other and helped to maintain an emphasis on poetics as well as rhetoric in the medieval teaching of composition.<sup>61</sup>

The *nova* of *Poetria nova* (a title that may have been created by the commentators<sup>62</sup>) was interpreted as an echo of the medieval name for the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. This work was thought to be by Cicero and called the *Rhetorica nova* to distinguish it from his earlier work, the *De inventione*, also known as the *Rhetorica vetus*. Geoffrey's tropes and figures and other general rhetorical principles are drawn from the fourth book of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, but Geoffrey's work is much more condensed, and he gives examples of the figures in set pieces of connected discourse, rather than separately. This condensing was considered a pedagogical improvement, as the quotation from Franciscellus Mancinus above makes clear.<sup>63</sup> The passages on the figures are often among the most densely glossed parts of the *Poetria nova*, and there is evidence that students were assigned exercises based on one group of them.<sup>64</sup> Sometimes teachers choose a more innovative book but focus on the parts that are most traditional.<sup>65</sup> They like to show consistencies and reinforcements between set texts. There is evidence that the prose *Rhetorica ad Herennium* was used to teach verse composition,<sup>66</sup> just as the verse *Poetria nova* was used to teach the composition of prose. Yet these two works are copied together in only three extant manuscripts.<sup>67</sup> They did not become a pedagogical matched set like the *Poetriae*.

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60. According to Friis-Jensen, “. . . Horace was too difficult to read without the help of introductory texts and glosses, and, in the *Art of Poetry*, insufficiently explicit in terms of prescriptive doctrine” (“Horace and the Early Writers,” 362).

61. Aristotle's *Poetics* was also called the *Poetria*, so some commentators, such as Pace of Ferrara, refer to three different works entitled *Poetria*. Neither Aristotle's *Poetics* nor his *Rhetoric* appears to have been taught with the *Poetria nova*, but the *Rhetoric* is sometimes quoted in the commentaries.

62. According to Martin Camargo, “During the thirteenth century, the most popular title for Geoffrey's work appears to have been the ‘Book about skill in speaking’ (‘Liber de artificio loquendi’). Variants of this title appear in more of the earliest manuscripts than either ‘*Poetria nova*’ or ‘*Poetria novella*.’” (“What's in a Name?,” unpublished paper). The earlier title is used by several commentators quoted later in this chapter, while most of those in the following chapters use “*Poetria nova*” or “*Poetria novella*.” In the *Early Commentary* it is referred to throughout simply as “this book” (“hic liber,” “huius libri,” etc.).

63. Commentators on the *Poetria nova* and on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* at times cite the examples or definitions of the figures from the other work; see, for example, *EC* 1098 ff. and Camargo, “Latin Composition Textbooks,” 268 and 276–277.

64. See “The Display of Figures” in the next chapter.

65. Camargo suggests that the title *Poetria nova* “prevailed simply because it aligned Geoffrey's treatise with a major curricular text already being used to teach some of the same subjects, the *Ars poetica* . . .” (“What's in a Name?”).

66. Camargo, “Latin Composition Textbooks,” 276.

67. Assisi, Biblioteca Storico-Francescana della Chiesa Nuova, 309; Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, 635; and Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, 4° 814.

## THE ARTS OF POETRY AND PROSE

Its purpose is to teach the reader what he should know of speaking rhetorically,  
whether in verse or in prose. . . .<sup>68</sup>

—*Early Commentary on the Poetria nova*

The subject of this section is held to be poetry or the art of letter-writing. . . .<sup>69</sup>

—introduction to excerpts from the *Poetria nova*, Oxford, Bodleian Library,  
Rawlinson C 552

One reason that both “Tully” and Horace were appropriate classical models for Geoffrey was that the so-called *artes poetriae* (arts of poetry) were used to teach prose as well as verse composition. A number of commentaries, including the one cited earlier praising Geoffrey’s improvement of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, apply Geoffrey’s techniques explicitly to the composition of letters. Later in the same manuscript, for example, Franciscellus Mancinus introduces Geoffrey’s treatment of digression (527 ff.) by saying, “In this section he presents another method of amplifying a letter. . . .”<sup>70</sup> Thus, Douglas Kelly argues cogently that the medieval Latin term *ars poetriae* should more correctly if less literally be translated as “art of poetry and prose.”<sup>71</sup>

This genre arose in France in the last third of the twelfth century, during or just after the great flowering of medieval Latin verse epic and during the same period that Geoffrey of Vinsauf himself was a student at Paris. The first of the medieval *artes poetriae* was Matthew of Vendôme’s *Ars versificatoria*, which appeared before 1175, followed in the last quarter of the twelfth century by an early work of Geoffrey, the *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi*, a prose treatise with verse examples. The *Poetria nova* was written ca. 1202 (with some parts revised 1208–1213); Gervase of Melkley’s *Ars versificaria* sometime between 1208–1216; John of Garland’s *Parisiana poetria* ca. 1220, revised 1231–1235; and Eberhard the German’s *Laborintus* (The Labyrinth) sometime between 1213 and 1280.<sup>72</sup> The anonymous *Tria sunt*, as it is called after the incipit or first words of the text, is based on Geoffrey’s *Documentum* and was at one time thought to be Geoffrey’s own later revision, sometimes referred to as the longer version of the *Documentum*. According to Martin Camargo, however, the *Tria sunt* was written much later: between 1256 and 1400.<sup>73</sup> The only example of the genre to incorporate Aristotelian principles,

68. *EC accessus*, 56.

69. “Huius materia penditur esse poesis, aut ars dictandi . . .” (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 552, fol. 14v).

70. “In parte ista componit alium modum ampliandi materiam epistole . . .” (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale “Vittorio Emanuele III,” Vind. lat. 53, fol. 10r).

71. Kelly, *Arts*, 39–40.

72. Several of these works have gone by various names (Camargo, “What’s in a Name?”).

73. Camargo, “*Tria sunt*” and “Latin Composition Textbooks.”

the *Poetria* of Matthias of Linköping, who was confessor to St. Bridget of Sweden, dates from the fourteenth century.<sup>74</sup>

The various arts of poetry and prose cover different aspects of composition, presumably because they were originally intended for students at different levels, as Gervase of Melkley points out in the introduction to his treatise. According to the taxonomy outlined by Kelly, based on Gervase's analysis, the most elementary kind of composition treatise, such as Gervase's *Ars versificaria*, "emphasizes the rudiments the masters deemed necessary for those as yet untrained in verse and prose composition, usually the tropes and figures and versification." A mid-level or grammatical treatise, like Matthew's *Ars versificatoria* or Eberhard's *Laborintus*, covers "sentence composition and topical elaboration in short verse and prose exercises that emphasize topical description, ornamentation, choice of words and versification." The third level, or rhetorical treatise, such as the *Documentum*, *Poetria nova*, *Parisiana poetria*, or *Tria sunt*, "includes instruction on all phases of verse and prose composition, notably invention and/or disposition as well as memory and delivery along with material style, amplification/abbreviation, and ornamentation."<sup>75</sup> Despite such distinctions, however, there are significant areas of overlapping content among the various examples of the genre. All of them discuss the tropes and figures, provide examples that "constitute a small *florilegium* of ornamental devices and narrative techniques,"<sup>76</sup> and emphasize very short units of composition suitable for classroom use and imitation.<sup>77</sup> And, as we shall see in the following chapters, commentators could take a text like the *Poetria nova* and teach it at a variety of levels.

## "THE USEFULNESS OF THE WORK"

A threefold usefulness can be attributed [to the *Poetria nova*]: first is complete knowledge of the poetic art in general; second, crafted eloquence; third and last, the delight that comes as much from the ornamentation and harmony of the words as from the beauty of the content.<sup>78</sup>

—Pace of Ferrara

74. Matthias of Linköping, *Poetria*, 9–10.

75. Kelly, *Arts*, 63. Kelly also describes a fourth category of "masterpiece," discussed at the end of this chapter.

76. Kelly, *Arts*, 41.

77. Franz Quadlbauer's "Tendenz zur kleinen Einheit" (*Die antike Theorie*, 71), discussed in Kelly, *Arts*, 39. For more information about what kinds of material are covered in different rhetorical treatises, see Camargo, "Latin Composition Textbooks." On the short units of composition, see "Separating the Men from the Boys" in chapter 2.

78. "Vtilitas uero assignari potest triplex: prima plena cognitio artis poetice in communi, secunda artificiosa elloquentia, tertia et ultima est <delectatio> [declaratio *MS*] que habetur tam ex uerborum ornatu et simphonia quam ex sententiarum pulcritudine" (Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, Col. 5–4–30, fol. 2vb [svb]).

For a sense of the scope and comprehensiveness of the *Poetria nova* as a classroom text we turn to a fifteenth-century list of its contents as they could be used by a teacher (or writer). It is appended to the end of a copy of the *Poetria nova* in which sections of the commentary by Bartholomew of Pisa (fl. 1300) introduce and alternate with sections of text.<sup>79</sup> The list shows us how the *Poetria nova* was divided into lessons, and it also provides a guide to this manuscript of the text, since each item in the list is followed by a folio number where we find that section of text (see Appendix I). We can see how Bartholomew or someone using his commentary organized his lectures, and this guide would also have made it easy to consult a specific part of the *Poetria nova* during the composition process.<sup>80</sup> The copy of the *Poetria nova* in the manuscript is preceded by an *accessus*, or academic introduction, and then a short passage of the text is glossed phrase by phrase *before* the lines themselves are quoted, a pattern that is repeated throughout the text. Each item in the list summarizes a section of this commentary-cum-text and replicates a rubric written in between the commentary and the lines it has introduced. For example, the first two, “That rhetoric makes a man honorable” and “Praise of Pope Innocent in Five Ways,” are the themes of Bartholomew’s introduction to the whole text and his analysis of Geoffrey’s first lines respectively.<sup>81</sup>

The items in bold below are those that the scribe has marked with two vertical slashes in the margin, probably so that they could be located quickly. Some of the marked items, like personification and apostrophe, might have been particularly useful in the composition of sermons (Bartholomew and presumably also his scribe were Dominicans). Geoffrey’s treatment of personification includes a mini-sermon spoken in the persona of the cross calling for a new crusade,<sup>82</sup> and the objects of Geoffrey’s examples of apostrophe are identified in terms of what we might call personality types: “those overly happy in good times,” “the presumptuous,” “the fearful,” “those who are confident in their elevated position,” etc. While some of these passages were mentioned earlier in terms of their potential appeal in the classroom, the study of generic types was also useful preparation for the composition of sermons. Each of the ways of beginning a text, the methods of amplification, the various tropes, and the kinds of determination, is listed separately. In contrast, the methods of abbreviation, the figures of words and of thought, and the kinds of conversion are not itemized, a distinction that

79. Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 311, fols. 69v–70v. For bibliography on this manuscript, see chapter 3, note 18. There is also a list of the contents of the *Poetria nova* (without a copy of the text) in Vatican City, BAV Vat. lat. 14415, fols. 82r–86v. For a summary of the rubrics in another manuscript, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Strozzi 137, see Black, *Humanism*, 346–349.

80. Cf. Rouse and Rouse on the development of the chapter list (preceding the text) as a tool a couple of centuries earlier: “we may safely assume that chapter lists are intended not only as an overview or summary of the contents but also as a device to facilitate searching” (*Authentic Witnesses*, 197).

81. These passages are quoted in “The Subject is Rhetoric” in chapter 3.

82. See “Sermons?” in chapter 2.

may indicate that these groups of techniques were considered single exercises or less important for the composition of sermons. Explanatory comments and the relevant line numbers are added in square brackets.

CONTENTS OF THE *POETRIA NOVA* AND COMMENTARY BY  
BARTHOLOMEW OF PISA IN ROME, BIBLIOTECA CASANATENSE, 311<sup>83</sup>

- That rhetoric makes a man honorable** [a theme in Bartholomew's *accessus* or introduction]
- Praise of Pope Innocent in five ways [name, family, age, eloquence, companions] [1]
- On thinking about the subject before the act of writing [43]
- That the subject ought to be ornamented in words [60]
- What the rhetorician ought to consider [77]
- The difference between natural and artificial order [87]
- That there are eight ways of beginning artificially** [101]
- On beginning from the end [112]
- On beginning from the middle [118]
- On beginning with a proverb [126]
- On beginning with an exemplum [143]
- A composition (*thema*) showing all the ways of beginning<sup>84</sup> [155]
- On beginning according to natural order [158]
- Example of beginning from the end [167]
- On a beginning taken from the middle [173]
- On a proverb related to (*iuxta*) the beginning [180]
- On a proverb related to the middle [185]
- On a proverb related to the end [190]
- On an exemplum related to the beginning [193]
- On an exemplum related to the middle [197]
- On an exemplum related to the end [200]
- On amplifying or abbreviating** [203]
- First method of lengthening: through repetition [219]
- Second method of lengthening: through circumlocution [226]
- Third method of lengthening: through comparison [241]
- Fourth method: through apostrophe** [264]
- Apostrophe to those overly happy in good times [277]
- Apostrophe against the presumptuous [292]
- Apostrophe against the fearful [304]
- Apostrophe against those who are confident in their lofty position [324]

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83. For the Latin of this list of contents see Appendix I.

84. See "Shaping the Narrative" in chapter 2.



Apostrophe in time of grief [367]

Apostrophe against the ridiculous [431]

**Fifth method of lengthening: through personification** [461]

Example of a new personification [an English fortress] [515<sup>85</sup>]

Another example of a new personification [the cross] [467]

Example of a funny personification [a tablecloth] [508]

Sixth method of amplifying: through digression [527]

Example of two kinds of digression<sup>86</sup> [538]

Seventh method of amplifying: through description [554]

Example of a description examining (*circa*) the female form<sup>87</sup> [562]

Example of a description of [female] adornments [600]

Example of a description of those feasting [622]

Eighth method of amplifying: through a double sentence [the technique of opposites] [668]

**On ways of abbreviating** [690; Geoffrey lists eight]

The method of greatest abbreviation<sup>88</sup> [twin renderings of the story of the snow child] [718]

He teaches the ornamenting of thoughts and words in general [737]

General remarks on the rhetorical color of transference (*transumptionis*)<sup>89</sup> [figurative language, or tropes] [756]

He teaches [metaphoric] transference from the non-human to the human [765]

[Metaphoric] transference from the human to the non-human [778]

Another example of the same technique: on the subject of winter [800]

Yet another example of the same: on the weather for navigating [807]

Yet another example: on the works of a metal smith [813]

Praise of transference [830]

On adding adjectives to transferred [metaphoric] words [844]

On combining [surface] opposition in sound and [underlying] agreement in sense [872]

When the same word is used literally and metaphorically [886]

On transference of a verb [metaphor] [893]

On transference of an adjective [908]

On transference of a noun [*nominatio*: onomatopoeia, and *pronomination*: antonomasia] [919]

On transference of several expressions [*permutatio*: allegory] [937]

That transference should be kept within bounds [945]

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85. In this manuscript the example of the angry fortress has been moved.

86. See "Better than Sex" in chapter 2.

87. See "The Female Body in the Classroom" in chapter 2.

88. See "Shortest is Not Best" in chapter 2.

89. See "Transference and Transformation" in chapter 2.

Transference includes four rhetorical colors [from the verbs *transfero*, *permuto*, *pronomino*, and *nomino*] [952]

**On the six other rhetorical colors concerning metaphorical utterances** [957]

**First kind of metonymy: putting the abstract for the concrete** [966]

Fourth<sup>90</sup> kind of metonymy, namely the matter for the object made of it [984]

Fifth kind of metonymy, namely the container for the contents [1001]

Second color, namely hyperbole [1013]

Third color, namely periphrasis<sup>91</sup> [1022]

Fourth color: synecdoche [1030]

Fifth color: catechresis [1038]

Sixth color: hyperbaton [1051]

On clarity [1061]

**On the colors of words: light (*levis*) ornament**<sup>92</sup> [examples of the thirty-five figures of words used in connected discourse] [1094]

An interim conclusion (*epylogatio*) on the colors, and that they should be varied [1218]

What the Colors of Thought are [1230]

He connects what has been stated [definitions] to what follows [examples] [1276]

He exemplifies the aforementioned colors [the nineteen figures of thought in connected discourse] [1280]

He takes up understatement and emphasis<sup>93</sup> [1528]

**General instruction on conversion**<sup>94</sup> [altering the part of speech in which an idea is being expressed and thereby varying its impact] [1588]

Example of converting and varying a verb [1622]

On converting an adjective [1647]

On converting a noun by using it in different cases [1680]

On the conversion of uninflected words [1709]

**On determining** (lit.: adding to) **words. And first: on determining** (adding to) **a noun** [qualifying it by one or more additional words, and replicating the construction in a string of attributes determining the characteristics of the subject]<sup>95</sup> [1761]

On determining adjectives [1783]

On determining verbs [1803]

When and how to use determinations [1837]

90. The second and third kinds of metonymy (cause for effect and container for contents) are not included in the list of contents.

91. A kind of synecdoche in most commentaries; see *EC* 1022 but *Ad Her.* 4.43–44.

92. See below, note 160, as well as “The Display of Figures” in chapter 2.

93. According to most commentators, understatement (like hyperbole) is a kind of emphasis rather than a separate category.

94. See “Separating the Men from the Boys” and “Conversion: The Origin of Figures” in chapter 2.

95. See “Student Determination” in chapter 2.

On observing the attributes of the subject<sup>96</sup> [1842]  
 On comparing prose and poetry<sup>97</sup> [1853]  
 That sometimes rhetorical colors are to be avoided [1888]  
**What and how many are the faults of speech** [1920]  
 On spending a long time checking for faults [1946]  
**On memory** [1969]  
**On delivery** [2031]  
**The conclusion of the book and a short address (*sermocinatio*) to the pope**  
 [2066]  
 How he sends this book to Lord William<sup>98</sup> [the second dedication, 2099]

Some items in this list are techniques, others are specific examples, and still others refer to general lessons about the craft of writing; they are listed in order, but not systematically. What is identified is what the commentator, Bartholomew, focuses on in his introduction to each section. Although as modern readers we might be more comfortable with outlines that stick to one kind of information or another (see the list of examples in “Purple Patches” below, for example), Geoffrey’s combination of instruction, description, and example was what made the *Poetria nova* such a goldmine and so attractive to medieval teachers.

## THE SUCCESS OF THE *POETRIA NOVA*

[H]e does what he teaches, which is the custom of a good teacher.<sup>99</sup>

—*Early Commentary*

Geoffrey’s combination of theory and practice meant that medieval teachers got several texts in one with the *Poetria nova*. Yet because there is so much similar doctrine shared among the arts of poetry and prose, the number of manuscripts of the *Poetria nova* is still startling. Matthias of Linköping’s *Poetria* has survived in only one manuscript; Gervase’s *Ars versificaria* has survived in four; John of Garland’s *Parisiana poetria* and Geoffrey’s *Documentum* in five each; Matthew’s *Ars versificatoria* in nine copies; and the *Tria sunt* in eleven with two additional fragments. Eberhard’s *Laborintus*, however, which was, like the *Poetria nova*, a required text in some central European universities, is extant in at least forty-three manuscripts.<sup>100</sup> But the *Poetria nova* has survived in more than two hundred, including a number of fragments (see the Manuscript List); these

96. See “Geoffrey after Quintilian” in the Afterword.

97. See “Comedy and the *Commedia*” in chapter 3.

98. This William has been variously identified; see Nims, p. 110.

99. *EC accessus*, 54.

100. Camargo, “Latin Composition Textbooks”; see also “*Tria sunt*,” 939, updating Kelly, *Arts*, 97–98.

range in date from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, although the number of post-fifteenth-century manuscripts is extremely small. To modern readers the popularity of the *Poetria nova* may seem surprising, since the format of prose instruction combined with verse examples found in most of the other *artes poetriae* (those by Matthew, Gervase, and John of Garland, as well as Geoffrey's own *Documentum* and the *Tria sunt*) might seem more appropriate for the classroom.

That the *Poetria nova* is written completely in verse can make it appear to be a more difficult text, since, like Innocent's name, definitions and rhetorical techniques often must be expressed obliquely. Yet the *Laborintus*, which has survived in the second highest number of manuscripts, is also in verse, as was the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei, a grammar treatise that continued to be used well into the fifteenth century—despite extremely critical assessments by humanists—because of the pedagogical utility of its mnemonic tags.<sup>101</sup> When we remember that medieval students often had to memorize the texts that they studied, the greater popularity of verse treatises becomes more understandable. As a fifteenth-century gloss on the *Poetria nova* explains, “For Aristotle says in book three of the *Rhetoric* that things in verse are more easily committed to memory . . . , on account of which all things in verse are remembered better than those not joined together.”<sup>102</sup> Since many textbooks were learned by heart, verse was a positive advantage.

Just as significantly, the verse form of the *Poetria nova* allows Geoffrey to practice what he preaches, as the Early Commentator notes above. By writing in verse about verse composition and by writing rhetorically about rhetoric, Geoffrey has created a text that simultaneously teaches and demonstrates.<sup>103</sup> This complementarity was noticed and commented on almost immediately. The *Early Commentary* provides the most elaborate statement of the reflexivity of Geoffrey's work:

Note, therefore, that in this book the author is both a rhetorician and an orator. There is a difference between a rhetorician and an orator; a rhetorician is one who teaches the art of beautiful expression; an orator is one who acts in accordance with the art that Cicero teaches. It is one thing to speak about rhetoric, another to speak rhetorically. A rhetorician speaks about rhetoric, an

101. On the popularity and criticism of the *Doctrinale*, see Reichling's introduction, lxxxiii ff.; and Black, *Humanism*, esp. 74–83 and 87–91. On the phenomenon of turning teaching material into verse, see Haye, *Das lateinische Lebrgedicht*.

102. “Dicit etiam Aristotelis 3<sup>o</sup> *Rhetoricorum* quod metra facilius memorie commendantur his verbis propter quod et metra omnes memorantur magis quam non ligata” (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Strozzii 137, fol. 32r, quoted in Black, *Humanism*, 291, also 52 ff. and 190–192; and Black and Pomaro, *Boethius's* Consolation of Philosophy, 11–12, also 35 and 39). David Thompson “notes a ‘strong preference for verse authors in the reading texts’ found in fourteenth-century Oxford grammar-school manuscripts” (“Grammar Masters Revisited,” quoted in Camargo, “Models,” 183).

103. Alexandre Leupin has analyzed Geoffrey's metaphors for the creative act in “Absolute Reflexivity.”

orator rhetorically. This author does both; he speaks about rhetoric and does so rhetorically. Similarly, it is one thing to write about verse, another to write in verse. Virgil wrote in verse, but not about verse; Donatus wrote about verse,<sup>104</sup> but not in verse. This author does both. Similarly, it is one thing to speak about an art (*de arte*), another to speak artfully (*ex arte*). To speak about an art is to give the precepts of the art. To speak artfully is to imitate the precepts, which is more difficult, just as it is more difficult to write verse than to give the precepts of verse. This author does both: he says about his art what he demonstrates from it; he writes verse while giving the precepts of verse.<sup>105</sup>

The all-encompassing nature of this text made it an especially useful and efficient classroom textbook.

Geoffrey's description of a rhetorical technique is often encoded with the very technique he is explaining: his treatment of amplification is amplified, while his treatment of abbreviation is short; his discussion of circumlocution walks around and around the subject, and his introduction to the ornaments of style is highly ornamented. The effect is of an almost gleeful—and completely unforgettable—virtuosity. The glosses added to several thirteenth-century manuscripts of the *Poetria nova* consist entirely of statements distinguishing between where the author “offers” (*ponit*) or “teaches” (*docet*) a topic on the one hand, and where he “exemplifies” (*exemplificat*) it on the other.<sup>106</sup>

An impression of inexhaustible generativeness is typified by one of the most popular and well-known sections of the *Poetria nova*. This passage was copied separately as a text on its own and was rumored, incorrectly, to be the first part of the *Poetria nova* to have been printed.<sup>107</sup> It is the extraordinary series of apostrophes lamenting the demise of Richard I of England (April 6, 1199). In the list of contents quoted earlier, this section is called “Apostrophe in time of grief.” Apostrophe is one of Geoffrey's eight methods of amplifying a topic, and what he offers his students is a tour de force, a seemingly endless series of apostrophes which are addressed to England, the day of the week on which Richard was wounded (Friday), the soldier who killed him, Nature herself, and, finally, God: the addressees are in bold type for a reason that will be clear later. I quote this passage in full and suggest that it be read aloud for full effect.

104. On this description of Donatus, see Woods, “Classical Examples,” 6.

105. *EC accessus*, 42–53. It is curious that the *EC* does not refer to Horace's parallel accomplishment, especially since in one of the most important manuscripts of this commentary, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4603, it is followed immediately by a commentary on Horace's *Ars poetica*.

106. E.g., London, BL Harley 3775, fols. 150r–178r, of English provenance. See also the many such glosses in Paris, BnF lat. 15150, fols. 88r–123v, a late-thirteenth- or early-fourteenth-century manuscript from the Abbey of St. Victor in Paris (as is Paris, BnF lat. 15135, a thirteenth-century manuscript containing a copy of the *Poetria nova* with commentary on fols. 163r–189r).

107. The passage was excerpted as early as the thirteenth century: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. A. 44, fol. 7v; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 656, fol. 145r–v. On the printing history of the *Poetria nova*, see “An End and a Beginning” in chapter 5.

## APOSTROPHES ON THE DEATH OF KING RICHARD

Once defended by King Richard's shield, now undefended, **O England**, bear witness to your woe in the gestures of sorrow. Let your eyes flood with tears, and pale grief waste your features. Let writhing anguish twist your fingers, and woe make your heart within bleed. Let your cry strike the heavens. Your whole being dies in his death; the death was not his but yours. Death's rise was not in one place only but general.

**O tearful day of Venus [Friday]**! **O bitter star**! That day was your night; and that Venus your venom. That day inflicted the wound; but the worst of all days was that other—the day after the eleventh<sup>108</sup>—which, cruel stepfather to life, destroyed life. Either day, with strange tyranny, was a murderer.

The besieged one pierced the besieger; the sheltered one, him without cover; the cautious one pierced the incautious; the well-equipped soldier pierced an unarmed man—his own kind! **O soldier**, why, treacherous soldier, soldier of treachery, shame of the world and sole dishonour of warfare; **O soldier**, his own army's creature, why did you dare this against him? Why did you dare this crime, this hideous crime?

**O sorrow!** **O greater than sorrow!** **O death!** **O truculent death!** Would you were dead, **O death!** Bold agent of a deed so vile, how dare you recall it? You were pleased to remove our sun, and condemn day to darkness. Do you realize whom you snatched from us? To our eyes he was light; to our ears melody; to our minds an amazement. Do you realize, impious death, whom you snatched from us? He was the lord of warriors, the glory of kings, the delight of the world. Nature knew not how to add any further perfection; he was the utmost she could achieve. But that was the reason you snatched him away: you seize precious things, and vile things you leave as if in disdain.

And **Nature**, of you I complain; for were you not, when the world was still young, when you lay new-born in your cradle, giving zealous attention to him? And that zeal did not flag before your old age. Why did such strenuous effort bring this wonder into the world, if so short an hour stole the pride of that effort away? You were pleased to extend your hand to the world and then to withdraw it; to give thus, and then to recall your gift. Why have you vexed the world? Either give back to us him who is buried, or give us one like him in excellence. But you have not resources for that; whatever you had that was wondrous or precious was expended on him. On him were exhausted your stores of delight. You were made most wealthy by this creature you made; you see yourself, in his fall, most impoverished. If you were made happy before, in proportion to happiness then is your misery now.

If heaven allow it (*Si fas est*), I chide even God. **O God**, most excellent

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108. Richard died twelve days after he was wounded.

of beings, why do you fail in your nature here? Why, as an enemy would, do you strike down a friend? If you recall, your own Joppa gives evidence for the king—alone he defended it, opposed by so many thousands. Acre, too, gives evidence—his power restored it to you. The enemies of the cross add their witness—all of them Richard, in life, inspired with such terror that he is still feared now he is dead. He was a man under whom your interests were safe.

If, **O God**, you are, as befits your nature to be, faithful and free of malice, just and true, why then did you shorten his days? You could have shown mercy to the world; the world was in need of him. But you choose to have him with you, and not with the world; you would rather favour heaven than the world.

**O Lord**, if it is permissible to say it, let me say—with your leave—you could have done this more graciously, and with less haste, if he had bridled the foe at least (and there would have been no delay to that end; he was on the verge of success). He could have departed more worthily than to remain with you. But by this lesson you have made us know how brief is the laughter of earth, how long are its tears. (*PN* 368–430; paragraphing and emphasis mine)

It is hard to read this amplified example of amplification aloud now without smiling, despite or even perhaps because of its dead seriousness. It is also hard not to be moved.<sup>109</sup> Geoffrey may be appealing here to schoolboy patriotism as he does later in another popular rhetorical example in the *Poetria nova* (not present in all copies, however) that also was excerpted: the speech of a proud English fortress on a hill addressing the massed French army below.<sup>110</sup> In any case, once read, the passage is not easily forgotten.

How readily a teacher could assume that his students would remember this virtuoso demonstration is indicated by the fact that Chaucer's well-known parody of the passage in the *Nun's Priest's Tale* plays on the themes, author, subject, seriousness, and seriality of the original.<sup>111</sup> Chaucer's narrator laments his inability to memorialize the threatened (but later avoided) death of his own protagonist, a barnyard rooster named Chauntecleer, with the same facility and power with which Geoffrey of Vinsauf ("Gaufred") lamented the death of Richard. In the quotation below I have divided the paragraphs to show structural similarities with the *Poetria nova* and put in bold type the objects of apostrophe and

109. This passage was considered a model lament well into the seventeenth century, and not just in England; see "The English Encyclopedists" in chapter 5, as well as Woods, "A Medieval Rhetorical Manual in the 17th Century." During the Middle Ages it was, as Young points out, considered a "literary gem" ("Chaucer and Geoffrey," 172).

110. This example is excerpted in an important poetic anthology, London, BL Cotton Titus A.XX, fols. 97v–98r, copied in England, perhaps St. Albans, ca. 1375; see Rigg, *History of Anglo-Latin Literature*, passim, esp. 308. For a list of rhetorical examples in the *Poetria nova*, see "Purple Patches" later in this chapter.

111. Whether Chaucer and the ex-schoolboy members of his audience knew the whole *Poetria nova* or just excerpts is immaterial (although I believe the former to be true). On the two laments by the two Geoffreys see also Young, "Chaucer and Geoffrey"; and Richmond, *Laments for the Dead*, 17–20. As Richmond points out, "Only a well established tradition is characteristically signaled out for travesty . . ." (20).

the references to the same themes in the *Poetria nova*:

O destinee, that mayst nat been eschewed!  
 Allas, that Chauntecleer fleigh fro the bemes!  
 Allas, his wyf ne roghthe nat of dremes  
 And on a **Friday** fil al this meschaunce.

O **Venus**, that art goddesse of plesaunce,  
 Syn that thy servant was this Chauntecleer,  
 And in thy servyce dide al his poweer,  
 Moore for delit than world to multiplye,  
 Why woldestow suffre hym on thy day to dye?

O **Gaufred**, deere maister soverayn,  
 That whan thy worthy **kyng Richard** was slayn  
 With shot, compleynedest his deeth so soore,  
 Why ne hadde I now thy sentence and thy loore  
 The **Friday** for to chide, as diden ye?  
 For on a **Friday**, soothly, slayn was he.  
 Thanne wolde I shewe yow how that I koude pleyne  
 For Chauntecleres drede and for his peyne. (*NPT* 3337–3354)

By recalling for the schooled in his audience a section of text that seemed to go on forever, Chaucer makes his own apostrophes appear longer and even more self-indulgent than they are. And he adds another layer of mockery to the parody by adding an apostrophe to the author of the original apostrophe, with whom, of course, he shares his own first name.<sup>112</sup>

## THE ACCESSUS AND FRAME

In the beginning of this book, we should see what is treated in this work and why and how.<sup>113</sup>

—*Early Commentary*

In the beginning of this book, as in the beginning of others, three things are to be asked in sequence: first, what and how many are its causes? second, what is the title of the book? third, what part of philosophy does it belong under?<sup>114</sup>

—Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. lat. XII.244 (10531)

112. The whole of the *Nun's Priest's Tale* can be read as one long exercise in amplification (Woods, “*Verba and sententia*,” 31). On other kinds of schoolroom echoes in the *NPT*, see Travis, “*The Nun's Priest's Tale*.”

113. *EC accessus*, 1.

114. “In principio huius libri sicut in principiis aliorum tria sunt per ordinem inquirenda: prima que et quot sint cause, secundo quis sit libri titulus, tercio cui parti philosophie supponat<ur>” (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. lat. XII.244 [10531], p. 32). I am grateful to Dott. Gian Albino Ravalli Modoni and to Craig Kallendorf for additional information about this manuscript.



Medieval manuscripts produced in all but the most elementary academic settings often contain a formal prologue or introduction, called in Latin an *accessus*, which shows how medieval teachers approached a text. It presents a series of topics to be discussed before turning to the text itself, the latter called by some commentators the analysis *ad litteram*. The topics discussed in an *accessus* were highly conventional and predictable, especially in certain periods and for certain kinds of texts.<sup>115</sup> In general, the more advanced the text, the longer and more sophisticated the *accessus*. For students at a basic level, the introductory comments were short and simple, but even these were condensed versions of those used at more advanced levels. The status conferred on a text by the mere existence of an *accessus* to it was as important as what was actually said.<sup>116</sup> Usually an *accessus* is copied before the beginning of the text, often on the preceding folio. Because the first leaves of manuscripts become worn and sometimes fall off, the lack of an *accessus* preceding a text may simply mean that it has disappeared. *Accessus* were considered little texts in themselves, and some circulated separately, even attaching themselves to other commentaries.

The *accessus* is the intellectual grid through which a work is presented to students. The twelfth century, important for many developments in medieval literature, pedagogy, and epistemology, saw the evolution of the “Type C” *accessus*, so called from the nomenclature based on R.W. Hunt’s classic study.<sup>117</sup> The extensive *accessus* to the version of *Early Commentary* intended for older students is of this type. Following is the list of topics addressed in a Type C *accessus* (slightly altered from that in Minnis and Scott) and how each is treated in that commentary.

#### TOPICS ADDRESSED IN A TYPE C *ACCESSUS*:

##### 1. *titulus*: the title of the book

The *Early Commentary* states simply that “A title can be put to it in accordance with the tenor of the material.”<sup>118</sup> Other commentaries are more specific, e.g., “The title is as follows: ‘Here begins the book of Master Geoffrey

115. E.g., Quain, “Medieval *Accessus ad auctores*”; R. W. Hunt, “Introductions to the ‘Artes’”; Huygens, *Accessus ad auctores*; Allen, “Commentary as Criticism”; Minnis, *Theory of Authorship*; Coulson, “Hitherto Unedited (I)”; Kelly, “*Accessus ad auctores*”; Meyer, “*Intentio auctoris, utilitas libri*”; and Minnis and Scott, *Medieval Literary Theory*, 12–36. See also the recent collection of essays on *Les prologues médiévaux* edited by Jacqueline Hamesse and the various *accessus* quoted in the ongoing volumes of the *CTC* series.

116. “The very presence of an *accessus* seems as likely an influence on a reader’s attitude as the definitions given in it. In a broader context, these *accessus* are simply part of the metalanguage that validates the study of the text they introduce.” (Wheatley, *Mastering Aesop*, 75). See also Suerbaum, “*Accessus ad auctores*.”

117. Hunt, “Introductions to the ‘Artes.’” The most accessible outline of this format for students of literature is Minnis and Scott, *Medieval Literary Theory*, 2, a short summary based on Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, 9–39 and 219–34. Minnis and Scott provide translations of numerous examples of *accessus* (15–36), as does Elliott, “*Accessus ad auctores*.”

118. *EC accessus*, 60.

of Vinsauf *On Skill in Speaking*.<sup>119</sup> This or a variant thereof may have been the original title of the *Poetria nova*.<sup>120</sup>

2. *materia*: the **subject**

“The subject of this book is artful eloquence, namely rhetoric, according to which art the book teaches poets to speak metrically.”<sup>121</sup>

3. *intentio auctoris*: the **purpose**, or **aim**, of the author

“Its purpose is to teach the reader what he should know of speaking rhetorically, whether in verse or in prose, seeing that what is noted there [in this book] serves prose as well as verse.”<sup>122</sup>

4. *modus agendi*, also called *modus tractandi*: the stylistic or didactic **method of proceeding**

In the *Early Commentary* this topic is called “how the work is handled” (*qualiter hoc opus tractetur*): “Next is seeing how the work is handled. Note, therefore, that in this book the author is both a rhetorician and an orator.”<sup>123</sup>

5. *ordo*: the **arrangement** or ordering of the parts

The *Early Commentary* discusses this topic under (2), the *materia* or subject, which is rhetoric, because the book is divided according to the parts of the art of rhetoric and the parts of a rhetorical discourse, a double structure discussed in the next section. “The book principally consists of the five parts of rhetoric. . . . And the book consists, in a secondary way, of these six parts of a discourse.”<sup>124</sup>

6. *utilitas*: the **usefulness** of the work

“The usefulness of the work is the knowledge of this art [of rhetoric].”<sup>125</sup>

7. *cui parti philosophie supponatur*: the **branch of philosophy** or the area of general knowledge to which it belongs

This last category is not addressed in the *Early Commentary*. Literary texts were usually classified under ethics (as in the *accessus* quoted below), because they taught *mores*.<sup>126</sup> Other categories were also possible, as we see from an

119. “Titulus talis est ‘Incipit liber magistri Galfridi de Uino Salvo *De artificio loquendi*’” (Cambridge, Trinity College, R.14.22, fol. 2r). The complete *accessus* is quoted below.

120. See above, note 65.

121. *EC accessus*, 3.

122. *EC accessus*, 56.

123. *EC accessus*, 41–42.

124. *EC accessus*, 4 and 25.

125. *EC accessus*, 59.

126. This term is often translated into English as “morals,” but some of the examples of what kind of *mores* are taught indicates that a broader and less judgemental term is meant. An *accessus* to *Pamphilus*, for example, says that “the usefulness is that, after this book has been read thoroughly, anyone should know how to get beautiful girls for himself . . .” (Woods, “Rape,” 64). On “ethics” in medieval schools as kinds of behaviour, see also Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, 140.

*accessus* to the *Poetria nova* in a manuscript in Florence: “[I]t was asked in what part of philosophy it should be classified; we say that it is classified as poetry itself, which is philosophy veiled.”<sup>127</sup>

Below is a complete transcription of a Type C *accessus* added as a single long paragraph to a thirteenth-century English manuscript of the *Poetria nova* that belonged to the Dominicans at Leicester in the fifteenth century.<sup>128</sup> The works in this composite manuscript, Cambridge, Trinity College, R.14.22 (including a popular epitome of the Troy story, the only surviving copy of Matthew of Vendôme’s “Pyramus and Thisbe,” and a copy of the *Tria sunt*), are typical of English anthologies from this period: short pieces of verse based on classical subjects along with rhetorical treatises.<sup>129</sup> The *accessus* in MS R.14.22 quoted next (one of two added to the text at the beginning) includes an additional category, the *causa suscepti operis*, the reason for undertaking the work, but it lacks the *modus agendi/tractandi*, and the discussion of the title is at the very end, preceded by the treatment of *ordo* or arrangement. The commentator begins by listing the questions that will be answered concerning the work, or, as he frames it, the author. The statement that Geoffrey wrote the work to cover the low and middle styles is unusual, although praise of him in comparison with Horace is not unknown.<sup>130</sup> Note his conflation of rhetoric with poetics and the assumption that what one learns from the *Poetria nova* is the art of both prose and verse. The end of the *accessus* focuses on words etymologically related to *poetria*. Note the generally positive attitude toward the *Poetria nova* and the emphasis on connection rather than distinction, and also the equating of “studying thoroughly” with “memorization.” Finally, this commentator like many others reinforces the learning of terms by using etymologically related words in the definitions, a pedagogical technique that I have tried to reproduce in the translations, even though it has resulted in tautological explanations like those of the aim (*intentio*).

127. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Strozzi 137, fol. 1r, quoted in Allen, *Ethical Poetic*, 54.

128. Cambridge, Trinity College, R.14.22, *PN* on fols. 3r–44r; the *accessus* quoted next is on fol. 2r. Interlinear glosses and marginal comments in various hands as well as another *accessus* (on fol. 1v) were also added. On this manuscript see Munari, *Catalogo*, 38–39 (23); Camargo, “*Tria sunt*,” 937; Polak, *Western Europe*, 273; James, *Western Manuscripts*, 2,304–6; and other sources listed in their bibliographies. Another folio of this manuscript is reproduced as plate 3.

129. On the Troy poem, “Pergama flere volo” (Walther 13985), often anthologized in English manuscripts, see Rigg, *History of Anglo-Latin Literature*, passim.

130. See “Better than the Ancients” earlier in this chapter.

A TYPE C *ACCESSUS*

I O HOLY FATHER, WONDER OF THE WORLD At the beginning [of our study] of this author,<sup>131</sup> as with any other, these questions occur to the inquiring mind: what was the reason for undertaking the work? what is its aim? its usefulness? to what part of philosophy does it belong? what is the arrangement [of parts]? and what is its title? Therefore, since cause precedes effect, the first question is the **reason for undertaking the work**. And the answer is because Master Geoffrey of Vinsauf the Englishman, seeing that many students were unskilled (*rudes*<sup>132</sup>) and lazy in the art of writing prose and verse, conceived in his mind a specific treatise, *On Skill in Speaking*,<sup>133</sup> for their instruction. The reason for initiating the work can be explained as follows: because Horace did not treat the three levels of style comprehensively except for the grand style, this author, aiming to make up for Horace's defect, aims to treat thoroughly the low and middle styles. Its **subject** is poetry made for the purpose of usefulness. Every poem (*carmen*) that is perfected by a poet for [its] usefulness or for enjoyment ought to be studied carefully, to which Horace attests, saying, "Poets wish either to instruct or to delight" {*Ars* 333}. The **aim** concerns the subject he aims at primarily. The **usefulness** is twofold, both general and specific. The general usefulness ascribed to every work is that when it has been read and examined, the useful things taught in it are committed to memory. The specific usefulness is that when this book has been studied thoroughly and its eloquence appreciated, we end up instructed in the art of prose and verse. It belongs under **ethics**, because authors of a rhetorical discourse (*oracionis*) often put their books under ethics, that is, under moral philosophy. There are three branches of philosophy, namely [1] ethics, that is moral knowledge, and the word comes from [the Greek] *ethis* (morals) and *ycos* (knowledge) that is, knowledge of *mores*; [2] logic, that is, rational knowledge, and it comes from *logos* (reason) and *ycos* (knowledge); [3] physics, that is, natural knowledge, and it comes from *phisis* (nature) and *ycos* (knowledge). The book follows a **natural order**: first, he teaches one to consider the subject matter and to generate (lit.: devise) it there at "If one [has a house to build]." Second, to arrange the material generated in a specific order there at "In the hidden chamber of the mind" (60). Third, to amplify the subject matter, saying that there are "eight" ways to amplify a subject (103). Fourth, to abbreviate the subject matter there at "If [you wish] to be brief" (690). Fifth, to give the subject matter rhetorical color there at "Whether it be brief or long" (737).

131. The more common and less awkward phrase is "At the beginning of this book," but in this *accessus* the first two categories are phrased in terms of the author.

132. On this word as a descriptor for students of the *Poetria nova*, see "Reading between the Lines" in chapter 2.

133. The phrase could be simply descriptive, e.g., "a treatise on artistic expression," but it is cited as the title at the end of the *accessus*; see also note 65 above.

Sixth, to commit the subject to the memory there at “If you wish to remember all that reason invents” (1969). Seventh and last, to say the subject matter aloud there at “You wish to know the whole thing” (1990).<sup>134</sup> The title is as follows: “Here begins the book of Master Geoffrey of Vinsauf *On Skill in Speaking*.” And the word “title” comes from *titan*, *-nis*, which is the sun, since just as the sun illuminates the world, so the title illuminates the whole work to come. [The title] could be the *Poetria*. *Poetria* (poetics) is the art of devising a theme, arranging what has been devised, adorning what has been arranged, memorizing what has been adorned, delivering aloud what has been memorized. Poesis is the art devoted to this subject, as the author attests in the text of his poem where he says “To clothe the subject with words let [*poesis*] come forward” (61). A poem is defined by Tully as follows: a poem is something made for the enjoyment or the use of individuals and explaining the backgrounds of actions. . . . A poet is one who puts the poems into meter. Now let us go to the text itself (*ad litteram*): “Holy Father” (1), etc.<sup>135</sup>

A newer kind of *accessus* arose after Latin translations of Arabic translations of Aristotle’s works made most of them available in western Europe. The influ-

134. An error for the beginning of the section on delivery, “In reciting aloud, let three tongues speak” (2031). The manuscript has “cupis” for “sitis”; cf. “velis,” a variant reading in Faral.

135. “I PAPA STUPOR MUNDI, etc. In principio istius auctoris sicut cuiuslibet alterius ista occiderunt inquisitioni, scilicet que causa suscepti operis? que intentio? que utilitas? cui parti philosophie supponatur? quis ordo? quis titulus? Cum ergo causa precedat effectum, inde est primo querenda **causa suscepti operis**. Et talis est quod magister Galfridus de Uino Saluo anglicus plures uidens rudes et ignares in arte dictatoris et uersificatoris constituit in animo suo ad eorum instructionem tractatum quemdam *De artificio loquendi*. Quia uero causa prohemii sic potest <expla>nari quia Oracius de triplici stilo non plene tractauit nisi de grandiloco, quare auctor iste defectum illius supplere intendens humili et mediocri in hoc libro intendit pertractare. **Materia** uero ipsius est poesis causa utilitatis facta. Omne enim carmen quod <ab> aliquo poeta perficitur causa utilitatis uel delectacionis pertractari debet, quod testatur Oracius dicens ‘Aut prodesse uolunt aut delectare poete’ [*Ars* 333]. **Intentio** autem uersatur circa materiam de qua principaliter intendit. **Vtilitas** autem est duplex, scilicet generalis et specialis, generalis que assignatur in quolibet libro ut perlecto libro utilia que in eo docentur memoria commendentur; specialis ut perlecto libro isto et uiso eiusdem elocutione instructi simus in arte dictatoria et uersificatoria. **Etice** supponitur quia oracionis sepe auctores libros suos etice supponunt, idest morali sciencie. Et sunt partes philosophie tres, scilicet ethica, idest moralis sciencia, et dicitur ab *ethis*, mos, et *ycos*, sciencia: quasi moralis sciencia; logica, idest ratiocinalis sciencia et dicitur a *logos*, sermo, et *ycos*, sciencia; phisica, idest naturalis sciencia et dicitur a *phis*, natura, et *ycos*, sciencia. **Ordo** huius libri naturalis(?) est: primitus docet materiam [gi]cogitare et inuenire ibi, ‘Si quis,’ etc. (43). Secundo materiam ordinare inuentam ibi, ‘Mentis in archano,’ etc. (60). Tercio materiam ampliare, dicens quod ‘octo’ sunt que ampliant materiam (103), quarto materiam abreuiare ibi, ‘Si breuis esse,’ etc. (690). Quinto materiam colorare ibi, ‘Si breuis aut longus’ (737). Sexto materiam memorie commendare ibi, ‘Omnia que recipit ratio,’ etc. (1969). Septimo et ultimo materiam pronunciare ibi, ‘Scire cupis hanc rem’ (1990). **Titulus** talis est ‘Incipit liber magistri Galfridi de Uino Saluo *De artificio loquendi*.’ Et dicitur titulus a *titan*, *-nis*, quod est sol quia sicut sol illuminat mundum, sic titulus totum opus subsequens. \*\*\* autem sit *Poetria*. *Poetria* est ars thema inueniendi, inuentum disponendi, dispositum exornandi, ornatum memorandi, memoratum pronuntiandi. Poesis est ars circa materiam ut testatur auctor in textu poematis, ubi dicit, ‘Materiam uerbis ueniat,’ etc. (61). Poema sic describitur a Tullio: poema est factum causa delectacionis uel utilitatis siue utriusque personarum et negotiorum proprietates exprimens. Poeta est ille qui carmina fingit ad metra. Modo ad litteram accedamus: ‘Papa’ etc. (1)” (Cambridge, Trinity College, R.14.22, fol. 2r). When the manuscript was rebound, some of the inside edges were cut off and there is a bad discoloration at the top, making some words nearly illegible.

ence of the *Physics* and *Metaphysics* led to an *accessus* based on the four Aristotelian causes.<sup>136</sup> Following are excerpts gathered from various commentaries that show how the four causes were applied to the *Poetria nova*:

#### THE ARISTOTELIAN FOUR CAUSES

*causa efficiens*: the **efficient cause** or “motivating agent of the text,” that is, the author. “The efficient cause was *magister* Geoffrey of Vinsauf. . . .”<sup>137</sup>

*causa materialis*: the **material cause**, that is, the subject matter (the same as number 2 above). “The material cause of this book is the craft of the prose writer (*dictatoris facultatis*).”<sup>138</sup>

*causa formalis*: the **formal cause** or formal principles, often overlapping with number 4 above, *modus agendi* (method of proceeding), e.g., “The formal [cause] is the aspect of the work consisting of the method of proceeding in its organization: the method of proceeding [in this book] is twofold: metrical and by division into chapters.”<sup>139</sup> Often the formal cause is subdivided into the *forma tractandi* (the form of the treatment, “the way in which a book treats its subject matter”), and the *forma tractatus* (the form of the treatise, “the separation into books and chapters, and their order”),<sup>140</sup> as in the *accessus* of another English manuscript translated below.

*causa finalis*: the **final cause**, the author’s “ultimate end or objective in writing,”<sup>141</sup> sometimes the same as either the *intentio*, the author’s aim or purpose (3) above, or the *utilitas*, the usefulness of the book (6): “The final cause, or usefulness, is that through this book we can devote [ourselves] to the poetic art.”<sup>142</sup>

Thus, the topics of Type C *accessus* and the Aristotelian or four-causes *accessus* overlap and reinforce each other. Indeed, two of the examples above come from a second *accessus* added to Cambridge, Trinity College, R.14.22, the same manuscript whose Type C *accessus* was translated above.

We can see how the Type C categories could be restructured as the Aristote-

136. Minnis and Scott, *Medieval Literary Criticism*, 2–3.

137. “Causa efficiens fuit magister Galfridus Vinesauf. . . .” (Cambridge, Trinity College, R.14.22, fol. 1v). See also the epigraphs in the first section of this chapter.

138. “causa materialis est ars dictatoris facultatis” (Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare del Duomo, C. 143, fol. 1r).

139. “Et formalis est qualitas operis constans in modo agendi in ordine; modus agendi est duplex, metricus et per capitula distinctus” (Cambridge, Trinity College, R.14.22, fol. 1v).

140. These definitions of “forma tractandi” and “forma tractatus” are by Jordanus of Saxony, quoted in Rouse and Rouse (following Grabmann and Pinborg), *Authentic Witnesses*, 218.

141. Minnis and Scott, *Medieval Literary Criticism*, 3.

142. “Causa finalis siue vtilitas est, vt per hunc librum <possimus> [possumus *MS*] addicere artem poeticam” (Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotheket, C 40, fol. 20v). On “vtilitas” as a literary category, see Glendinning, “Pyramus and Thisbe,” 68; and “Shorter is Better” in chapter 2.

lian causes in an *accessus* in Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 144.<sup>143</sup> This manuscript was put together by the English Benedictine John Bamburgh between 1420–1432 and contains texts of divergent levels, from an “abc” (a pen trial?) to astronomical texts.<sup>144</sup> Bamburgh wrote the signed *accessus* to the *Poetria nova* in space left at the end of Alan of Lille’s *De planctu Nature*, right before the text of the *Poetria nova*. It provides a condensed version of some of the material found in the *Early Commentary* (a continental treatment of the *Poetria nova*) and standard in many earlier *accessus*, but here adapted to Aristotelian terminology.

At the beginning of this book, we should examine the four causes: The **material cause** is crafted eloquence, that is rhetoric, according to which he teaches poets to speak in prose and in verse. Note following this that the book principally consists of the five parts of rhetoric, so that if one is missing, it cannot be called rhetoric, just as a house is whole if its parts, namely foundation, roof, and walls, are there. These are the parts of rhetoric: Invention, Arrangement, Style, Memory, and Delivery. “Invention is the devising of true things or things that seem to be true. Arrangement is the order and distribution of parts, which shows what ought to be put in which positions. Style is the adaptation of suitable words and thoughts. Memory is the firm retention of thoughts and words in the mind. Delivery is the graceful moderation of voice, expression, and gesture”<sup>145</sup> [*Ad Her.* 1.3]. Such is the order of these parts. For when an orator wishes to persuade the judge of something, first he deliberates by what reasons he can render his cause probable; this is Invention. Next he arranges what is to be gathered in the beginning, middle, and end; this is Arrangement. Next he devises by what ornamentation of words and thoughts to express the individual parts; this is Style. Next he puts the individual parts in the memory so that they can be recalled; this is Memory. Afterwards he examines how to moderate the voice, expression, and gesture; this is Delivery. And since the discourse is the instrument of a rhetor, note that it has six parts: the Introduction, Narration, Division, Confirmation, Refutation, Peroration or Conclusion. And this book consists secondarily of these parts, of which one may find examples in Tully [*Rhetorica ad Herennium*].<sup>146</sup> The **formal cause** is divided into the form of the treatment and the form of the treatise. The **form of the treatise** consists in the division of the work.<sup>147</sup> The **form of the treatment** is the method of proceeding, and it is rhetorical [that is, divided into the parts of an oration]. It should be noted that the author is both a rhetorician and an orator. There is this distinction between them: the rhetorician is one who passes on the

143. On Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 144, see Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum manuscriptorum*, 2.56–57; and Krochalis, “Alain de Lille,” 149–154.

144. On Bamburgh and this manuscript, see also Clark, *Monastic Renaissance*, 145–146, with a plate of the “abc” and *accessus* to the *Poetria nova*; also “Excursus on the English Orbit” in chapter 4.

145. *EC accessus*, 6–10.

146. Cf. *EC accessus*, 17–25.

147. The division into parts was discussed earlier under the “Material Cause” of the art of rhetoric.

art of speaking, the orator is one who performs according to this art. This author does both, for he passes on rhetoric rhetorically. In the same way it is something different to treat the subject of verse and to treat that subject in verse while writing about the art.<sup>148</sup> The **efficient cause** is Master Geoffrey the Englishman. The final cause is both general and specific. The general final cause: to instruct the reader / teacher (*lectorem*)<sup>149</sup> in rhetoric. The specific final cause: the problem of Richard King of England, who offended the pope by means of some sin unknown to us.<sup>150</sup> The title refers to the “New Poetics” to differentiate it from the “Old Poetics” that Horace wrote, which begins, “If a painter chose to join a horse to a human head” {*Ars* 1}. BAMBURGH<sup>151</sup>

By this point the four causes had been around for a long time. Bamburgh’s *accessus* lacks the integrated analysis of the Type C introduction to the *Early Commentary* or the detailed, multilayered Aristotelian approaches to the *Poetria nova* common in universities in central Europe. But it provides the necessary framework: the double structure of the text (analyzed in the next section of this chapter), the author’s dual role as rhetorician and orator, the historical background and the practical value of the text, and the position of the *Poetria nova* in the historical tradition—not a bad introduction after all, and one that would have been useful in almost any context.<sup>152</sup> The *Poetria nova* was a service text,

148. Cf. *EC accessus*, 42–52.

149. On *lector* see Teeuwen, *Vocabulary of Intellectual Life*, 85–87.

150. On this “unknown sin” of King Richard’s, see “A Double Structure” next.

151. “In principio huius libri videndum est de quattuor eius causis. **Causa materialis** est artificiosa eloquencia. Hec est rethorica, secundum quam docet poetas et prosaice loqui et metrice. Unde nota quod ex quinque partibus rethorice principaliter constat liber iste, quarum si vna desit rethorica dici non potest, sicut domus est integra si sint partes, scilicet fundamentum tectum et paries. Sunt autem iste partes: Inuencio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria et <pronunciatio> [permutacio *MS*]. ‘Inuencio autem est rerum verarum uel verisimilium excogitacio. Dispositio est ordo et distribucio rerum que demonstrat quid quibus locis sit ponendum. Elocutio est idoneorum uerborum et sententiarum accommodacio. Memoria est firma rerum in animo conceptio. <Pronunciatio> [permutacio *MS*] est vocis, vultus et gestus cum venustate moderacio.’ {*Ad Her.* 1.3} Istarum partium talis est ordo. Orator enim cum vult aliquid persuadere iudici primo apud se cogitat quibus rationibus causam probabilem reddat, ecce inuencio. Deinde disponit que in principio, medio, vel fine sint collocanda, ecce dispositio. Postea inuenit quo ornatu verborum et sententiarum singula proferat, ecce elocutio. Deinde singula in memoria reponit ut recapitulet. Ecce memoria. Post hec qualiter moderetur vocem vultum et gestum inspicit. Ecce <pronunciatio> [permutacio *MS*]. Et quia oratio est instrumentum rethoris, nota quod sex sunt species rethorice. Exordium. Narracio. Particio. Confirmacio. Confutacio. Peroracio siue conclusio, et ex istis partibus secundario constat liber iste quarum exempla habentur in Tullio. **Causa formalis** diuiditur in formam tractatus et formam tractandi. **Forma tractatus** consistit in diuisione libri. **Forma tractandi** est modus agendi et ille est rhetoricus. Et notandum quod auctor in hoc libro est rethor et orator. Inter quos talis est differentia, quod rethor est qui tradit artem loquendi, orator est qui agit secundum illam artem. Iste autor facit utrumque, tradit enim rethoricam rethorice sicut aliud est agere de versibus et agere versifice artem et de arte. **Causa efficiens** est magister Galfridus Anglicus. **Causa finalis** communis et privata. Communis instruere lectorem in rethorica. Privata negotium Ricardi regis Anglie qui culpa nobis ignota papam offenderat. **Titulus** est de *Nova poetria* ad differentiam veteris quam composuit Oracius que sic incipit, ‘Humano capiti equum pictor’ {*Ars* 1}. BAMBWRGH” (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 144, fol. 18v)

152. See Clark, *Monastic Renaissance*, 145–146 and 233–234 on the background of this manuscript; also “Excursus on the English Orbit” in chapter 4.



not an avant garde one; for such works, changes in academic fashion trickled down (or up) slowly. Commentators were more practical and eclectic than doctrinaire, and they used whatever helped make sense of the text. Almost every variation of the introductory categories is extant in the commentary tradition of the *Poetria nova*.

## A DOUBLE STRUCTURE

This work can be divided according to the part of rhetoric and according to a rhetorical utterance.<sup>153</sup>

—Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, A.IV.10

Geoffrey rhetorically shaped (*edidit*) the *Poetria nova* for writers and so that he might reconcile the King of England with the pope through his book.<sup>154</sup>

—Hugh of Trimburg

The shorter the *accessus*, the greater the focus on a single aspect of the *Poetria nova*. The brief introductory note at the bottom of the first folio of the *Poetria nova* in a fourteenth-century manuscript of school texts in Brescia, for example, provides a stark outline of the *Poetria nova*'s double structure according to the parts of rhetoric and the parts of a rhetorical discourse (plate 1)<sup>155</sup>:

HOLY FATHER etc. This work can be divided according to the part of rhetoric and according to a rhetorical composition (*sermonem*).<sup>156</sup> In the first way it is divided into five sections according to the five parts of rhetoric, namely Invention, Arrangement, Style, Memory, and Delivery.<sup>157</sup> He treats Invention there at "If one has a house to build, etc." (43), Arrangement there at "In order that the pen may know" (78),<sup>158</sup> Style at "Whether brief or long" (737), Memorization at "The little cell" (1972), Delivery at "In reciting aloud" (2031). In the second way it is divided into six sections according to the six parts of a rhetori-

153. "Opus istud potest <diuidi> [didiui *MS*] secundum partem rethorice et secundum sermonem rethoricum" (Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, A.IV.10, fol. 93r).

154. "Ganifredus rethorice novam poetriam / Edidit scribentibus et ut conciliaret / Pape regem Anglie per librumque placaret" (Hugh of Trimburg, *Registrum multorum auctorum*, 300–302).

155. This manuscript also contains Horace's *Ars poetica* and Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*; see Beltrami, "Index codicum classicorum latinorum," 42–43; and Passalacqua and Smith, *Codices Boethiani* 3.56 (28).

156. Cf. "Sermons?" in chapter 2.

157. Fredborg, "Ciceronian Rhetoric and the Schools," argues that while "the medieval *Artes Poeticae* also pay their respect to Ciceronian rhetoric by treating all five duties of the orator: invention, disposition, style, and a little on memory and delivery, in practice, however, this rhetorical framework meant little compared with their concern for Horatian decorum and their preoccupation with style and the topics" (33–34).

158. This is not where most commentators and modern editors make the break, but Geoffrey does say here what he is going to do next, which is to discuss order.

cal composition, namely the Introduction, Narration, Division, Confirmation, Refutation, and Conclusion. The Introduction is treated there at “O Holy Father, wonder” (1), the Narration at “If one has a house to build” (43), the Division at “The material’s order may follow two possible courses” (88), the Confirmation at “If you heed the directives carefully” (1842), the Refutation at “It is, however, of primary importance” (1920), the Conclusion at “Now I have crossed the sea” (2066).<sup>159</sup>

The congruence of the two structures is clearer in some places than others. Let us look at Margaret Nims’s division of the structure of the *Poetria nova* in her translation of the work, where she draws on Edmond Faral’s outline of the *Poetria nova* in his edition. Both of these scholars were familiar with many manuscripts of the text. Drawing on the commentators’ identification of the parts of the work with the parts of rhetoric, Nims divides the *Poetria nova* as follows:

#### STRUCTURE OF THE *POETRIA NOVA*

Dedication [to Pope Innocent III] (lines 1–42).

I. General Remarks on Poetry; Divisions of the Present Treatise (43–86).

II. Ordering the Treatise (87–202).

III. Amplification and Abbreviation (203–689).

A. Amplification.

B. Abbreviation.

IV. Ornaments of Style (737–1968).

1. Difficult Ornament [Tropes].

2. Easy Ornament [Figures of Words and Figures of Thoughts].<sup>160</sup>

3. Theory of Conversions [the effect of changing the expression of a concept from one part of speech to another].

159. “PAPA STUPOR etc. Opus istud potest <diuidi> [didiui MS] secundum partem rethorice et secundum sermonem rethoricum. Primo modo diuiditur in partes quinque secundum quod sunt quinque partes rethorice, scilicet inuentio, dispositio, eloquio, memoria, et pronuntiatio. De inuentione determinatur illic, ‘Si quis habet fundare,’ etc. (43). De dispositione illic, ‘Neu stilus ignoret’ (78). De elocutione ibi, ‘Si brevis aut longus’ (737). De memoria ibi, ‘Cellula que’ (1972). De pronuntiatione ibi, ‘In recitante’ (2031). Secundo autem modo diuiditur in partes sex, secundum quod sunt sex partes sermonis rethorici, scilicet exordium, narratio, diuisio, confirmatio, confutatio, et conclusio. De exordio agitur illic, ‘Papa stupor’ (1). De narratione, ‘Si quis habet fundare’ (43). De diuisione, ‘Ordo bifurcat iter’ (88). De confirmatione, ‘Si bene dicta notes’ (1842). De confutatione, ‘In primis igitur’ (1920). De conclusione, ‘Iam mare transcurri’ (2066)” (Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, A.IV.10, fol. 93r).

160. Faral and Nims use the terms “Difficult Ornament” and “Easy Ornament” from the *Documentum* (Far. p. 284) for what Geoffrey in the *Poetria nova* calls “transumptio” (metaphoric language) and “flores verborum et sententiarum” (the flowers [figures] of words and of thoughts) respectively. The figures were considered comparatively easy or “levis” (light) because, although at times complex, they do not involve transferred or figurative meaning as do the tropes, which were also called “gravis” (weighty, or serious—hence, difficult). See “The Usefulness of the *Poetria nova*” earlier in this chapter and “Comedy and the *Commedia*” in chapter 3.

4. Theory of Determinations [qualifying a word by means of modifiers<sup>161</sup>].
5. Various Prescriptions.
  - Choice of Words.
  - Comic Style.
  - Faults to Avoid.
- V. Memory (1969–2030).
- VI. Delivery (2031–2065).
- Epilogue (2066–2115).

The medieval commentators' division of the text into the five parts of rhetoric (invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery) ignores the frame of the Dedication and Epilogue and collapses numbers III and IV, but otherwise it divides the text the same way: Invention, or finding the material, corresponds with part of Nims's section I, General Remarks on Poetry, where Geoffrey talks about developing the ideas in the mind before putting them into a particular form; arrangement, or the ordering of the material, corresponds with section II; style, or putting the content into ornamented discourse, with both III and IV (amplification and abbreviation as well as the tropes and figures); and memory and delivery correspond with sections of V and VI of the same names. The commentators' secondary division of the text into the parts of a rhetorical composition (introduction, narration, division, proof, rebuttal or refutation, and conclusion) foregrounds those parts ignored by the first: the Dedication (called the introduction) and Epilogue (called the conclusion).

According to this double organization of the text, Geoffrey's work is not just about the art of rhetoric (the first structure), but is itself a rhetorical argument directed at Pope Innocent III (the second structure).<sup>162</sup> What Geoffrey is arguing for does not become clear until the Epilogue, where, in a section mentioned earlier that is not found in all manuscripts, Geoffrey again addresses Innocent, here asking help for "our prince" (*principe nostro*, 2089 and 2096), also referred to in the passage as "king" (*regemque*, 2094). Here is the part of the Epilogue in which Geoffrey pleads with the Pope:

Do you not see, if you regard the true qualities of our prince, that he has become the soldier of the cross and of Christ and sword of the entire church? Devotion so great calls for love, not for hatred; for praise, not reproach; for rewards and not penalties. Therefore, you who conquer all else, allow yourself to be conquered here. Be pleased to turn, and desire the king to return. . . . I plead for our prince. (*PN* 2089–2097)

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161. See "Student Determination" in chapter 2.

162. There is a second dedication at the very end of the poem (to a William, noted in the Table of Contents quoted above) not treated in either structure.

This passage is interpreted by modern scholars as a reference either to Innocent's Interdict of England under King John from 1208–1214<sup>163</sup> or to John's political impasse with the English nobles after Magna Carta and his later attempt to gain Innocent's support in 1215 by taking up "the crusader's cross."<sup>164</sup>

But most medieval commentators assume that Geoffrey is referring to John's much more popular brother and predecessor, and that the passage is a plea for Innocent's help in freeing Richard I of England from imprisonment. The king had been captured by Duke Leopold of Austria, "who handed him over to the Emperor Henry VI, who held him for ransom."<sup>165</sup> Sometimes, however, the English king is not identified or is identified differently, as, for example, in the gloss on this part of the Epilogue by Bartholomew of Pisa: "He supplicates for Henry the King of England, who is a soldier of Christ and the third sword of the Church."<sup>166</sup> Or the king is identified as Richard I but for the wrong reason: Guizzardo of Bologna states that Geoffrey was sent to Rome to plead indulgence for "Richard of England, who had killed Thomas of Canterbury [à Becket] to obtain the treasures of the church,"<sup>167</sup> whereas it was Henry II who had trouble with Becket.

The interpretation of the *Poetria nova* as a rhetorical argument begins with the Dedication, about which the Early Commentator states, "As we learn from the text of this book, [the author] served as the emissary of King Richard of England; the king's cause was so bad that it had alienated the mind of the listener [that is, Innocent]. Whence it seems that the whole book is a Subtle Approach to the cause which is to be treated at the end."<sup>168</sup> Richard's misdeed may refer to the rumor that Richard had helped in the assassination of Conrad of Montferrat in 1189 in Palestine<sup>169</sup> or perhaps to his reputed homosexuality.<sup>170</sup> At the end of the work the Early Commentator states,

2066 NOW I HAVE CROSSED THE SEA Note here the Conclusion, which is the last

163. Cf. Far., p. 26; Gallo, *Poetria nova*, 127; and Nims, pp. 109–110 (for the various ways that this passage could refer to John).

164. Turner, *King John*, 233, quoting Cheney, "The Eve of Magna Carta," 313. An earlier version of this discussion appeared in Woods, "Innocent III."

165. Rigg, *History of Anglo-Latin Literature*, 107.

166. "Supplicat pro Henrico rege anglie qui est Christi miles et tertius ensis ecclesie" (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 311, fol. 68v).

167. "Hic autem propter ueniam impet<r>andam a summo pontifice ad curiam Romanam pro Richardo rege Anglie qui beatum Thomam de Conturbia interfecerat ob thesauros ecclesie habendos" (Vatican City, BAV Ottob. lat. 3291, fol. 11r). The interpretation of this section of the *PN* as an attempt to placate the pope for the killing of Thomas à Becket probably comes from Hugh of Trimburg's *Registrum multorum auctororum*, 304–306, cited in Far., p. 31.

168. *EC accessus*, 32–33.

169. Gillingham, *Richard the Lionheart*, 206. See also Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 384. For a summary of Anglo-Latin verse both for and against Richard, see Rigg, *History of Anglo-Latin Literature*, 105–108.

170. Gillingham analyses the evidence but dismisses it as a modern misunderstanding (7, 107, 130, 161, 162, 283, and [with a survey of the scholarship, including that with which he is in disagreement] 298).

of the six parts of the discourse, for he concludes artfully what he had proposed. With praise of the pope this work began, with praise of him it ends; he praises him here for his power and his strength, which are necessary for powerful men. And at this point he also reveals the cause for which he wrote this book to the pope. He put the cause not in the beginning, but in the end, for this reason: because the King of England's cause was so shameful on account of his serious crime that the crime had alienated the mind of the hearer from the cause. For this reason, if he had revealed his cause in the beginning, the rest of the book would not have been accepted.<sup>171</sup>

There is, of course, a problem with interpreting the whole work as a plea for King Richard: he is already dead in the most famous passage in the work, the series of apostrophes quoted above.<sup>172</sup> But since this inconsistency was discussed by a few commentators only, I address it later.<sup>173</sup>

The division of the text into the five parts of a rhetorical argument fits particularly well with the frame passages that address Innocent, and at a more abstract level other parts of Geoffrey's teachings accord well with the function assigned to them. Geoffrey's opening remarks on how to start a poem become the narration or statement of events of a case; the discussion of natural and artificial order felicitously becomes the division of the argument; the confirmation includes Geoffrey's discussion of word choice and comic style; and the "refutation" section of a discourse includes Geoffrey's list of "Faults to Avoid." The ingenuity that went into this series of correspondences may have been one of the attractions of the *Poetria nova* for medieval teachers: the more one looked at this text, the more one found.

While various commentators sometimes locate the divisions between the parts of either structure at slightly different places in the text, the sequence and the interweaving of the two structures are consistent. Following is a summary showing both based on the description of the double structure in the *Early Commentary*. The five parts of rhetoric (**Invention, Arrangement, Style, Memory, and Delivery**) and the six parts of a discourse (***Introduction, Narration, Division, Confirmation, Rebuttal, and Conclusion***) are identified below in bold (the latter in Italics).

#### THE DOUBLE RHETORICAL STRUCTURE OF THE *POETRIA NOVA*

The Dedication is the ***Introduction*** to the work (1–42). The first section of the text proper, about planning a work before beginning to write it down, both covers **Invention** and constitutes the ***Narration*** portion of the discourse (43–86).

171. *EC* 2066, 1–4.

172. See "The Success of the *Poetria nova*" above.

173. "Stand and Counterstand" in chapter 3.

The discussion of natural and artificial order both concerns **Arrangement** and is the *Division* section of the discourse (87–202). **Style** (203–1842) encompasses Amplification and Abbreviation as well as the Tropes and Figures and the Theories of Conversion and Determination. The *Confirmation* portion of the discourse (1842–1919) comes at what Nims calls “Choice of Words,” the first section under her “Various Prescriptions.” The *Rebuttal* is at “Faults to Avoid” (1920–1968). **Memory** (1969–2030) and **Delivery** (2031–2065) are treated next. At the end comes the *Conclusion* (2066 ff.).<sup>174</sup>

Commentators were careful to point out where each part of each structure began and especially where the two structures coincided. For example, the first gloss after the *accessus* in the Brescia manuscript occurs at the beginning of the famous house metaphor used by Geoffrey of Vinsauf to describe the careful planning and preparation needed in writing: “If a man has a house to build, his impetuous hand does not run into action . . . (43 ff.). According to medieval commentators, Narration and Invention coincide here: “IF A MAN HAS A HOUSE TO BUILD This can be called Narration according to one method of dividing the text and Invention according to the other, as was made clear above.”<sup>175</sup> Vinsauf’s description was used by that other famous English Geoffrey, Chaucer, in his narrative of the relationship of *Troilus and Criseyde*, in which context it describes the importance of careful planning as Pandarus devises a scenario to generate the seduction of Criseyde by Troilus:

For everi wight that hath an hous to founde  
Ne renneth naught the werk for to bygynne  
With rakel hond; but he wol bide a stounde,  
And sende his hertes line out from withinne.<sup>176</sup>

This passage comes at both an important turning point in Chaucer’s larger structure (Narration, the second part of a rhetorical discourse, where the important events are outlined) as well as at the inception (Invention, the first part of rhetoric, the “devising of matter true or plausible, that would make the case convincing”<sup>177</sup>) of Pandarus’s machinations leading to the climax of what he thinks will be the whole story. This double function of the passage

174. Adapted from Woods, “Teaching the Tropes.” For a different interpretation of Geoffrey’s structure, see Friis-Jensen, “Horace and the Early Writers,” 381–382.

175. “43 SI QUIS HABET Hic potest dici narratio et inuentio, secundum alium et alium modum diuidendi, ut supra patuit” (Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, A. IV. 10, fol. 93v). Here, as with other manuscripts, I have silently expanded the *lemma*, or initial quotation from the text, to render it comprehensible in English.

176. Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, l.1065–68. I borrowed the idea of using Chaucer’s translation from Rigg, *History of Anglo-Latin Literature*, 109.

177. *Ad Her.* 1.3.

in Chaucer's work could be described in more abstract medieval terms in the same way that the same passage functions in the *Poetria nova* itself: it can be called Narration according to one method of looking at the text and Invention according to another.

## PURPLE PATCHES

The *forma tractandi* is the same as the *modus agendi*, which is small units with transitions and the insertion of examples.<sup>178</sup>

—Guizzardo of Bologna

Works with noble beginnings and grand promises often have one or two purple patches so stitched on as to glitter far and wide . . .<sup>179</sup>

—Horace

One way to look at the *Poetria nova*, according to Guizzardo of Bologna's description above, is as a series of techniques interspersed with examples. Later, echoing Horace, Guizzardo refers to "purple speech" (*sermone purpureo*) in paraphrasing the continuation of Geoffrey's house metaphor.<sup>180</sup> Geoffrey's rhetorical examples encompass a wide range of topics, and they vary in length from a few lines to almost a fifth of the text. Commentators note his command of tone and his ability to switch between serious and comic subjects (the latter an aspect of the *Poetria nova* suppressed in the excerpted proverbs discussed in the next section).

### RHETORICAL EXAMPLES IN THE *POETRIA NOVA*

1. General remarks on the composition process as an architect's planning of a building, the grooming of a woman by her servant, and the responsibilities to guests of an attendant, host, and herald (43–87).
2. The forking branches of natural and artificial order and the techniques of beginning based on the story of King Minos, the murder of his son, Androgeos, and the betrayal of Scylla, the daughter of his enemy (87–158).
3. Apostrophes to the exultant, the presumptuous, the timid, and the overconfident (277–324).
4. Apostrophes on the death of King Richard (368–430).

178. "forma tractandi idem est quod modus agendi, qui est diuisius continuatiuus et exemplorum positurus" (Vatican City, BAV Ottob. lat. 3291, 1r). This is a very free translation; for a more exact rendering see "Meanwhile Back in Padua: Guizzardo of Bologna" in chapter 3.

179. *Ars* 14–16.

180. On "Certus preliminar" (56): "Dicit primo quod premitendum est in materia describenda uel sermone purpureo reserando sicut in edificiis" (Vatican City, BAV Ottob. lat. 3291, fol. 2ra).

5. The Boy Made Master (439–454).
6. Personifications: the lament of the cross (a short sermon with a call to arms), the lament of a worn-out tablecloth, and the boasting of a famous English Fortress (469–527).
7. Digression on love and springtime (538–553).
8. Descriptions of a beautiful naked woman, a beautiful dressed woman (with a list of Jove's lovers whose beauty she is said to surpass), a well-dressed table, and the feast for which it has been prepared (563–665).
9. Several versions of the story of the snow child, his adulterous mother, and his vindictive father (713–717 and 733–736).
10. Four passages exemplifying the power of metaphor as two seasons (spring and winter), the north wind, and a metal forge (792–829).
11. Adam's sin and Christ's redemption using the thirty-five figures of words (1098–1218).
12. Warnings to a pope: set pieces using the nineteen figures of thought with fourteen sub-categories, including a description of a lazy person, a dialogue between Pontius Pilate and the Jews, the thoughts and motives of Lucifer, and an anecdote about Alexander the Great (1280–1527).
13. Conversions: another beautiful woman (1668) and a plea for time to compose (1745).
14. Determinations: a badly set table (1768), Nero at table (1788), a well-set table (1798), someone dying (1804), and a gambler (1820).
13. The Three Friends: exemplification of comic style (1888–1909).

The appeal of Geoffrey's examples to both audiences—pope and pupils—is clear from the recurrence of certain themes, notably bodies, behavior, and tables of food. The marginal glosses in some manuscripts consist almost entirely of statements beginning “Here he exemplifies” (*Hic exemplificat*).

While all Geoffrey's display pieces are, like the apostrophes on the death of Richard quoted earlier, deliberately exaggerated, they are also distinctive, thematically tight, and above all memorable and imitable.<sup>181</sup> Several of these set pieces circulated independently, including the long passage on the death of the king and the speech of an English fortress already discussed, as well as the lament of the cross,<sup>182</sup> the anecdote of the three friends,<sup>183</sup> and the description of a lazy man. This last was a special favorite in the fifteenth century.<sup>184</sup> Two late-

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181. In the discussion of these apostrophes in his full-length study of the *Poetria nova*, Jean-Yves Tilliette shows how an appreciative modern critic can help us to perceive Geoffrey's aesthetic accomplishments in such passages (*Des mots*, 107–111).

182. See “Sermons?” in chapter 2.

183. E.g., one of three excerpts in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 496, at fol. 241v; another is the description of the lazy man discussed next.

184. In addition to the two manuscripts discussed in the text and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 496, the excerpt (with others) is also found in Paris, BnF lat. 16708, fols. 37v–39r.



fifteenth-century humanist miscellanies<sup>185</sup> in Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli, L 93 and Národní Knihovna České Republiky, III.E.27, suggest how it might have resonated in Renaissance classrooms. The passage is an example of *notatio* or character delineation, part of the mightily extended rhetorical display of all the figures of thought in which the potential pitfalls of being a pontiff are elaborated.<sup>186</sup> When read on its own in a pedagogical setting, however, the excerpt has an obvious and humorous relevance to students, and it contains an allusion to a work widely taught in schools:

Do you know the procrastination of the lazy so-and-so? If he is called in the morning he refuses to hear. If he is summoned repeatedly, with insistent voice, he snores loudly through his nose, although he is awake. Forced at length by the shouts, but sluggish of speech, he gets his tongue moving and “What do you want with me?” he says.—“Get up! Come on!”—“It’s night, let me sleep.” “No, it’s daytime; get up!”—“Ye gods! Look—I am getting up. Go ahead; I’ll be there.” But he doesn’t follow the man he’s fooling; and then: “Aren’t you coming?” “I’d have been there by now, but I’m looking for my clothes and can’t find them.”—“It’s no use—I know you, Birria. Get up at once!”—“Sir, I’m right with you.” But he isn’t; rather he turns his head to this side and that, or scratches his arms, or stretches his limbs. So he looks for any excuse for delay. With his lips, he is always coming—but not with his feet. So, coming, he never arrives—not he. Driven to it, perhaps, he drags his steps as he moves, matching a turtle’s pace. (*PN* 1366–1380)

Geoffrey’s little dialogue strikingly echoes a dialogue involving the lazy servant Birria in the Latin comedy *Geta* (61–68) by Vitalis of Blois.<sup>187</sup> In Prague MS L 93, the excerpt from the *Poetria nova* is specifically entitled “*Ganfredus de pigro servo*” (“Geoffrey on the Lazy Servant”), whereas in Prague III.E.27 it is simply called “*Ganfredus de pigro*” (“Geoffrey on the Lazy So-and-So”).

185. Emil Polak categorizes Prague, Národní Knihovna České Republiky, III.E.27, copied in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, as a “humanist miscellany” (*Eastern Europe*, 68; 68–69 for description of manuscript); the excerpt is on fol. 121a and has interlinear glosses. On this manuscript see also Truhlár, *Catalogus* no. 502, 199, and *Iter ital.* 3.162. The same excerpt was also copied, glossed, and annotated on fol. 41r–v in Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli, L 93 in 1499–1500 (e.g., see fol. 11a). On this manuscript see Podlaha, *Soupis Rukopisů*, 253–256.

186. Other aspects of this long passage are discussed in several sections of this study: “Sermons?” in chapter 2, “A Teacher of Notaries in Ravenna” in chapter 3, and “Jesuit Polymath Athanasius Kircher” in chapter 5.

187. *Geta* has been edited by Etienne Guilhou in Gustave Cohen, *La “comédie” latine*, 1.1–57, and by Ferruccio Bertini in *Commedie latine*, 3.139–242; it is translated along with other school dramas in Elliott, *Seven Medieval Latin Comedies*, 26–49. This short play is found with the *PN* in Chicago, University of Chicago Library, 476; Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria, 72; and in Vatican City, BAV Ottob. lat. 1961. There is also an excerpt from *Geta* in Novacella, Convento dei Canonici Regolari, 327. For an echo of this play in Guizzardo of Bologna’s commentary on the *PN*, see “Women in the Margin” in chapter 3.

This passage would lend itself particularly well to in-class performance, where the association of *piger* with student could be heightened.<sup>188</sup> The humor and popularity of this passage and others like it may reflect the developing interest in Latin classroom comedies and colloquies in the Renaissance. Many of the rhetorical examples in the *Poetria nova* are all or partially in dialogue form, exercises in swift characterization via well-chosen narrative detail and dialogue. Texts like the *Poetria nova*, parts of which cry out for spirited rendition, demonstrate the aural and visual component of learning and may have facilitated the apprehension of dramatic detail as well.

## PROVERBIAL WISDOM

If your strength is but moderate, love what is moderate.<sup>189</sup>

—excerpt from the *Poetria nova* in a proverb collection

Proverbs and exempla were almost as popular with medieval teachers as with their Renaissance counterparts, but the cost of writing materials earlier made it difficult for students to compile individual collections. The *Poetria nova* was mined almost immediately for statements about human experience that could be re-used in other compositions, a practice suggested by a thirteenth-century proverb collection in an English manuscript at the Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.552. That the *Poetria nova* was a *florilegium* item in England so early is significant.<sup>190</sup> Tony Hunt remarks that this manuscript, along with another containing an index of the authors of which it was originally a part, “form a most instructive picture of the poets studied in the schools in the thirteenth century.”<sup>191</sup> The excerpts are identified by author, title, or both and come from Virgil, Lucan, Walter of Châtillon (not identified), Juvenal, Horace, Persius, Ovid, Claudian, Alan of Lille (*Anticlaudianus*, and also later his *Parabolarum* with no identification), Prudentius, the *Poetria nova* (author not identified), Matthew of Vendôme, Maximian, “Homer,”<sup>192</sup> Arator, and Avianus. The sections are divided by author and work, and most of the headings identify the excerpts as proverbs, e.g., “Proverbs of Prudentius from the *Psychomachia*.” Each grouping is introduced by a sentence describing the subject of the work as

188. For another passage interpreted with students in mind (1745–1748), see “Conversion: The Origin of Style” in chapter 2.

189. *PN* 297 quoted in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.552, fol. 14v.

190. Noted in Margaret Nims’s unpublished notebooks.

191. Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin*, 1.28–29.

192. During the Middle Ages, the story of the Trojan War was known primarily through two Latin texts, the verse summary-paraphrase known as *Ilias latina* (McKinley, “Medieval Homer”), and *De excidio Troiae historia*, which purports to be an eyewitness account by Dares Phrygius.

a whole; on the excerpts from the *Poetria nova* the scribe says, “The subject of this section is held to be poetry or the art of letter-writing. . . .”<sup>193</sup> Ninety-five lines are quoted in all, presented in the text as thirty-eight separate examples; some taken together comprise single sections of the *Poetria nova*. These excerpts range from one to six lines, and they have been copied in order, as if by someone culling them directly from the text.

Following are those excerpts drawn from just the first 300 lines of the *Poetria nova* (a few out of order), about one-sixth of the text. Each proverb is formatted separately in the manuscript and in the translation below, although several groups comprise continuous passages in the text, as noted above. Only the first, on the problem of Innocent’s name (discussed in “Off with His Head!” at the beginning of this chapter), is not a proverb. Its inclusion shows how memorable Geoffrey’s acephalous pontiff was.

#### PROVERBS OF THE *POETRIA NOVA*

Holy Father, wonder of the world, if I say Pope Nocent I shall give you a name without a head, but if I add the head, your name will be at odds with the metre (1–3).

A touch of gall makes all the honey bitter; a single blemish disfigures the entire face (68–69).

If a man has a house to build, let his impetuous hand not push into action (43–44).<sup>194</sup>

The next five examples are drawn from Geoffrey’s proverbs and exempla demonstrating how to begin the story of Minos at various points in the narrative.<sup>195</sup>

What is more desirable is more evanescent. All things augur decline, and prosperity is prompter to ruin. Ever blandly, fierce chance lays its snares, and happier fortunes wiftly anticipates flight (181–184).

Envy, vilest of things, wholly a mortal poison, good only for evil, malign only toward good, silently plots all malign counsel, and spreads abroad to the world whatever bitter thing it conceives (186–189).

Just is the law that strikes guile with grief; that turns grief back on the hand whence it issued (191–192).

Suddenly the grim gale rages under a joyous sky; the murky air pours rain after a sun serene (194–195).

193. “Huius materia perpenditur esse poesis, aut ars dictandi . . .” (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.552, fol. 14v; the excerpts are on fols. 14v–15v).

194. Reading “currat” for “currit.”

195. On this story see “Shaping the Narrative” in chapter 2.

Often the arrow learns to rebound on the archer, and the stroke, turned aside,  
to recoil on the striker (201–202).

The next five are a single continuous passage in the *Poetria nova* (282–289), part of the first example of apostrophe:

If your venture has prospered, regard not beginnings but issues.  
From the setting sun, appraise the day, not from its rising.  
When you think that you have done all, the serpent lurks in the grass.  
Keep in mind, as example, the sirens; learn from them in a happier time ever  
to beware an unhappy.  
There is nothing stable in things of this world: after honey comes poison; dark  
night brings the day to a close, and clouds end calm weather.

And the next four are also a single unit (292–303):

If vaulting presumption impudently puffs up a man, pour the oil of mild words  
on his swelling pride.  
Let your eyes go ahead of your footsteps; take stock of your mind and measure  
your strength. If you are strong, dare great things. If you are weak, lay  
lighter burdens on your shoulders.  
If your strength is but moderate, love what is moderate. Assume nothing which  
you are presumptuous in assuming. In all things virtue is one: to heed your  
true measure. Firmly imprint on your mind; although you are greater than  
others, feign yourself less, and deceive yourself in your own regard. Do not  
thus hurl others down to the depths, nor rate yourself above the heavens.  
Let deeds surpass words; boasting diminishes fame.<sup>196</sup>

The cumulative impression of these quotations is of a much more somber book than the *Poetria nova* itself; there are no excerpts from Geoffrey's treatment of digression, for example, although several of his general statements in it, e.g., "Love is a spur to grief," could have been included. This disjuncture of affect between a work and excerpts drawn from it is a common effect of proverbial *florilegia*, and such lugubriousness is even more striking in collections of proverbs from works of more salacious content like the popular medieval Latin drama *Pamphilus*.<sup>197</sup> Aphoristic expressions reinforced the pedagogical focus on small

196. These are followed by one copied out of order: "Though happily all man's affairs are subject to change, misfortune is wont to return with greater alacrity" (290–291). The other excerpts from the *Poetria nova* copied here are lines 309–12, 357–58, 337–39 (out of order), 365, 437–40, 489–91, 493, 640, 749–50, 876–78, 880–81, 1078–84, 1707–08, 1403–06 (also out of order), 1955–56, 1977–82, 1986–87, 2041–42.

197. Woods, "Rape," 71–72. A similar effect was accomplished by the early excerpting of Margery Kemp, by means of which published passages she was known as a devout anchoress for centuries until a manuscript of her complete text surfaced in 1934 (Summit, *Lost Property*, 126–138).

units of composition, but proverbs also provided fertile material for amplification and variation exercises of the kind at which Geoffrey of Vinsauf excels.

## THE MASTERPIECE

The [*Poetria nova*] is resplendent with special beauty, equally charming in substance and words.<sup>198</sup>

—Eberhard the German, *Laborintus*

Although poetry did not have the elevated status during the Middle Ages that it has occupied in the post-romantic era, medieval teachers did associate specific qualities with successful poetry.<sup>199</sup> We have read premodern commentators' praise of Geoffrey's conciseness and clarity (what we might call instead his efficiency and memorableness), his agreement of words and thoughts, his useful content, and its appropriate presentation; these characteristics made it particularly useful to teachers. But to determine what other qualities were associated with poetical composition, it will be helpful to compare further the *Poetria nova* with other works singled out for particular admiration. In *The Arts of Poetry and Prose*, Douglas Kelly makes the case for a specific medieval category of "masterpiece" with which he designates those medieval Latin works that achieved a special, elevated status in the schools. He draws his argument from a statement made by Gervase of Melkley in the "Dedicatory Epistle" to the *Ars versificaria*: "Matthew of Vendôme wrote fully about this art; Geoffrey of Vinsauf more fully; most fully, of course, Bernardus Silvestris—in prose a parrot; in meter, a nightingale."<sup>200</sup> Gervase is referring here first to Matthew of Vendôme's *Ars versificatoria* and then to Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova*. Kelly convincingly identifies (partly because of Gervase's constant quoting of it) the otherwise unknown *ars poetriae* by Bernardus as none other than the *Cosmographia*, a famous work about the (re)creation of man and his acquisition of knowledge, written in passages of alternating prose (Bernard as parrot) and verse (Bernard as nightingale).

As we saw earlier, Kelly outlines for modern readers a graded series of medieval rhetorical treatises based on Gervase's categories: the elementary treatise emphasizing rudiments; the grammatical treatise or "full" treatment and the rhetorical treatise or "fuller" treatment.<sup>201</sup> He concludes with an additional cat-

198. Carlson, "*Laborintus*," 50–51.

199. Although the focus of this study is on the *Poetria nova* and pedagogy, the reader is directed also to the interpretation of the work as a poem by Yves Tilliette, *Des mots*.

200. Giles, "Gervais," 1; Gräbener, *Ars poetica*, 1.9–12. I have emended Giles's "Bernard Silvester" to the Latinate form of his name used elsewhere in this study.

201. See "The Arts of Poetry and Prose" earlier in this chapter.

egory, “[t]he masterpiece, or the fullest and most complete presentation of the art of poetry and prose, . . . illustrated by Bernardus Silvestris’ *Cosmographia* and Jean of Hauville’s *Architrenius*.”<sup>202</sup> I would suggest that for many medieval teachers the category of masterpiece included Geoffrey’s *Poetria nova* as well as two works by Alan of Lille, the *Anticlaudianus* (included by Gervase) and *The Complaint of Nature*. Both of Alan’s works are extant in more known manuscripts than either the *Cosmographia* or *Architrenius*, although in barely more than half as many as the *Poetria nova*.<sup>203</sup> And, like the *Poetria nova*, these two works by Alan were taught at both school and university levels during the latter centuries of the Middle Ages.<sup>204</sup> What these works by Geoffrey and Alan (and to a lesser extent those by Bernardus Silvestris, John of Hautville, and others mentioned by Gervase) have in common is a particularly teachable aesthetic that is very foreign to modern tastes; it emphasizes repetition and variation, the tiniest units of composition, a “set piece” aestheticism, extreme examples, and a penchant for self-reflexive (sometimes grotesque) metaphors that talk about and imitate pedagogical techniques at the same time.<sup>205</sup>

The “new poetics” as well as the “new rhetoric” of the *Poetria nova* gave medieval teachers a text of great flexibility and applicability, as witnessed by the attention given to it by the early humanists in Italy and its adaptability to scholastic codes of university discourse in central Europe—even while it continued to be used in more elementary schoolrooms. Yet this flexibility and applicability came from the very rigid and programmatic aspects of the text itself. While the *Poetria nova* may not have been a “masterpiece” in Gervase’s eyes (he quotes it much less often than the *Cosmographia* or the *Architrenius*, both works more in line with modern aesthetics as well), Gervase himself seems to have been a far more individually gifted pedagogue than the run-of-the-mill medieval teacher<sup>206</sup>—or modern one, for that matter. But most medieval teachers needed a text that would work under any circumstances and with almost all students, and for this purpose Geoffrey’s may have been better suited. The great literary masterpieces of the twelfth century, such as the *Cosmographia* so highly praised by Gervase, changed the stakes for medieval teachers in the centuries that followed. Educators then as now chose texts that enabled them to say what they

202. Kelly, *Arts*, 63.

203. The *Cosmographia* has survived in 46 manuscripts (Dronke, 64); the *Architrenius* in 27 (Schmidt, *Architrenius*, 93–103); *Anticlaudianus* in 111 (Sheridan, *Plaint of Nature* 34); and *De planctu Nature* in 138 (Krochalis, “Alain de Lille,” 2; for English manuscripts see now Gibson et al., “Manuscripts of Alan of Lille”). These statistics may increase as manuscript studies become more comprehensive. Most classical texts taught in the medieval schools have survived in hundreds more copies.

204. Krochalis, “Alain de Lille,” passim. Other authors’ works were taught at various levels, of course; see, for example, Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England*, 61; and Nauta, “William of Conches” (on Boethius), 389–391.

205. Most of the works of earlier authors also cited by Gervase in the same context (Claudian, Dares Phrygius, Lucan, Statius, and Virgil [Giles, “Treatise,” 4; Gräbener, *Ars poetica*, 3.26–4.3]) can also be described—*si fas est*—the same way.

206. On a fifteenth-century comparison of Gervase and Geoffrey favoring the former, see Clark, *Monastic Renaissance*, 225.

wanted to say, and the new genre of the arts of poetry and prose, of which the *Poetria nova* became the favorite example, allowed them to talk about poetry in terms of rhetoric, and to speak about rhetoric in terms of all kinds of compositions. The *Poetria nova* generated by the commentators—for no medieval work, like no modern one, existed out of context—was a highly successful poem that still has much to teach.



## MANUSCRIPT LIST OF THE *POETRIA NOVA* AND COMMENTARIES

Included here are manuscripts of the *Poetria nova* and commentaries on it, whether copied separately or in the margins of the text. This list is based on that compiled by Margaret F. Nims in the preparation of her translation of the *Poetria nova*, augmented by manuscripts discovered both by John Conley while gathering information for a proposed edition of the text and by me in my work on the commentaries. My contribution has been much smaller in terms of the number of manuscripts, but final responsibility for the information presented and for all details about commentaries is mine. I have been able to examine a majority of the manuscripts during research trips to more than seventy libraries and have studied microfilms of almost all the rest. In a few cases the information derives solely from printed references or personal communication and is so indicated. Individual manuscripts that include more than one copy of the text or commentary are listed only once, with the folios for the relevant sections identified. Fragments of commentary and/or text are included, but excerpts are not.

Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, 523, 14th cent., French (western France [IRHT]), fols. 11–48v. Commentary: marginal and interlinear glossing throughout; no *accessus*. Incipit: “STUPOR vno modo dicitur prout est asicnacio mentis. . . .”

Assisi, Biblioteca Storico-Francescana della Chiesa Nuova, 301, 15th cent., Italian, fols. 119r–153r. Commentary: a few scattered glosses.

———, 305, 15th cent., Italian, fragment to line 374, fols. 11–5v. Commentary: interlinear glosses to top of fol. 31; marginal notes identifying the ways of beginning with a proverb, etc.

———, 309, 15th cent., Italian, commentary only on fols. 11a–74r. Commentary



- by Pace of Ferrara. For other manuscripts see Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, Col. 5–4–30. Incipit: “<P>osuerunt antiquiorum [*sic*] nostri cum aliquid noui . . . .”
- Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2° 133, 15th cent. (*PN* 1479), central European, *accessus* on fol. 61r–v, *PN* on fols. 62r–124v. Commentary: *accessus* with Dybinus material and some marginal glosses; interlinear glosses throughout; related to Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1084. Incipit: “Circa ea que in hoc libro dicenda sunt notandum primo quod secundum intencionem Aristotelis et Tullii triplex est rethorica. . . .” Incipit of secondary *accessus*: “Et secundum illa officia presens liber cuius materia siue subiectum est ornatus modus persuadendi cuiuslibet persuasibilis diuiditur in quinque tractatus.”
- Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Class. 56, 15th cent. (*PN* 1481), central European, fols. 1r–46r. Commentary: *PN* preceded by outline; a few notes on text.
- Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Ripoll 103, 13th–14th cent., Italian?, fols. 1r–46r. Commentary: extensive marginal and layers of interlinear glossing, especially at beginning, becoming more sporadic later. Incipit: “Antequam Gualfredus accedat ad propositum principale premittit prologum. . . .”
- Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, F III 35, Italian, fols. 234r–269v. Commentary: interlinear glosses sporadic after beginning; marginal glosses on first few folios only.
- , F IV 27, 13th cent. for *PN*, fols. 52r–82v. Commentary: none (letter of Dr. Martin Steinmann).
- Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica “Angelo Mai,” MA 7, 14th–15th cent., Italian, fols. 1r–30v. Commentary: some interlinear glosses.
- , MA 259, Italian, 14th–15th cent. (but see Gatti Perer, *Codici e incunaboli*, 35), fols. 1r–40v. Commentary: numerous short marginal glosses and interlinear notes.
- , MA 484, 15th cent. (1414), Italian, commentary only on fols. 1ra–65rb. Commentary by Pace of Ferrara; for other copies see Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, Col. 5–4–30. Primary incipit: “Consueuerunt antiquiores nostri cum aliquid noui proponunt.” Incipit of secondary *accessus*: “Incepturus librum artis poetice oportet duo considerare.”
- [Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek—Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 959; see Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 1891.]
- Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Hamilton 101, 14th cent. (1394), Italian, fols. 51r–90r. Commentary: marginal glosses to fol. 70v (some very lengthy), interlinear to end, by Nofri di Angelo; no *accessus*. Incipit: “SI QUIS HABET etc. Postquam autor posuit prohemium suum consequenter in hac parte aggreditur partem executiuam.”
- , lat. fol. 607, 13th–14th cent., French? (but see Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin*, 1.169), fols. 38ra–46vb (beginning missing; begins at 130). Commentary: interlinear and marginal glossing; no *accessus*.
- , lat. qu. 17, 15th cent. (1st half), central European, *PN* (to 368) on fols. 1v–12v, commentary to fols. 1r–4v. Commentary: beginning of very full commentary drawing on Dybinus of Prague. For other MSS see Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1084. Primary incipit: “Circa initium Ganfreydi siue *Poetrie noue* pro recommendatione rethorice sentencie est notanda illa propositio, ‘Tota pulchra es amica mea.’” Incipit of secondary *accessus*: “PAPA STUPOR MUNDI SI Iste liber cuius subiectum est ornatus modus persuadendi materiam cuiuslibet

- persuasibilis prima sui [*sic*] diuisione diuiditur in quinque tractatus.”
- , lat. qu. 425, 15th cent., Italian, fols. 1r–47r. Commentary: a few glosses.
- , lat. qu. 515, 14th cent., English provenance (Ottery St. Mary [Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, 141]), fols. 37r–68r. Commentary: marginal and interlinear glosses. Incipit: “PAPA STUPOR Hic in principio huius prohemii circumlocutione utitur auctor dicendo ‘stupor mundi.’” Similar incipit but different glosses in London, BL Harley 3775 and Vatican City, BAV Ottob. lat. 1472.
- Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, 534, late 13th cent., French, fols. 147r–178r (to 2077). Commentary: both marginal and interlinear glosses; no *accessus* (previous folio cut off). Incipit worn and partly illegible: “Nota quod \*\*\* nomina queque(?) sint possunt poni.”
- [Bologna, Biblioteca Arcivescovile, 47 (Gallick, “Medieval Rhetorical Arts,” 83). See Bologna, Libreria Breventani.]
- Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell’Archiginnasio, A. 2508, late 13th cent.?, Italian, 4 fols. of fragments (some edges cut), about 200 lines. Commentary: some interlinear glosses and marginal comments in various hands; most too worn to read.
- Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2637, late 13th cent., fols. 1r–19v (incomplete; ends at 1145). Commentary: some marginal glosses on first folio, rare thereafter; interlinear glosses throughout.
- Bologna, Libreria Breventani, 47, 14th–15th cent., 56 folios. Commentary: marginal and interlinear glosses, some in vernacular. Information from Mazzatinti et al., *Inventari dei manoscritti*, 16.87.
- Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, A.IV.10, 14th–15th cent., Italian, fols. 93r–134r. Commentary: short *accessus* and some glosses. Incipit: “PAPA STUPOR etc. Opus istius potest diuidi secundum partem rethorice, et secundum sermonem rethoricum.”
- Breslau. See Wrocław.
- Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1<sup>er</sup>, 4988–90, 14th cent., fols. 1r–15v, fragment. Information from *Iter ital.* 3.94; and from Michiel Verweij.
- , 9774, 15th cent. (1450), fols. 2r–74r. Commentary: introductory short note and some interlinear glosses on first folio and only very sporadically thereafter. Incipit: “Incipit *Poetria noua* magistri Gamfredi Anglici; in quinque tractatus diuisa est.”
- Bryn Mawr, Bryn Mawr College Library, Gordan MS 97, 15th cent. (1417), Italian, fols. 1r–54v (beg. missing). Commentary: some marginal and many interlinear glosses to fol. 30r; incipit missing.
- Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 406, 13th cent. (1st half), English, fols. 101r–112v. Commentary: none.
- Cambridge, Trinity College, R.3.29, 13th cent. (first half), English, later *accessus* added on fol. 96v; *PN* on fols. 97r–105r. Commentary: *accessus* only. Incipit: “Cum omnium creaturarum dignissima [= dignissima creatura] sit homo. . . .”
- , R.3.51, 13th cent. (first half), English?, fols. 1r–35r (modern foliation). Commentary: none.
- , R.14.22, 13th cent. for *PN*, English, two *accessus* on fols. 1v and 2r; *PN* on fols. 3r–44r. Commentary: two *accessus* and glosses in several hands added later. Incipit of first *accessus*: “Cum rerum noticiam precedat noticia causarum earum huius operis prius consideremus ut

- rei sequentis lucidius pateat cognicio.” Incipit of second *accessus*: “PAPA STUPOR MUNDI etc. In principio istius auctoris sicut cuiuslibet alterius ista occiderunt inquisitioni, scilicet que causa suscepti operis. . . .” Incipit of glosses on text illegible.
- Cambridge, Harvard University, Houghton Library, lat. 154, 14th cent., Italian, fols. 1r–38v. Commentary: marginal identification of figures.
- Chicago, University of Chicago Library, 476, 14th–15th cent., Italian (Venice [Ricci, *Census*, 587]), fols. 1r–40r. Commentary: none.
- Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. kgl. Saml. 2036, 14th cent., central European, fols. 19r–49v. Commentary: *EC*, *accessus* missing; for other manuscripts see Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4603.
- , Gl. kgl. Saml. 2037, 17th cent., Central European, *PN* on pp. 3–87, commentary on pp. 91–440. Commentary: *accessus* and extensive collection of quotations by Zacharias Lund. Incipit of *accessus*: “Cujusvis statuæ cognitio a capite est.”
- Cracow. See Krakow.
- Cremona, Biblioteca Statale, Fondo Governativa 88, 14th cent., Italian, separate commentary only on fols. 1r–87r. Commentary by Pace of Ferrara; for other MSS see Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, Col. 5–4–30. Primary incipit: “Consueuerunt antiquiores nostri cum aliquid noui proponunt . . .” Incipit of secondary *accessus*: “<I>n cepimus librum artis poetice oportet duo considerare.”
- Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, 764, 15th cent. (early [Camargo, “Models,” 178]), English, fols. 186r–226v. Commentary: none.
- Durham, Cathedral Library, C.IV.23, late 14th cent., English, fols. 56r–126r. Commentary: a few marginal headings or identifications.
- Durham, University Library, Cosin V.V.2, 15th cent. (1st half), English, fols. 125r–160r. Commentary: a couple of notes on first seven leaves.
- Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, 144, 14th cent., central European, *PN* on fols. 1v–43v (ends incomplete at line 2105), *accessus* on fol. 1r. Commentary: *accessus* and marginal glosses. Incipit: “In principio huius libri hec sunt inquirenda, scilicet que materia, que utilitas . . .”
- Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek der Stadt, Amplon. F.50, 14th cent., central European (probably Prague [Szklenar, *Magister Nicolaus*, 61]), separate commentary only on fols. 1r–59r. Commentary: full and extensive commentary in tradition of Dybinus of Prague. Primary incipit: “Omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius oues et boues et uniuersa pecora campi.’ Verba proposita scripta sunt per prophetam in Spalmo [sic] {8:8}.” Incipit of secondary *accessus*: “Tulius primo sue *Rethorice* describit rethoricam, dicens ‘Rethorica est sciencia docens de quocumque perswadibili . . .”
- , Amplon. O.1, central European, 14th cent., *PN* on fols. 20v–57v; separate commentary on fols. 57r–72r. Commentary: both glosses on text and commentary following text. Incipit of glosses on text cut off. Incipit of separate commentary: “Ex quo liber iste supponitur rethorica videndum est quid sit rethorica et ex quibus rebus constituatur . . .”
- , Amplon. O.15, 14th–15th cent., central European, fols. 1r–38v; *accessus* on 38v. Commentary: scattered marginal and interlinear glosses throughout text. Incipit (very worn): “\*\*\* hunc librum est docere quedam communia poetice et rethorice . . .” First of notes function-

- ing as *accessus* at end: “Nota causa materialis est ars rethorica . . .”
- , Amplon. O.17, 13th–14th cent., *PN* on fols. 1r–36r, first *accessus* on fols. 36r–38r, second *accessus* on fol. 38v, first commentary on fols. 38v–57r, second commentary on fols. 82r–93r. Commentary: glossing on text; two separate *accessus*; and two separate commentaries. Incipit of glosses around text illegible. Incipit of first *accessus*: “Liber iste per modum sciencie diuiditur in quinque partes . . .” Incipit of second *accessus*: “PAPA STUPOR In printipio videntum quid, qualiter, quare . . .” Incipit of first commentary: “PAPA STUPOR MUNDI In hoc loco premitit actor prologum in quo tria facit . . .” Incipit of second commentary: “PAPA STUPOR etc. Iste liber principaliter in quinque <partes> [per penes *MS*]. . .”
- , Amplon. Q.66, 14th cent., central European, fragment of commentary on fols. 39r–40v, *PN* on fols. 74r–119r and 41r–43v. Commentary: fragment of separate commentary on digression and description sections of *PN*; a few glosses on text of *PN*.
- , Amplon. Q.75, late 13th cent.?, central European, separate commentary on fols. 41r–58v, second separate commentary on fols. 59r–62v, *PN* on fols. 63r–83r, *accessus* added at fol. 83r. Commentary: two separate commentaries, scattered glosses on text, and separate *accessus*. Incipit of first commentary: “Quemadmodum vlt Aristotelis in libro *Predicamentorum*, ‘Omnis sciencia est in anima.’” Incipit of second separate commentary: “CARMINIS Hic ostendit quales debent esse partes . . .” Incipit of *accessus* at end of *PN*: “In principio istius libri sex sunt inquirenda . . .”
- , Amplon. Q.286, 14th–15th cent., fols. 1r–32v. Commentary: introductory note and some interlinear and marginal glossing in last half. Incipit of introductory note: “Ganfredus vir eloquentissimus . . .”
- Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, 635, 15th cent. (1482–85), central European, fols. 2r–34v. Commentary: marginal and interlinear glosses on first folios. Incipit: “Incipit *Poetria noua* anglici poete Ganfredi Ysagogia. . .”
- Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, II. 175, 15th cent (first half for *PN*), Italian, fols. 55r–91v. Commentary: full glossing on first folio, very little thereafter. First gloss: “NEC NOMEN Hic captat auctor beneuolenciam dicens ‘pape’ ab ipsis rebus, idest ab ipsis uirtutibus. . .”
- Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Acquisti e doni 438, 15th cent. (early [Black, *Humanism*, 342]), Italian, fols. 1r–24v (incomplete; to line 1793). Commentary: marginal glosses (paraphrases) on first two folios, rare thereafter; interlinear glossing very sporadic after fol. 6v. Incipit: “PAPA STUPOR etc. Ego tribuam tibi nomen acephalum.”
- , Conv. Soppr. 409, mid-15th cent. (Black, *Humanism*, 342), Italian, fols. 35v–77r. Commentary: interlinear and some marginal glosses (first gloss on line 136).
- , Gadd. 190, 13th–14th cent., Italian?, fols. 14r–47v. Commentary: some marginal and interlinear notes, esp. at beginning, but none on first folio side.
- , Strozzi 137, 14th cent. (early) for *PN*, Italian (Emilia [Black, *Humanism*, 346]), fols. 1r–36v. Commentary: *accessus* and some interlinear and marginal glossing in several hands (very worn). Incipit: “PAPA STUPOR etc. In nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi hic incipiunt diuisiones huius libri premissis primo causis operi cuilibet conuenientibus.”
- , Strozzi 139, 15th cent. (“early”: Black, *Humanism*, 342; “first half”: Black, *Education and Society*, 160), Italian (Florence [Black, *Humanism*, 342, and *Education and Society*, 160]), fols.

- 1r–41v. Commentary: none.
- Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. Soppr. I.VI.17, 14th cent. (1330–1340 [Black, *Humanism*, 342]), Italian, fols. 1r–42v. Commentary: full marginal commentary. Incipit: “Causa efficiens huius operis fuit Gualfredus d’Anglia qui composuit ipsum ad decus domini pape Innocentii tercii a quo optinuit quoddam beneficium. . . .”
- , Panciat. 69, mid-15th cent., Italian (Florence [Black, *Humanism*, 342, and *Education and Society*, 160]), fols. 2r–34v. Commentary: a few scattered marginal and simple interlinear glosses.
- Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 682, 15th cent. (first half [Black, *Humanism*, 343, and *Education and Society*, 160]), Italian, fols. 1r–48v. Commentary: interlinear glosses only, stopping on fol. 33r.
- , 874, 14th cent. (1355–1365 [Black, *Humanism*, 343], “third quarter of the fourteenth century” [Black, *Education and Society*, 63]), Italian, fols. 1r–39r. Commentary: a few interlinear and marginal notes, esp. on figures.
- , 1189, 14th cent. (first half), Italian (Tuscany / Angevin Naples [Black, *Humanism*, 343]), fols. 1r–35r. Commentary: marginal and sporadic interlinear glosses stopping abruptly at fol. fol. 24v; incipit illegible.
- , 3600, 15th cent. (early [Black, *Humanism*, 344]), Italian, fols. 49r–71v (ends at 1451). Commentary: glosses on first two folios.
- , 3605, 15th cent. (mid- [Black, *Humanism*, 344]), Italian, fragment at fols. 31r–36v. Commentary: marginal glosses on first and last folios, scattered interlinear glosses throughout; incipit illegible.
- Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Praed. 17, fragment in back binding (lines 1705–08). Information from Powitz, *Die Handschriften des Dominikanerklosters*, 36.
- Fulda, Landesbibliothek, C 8 (Kloster Weingarten K 11), 15th cent., central European, fols. 2r–60v. Commentary: *EC*. For other MSS see Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4603. Incipit: “Exordium secundum Tullium in principio *Noüe rethorice* . . .”
- Gdansk (Danzig), Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Mar. Q.8, 15th cent., central European, *PN* on fols. 2r–76v; commentary from fol. 1r. Commentary in tradition of Dybinus of Prague; with *accessus* and extensive, continuous marginal and interlinear glossing (the last sparse after fol. 69r); for related MSS see Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1084. Primary incipit: “Amice, ascende superius’ que quidem verba licet Luce 14<sup>o</sup> capitulo {14:10} sunt in parabola conscripta. . . .” Incipit of secondary *accessus*: “PAPA STUPOR Iste liber cuius subiectum est ornatus modus perswadendi cuiuslibet perswasibilis prima sui [*sic*] diuisione diuiditur in quinque tractatus.”
- , Mar. Q.9, central European, 15th cent., separate comm. on fols. 1r–105r; *PN* with marginal notes on fols. 109r–154r (some passages unglossed; sporadic notes at end; *PN* lacking last two lines). Commentary by Dybinus of Prague copied separately; for other MSS see Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, XII.B.12. Primary incipit: “Amice, ascende superius’ scribitur Luce capitulo 4<sup>o</sup>. Philosophicalis sciencia quemlibet secundum rationem viuientem eleuat.” Incipit of secondary *accessus*: “PAPA STUPOR MUNDI Antequam habe-

atur diuisio littere prius videamus quid sit rethorica.” Incipit of commentary in margins of *PN* has been cut off.

Genoa, Biblioteca Durazzo Giustiniani, B II 1, 14th cent., Italian (Bologna [Puncuh, *I manoscritti*, 191]), fols. 1r–41v. Commentary: interlinear and marginal glosses naming Pietro da Muglio on fols. 1r and 41v.

Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek, 68, 15th cent. (first half), central European, *PN* (to 1217) on fols. 2r–38v; comm. starts on fol. 1vb. Commentary: marginal and interlinear commentary drawing on Dybinus of Prague (with some interlinear glosses from *scripta* version [Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, VIII. H.22] and marginal glosses more closely related to *dicta* version [see Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, XII.B.12]). Incipit: “PAPA STUPOR MUNDI SI DIXERO Iste liber cuius subiectum est ornatus modus persuadendi cuiuslibet persuasibilis prima <secundum> [sed *MS*] diuisionem diuiditur in quinque tractatus secundum quod quinque sunt officia rethoris.” Compare Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 37.34 Aug. 2° and Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, IV Q 110; and see also Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1084 and related MSS.

Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 511 (V. 8. 14), 13th cent. (1200–1230), English (East Midlands [Camargo, “*Tria sunt*,” 939]), fols. 72r–97v. Commentary: none.

Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Membr. II.124, 13th–14th cent., German?, fols. 1r–27v. Commentary: a few later notes.

Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 979, 14th cent., central European, fols. 26r–79r. Commentary: interlinear and some marginal glosses.

Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, fragment 3 from MS Petri 9; lines 505–594 and 749–826 on flyleaves, fols. 1 and 242. Commentary: with glosses. Information from Brandis, *Die Handschriften*, 16–18.

Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, IV 518, 14th cent., fols. 1r–49r. Commentary: “. . . dicitur ‘stupor mundi’ . . . ” [much illegible].

Holkham Hall, Library of the Earl of Leicester, 423, 14th cent., Italian, fols. 2r–32v. Commentary: marginal glosses. Incipit: “Nota quod quinque sunt partes rethorice, scilicet inuentio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, et pronuntiatio.”

Keio, Keio University Library, item no. 6, 14th cent. (first half), Italian, 48 folios, *PN* begins on fol. 22. Commentary: “Numerous neat marginal and interlinear notes by various 14th- and 15th-century readers.” Information from Matsuda, ed. *Mostly British*, 41–45; and William Snell, e-mail communication, January 2007.

Klagenfurt, Bundesstaatliche Studienbibliothek, Pap. 109, 14th cent., central European, commentary only on fols. 63v–175va (ending missing, from just after line 1600). Commentary by Pace of Ferrara; for other MSS see Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, Col. 5–4–30. Primary incipit: “Consueuerunt antiquiores nostri cum aliquid noui proponunt . . . ” Incipit of secondary *accessus*: “Incepturos libri artis poetice debet duo considerare.”

Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 1891, 14th–15th cent., central European, fols. 156v–209r, commentary from fol. 156r (formerly Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek lat. 959, earlier believed destroyed). Commentary: *accessus* and interlinear and marginal glosses throughout. Incipit of

- accessus*: “Circa principium rethorice sciendum quod rethorica a Tulio sic describitur . . .”
- , 1934, 15th cent., central European, fols. 1r–113v. Commentary: extensive, with *accessus* and marginal and interlinear glossing. Incipit: “<R>ethorica superna gracia facundie red<dit> domina eloquencie et lepide oracionis urbanam fabricatio ex superfund<en>cia sue benignitatis. . .”
- , 1954, 14th–15th cent., central European, fols. 61r–86r. Commentary: none, but room left for one.
- , 2141, 15th cent. (1450), central European, fols. 104v–209r; comm. from fol. 104r. Commentary by Dybinus of Prague written around and between sections of text, with interlinear glosses. Primary incipit: “Amice, ascende superius et erit tibi gloria coram omnibus simul discumbentibus.” Secondary incipit: “Sciendum quod secundum Tulium . . .” For other MSS see Prague, Národní knihovna České Republiky, XII.B.12.
- , Przyb. 91/52, 15th cent., fols. 1r–36v (text ends at 1837). Commentary: extensive three-columned marginal commentary and interlinear glossing; beginning missing. Same commentary (there with *accessus*) in Krakow, Biblioteka Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, Oddział Zbiory Czartoryskich, 1464.
- Krakow, Biblioteka Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, Oddział Zbiory Czartoryskich, 1464, 15th cent. (2nd half), central European, pp. 129–187. Commentary: extensive three-columned commentary as well interlinear glossing; stops abruptly at p. 182, 1. 1935. Portions of *accessus* from Pace of Ferrara. Same commentary in Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Przyb. 91/52. Incipit: “Pro faciliori invitacione auditorum ad ea instituta que poete nostri . . .”
- Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. lat. O.68, 14th cent., Italian, fols. 1r–50v. Commentary: techniques identified in margin.
- , Voss. lat. O.69, 14th cent. for *PN*, French?, fols. 90r–123v. Commentary: none.
- Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1084, 14th–15th cent., central European, fols. 232r–252v (*PN* to line 1137; commentary to fol. 252r). Commentary: extensive marginal and interlinear glosses in Dybinus tradition; versions in Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2° 133; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, lat. qu. 17; Gdansk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Mar. Q.8; and MSS listed under Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek, 68. Incipit: “<P>APA STUPOR Iste liber cuius subiectum videtur esse ornatus modus persvasendi de quocumque persvasibili diuiditur in quinque partes, siue tractatus speciales.”
- Leningrad. See St. Petersburg.
- London, British Library, Add. 10095, 15th cent. (1427), Italian, separate commentary only on fols. 108r–156r. Commentary by Pace of Ferrara; for other MSS see Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, Col. 5–4–30. Primary incipit: “Consueuerunt antiquiores nostri cum aliquid noui proponunt . . .” Incipit of secondary *accessus*: “Incepturos librum artis *Poetrie nouelle* oportet duo considerare.”
- , Add. 15108, 15th cent. (1426–1430), central European, comm. on fols. 236r–301v, *PN* on fols. 237r–303v (incomplete; ends at 1587). Commentary: extensive marginal commentary and interlinear glosses in Dybinus tradition; commentary stops at line 1490, where hand of text changes. Incipit: “Quia iste liber retoralis est . . .”

- , Add. 18153, 14th cent., fols. 4r–45r; *accessus* from 2r. Commentary: *accessus* and glosses, some in German. Primary incipit: “In principio huius libri octo sunt uidenda: primo de vita auctoris . . .” Incipit of secondary *accessus*: “In principio istius libri tria sunt precipue inquirenda, scilicet quid in hoc opere tractet, propter quid, et qualiter.”
- , Add. 21214, 14th cent., Italian, fols. 3r–33v. Commentary: a few marginal and interlinear glosses.
- , Add. 22159, 15th cent., German?, fols. 61r–102v. Commentary: none.
- , Add. 37495, 14th cent. (1382), Italian, fols. 1r–37v. Commentary: no *accessus*; interlinear and marginal glosses in two similar hands. Incipit: “O PAPA qui es STUPOR MUNDI quantum ad hoc quod te totus mundus admiratur, ego intendo . . .”
- [———, Arundel 343, 14th cent.?, burned in 1863.]
- , Cotton Cleopatra B.VI, 14th–15th cent., English (Oxford [Camargo, “*Tria sunt*,” 937]), fols. 4r–33v (new foliation). Commentary: none.
- , Egerton 2261, 13th cent., fragment at fol. 224r (52 of last 73 lines).
- , Harley 2586, 15th cent., fols. 2r–45v. Commentary: marginal notes on first folios that resemble *EC*; no *accessus*.
- , Harley 3582, 13th cent., Italian, fols. 1r–34r. Commentary: a few interlinear glosses, more at beginning.
- , Harley 3775, 13th cent., English provenance for other parts of this composite MS, fols. 150r–178r. Commentary: marginal glosses. No real *accessus*; very faded incipit of first gloss (“PAPA STUPOR Hic in principio *Poetrie* utitur auctor circumlocutione . . .”) similar to incipit in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, lat. qu. 515 and Vatican City, BAV Ottob. lat. 1472; commentary that follows is different.
- , Harley 6504, 15th cent., fols. 1r–40r. Commentary: interlinear glosses to fol. 36v; a few scattered marginal glosses.
- , Royal 8.C.VII, 14th cent. (second half [IRHT]), fragment on fols. 3r–4v (lines 204–292). Commentary: none.
- [———, Royal 12.B.XVII, fols. 43v–53r (lines 1061–1601). Commentary: marginal and interlinear glossing on most folios. This item is actually a long excerpt of almost one fourth of the *PN* intentionally copied separately and ending in mid-section, included here because of the extent of the glossing.]
- , Royal 12.E.XI, 15th cent., English, *PN* on fols. 3r–52r, *accessus* on fols. 52r–53v. Commentary: some glossing on text *accessus* at end. Incipit of added *accessus*: “Liber iste diuiditur in prohemium et tractatum.”
- Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 3699, 14th–15th cent., Italian. fols. 1r–49r. Commentary: *accessus* added on flyleaf (iv). Incipit: “Ut huius auctoris intencio et principalis causa . . .”
- , 9589, 15th cent., Italian (w. Aragonese contents), *accessus* on fol. 3r–v, *PN* on fols. 8r–62v. Commentary: extensive prefatory material and consistent glossing. Incipit: “PAPA STUPOR MUNDI etc. In principio huius libri sicut in quolibet opere sunt quattor inquirenda, scilicet que causa efficiens, que materialis, que formalis, et que finalis.”
- Manchester, Chetham’s Library, A.3.130, 14th–15th cent., fols. 1r–25v. Commentary: none.
- Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, 883.1, 13th–14th cent., central European, fols. 1v–42r. Commentary: intro-



- ductory gloss and sporadic marginal comments. Incipit: "PAPA STUPOR Hic magister Gamfredus commendat papam . . ."
- [Metz, Bibliothèque municipale, 516, 14th cent. Destroyed.] Commentary: only a few folios, but may have been *EC*; for other MSS of *EC* see Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4603. Incipit: "In principio huius libri videndum est quid tractetur in hoc opere . . ." (*Catalogue général* 5.192–193).
- Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E 129 sup., 14th cent. (second half), Italian (northern), fols. 1r–46r. Commentary: none. Information from Marco Petoletti.
- , G 96 sup., 14th cent., Italian (Veneto [Petoletti]), fols. 1r–43v. Commentary: few marginal but numerous interlinear glosses, some in the vernacular.
- , N 179 sup., 13th cent. (second half [Petoletti]), French, fols. 7v–35v. Commentary: interlinear glosses and some marginal notes.
- , P 9 sup., 14th cent. (end), fols. 1r–50r. Commentary: none. Information from Marco Petoletti.
- , S 2 sup., 14th cent. (1372), fols. 1r–38v. Commentary: none.
- , Trotti 302, 13th cent., (second half or end), Italian (northern: Bologna?), fols. 1r–35v. Commentary: none, but with erased note by Giuseppe Brivio quoting incipit of commentary by Pace of Ferrara, "Consueverunt antiquiores" (see Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, Col. 5–4–30). Information from Marco Petoletti.
- Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, 681, 14th cent. (end [Santoro, *I codici*, 153]), fols. 1r–34v. Commentary: none.
- , 728, 14th cent., Italian, fols. 1r–50v, Commentary: interlinear glossing throughout and some marginal comments starting on fol. 1v.
- , 762, 14th cent., Italian, fols. 1r–46v. Commentary: some short notes in margin. Incipit: "Iste liber principaliter diuiditur in duas partes, scilicet prohemium et tractatum."
- Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Est. lat. 123 (α.T.6.4), 14th–15th cent, Italian?, fols. 45r–75r (beginning at line 68, ending at 2099). Commentary: scattered glosses; incipit missing.
- Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 237, 15th cent. (1462), German (Leipzig), fols. 15r–60r. Commentary: marginal and interlinear glosses throughout, although sporadic later; shares material with commentary in Munich, Clm. 14529. Incipit: "Causa materialis est ornatus modus persuadendi. . . ."
- , Clm 594, 14th–15th cent., fols. 71r–96v. Commentary: sporadic glossing throughout. Incipit: "Iste liber diuiditur in partes principales in prohemium et in tractatum."
- , Clm 3220, 14th cent. (1306), separate *accessus* on fol. 64r, *PN* with commentary on fols. 57r–96v. Commentary: around text and also separate *accessus* added later. Incipit of commentary around text: "In principio huius libri isti sunt inquirendi[i]: que causa suscepti operis, que materia, . . ." Incipit of added *accessus*: "Incipit *Poetria noua* quam magister Ganfridus componit."
- , Clm 4603, 13th cent., northern, separate commentary only on fols. 130r–136r. Commentary: *EC*. Versions also in Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. kgl. Saml. 2036 4°; Fulda, Landesbibliothek, C 8; Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli, L 97; St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 875; Vatican City, BAV Vat. lat. 6890; Vienna, Österreichische National-

- bibliothek, 526; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1365; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2513; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 124 Gud. lat.; Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, LXVI; may have been in Metz, Bibliothèque municipale, 516 (destroyed). Incipit: "In principio huius libri videndum est quid tractetur in hoc opere et quare et qualiter."
- , Clm 14482, 14th cent. for *PN*, fols. 81r–117r. Commentary: scattered glosses, "Burchardus fragment" on fols. 93v–95r (Allen, *Ethical Poetic*, 199–200 and 233).
- , Clm 14529, 15th cent. (1465–66), German (Leipzig), *accessus* on fol. 3v, text on fols. 4r–69r. Commentary: *accessus* and marginal and interlinear glosses; similar to Munich, Clm 237. Incipit of *accessus*: "PAPA STUPOR MUNDI SI DIXERO Nota prout ex Tullio colligi [*sic*] in *Veteri et Nova Rhetorica* sua rethorica sic describitur."
- , Clm 18780, 15th cent. (1474), central European, fols. 72r–177v. Commentary by Dybinus of Prague written around and between sections of *PN*, with interlinear glosses; for other MSS see Prague, Národní knihovna České Republiky, XII.B.12. Incipit of much-abbreviated *accessus*: "<A>ntequam habeatur diuisio littere prius videamus quis sit rethorica."
- , Clm 18803, 15th cent. for *PN*, central European, fols. 145r–170v. Commentary: a few glosses, including "Difficilis ascensus" excerpt (*Anticlaudianus* 5.57–61) at line 213.
- Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, 4° 814, 15th cent. (*PN* 1458), German (Nuremberg), fols. 76r–108v (new foliation). Commentary: extensive marginal commentary; no interlinear glosses. Incipit: "Hic autor utitur insinuacione exordio quod est prima pars prime partis rethorice."
- Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III," V.D.6, 14th–15th cent., Italian, separate commentary only on fols. 1r–46v. Commentary by Benedict of Aquileia. Incipit of prologue: "Quoniam circa elloquentiam quamplures dispersa uolumina condiderunt quorum alii mare alii riuulos emittentes . . ." Incipit of *accessus*: "In principio huius libri dubitauerunt quidam an de materia sua rethorica diceretur." Also in Princeton, Princeton University Library, Robert Garrett Library Collection MS 120.
- , Vind. lat. 53, 15th cent. (1423 for *PN*), Italian, fols. 1r–38r. Commentary: marginal and interlinear glosses by Franciscellus Mancinus. Similar short *accessus* and some interlinear notes in Vatican City, BAV Chig. L.IV.74. Incipit: "Auctor huius operis secundum quosdam dicitur fuisse quidam clericus . . ."
- New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book Room and Manuscript Library, 597, 14th–15th cent., Italian, fols. 1r–45r. Commentary: no annotations on first folio; heavy annotations on fols. 24v–26r. Information from Robert G. Babcock and Eric Knibbs.
- , Osborn fa.6 (Box 12, no. 19), 14th–15th cent. (ca. 1400: [Babcock]), Italian, fols. 1r–43v. Commentary by Bartholomew of Pisa (Bartolomeo de Sancto Concordio), incomplete, to fol. 6r; complete copy in Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 311. Incipit: "Iste liber diuiditur principaliter in tres partes." Additional information from Robert G. Babcock and Eric Knibbs.
- [New York, Phyllis Goodhart Gordan MS 97; now in Bryn Mawr.]
- Novacella (Neustift), Convento dei Canonici Regolari (Augustiner-Chorherrenstift), 327, 13th cent., Italian, fols. 1r–19v. Commentary: later marginal and interlinear glosses; no *accessus*. Related to commentary by Guizzardo of Bologna (Vatican City, BAV Ottob. lat. 3291).
- Olomouc (Olmütz), Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci, C.O. 575, 15th cent. (1st half), central Euro-

- pean, *accessus* on fol. 1r–v, *PN* on fols. 2r–32v. Commentary: full marginal and interlinear glossing. Incipit similar to that of *accessus* in Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli, L 97, but glosses different. Incipit (very worn): “Cum ornatus modus loquendi \*\*\*.”
- Osimo, Biblioteca del Collegio Campana, cod. lat. 2, 14th cent., Italian, fols. 1r–40v. Commentary: none.
- Oxford, Balliol College, 263, 14th–15th cent., English, fols. 32v–44v. Commentary: none.
- , 276, 15th cent. (ca. 1442), English, large fragment in two parts, fols. 2r–14v. Commentary: none.
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F.1.17, 14th cent., English, fols. 109r–121v. Commentary: none.
- , Digby 64, 15th cent. (1st half), English, *accessus* on fols. 5r–8r, *PN* on fols. 25v–45v (ends incomplete at 1859). Commentary: separate *accessus* (actually a “divisio textus”). Incipit: “Liber iste diuiditur in decem partes, quarum prima est de commendacione pape ibi, ‘Papa stupor mundi.’”
- , Digby 104, 13th cent. (1st half for *PN*), English, fols. 21r–33v (ends incomplete at line 2054). Commentary: a few notes on first folios.
- , lat. misc. a.3, 13th cent., one of a group of unrelated fragments bound together, *PN* lines 131r–118r at fol. 56r–v. Commentary: a few interlinear glosses and marginal notes.
- , Laud Misc. 515, 13th cent. (early [Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin*, 1.36]), English, fols. 141v–181r. Commentary: examples identified.
- , Laud Misc. 707, 15th cent., English (Oxford), fols. 4r–32v. Commentary: a few marginal notes.
- , Selden Supra 65, 15th cent. (early [Camargo, “*Tria sunt*,” 937]), English, fols. 85r–111r and 140r–145v (two omitted passages added at end of MS). Commentary: a few marginal notes and identifications.
- Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 132, 15th cent., English, fols. 108r–116r (incomplete; *PN* ends after 600 lines). Commentary: none.
- , 144, 15th cent. (1430–1442, [Clark, *Monastic Renaissance*, 282]), English, *accessus* on fol. 18v; *PN* on fols. 19r–43v. Commentary: *accessus* by John Bamburgh and some marginal notes, manicule, etc. Incipit: “In principio huius libri videndum est de quattuor eius causis.”
- Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, Scaff. II. n. 50, 14th cent.?, Italian, fols. 1r–40v. Commentary: scattered marginal and interlinear glosses.
- Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, 505 (III. 2), 15th cent., fols. 1r–50v. Commentary: very sporadic marginal notes to fol. 23v; interlinear glosses to fol. 26r.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 505, 13th cent., French (Notre-Dame de Foucarmont [Samaran and Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, 2.17]), fols. 137r–142v (to 1852). Commentary: none.
- , lat. 8171, 13th cent., northern (French?), fols. 1v–33v (to 1835). Commentary: interlinear and marginal glosses, some same as *EC* (see Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4603); no *accessus*. Incipit illegible (very worn).
- , lat. 8172, 14th cent., Italian, fols. 1r–36v (ending at 2098). Commentary: some glosses, mostly interlinear.
- , lat. 8173, 15th cent., central European, *PN* on fols. 12v–71r; *accessus* on fol. 71r–v; sepa-

- rate commentary on fols. 73r–126r. Commentary: glosses around text (with some amateur drawings and diagrams of content), also an *accessus* at end as well as commentary copied separately. Incipit of glosses around text: “Incipit prologus *Poetrie nouelle* in quo Gaufredus Anglicus hunc librum commendat pontifici. . . .” Incipit of *accessus*: “Ars ista supponitur rethorice sciencie quia tendit ad suum finem per eundem methodum sicut rethorica. . . .” Secondary incipit: “In principio huius operis sicut cuiuslibet artificis ista concurrunt inquisitioni, scilicet que causa suscepti operis, que intencio, que vtilitas, cui parti philosophie supponatur, quis ordo, quis titulus.” Incipit of separate commentary: “PAPA STUPOR MUNDI etc. Cum intentionis proposita sit quedam pauca de istius libri expositione componere . . .”
- , lat. 8174, 15th cent., fols. 1r–37v (ending at 2080). Commentary: sporadic glosses starting at 1v, dense in some sections.
- , lat. 8246, 13th cent., French, fols. 107r–129v. Commentary: scattered glosses.
- , lat. 15135, 13th cent., French, fols. 163r–189r. Commentary: *accessus* a shortened version of *EC* (see Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4603) but different glosses; followed by diagrams of rhetorical terms (fols. 189v–190r). Incipit: “In principio huius libri uidendum est quit [*sic*] tractetur in hoc opere et quare et qualiter.”
- , lat. 15150, 13th–14th cent., French, fols. 88r–123v. Commentary: scattered marginal and interlinear glosses in several hands.
- , nouv. acq. lat. 647, 13th cent., fragment (fols. 3, 5–7). Commentary: none.
- , nouv. acq. lat. 699, 15th cent. (first half), English (Beverly? [Camargo, “*Tria sunt*,” 939]), fols. 60r–91r (to 2085). Commentary: none.
- Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, I.123, fols. 103r–159v. Commentary: interlinear notes on first two folios.
- [Perugia, Museo dell’Opera (Biblioteca Dominicana), 653. Destroyed.]
- Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare del Duomo, C. 143, 15th cent., Italian, fols. 1r–49v. Commentary: same as Vatican City, BAV Reg. lat. 1982; breaks off in middle with new added ending; resumes in another hand. Incipit: “PAPA STUPOR MUNDI Auctor in hoc opere intendit tractat [*sic*] de quinque partibus rethorice.”
- Pistoia, Biblioteca Comunale Forteguerriana, A. 13, 15th cent. (1464), Italian, fols. 74r–94v. Commentary: a few marginal notes.
- Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli, L 97, 14th cent. (1st half), central European?, fols. 2r–27r, *accessus* on fol. 1v. Commentary: interlinear glossing throughout; marginal glosses are *EC* with added scholastic divisions and subdivisions; for other MSS of *EC* see Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4603. *Accessus* similar to that in Olomouc, Zemský Archiv, C.O. 575, however: “Cum ornatus modus loquendi non solum in prosa rerum eciam in metrica modulacione consistat” (very faded).
- , M 126, 15th cent. (1403), central European?, fols. 2r–48v. Commentary: interlinear glosses sporadic after fol. 19r; scattered marginal notes, some quite long.
- , M 134, 15th cent. (1464 for *PN*), central European (Troppau, Austria), *accessus* begins on fol. 75r; *PN* on fols. 76r–160r. Commentary: very full, written around and between text, with interlinear glosses; quotes Dybinus’s *thema*. Incipit of *accessus*: “Diuo <confitiendum> [confisiendum *MS*] presidio cuius absque nutu nihil in natura potest subsistere . . .”

- Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, III.G.22, 14th cent., central European, *PN* on fols. 1r–36r, *accessus* starts on flyleaf. Commentary: *accessus* and extensive marginal and interlinear glosses. Incipit: “PAPA STUPOR MUNDI sicut dicit quod iste liber prima <secundum diuisionem> [sui diuisione *MS*] diuiditur in duas partes quorum prima dicitur prohemium” (cf. Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, C 40).
- , VIII.D.19, central European, 14th cent. (1376), *PN* on fols. 2r–38v; *accessus* starts on fol. 1r. Commentary: long *accessus*, extensive marginal notes throughout most of the text, and interlinear glosses through fol. 6. Primary incipit: “Sicut dicit Plato in *Timaeo*, nichil est ortum cuius causa legitima non precesserit.” Incipit of secondary *accessus*: “PAPA STUPOR MUNDI SI DIXERO PAPA NOCENTI Accedendo ad formam tractatus istius libri cuius subiectum est modus persuadendi ex his que sunt communia arti poetice et rethorice. . . .”
- , VIII.H.22, 14th cent. (1389 for *PN*), central European (Prague?), fols. 27r–93r, *accessus* on 26r–v. Commentary by Dybinus of Prague (*scripta* version), incomplete; marginal glosses stop at 35v for most part, but there are short marginal notes on digression and description (e.g., 43r) and at the very end; interlinear glosses rare after fol. 49r. Primary incipit: “Amice, ascende superius.’ Hec uerba scripta sunt in ewangelio Luce quarto capitulo in quibus uerbis rethorice generositas excellensque preclitas potest commendari.” Incipit of secondary *accessus*: “Tamen antequam liber diuidatur, dicendum est quod rethorica consideratur dupliciter.” Some of its interlinear glosses also in Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek, 68. For MSS of another version see Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, XII.B.12.
- , XII.B.12, 14th cent. (1375), central European (Prague), commentary only on fols. 1r–42r. Commentary by Dybinus of Prague, taken down via dictation (*dicta* format). Versions of this commentary also in Gdansk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Mar. Q.9; Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 2141; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3251; and Vienna, Schottenkloster, 399. Primary incipit: “Amice, ascende superius’ scribitur Luce capitulo quarto [*sic*]. Philosophicalis sciencia quemlibet secundum rationem viventem elevat.” Incipit of secondary *accessus*: “Antequam habeatur diuisio littere prius videamus quid sit rethorica” (also in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18780; different secondary *accessus* in Vienna, Schottenkloster, 399).
- Princeton, Princeton University Library, Robert Garrett Library Collection, MS 120, 14th–15th cent., Italian, pages 3–155. Commentary by Benedict of Aquilegia (unidentified), also in Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale “Vittorio Emanuele III,” V.D.6, here without prologue and some introductory material. Primary incipit (very worn): “I\*\*\* est omnino non . . .” Incipit of secondary *accessus*: “PAPA etc. Liber iste diuiditur in partes tres.”
- , Robert Garrett Library Collection MS 121, 13th cent.?, Italian, fols. 1r–61r. Commentary: some, very worn and much illegible.
- , Taylor MS 14, 13th cent.?, Italian, fols. 1r–30r. Commentary: some glosses, both marginal and interlinear, in two hands.
- Reggio Emilia, Biblioteca Municipale, Var. f. 64, 15th cent. (1478), Italian?, fols. 1r–43r. Commentary: scattered notes.
- Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, 1247, 15th cent., fols. 1r–67v. Commentary: extensive, to 2021; no *accessus*. Incipit: “Titulus huius libri talis est: Gaufredi Hibernii regis Anglie scriptoris

*Novelle poetrie de artificio loquendi liber incipit.*"

- Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 311, 15th cent., Italian, fols. 2r–70v, *accessus* on 1r. Commentary by Bartholomew of Pisa (also in New Haven, Beinecke Library, Osborn fa. 6) alternating with sections of text. Primary incipit: "<S>ecundum sententiam Tullii *De officiis* inter omnes scientias que hominem honorabilem reddunt rethorica obtinet principatum." Incipit of secondary *accessus*: "Iste liber diuiditur principaliter in tres partes."
- Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, Rossi 22 (36 G 15), 15th cent. (first half [Petrucci, *Catalogo*, 12]), Italian, separate commentary on fols. 2ra–24va, *PN* on fols. 25r–56r. Commentary: separate commentary is shorter version of Pace of Ferrara; for other MSS see Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, Col. 5–4–30. Primary incipit: "Consueuerunt namque maiores nostri cum aliquod operis noui p<ro>ponunt . . ." Incipit of secondary *accessus*: "Incepturos librum artis poetrie oportet duo considerare." A few interlinear glosses on beginning of text of *PN*.
- Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Fondo Vittorio Emanuele 1057, 14th cent., Italian, fols. 1r–41v. Commentary: some marginal glossing in several hands throughout, sporadic interlinear glosses; no *accessus*. Incipit: "Hic papa Innocentius fuit qui composuit librum *De contemptu mundi*."
- St. Florian (Enns), Stiftsbibliothek, XI 108, 15th cent., central European, *PN* on fols. 35r–99r; *accessus* begins on fol. 34r. Commentary: *accessus* and copious marginal and interlinear glossing to fol. 38v, sporadic marginal notes thereafter. Incipit: "Rhetorica a Quintiliano sic definitur . . ."
- St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 856, 15th cent., central European, pp. 283–534. Commentary: marginal comments throughout with much interlinear glossing and several diagrams; draws on version of *EC* in St. Gall 875. Primary incipit: "Item(?) quia \*\*\* de qua proprium intendimus liberarium disciplinarum. . . ." Incipit of secondary *accessus*: "PAPA STUPOR Liber iste diuiditur in septem partes principales."
- , 875, 14th cent., central European, pp. 3–87. Commentary: *EC*; for other MSS see Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4603. Incipit: "PAPA STUPOR etc. Liber iste diuiditur in septem partes principaliter."
- St. Petersburg, Biblioteka Rossiiskoi akademii nauk, Q. 433, 14th cent. (1345), Italian (northern? [Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England*, 310]), *PN* on fols. 65r–96v, *accessus* on fol. 64v. Commentary: *accessus* and some marginal glossing. Incipit: "In huius libri principio attendenda sunt, uidelicet quis auctor . . ."
- St. Petersburg, Rossiiskaia natsionalnaia biblioteka, Lat. O. XIV, no. 6, 14th–15th cent., central European?, fols. 2r–11r (incomplete; ends at line 156); *accessus* begins on fol. 1v. Commentary: full commentary and interlinear glossing (some pages with just commentary). Incipit: "Notandum dicit PAPA STUPOR nam hoc nomen dicitur ab interiectione amirantis 'pape' . . ."
- Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria, 72, 15th cent., Italian, fols. 194r–229r (first folio of text missing), commentary from fol. 193v. Commentary: *accessus* and marginal glosses. Incipit (doubling of some letters): "In priincipio huius operis sicut in prrincipiis aliorum <tria> [terti *MS*] sunt per ordinem inquirenda." See also Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. lat. XII.244 (10531). Information and digitized images from Óscar Lilao Franca.

- Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter, a.V.13, 14th cent., fols. 38r–66v. With commentary. Information from *Iter ital.* 3.39.
- Seville, Biblioteca Capitulare y Colombina, Cap. 56–2–27 (82–1–19bis), 15th cent. (1448), Italian, fols. 3r–39v, *accessus* on fol. 2r–v. Commentary by Giovanni Travesi. Primary incipit: “Venerationis uirtute maxime . . .” Incipit of secondary *accessus*: “PAPA STUPOR etc. In principio huius libri sicut in principiis aliorum . . .”
- , Col. 5–4–30, 14th cent. (1395), Italian, separate commentary on fols. 2ra–102ra (5ra–105ra). Commentary by Pace of Ferrara (in at least two hands); also found in Assisi, Biblioteca Storico-Francescana della Chiesa Nuova, 309; Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica “Angelo Mai,” MA 484; Cremona, Biblioteca Statale, Fondo Governativa 88; Klagenfurt, Bundesstaatliche Studienbibliothek, Pap. 109; London, BL Add. 10095; Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, Rossi 22 (36 G 15). Primary incipit: “<C>onsueverunt antiquiores nostri cum aliquid noui proponunt . . .” Incipit of secondary *accessus*: “<I>ncepturos librum artis poetice oportet duo considerare.”
- , Col. 7–1–27, 14th–15th cent., Italian?, fols. 1r–96r. Commentary: no *accessus*; interlinear glosses to fol. 32v, marginal glosses to 59v. Incipit: “Hic est figura que dicitur aufexis” (same incipit but different commentary in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2401).
- Sibinik, [Franciscan Library] Šibenik Zeljko Lončar, OFM Šibenik, Sanđstan, Trg Tomasea MS 36, 15th cent., French, fasc. 3 (of “several”), 56 fols. Commentary: “with preface.” Information from *Iter ital.* 5.445.
- Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, K.V.4, 14th–15th cent.?, Italian, fols. 1r–44r. Commentary: none.
- , K.V.23, 14th–15th cent.?, Italian, fols. 1r–39v (misbound: first lines of *PN* on fol. 8r; explicit on fol. 7v). Commentary: some marginal glosses. Incipit: “PAPA etc. Opus istud diuiditur in sex partes, scilicet exordium, narrationem, diuisionem, <con>firmationem: confutationem, et conclusionem.”
- Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I 88 (formerly Kloster Weingarten K 93), 14th cent., central European, fols. 62r–103v. Commentary: none.
- Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, F.IV.11, Italian, 15th cent. for *PN*, fols. 15r–41v. Commentary: a few marginal and some interlinear notes.
- Udine, Archivio di Stato di Udine, 68, 13th cent., Italian, 8 folios (badly torn fragments from a single manuscript). Commentary: numerous interlinear and marginal glosses in at least two hands.
- , 196, 14th cent., Italian, fragment of 4 folios. Commentary: a few interlinear and marginal glosses.
- , 222, 13th–14th cent., Italian (northern [Scalon, *Libri*, 257]), one folio. Commentary: none.
- Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, C 40, 14th cent., central European, *PN* on fols. 20v–66v, commentary to 65v. Commentary in continuous columns outside text; some interlinear glossing. Incipit: “Iste liber cuius subjectum est sensus poeticus secundum quosdam vel ars poetica <principaliter secundum diuisionem> [principalis sui diuisione *MS*] diuiditur in duas partes, scilicet in prohemium et executionem” (cf. Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, III.

G.22).

- Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, 14th cent., 242 (232bis), fols. 16r–44r. Commentary: none. Information from Nims, unpublished notebooks; *Cat. gen.* 25.297.
- Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chig. I.IV.145, 14th cent., Italian, fols. 1r–49r. Commentary: later interlinear and some marginal glosses.
- , Chig. I.V.181, 14th cent., Italian, fols. 1r–34v. Commentary: none.
- , Chig. I.VI.229, 17th cent. (1662 and 1666), Italian, two copies of *PN* on fols. 1r–49r and fols. 51r–84r; evaluation etc. on fols. 85r–88v. Commentary: summary, evaluation, and table of contents by Athanasius Kircher.
- , Chig. I.VI.230, 17th cent., *PN* on fols. 5r–36v. Commentary: transcription of Pits's entry on Geoffrey of Vinsauf on fol. 2r–v.
- , Chig. L.IV.74, 15th cent., Italian, fols. 1r–55v. Commentary: extensive glosses to fol. 22. Incipit: "Auctor huius operis ut quidam dicunt clericus \*\*\* anglicus . . ." Similar short *accessus* and some interlinear glosses in Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III," Vind. lat. 53.
- , Ottob. lat. 1472, 13th–14th cent., French, fols. 2r–28r. Commentary: marginal glosses but no *accessus*. Incipit: "In principio vitur circumlocutione vbi dicit 'stupor mundi' capiendo benivolenciam pape." Similar incipit but different glosses in London, BL Harley 3775 and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, lat. qu. 515.
- , Ottob. lat. 1961, 14th cent., Italian, fols. 32r–78v. Commentary: scattered marginal glosses on first half; some interlinear glosses to fol. 68.
- , Ottob. lat. 3291, 15th cent., Italian, separate commentary only on fols. 1r–17r. Commentary by Guizzardo of Bologna. Incipit: "<Q>voniam propter opinantes contrarium ueritati qui ob ornatum modum loquendi siue stilo dictaminis subiacentem suspicantes rhetoricam formaliter edocere, 'delfinum siluis appingit, fluctibus aprum' . . ."
- [———, Reg. lat. 344, fols. 37–38 (Gallick, "Medieval Rhetorical Arts," 84). Probably an excerpt rather than a fragment; unable to verify.]
- , Reg. lat. 1615, 13th cent., fols. 1r–47r. Commentary: identification of techniques and examples only.
- , Reg. lat. 1982, 15th cent. (1440), Italian, fols. 49r–86v. Commentary: *accessus* and full commentary copied in margins on either side of text, with interlinear glosses; same commentary with alterations (some drastic) in Pistoia, Archivio del Duomo, C 143. Incipit: "PAPA STUPOR MUNDI Auctor in hoc opere intendit tractare de quinque partibus rethorice."
- , Ross. 513, 14th cent., Italian, fols. 1r–31v (incomplete; ends at 1842). Commentary: *accessus* and glosses (marginal and interlinear) that dwindle after a few folios. Incipit: "In principio huius libri tria sunt . . ." (very worn).
- [———, Vat. lat. 2148, fol. 128v (Gallick, "Medieval Rhetorical Arts," 84); presumably an excerpt rather than a fragment because one folio side only; unable to verify.]
- , Vat. lat. 5344, 13th–14th cent., fols. 1r–31v. Commentary: no marginal glosses; some interlinear.
- , Vat. lat. 6890, 13th–14th cent., fols. 2r–40r. Commentary: *EC* without *accessus*; for other MSS see Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4603.



- Venice, Biblioteca Giustiniani Recanati, II 109 (477), 15th cent. Information from *Iter ital.* 6.285.
- Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. lat. XII.94 (4211), 15th cent. (1432), fols. 1r–44v.
- Commentary: mostly rubrics and identifications.
- , Marc. lat. XII.244 (10531), 14th cent., pp. 32–96. Commentary: later *accessus* and marginal glosses at beginning, interlinear glosses throughout. Incipit: “In principio huius libri sicut in principiis aliorum tria sunt per ordinem inquirenda.” See also Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria, 72.
- Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 312, 14th cent., central European, fols. 49v–82r, *accessus* on fol. 82v. Commentary: *accessus* only. Incipit: “Auctor premittit proemium . . .”
- , 526, 13th cent., central European, fols. 96vb–111vb; commentary from fol. 95vb. Commentary: *EC* written in margins and between sections of text. For other MSS see Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4603. Incipit: “In principio huius libri uidendum est quid tractetur in hoc opere et quare et qualiter.”
- , 1365, 13th–14th cent., central European, *PN* on fols. 70v–78r, commentary from fol. 69v, stops on 75v. Commentary: *EC*; for other MSS see Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4603. Incipit: “In principio huius libri uidendum est quid tractetur in hoc opere et quare et qualiter.”
- , 2340, 13th cent., central European, fols. 1r–11v. Commentary: none.
- , 2401, 15th cent., Italian, fols. 1r–44r. Commentary: no *accessus*; glosses on first folio, rapidly tapering off; new commenting hand begins on fol. 23r, concentrating on the figures; diagram of parts of rhetoric on fol. 44r. Incipit: “NOCENTI Hic est figura que dicitur auferexis . . .” Same incipit but different commentary in Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, Col. 7–I–27.
- , 2490, 14th–15th cent., fols. 1r–38v (to 1973). Commentary: full on first few folios, sporadic marginal and intertextual glosses thereafter in more than one hand. Incipit: “Ait Tullius, ‘Sapiencia sine eloquencia est . . .’”
- , 2513, 13th cent., central European, fols. 35v–61v (to 1955); *accessus* starts on fol. 34v. Commentary: *EC*; for other MSS see Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4603. Incipit: “In principio huius libri primo videndum est quid tractetur in hoc opere et quare et qualiter.”
- , 3251, 15th cent. (*PN* 1420), central European, *PN* fols. 1v–149v; commentary on fols. 1r–150r. Commentary: version of Dybinus written in margins and between sections of text; no interlinear glosses but room left for them. For other MSS see Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, XII.B.12. Primary incipit: “‘Amice, ascende superius’ {Luke 14:10} phisicalis scienciam quemlibet secundum rationem viventem eleuat.” Incipit of secondary *accessus*: “Antequam habeatur diuisio littere prius quid rethorica . . .”
- , 4959, 15th cent. (1424), central European, fols. 67r–178r. Commentary: *accessus*, extensive commentary in margins and between sections of text, and interlinear glosses. Incipit: “<P>APA STUPOR Iste est liber *Noue poetrie* summe subtilis rethorice . . .”
- , 5001, 15th cent., (1424 for *PN*), central European, fols. 3v–68v for *PN*, commentary from fol. 1v (preceded by a generic rhetorical *accessus*). Commentary: extensive; also interlinear glosses. Incipit: “PAPA STUPOR MUNDI SI DIXERO Ex quo presens liber est rethorialis; ideo nota rethorica est sciencia . . .”

- , Ser. nov. 291, 13th cent., Italian, fragments bound together at fols. 1r–6v (lines 1–60, 431–618, 863–980). Commentary: no *accessus*, a few glosses. Incipit illegible.
- Vienna, Schottenkloster, 399, 15th cent., central European, *PN* on fols. 3r–53v, *accessus* from fol. 1r (part of Dybinus's *accessus* to *PN* used to introduce another text at fol. 86v). Commentary: version of Dybinus's commentary with *accessus*, extensive marginal commentary, and interlinear glossing; see also MSS listed under Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, XII.B.12. Primary incipit: “Amice, ascende superius’ [*in marg.* Luce 14] philozophicalis sciencia quemlibet rationem viventem eleuat.” Incipit of secondary *accessus*: “PAPA STUPOR MUNDI Iste liber cuius subiectum est artificiosa eloquencia diuiditur in quinque tractatus speciales secundum quinque officia rethoris” (cf. Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1084).
- Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 37.34 Aug. 2°, 15th cent. (1480), central European, fols. 1r–35v. Commentary: very short *accessus* and marginal and interlinear glosses in several hands, drawing on Dybinus material; stops on fol. 33v. Incipit: “Iste liber cuius subiectum est ornatus modus loquendi procedendi persuadendi cuiuslibet persuasibilis prima sui disponi diuiditur in quinque tractatus secundum quod quinque sunt officia rethoris.” See Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek, 68.
- , Cod. Guelf. 124 Gud. lat., 13th cent., central European, fols. 1v–22r, *accessus* from fol. 1r. Commentary: *EC*; for other MSS see Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4603. Incipit: “In principio huius libri uidendum est quid tractetur in hoc opere et quare et qualiter.”
- , Cod. Guelf. 259 Gud. lat., 14th cent., fols. 1r–53v. Commentary: none.
- , Cod. Guelf. 286 Gud. lat., late 14th cent., German, fols. 1r–36v. Commentary by Reiner von Cappel; short *accessus* and marginal notes. Incipit: “Subiectum huius libri est modus persuadendi ex hiis que communia sunt arti poetice et rethorice.”
- , Cod. Guelf. 289 Gud. lat., 15th cent., central European, fols. 1r–33v. Commentary: none.
- Worcester, Cathedral and Chapter Library, Q. 79, 15th cent., English, fols. 1r–35v (first 57 lines missing); *PN* ends on fol. 34r, followed by verses from *De ornamentis verborum* of Marbode of Rennes copied as end of *PN*. Commentary: small amount of glossing; some rubrics.
- Wrocław (Breslau), Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, IV Q 100, 15th cent. (1456), central European, fols. 218r–289v. Also with separate excerpt (“Scisne moram pigri,” 1366 ff.) on fol. 216. Commentary: no real *accessus* (just short paragraph) but copious marginal and very full interlinear glosses, especially on first half. Incipit (difficult to read): “Subiectum istius libri est ornatus modus persuadendi cuiuslibet persuasibilis.” Cf. Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek, 68.
- York, Minster Library, XVI.Q.14, 13th cent. (early), English, fols. 106r–111v to 2080). Commentary: none.
- [Zurich, Private Collection, Italian, 14th cent. (Gehl, *Moral Art*, 279, and “Latin Readers,” 440). Now in Keio?]
- Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, LXVI, 17th cent., central European (Zwickau), *PN* on fols. 116r–153v; separate commentary on fols. 160r–179v. Commentary: *EC* copied from Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. 124 Gud. lat.; for other MSS see Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4603.



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## INDEX LOCORUM

- Alexander de Villa Dei  
*Doctrinale* 1, 7  
 Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, 523  
 on *PN* 155, **59**  
 Aristotle  
*Auct. Aris.* 242, **191**; 245, **192**; 255,  
**192**; 263, **192**  
*Ethics* 4.7 1127a, **191**; 5.6, **198**  
*On Generation and Corruption* 2.2,  
**176**  
*Rhetoric* 1.1, **198**; 1.3 1358b, **198**; 1.9  
 1367b, **202**; 3.14 1415a–b, **201**  
 Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de  
 Aragón, Ripoll 103  
 on *PN* 538–43, **63**  
 Bartholomew of Pisa  
*accessus*, **98–100**; contents, **18–21**; on  
*PN* 78–86, **101**; on *PN* 455–61,  
**102**; on *PN* 537–39, **102–3**; on  
*PN* 545, **103**  
 Benedict of Aquileia  
 on *PN* 48, **149**; on *PN* 13–15, **150**  
 Boethius  
*Consolation of Philosophy* II, pr. 4, **191**;  
 III, m. 9.1–9, **71**, **102**  
 Book of Psalms  
 8:8, **209**  
 Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana  
 A.IV.10  
*accessus*, **35–36**  
 Cambridge, Trinity College, R.14.22  
*accessus*, **27–28**, **30–31**, **32**  
 Chaucer, Geoffrey  
*Nun's Priest's Tale* 3337–3354, **25–26**;  
*Troilus And Criseyde* I.1065–68,  
**40**  
 Cicero  
*De Inventione* 1.3, **191**; 1.20, **204**;  
 1.34–43, **257n**  
 “Cicero”  
*Rhetorica ad Herennium* 1.3, **33**, **40**,  
**203**; 1.6, 57; 1.9, **10**; 4.40, **126**;  
 4.45.58, **82**  
 Dybinus of Prague  
*accessus*, **190–209**  
 Early Commentary on the *PN*  
*accessus* 1, **26**; *accessus* 3, **28**; *accessus*  
 4, **28**; *accessus* 6–10, **33**; *accessus*  
 32–33, **38**; *accessus* 41–42, **28**;  
*accessus* 42–53, **22–23**; *accessus* 54,  
**21**; *accessus* 56, **15**, **28**; *accessus* 59,  
**28**; *accessus* 60, **27**; 1, **10**; 412, **50**;  
 1098.1–12, **75**; 1230 ff., **165–66**;  
 1588.1–12, **85–86**; 1745.1–3, **90**;  
 2066, 1–4, **38–39**; Appendix  
 I.B.1–6, **164**  
 Eberhard the German  
*Laborintus* 50–51, **47**  
 Erasmus  
*CWE* 1

Letter 27.44–47, **258**; *Declamatio de pueris*  
461, **260**

Gervase of Melkley

Gräbener, *Ars poetica*, 21.8–9, **61**;

Gräbener, *Ars poetica*, 31.4, **61**

Geoffrey of Vinsauf

*Poetria nova* 1, **57, 195, 196, 200, 229**;

1 ff., **3, 121–22, 124–25, 207, 208**;

1–3, **124–25**; 1–6, **208**; 2, **100**; 3, **100,**

**206**; 13–15, **150**; 15, **53**; 17, **147**; 17–18,

**249**; 23, **250**; 28, **146**; 28–43, **202**;

31, **94**; 33, **99**; 40, **100**; 41–42, **53**; 42,

197, **229**; 43, **36, 99, 124, 200, 201**;

43 ff., **57, 153–54**; 50 ff., **106**; 71–76,

**154**; 78–86, **101**; 87, **197–98, 200**; 88,

**36**; 121–25, **266**; 156–57, **58**; 174–76,

**250**; 181–95, **45**; 201–2, **46**; 203 ff., **83,**

**197**; 231–33, **71**; 264 ff., **225n**; 282–89,

**46**; 292–303, **46**; 368 ff., **24–25, 238,**

**239**; 435–43, **9**; 438–43, **60**; 448–49,

**103**; 455–61, **102**; 469–507, **80–81**;

473, **155–56**; 509–13, **81**; 527–37, **129**;

538–53, **60, 61–62, 63**; 545–53, **103**;

546–48, **176, 213**; 552–53, **131, 250**;

562, **141**; 563–97, **60, 67–68**; 586–95,

**70**; 600–613, **142**; 611, **148**

613 ff., **60, 141, 224**; 675, **175**; 713–17,

**60, 72, 157**; 714, **175**; 719–22, **72–73**;

723–24, **8**; 725–27, **11**; 733–36, **60, 73**;

737, **198**; 738–1093, **73–74**; 742–44,

**74**; 751, **165**; 756–63, **74–75**; 773–74,

**74**; 786–90, **131**; 796–97, **128**; 870–71,

**175**; 873–75, **74**; 878, **74**; 878–82, **143**;

1003, **214**

1098–1215, **75–76**; 1213–14, **79**; 1233–36,

**80**; 1244–46, **82**; 1280–1528, **80**; 1305–

44, **82**; 1315, **4, 81**; 1363–65, **81**; 1366–

80, **43**; 1584–87, **83**; 1588, **200**; 1588 ff.,

**85, 87**; 1599–1602, **88**; 1730–32, **89**;

1745–48, **89–90**; 1748, **148**; 1762–1842,

**85**; 1765 ff., **75, 103**

1781–85, **92**; 1804–6, **93**; 1810–12, **93**; 1842,

**36**; 1842–1919, **158**; 1844–47, **59, 257**;

1885–86, **159**; 1888–1909, **8**; 1920, **36,**

**200**; 1969, **197, 198**; 2031, **197, 198**;

2066, **36, 99, 200–201**; 2081–98, **132,**

**135, 236n, 238**; 2086–87, **3**; 2089–97,

**37**; 2096–97, **194**; 2099 ff., **170, 239**

Gospel According to Luke

14:10, **187–88, 190**

Gospel According to Matthew

5.4, **82**

Guizzardo of Bologna

*accessus*, **41, 138, 139–40**; on *PN* 368, **143**;

on *PN* 562, **141**; on *PN* 600, **142**; on

*PN* 879, **143**

Horace

*Ars Poetica* 1, **34**; 14–16, **41**; 93–95, **159, 160**;

146–47, **155**; 333–34, **114**; 361–63, **74**

Hugh of Trimburg

*Registrum multorum auctorum* 300–302, **35**

Kircher, Athanasius

Index of Arguments, **242–43**

Leland, John

*Commentarii de scriptoribus Britannicis*

1.231–32, **234–35, 236**

Mancinus, Franciscellus

*accessus*, **153**; on *PN* 43, **152, 153–54**; on *PN*

71–76, **154**; on *PN* 87, **155**; on *PN* 473,

**155–56**; on *PN* 713, **157**

Matthew of Vendôme

*Ars versificatoria* 1.1, **115**; 53.77–80, **61**

Novacella, Convento dei Canonici Regolari,

327

on *PN* 126–41, **145**; on *PN* 588, **145**

Ovid

*Heroides* 18.15–16, **102**; 20.63, **145**

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C552

Introduction, **15**

Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 144

*accessus*, **33–34**

Pace of Ferrara

*accessus*, **112–18, 120**; on *PN* 1–3, **124–26**;

on *PN* 1–43, **2121–2**; on *PN* 527, **129**

on *PN* 552, **131**; on *PN* 2081, **132–33**

Paris, BnF lat. 8171

on *PN* 545, **66**; on *PN* 1745–48, **90**; on *PN*

1785, **93**

Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare del Duomo,

C. 143

*accessus*, **32**; on *PN* 1883, **160**

Pits, John

*De illustribus Angliae scriptoribus* 261–62,

**237–38**

Quintilian

*Institutio Oratoria* 9.1.2, **79**; 12.1.1., **255**

Reiner von Cappel

on *PN* 155, **58**; on *PN* 532–53, **62**; on *PN* 712, **72**; on *PN* 756, **75**; on *PN* 1098–1110, **76–78**; on *PN* 1159–61, **78**; on *PN* 1213, **79**; on *PN* 1584–87, **83**; on *PN* 1588, **87**; on *PN* 1599–1602, **88**; on *PN* 1745, **90**; on *PN* 1761, **91–92**; on *PN* 1781, **92**; on *PN* 2066, **84**

*Rhetorica ad Herennium*. See “Cicero”

Seneca

*Letters* 3.2, **191**

*Proverbia Senecae* 104, **191**; 132, **191**

Terence

*Andria* 3.555, **143**

Travesi, Giovanni

on *PN* 2081, **134–35**

Udine, Archivio di Stato di Udine, 68

on *PN* 586–95, **70**

Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, C 40  
*accessus*, 32, **174–75**; on *PN* 547,

**176–77**

Vatican City, BAV Ottob. lat. 1472

on *PN* 591–92, **67–68**; on *PN* 594–95,

**60**; on *PN* 1761, **92**

Vatican City, BAV Reg. lat. 1982

on *PN* 1885, **159**

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. lat. XII.244 (10531)

*accessus*, **26**

Vitalis of Blois

*Geta* 61–68, **43**

## INDEX OF MANUSCRIPTS CITED

- Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, 523,  
4, **53, 59, 64, 72**
- Assisi, Biblioteca Storico-Francescana  
della Chiesa Nuova, 301, **106**
- Assisi, Biblioteca Storico-Francescana  
della Chiesa Nuova, 305, **106**
- Assisi, Biblioteca Storico-Francescana  
della Chiesa Nuova, 309, **105, 110**
- Assisi, Biblioteca Storico-Francescana  
della Chiesa Nuova, 561, **106**
- Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbiblio-  
thek, 20\* 133, **209**
- Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Class. 56,  
**107**
- Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de  
Aragón, Ripoll 103, **63**
- Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica "Angelo  
Mai," MA 7, **52**
- Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica "Angelo  
Mai," MA 259, **52**
- Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica "Angelo  
Mai," MA 484, **109, 110**
- Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—  
Preussischer Kulturbesitz, lat. qu.  
515, **72–74**
- Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale,  
534, **68**
- Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana,  
A.IV.10, **35–36, 40, 57**
- Cambridge, Corpus Christi College,  
217, **238**
- Cambridge, Corpus Christi College,  
406, **5, 170**
- Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College,  
Delta 3.11, **232**
- Cambridge, Trinity College, R.3.29, **6**
- Cambridge, Trinity College, R.14.22,  
**29–31, 32, 64, 71, 72, 73**
- Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl.  
kgl. Saml. 2036, **248n**
- Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl.  
kgl. Saml. 2037, **245–50**
- Cremona, Biblioteca Statale, Fondo  
Governativa 88, **109, 110**
- Durham, Cathedral Library, C.IV.23,  
**232**
- Durham, University Library, Cosin  
V.V.2, **232**
- Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemein-  
bibliothek der Stadt, Amplon.  
F.50, **179**
- Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemein-  
bibliothek der Stadt, Amplon.  
O.1, **218**
- Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemein-  
bibliothek der Stadt, Amplon.  
O.15, **218**
- Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemein-  
bibliothek der Stadt, Amplon.  
O.17, **217**

- Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek der Stadt, Amplon. Q.66, **218**
- Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek der Stadt, Amplon. Q.75, **217**
- Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek der Stadt, Amplon. Q.286, **218**
- Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, II. 175, **152**
- Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Strozzi 137, **22, 29**
- Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. Soppr. I.VI.17, **91**
- Gdansk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Mar. Q.8, **172, 215**
- Gdansk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Mar. Q.9, **215**
- Genoa, Biblioteca Durazzo Giustiniani, B II 1, **146–48**
- Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 511 (V. 8. 14), **6, 9**
- Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 979, **220**
- Klagenfurt Bundesstaatliche Studienbibliothek, Pap. 109, **109, 111, 122**
- Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 1891, **214n**
- Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 1954, **216**
- Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 2141, **216**
- Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Przyb. 91/52, **110, 214**
- Krakow, Biblioteka Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, Oddział Zbiory Czartoryskich, 1464, **110, 214n**
- Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1084, **168, 170, 209n**
- London, BL Add. 10095, **110, 162**
- London, BL Add. 15108, **218, 220, 256n**
- London, BL Add. 18153, **74, 75**
- London, BL Add. 37495, **130**
- London, BL Cotton Titus A.XX, **25n**
- London, BL Royal 12.E.XI, **229**
- London, BL Royal 12.E.XXV, **73**
- Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 237, **216n, 222, 224–26, 256n**
- Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4603, **164**
- Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14529, **222, 224–25**
- Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18780, **195n, 219**
- Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 40\* 814, **72 105**
- Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale “Vittorio Emanuele III,” V.D.6, **11–12, 148–51**
- Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale “Vittorio Emanuele III,” Vind. lat. 53, **12, 15, 152–57**
- New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book Room and Manuscript Library, Osborn fa. 6, **97**
- Novacella, Convento dei Canonici Regolari, 327, **144–45**
- Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci, C.O. 575, **181**
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 832, **229**
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 64, **230, 256n**
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 104, **229, 232**
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 707, **229**
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.552, **15, 44–45**
- Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 144, **33–34**
- Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 144, **230**
- Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, 505, **50**
- Paris, BnF lat. 505, **170**
- Paris, BnF lat. 2250, **105**
- Paris, BnF lat. 8171, **63–64, 66–67, 70, 79, 85, 90, 93**
- Paris, BnF lat. 8173, **256n**
- Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare del Duomo, C. 143, **32, 158, 160, 253, 255, 257–58**
- Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli, L 93, **43**
- Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli, L 97, **180**
- Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli, M 126, **180**
- Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli, M 134, **212**
- Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, III.E.27, **43**
- Prague, Národní knihovna České Repu-



- bliky, III.G.22, **180**
- Prague, Národní knihovna České Republiky, VIII.D.19, **180**
- Prague, Národní knihovna České Republiky, VIII.H.22, **179, 182, 187–88, 190–209, Appendix II**
- Prague, Národní knihovna České Republiky, XII.B.12, **172, 179, 183–86, 190–209, 226n, Appendix II**
- Princeton, Princeton University Library, Robert Garrett Library Collection MS 120, **149, 150**
- Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 311, **17–21, 38, 96, 97–104, 132, 202, Appendix I**
- Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, Rossi 22 [36G15], **109, 111**
- Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, Cap. 56–2–27, **5, 132–35**
- Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, Col. 5–4–30, **12, 16, 108, 110, 111–18, 120–22, 124–27, 128–29, 131–33**
- St. Florian [Enns], Stiftsbibliothek, XI 108, fol. 34v, **219, 221**
- St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 856, **255–56**
- St. Petersburg, Biblioteka Rossiiskoi akademii nauk, Q. 433, **105**
- Trébón, Státní Archiv, A 4, **181**
- Udine, Archivio di Stato di Udine, 68, **69–70**
- Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, C 40, **32, 172–78**
- Vatican City, BAV Chig. I.IV.145, **68–69, 81, 129**
- Vatican City, BAV Chig. I.VI.229, **240–44**
- Vatican City, BAV Chig. L.IV.74, **152**
- Vatican City, BAV Ottob. lat. 1472, **60, 67–68, 80, 82, 91, 92**
- Vatican City, BAV Ottob. lat. 3291, **38, 41–44, 111, 138–43, 145**
- Vatican City, BAV Reg. lat. 1982, **158–59**
- Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. lat. XII.244 (10531), **26, 28**
- Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2401, **238, 256n**
- Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3251, **197n**
- Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 4959, **213–14**
- Vienna, Schottenkloster, 399, **220**
- Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 286 Gud. lat., **13, 54–59, 62, 68, 72, 75, 76–80, 83–84, 87–88, 89–91**
- Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, IV Q 110, **216**

## GENERAL INDEX

### A

- abbreviation, 16, 18, 19, 66–67, 72–73, 156, 170, 175  
 Abraham and Isaac, as example in the *PN*, 144–45  
*accessus*: Aristotelian, 31–33, 34;  
     arrangement in, 28; of Bartholomew of Pisa, 104; of Benedict of Aquileia, 149; of Dybinus of Prague, 189–98; definition of, 17, 27; in BL Royal 12.E.XI, 229; of Franciscellus Mancinus, 153; of Johannes Tegernpeck, 224; of John Bamburgh, 230; method of proceeding in, 28; of Pace of Ferrara, 108, 112–18, 120–27; of Reiner von Cappel, 56–57; in St. Florian (Enns) Stiftsbibliothek XI 108, 221; as separate text, 27; shorter versions of, 35–36; structure of, 26–41; in student-owned manuscripts, 52; subject in, 28; titles in, 27–28; Type C, 27, 29–31, 32, 34; types of, 27; in Uppsala Universitetsbiblioteket, C 40, 173–75, 182; usefulness in, 28; in Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 4959, 213; in Wissenschaftliche Allgemein-Bibliothek Amplon. Q.75, 217; of Zacharias Lund, 248  
 adolescents: as audience for the *PN*, 7–8, 60–63, 65; defined, 7; interests of, 60–63; teaching of, 8–12.  
     *See also* school text; students  
 Alan of Lille, 5, 33, 48, 143, 144, 147, 179, 210, 223, 228, 231, 265, 266  
 Alexander de Villa Dei, 6, 7, 22, 183, 212, 223, 259, 260  
 Alexander VII, 240–41  
 al-Farabi, 113  
 Allen, J., 105n  
 allusivity, of G., 65  
 amplification, 16, 17, 18, 25, 67–70, 170, 175; Bartholomew of Pisa on, 103; and the female body, 67–70  
 analysis, in *PN* commentaries, 166.  
     *See also* division; scholasticism  
 Androgeos, 58–59. *See also* Minos  
 antipophora, and poetic composition, 90  
 antiquarianism, and the *PN*, 246, 251, 253  
 apostrophe, 18, 46; Bartholomew of Pisa on, 102; to King Richard I, 23–26, 41, 50, 143, 144, 175, 242  
*Architrenius* (satirical poem), 147  
 Aristotle, in, 14n, 22, 31–34, 99, 112–13, 114, 115, 118, 119, 121,

123, 130–31, 139, 140, 164, 168, 173, 178–79, 191, 192, 198, 201, 223, 226, 254; in Bartholomew of Pisa, 101; in Cambridge, Trinity College, R.14.22, 31–34; in Dybinus, 183; prestige of in universities, 178–79, 211–12; as reason for studying the *PN*, 175–78; scientific doctrines of, 130–31, 176–77; in Uppsala Universitetsbiblioteket, C 40, 182. *See also* philosophy; scholasticism arrangement, as part of rhetoric, 33, 37, 39, 197, 203. *See also* division; order  
*Ars Poetica* (Horace), 13–14, 34, 99, 114, 115, 118, 119, 128, 179, 192; as model for the *PN*, 15; contrasted with the *PN*, 29. *See also* Horace  
*Auctores octo*, 55  
 audience: for Horace's *Ars poetica*, 13–14; for the *PN*, 5–8, 13, 30, 42, 50–52; as *rudes*, 30, 50–51, 254n. *See also* school text; students; universities  
 Augustijn, C., 263n  
 Augustine, 113, 130  
 Averroes, 113, 114  
 Avesani, R., 55n

## B

Babcock, R. G., 219, 226n  
 Baldzuhn, M., 167, 223  
 Bale, John, 236, 248  
 Bamburgh, John, 33, 230  
 Bartholomew of Pisa, 17, 18–21, 38, 95–104, 202n; *accessus* of, 99, 104; on amplification, 103; on apostrophe, 102; classical citations by, 101; close reading by, 102; commentaries by, 96–97; contrasted with Pace of Ferrara, 112, 117; on digression, 102–3; as Dominican, 98, 105; life of, 97; on the lovers in the *PN*, 103; on myth, 141; on rhetoric, 98; as teacher, 97  
 Barzizza, Gasparino, 96, 133, 136–37  
 Baswell, C., 105n, 228n  
 Bellamy Brothers, 78  
 Benedict of Aquileia, 11, 148–51; *accessus* of, 149

Benedictines, education of, 230, 231  
 Bernardus Silvestris, 5, 47–48, 265, 266  
 Bernays, A., 264n, 265, 266n  
 biblical texts, citation of in *PN* commentaries, 144–45, 155–56, 187–88, 254. *See also* citation; classical texts; thema  
 Black, R., 51, 52, 94n, 102n, 136n, 262n  
 Black Death, effect of on education, 56  
 Blair, A. M., 209n  
 Bodemann, U., 223  
 body, female, as subject for amplification, 67–70, 141–42, 145  
 Boethius, 71, 113, 125, 143, 167, 178, 191, 246, 265. *See also* *Consolation of Philosophy*  
 Bona, Giovanni, 241  
 Bondi, Johannes, 96, 133  
 Bourdieu, P., 8  
 boy made master, as example in the *PN*, 8, 9, 42, 54n, 60  
 Bracciolini, Poggio, 255  
 Braga, Martin, 215, 216, 229  
 brevity, 66–67  
 Brown, Tom, 91  
 Bruges, *PN*'s influence in, 106

## C

Camargo, M., 14n, 15, 16n, 51n, 54n, 170n, 171, 202n, 230  
 Caplan, H., 82  
*captatio benevolentiae*, 10, 53, 56, 199, 201, 202, 205, 206, 221  
 Carley, J. P., 235n, 236n  
 Carruthers, M., 60n, 101, 126  
 Castellano of Bassano, 118  
 causes, Aristotelian, 1n, 32–33, 117, 140, 173, 193–95. *See also* efficient cause; final cause; formal cause; material cause  
 Cave, William, 94n  
 characterization, rhetorical, 59–60  
 Chaucer, Geoffrey, 40, 227, 267; imitation of the *PN* by, 40–41; parody of the *PN* by, 25–26  
 Chojnacki, S., 7n  
 Cicero, 14, 15, 106, 117, 143, 149, 190, 191, 196, 198, 204–5, 210, 217, 227, 257, 258, 259. *See also* *Rhetorica ad Herennium*

circumlocution, 70–71  
 citation: of authors, 173, 188, 196, 246; of  
   biblical texts, 144–45; of classical texts,  
   155, 161–62, 189, 254; by Erasmus, 263;  
   by Lund, 246, 249–50; by Pace of Fer-  
   rara, 112–14. *See also* biblical texts; clas-  
   sical texts; thema  
 Clark, J., 221n  
 Clarke, P., 228n  
 classical texts: Bartholomew of Pisa's use of,  
   96; citation of, 155, 161–62, 189, 254; in  
   Franciscellus Mancinus, 155  
 Cobban, A., 169n, 227n  
 colors, rhetorical. *See* figures  
 comedy: definition of, 159, 160; G.'s use of,  
   8, 158–63. *See also* humor  
*commoratio*, 82  
*Compendium Poetrie nove*, 170–71, 210, 215,  
   218  
 composition: ex tempore, 90–91; rhetorical  
   exercises in, 9, 11, 76, 90, 173; treatises  
   on, 16. *See also* rhetoric  
 conclusion, as part of discourse, 39, 40,  
   199–200  
 condensation, 76  
 confirmation, as part of discourse, 39, 40,  
   199–200  
 Conley, J., 107n  
 Connell, S., 161n  
*Consolation of Philosophy*, 71, 167–68, 210,  
   246. *See also* Boethius  
*constructio*, in Pace's *accessus*, 124–25  
 contents, of the *PN*. *See accessus*; division  
 conversion, as rhetorical device, 20, 85–86,  
   87–91, 137, 243n, 257, 258; and the  
   inflection of Latin, 87–90; modern uses  
   of, 265  
 Copeland, R., 169n  
 copying, of texts, 186; errors in, 111, 129n;  
   by students, 186. *See also* economics, of  
   book production and writing; printing;  
   writing technology  
 Courcelle, P., 136  
 Courtenay, W., 185n, 231  
 cross, lament of, 8, 17, 19, 42, 80–81, 105,  
   155, 242. *See also* Crusades  
 Crusades: Innocent III and, 38, 81; sermons

  urging, 80–81, 105. *See also* cross,  
   lament of  
 Curtius, E., 60n  
 Czacki, Tadeusz, 214n  
 Czartoryski, Adam, 214n  
 Czerny, A., 221

## D

Dam, Jacobus, 107n  
 Dante, 67n, 123, 138, 256; as commen-  
   tator, 123, 128n, 143; as example of  
   literary high style, 158–59, 160  
 Dares Phrygius, 5  
*Declaracio oracionis de beata Dorothea*  
   (Dybinus of Prague), 175n, 183,  
   184, 188n, 218. *See also* Dybinus of  
   Prague; *Oracio de beata Dorothea*  
*De copia* (Erasmus), 261–63, 265  
 dedication, to William, 21, 37n  
 definition: Aristotelian, 177; in the *PN*,  
   165–66  
 delivery, as part of rhetoric, 21, 33, 35,  
   37, 39, 197  
 description, 70–71, 213; Aristotelian  
   reading of, 177  
 determination (rhetorical device), 85,  
   87–88, 91–93, 243n, 257, 258; and  
   Latin inflection, 92–93  
 di Lortlo, Johannes Paulus, 219  
 dialogue, *PN*'s use of, 91  
 dictaminal texts, *PN*'s association  
   with, 95, 166, 169–71, 173, 213, 216,  
   226–27, 231, 255. *See also* letters  
 Dido, as example in the *PN*, 59  
 digression, Bartholomew of Pisa's com-  
   ments on, 102–3  
 digression, 66–67, 128–29, 213–14, 250;  
   Bartholomew of Pisa on, 102–3;  
   Johannes Tegernpeck on, 224;  
   Reiner von Cappel on, 62; sex as  
   example of, 61–62  
 discourse, parts of, 35–36, 37, 39, 57,  
   101, 195, 199–200  
*distributio*, 80  
 division, as part of discourse, 39, 40,  
   199

division, of the *PN*: 17–21, 26–29, 35–37, 57, 86, 173, 174, 195–96, 230; as analytical approach, 120, 123; by Bartholomew of Pisa, 99–100, 120; as form, 140; by Pace of Ferrara, 120–27; by Reinhard, 56–57; scholastic, 172. See also *accessus*; order

Dominicans: and education, 56; use of the *PN* by, 17, 81, 84, 100–101, 104–5; as preaching order, 83–84

Donahue, P., 264n

Donatus, 143, 164

double structure, of the *PN*, 35–41, 57, 101, 195, 196

Durazzo, Giacomo Filippo, 146

Dybinus of Prague, 54n, 167, 168, 172, 175, 177, 179, 182–209, 220, 221, 245, 255, 261; *accessus* of, 189–98; *dicta* version of, 184–86, 187–208; life of, 182; manuscript tradition of, 183–87; other works by, 183, 218; popularity of in Krakow, 215–16; *scripta* version of, 187–208; as teacher, 182–83, 209. See also *Declaracio oracionis de beata Dorothea*; *Oracio de beata Dorothea*

## E

*Early Commentary*, on the *PN*, 22–23, 50, 164–66

Eberhard the German, 15, 16, 21, 47, 163n, 170, 183, 224. See also *Laborintus*

*Ecerinis*, of Albertino Mussato, 118–20

economics, of book production and writing, 261n, 264; of university study, 178–79. See also paper; printing; writing technology

efficient cause, of the *PN*, 1, 32, 33–34, 195, 206, 253

Egger, C., 4n

Einbinder, S., 7n

Emden, A. B., 184n

Engelhardt, G., 259n, 262

England, use of the *PN* in, 227–33

epilogue, of the *PN*, 37

Erasmus, 136, 258–63, 264–65; educational reforms of, 259–62; on rhetoric, 262

Erfurt, teaching of the *PN* at, 178, 216–19  
ethics, and literary education, 28–29, 30  
*Evidentia Ecerinidis* (Albertino Mussato), 118–20

examples, G.'s use of, 21, 22–23, 41–44

exordium, 199; defined, 204–5

*explication de texte*, by Pace, 123, 127. See also textual analysis

*expolitio*, 81–82

## F

Faba, Guido, 196

family relationships: in G.'s examples, 59–60, 61; in Franciscellus Mancinus, 153–54, 156

Faral, E., 6, 36, 239n

Fell, Dr., 91

figures, 14, 20, 75–79, 80, 170; definitions and types of, 75, 78; Reiner von Cap-pel's treatment of, 76–79

final cause, of the *PN*, 30, 32, 33, 195. See also causes, Aristotelian

Fletcher, J., 200n

*florilegia*: *PN*'s inclusion in, 44–46; use of, 144, 148, 256

form, of the *PN*, 70–71, 140, 174, 195, 249

formal cause, of the *PN*, 32, 33, 140, 195. See also causes, Aristotelian

*Formula moderni et usitati dictaminis*  
(Thomas Merke), 230–31

Foucault, M., 10n

Franciscans: and education, 56; use of the *PN* by, 105–7

Frazier, A., 162n

Fredborg, K., 35n

Freud, Sigmund, 9, 264n

friendship, language of, 130

## G

Gallo, E., 93, 262

Gardner, J., 265

Gehl, P., 51–52, 68n

gender: and friendship, 130; in the Pyramus and Thisbe story, 63–64

Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *passim*; life of, 116, 235–

- 36, 237; name of, 1–2, 116, 174, 235–36, 237; other works of, 237, 238–39; as teacher, 101
- Gervase of Melkley, 6, 15, 16, 22, 47, 48, 51, 60, 61, 65, 228
- Geta* (Vitalis of Blois), 142
- Giles, C., 51n
- Gillespie, V., 108n, 114n
- Glaze, F. E., 238n
- Glendinning, R., 65
- Gloria, A., 109n, 138
- glosses: and commentaries, 54; in Dybinus, 208; as indication of students' Latin ability, 51; interlinear, 51–53, 146; marginal, 53; pattern of in *PN* commentaries, 17
- God, G.'s criticism of, 8, 50, 254
- Golden Legend*, 155
- Gospel of Nicodemus, 155
- Grafton, A., 246
- grammar: as source of rhetorical effects, 93; study of, 177–78, 217, 228, 259; treatises on, 16, 22, 47
- Green, L., 262n
- Grendler, P., 109, 126n
- Grüner, Vincentius, 183, 215
- Guizzardo of Bologna, 38, 41, 96, 108, 111, 118, 138–41, 145, 147, 162, 167; citations used by, 143; contrasted with Pace of Ferrara, 143–44; myth in, 141–42

## H

- Hahn, Simon Friedrich, 94n
- Hamesse, J., 185
- Harris, E., 266n
- Henkel, N., 167
- Henry II, 38
- Holtz, L., 152
- Homer, 8
- Horace, 6, 13, 23n, 30, 34, 41, 74, 99, 106, 112, 113, 114, 115, 118, 119, 128, 139, 143, 159, 179, 192, 259. See also *Ars Poetica*
- Hugh of Trimburg, 35
- humanists: as commentators on the *PN*, 13, 96, 153; defined, 94n, 136, 137; focus on language by, 177–78; in Germany, 226;

in Krakow, 216; lecturing techniques of, 126n. See also Bartolomew of Pisa; Barzizza, Gasparino; Mancinus, Franciscellus; Guizzardo of Bologna; Pace of Ferrara

- Humbert of Romans, 81
- humor, in the *PN*, 43–44, 158–63. See also comedy
- Hunt, R. W., 27
- Hunt, T., 44, 51n
- Hyma, A., 261n

## I

- Ilias Latina*, 8
- Innocent III: addressed by G., 2–3, 8, 10, 11, 18, 36, 37, 45, 53, 80, 100, 112, 121–22, 124–25, 150, 174, 201, 202, 206–7, 208, 229, 241, 242, 249; and the Crusades, 81; eloquence of, 122, 150; G.'s plea to, 37–38, 116, 132–33, 134–35, 194, 206, 221; name of, 3, 22, 122, 124–25, 150, 174, 203, 206, 207, 208; as patron of G., 235, 237; as *puer-senex*, 60, 122; works concerning, 221
- invention (part of discourse), 16, 33, 35, 37, 39, 40, 57, 154n, 196–97, 203
- Isidore of Seville, 114
- Italy: G.'s possible presence in, 94–95; importance of the *PN* in, 95

## J

- Jaffee, S., 184n, 188, 189n, 220n
- Jean of Hauville, 48
- Jensen, M. S., 247, 250n
- John (King of England), 38
- John of Garland, 6, 15, 21, 22, 217, 218, 226, 229, 259, 260n
- John of Hautville, 5, 48
- Jove, lovers of, as example in the *PN*, 141–42, 224, 225

## K

- Kallendorf, C., 26n, 125n
- Kelly, D., 16, 47

Kemp, Margery, 46n  
 Kern, C., 212n  
 Kircher, Athanasius, 240–45, 247, 251  
 Kitchen, K., 229n  
 Klimek, T., 179n  
 Kline, D., 7n  
 Knox, D., 175, 182n  
 Kopp, J. B., 89n  
 Krakow, teaching of the *PN* at, 214–16

## L

*Laborintus*, 15, 16, 21, 22, 47, 163n, 170,  
 178, 183, 184, 210, 215, 218, 220, 224;  
 compared to the *PN*, 170–71. *See also*  
 Eberhard the German  
 Lafferty, M., 67n  
 Latin: classicizing style in, 13, 162; students'  
 competence in, 12, 51, 55–56, 146, 169,  
 225; translation of in Leipzig, 226  
 Leader, D. R., 228  
*lectio*, definition of, 122n  
 lectures, recording of, 185, 261n  
 Legat, Hugh, 230  
 Leipzig, *PN*'s use at, 222–27  
 Leland, John, 234–36, 237, 239  
 letters, composition of, 137, 140–41, 154,  
 169–71, 173, 178, 226–27, 231, 249, 262.  
*See also* dictaminal texts  
 Leupin, A., 22n  
 Leyser, Polycarp, 234, 246, 251  
*Liber Catonianus*, 55  
*licentia*, 80  
 logic, 259–60. *See also* Aristotle; scholasti-  
 cism  
 Lorenz, S., 217  
 Loschi, Antonio, 133, 136  
 lovers, G.'s description of, 103, 104, 129–30,  
 151, 156, 176, 213, 250. *See also* Pyramus  
 and Thisbe  
 Luder, Peter, 226  
 Lund, Zacharias, 245–51

## M

Mack, P., 263n  
 Manacorda, G., 94n, 97, 100

Mancinus, Franciscellus, 12, 14, 15, 102n,  
 152–57; *accessus* of, 153; use of biblical  
 examples by, 155  
 Marbode of Rennes, 50  
 Margolin, J.-C., 259n  
 masterpiece, *PN* as, 47–49  
 material cause, of the *PN*, 32, 33, 194. *See*  
*also* causes, Aristotelian  
 Matthew of Vendôme, 6, 15, 16, 21–22, 29,  
 47, 61, 64–65, 67, 115  
 Matthias of Linköping, 16, 21  
 McCarver, Tim, avoidance of verbs by, 73  
 memorization, of texts by students, 29, 35,  
 126, 127, 172, 261n. *See also* repetition  
 memory, as part of rhetoric, 21, 33, 37, 39, 197  
 Merke, Thomas, 230–31  
*Metamorphoses*, of Ovid, 6  
 metaphor, 19, 74–75, 175, 242–43, 245; Pace  
 of Ferrara on, 131; and transference,  
 73–75  
 metonymy, 20; Pace of Ferrara on, 126  
 Michaels, Al, 73  
 Minnis, A., 123  
 Minos, as example in the *PN*, 41, 45–46,  
 58–59, 65, 137, 144, 256; Reiner von  
 Cappel's commentary on, 58–59  
 Modoni, A. R., 26n  
 monks, use of the *PN* by, 219–27. *See also*  
 Benedictines; Dominicans; Franciscans  
 Muglio, Pietro da, 146–47  
 Mulchahey, M. M., 56, 97n  
 Murphy, J., 253n  
 Mussato, Albertino, 108, 118–20, 138  
 Münster-Swendsen, M., 10n, 11  
 myth, humanist interest in, 141–43

## N

Nardi, B., 138  
 narration, as part of discourse, 39, 40, 57,  
 199  
 Nauta, L., 136, 167, 246  
 Nims, M., 36, 37, 58n, 73, 74, 89, 102n, 176  
 Niobe, as example in the *PN*, 59  
 notaries, *PN*'s use by, 148–49  
 Novacella commentary, 144–45  
*novellus*, meaning of, 6–7

## O

- occupatio*, definitions of, 78–79  
*Oracio de beata Dorothea* (Dybinus of Prague), 179, 183, 220, 221. *See also* *Declaracio oracionis de beata Dorothea*; Dybinus of Prague  
 oral delivery, of exercises and lectures, 66, 215. *See also* lectures, recording of; memorization  
 order, of topics in the *PN*, 28, 30, 39, 256.  
     *See also accessus*; division  
 ornament, 16, 36–37, 75  
 Otto of Lüneburg, 215  
 Oulipo school, 265  
 Overfield, J., 178, 211n, 217n, 218, 259n, 260n  
 Ovid, 6, 228

## P

- Pace of Ferrara, 12, 13, 16, 52, 54n, 96, 105, 106, 107–34, 138, 162, 166, 167, 172n, 173, 176, 177, 185, 209, 245, 261; *accessus* of, 108, 112–18, 120–27; on Albertino Mussato, 118–20; contrasted with Bartholomew of Pisa, 112, 117; contrasted with Guizzardo, 143–44; dedication by, 111–12; on G.'s plea to Innocent, 132–33; as intermediate commentator, 131; on metaphoric transference, 131; poetics of, 112–17, 139–40; as possible influence on Benedict of Aquileia, 150–51; rhetoric dismissed by, 117; as teacher, 109; as university commentator, 109; use of citation by, 112–14; use of myth by, 141  
 Painter, P., 264n, 265, 266n  
 Palmer, N., 167, 220n  
 Pandarus, in Chaucer, 40  
 paper, use of, 181, 283. *See also* economics; printing; writing technology  
 paraphrase, as introduction to commentary, 12, 204, 209  
 Paris, Matthew, 4n  
 Paris, University of, 164  
 parody, of the *PN* by Chaucer, 25–26  
 Perec, G., 265  
 Persius, 6  
 personification, 19  
 Peter of Spain, 223, 226  
 Petersen, E., 247n  
 Petrarch, 151  
 Petrocchi, M., 5n  
 Petrus Helias, 113  
 philosophy: focus of central European commentators on, 177–78; *PN*'s relation to, 118, 133–34; in rhetorical teaching, 28.  
     *See also* Aristotle  
 Pietro da Muglio, 96  
 Pigman, G. W., 137n  
 Pits, John, 236–38, 241–42, 248, 251  
 Pizzorusso, B., 67n  
 poetics: humanistic emphasis on, 120; Pace of Ferrara's concern with, 112–17, 119, 139–40; and rhetoric, 13–14, 29, 48, 98, 139, 166, 248–49  
*Poetics* (Aristotle), 14n, 99, 113, 115, 118, 119, 179. *See also* Aristotle  
 poetry: as medium for instruction, 22–23; status of, 47–49; teaching of, 14–16, 95.  
     *See also* prose composition  
 Polak, E., 43n, 133n, 219  
 Pollard, G., 186n  
 Pomaro, G., 136n  
 Ponce, C., 267n  
 popes, responsibility of, 3–4, 43, 80, 82, 151, 241, 243, 244–45. *See also* Innocent III; Nicholas VII; Urban V  
 power, reversals of, 8, 9. *See also* boy made master  
 Powicke, F., 184n  
*praecisio*, definitions of, 78–79  
 Prague, teaching of the *PN* at, 178–81  
 prestige: of teaching Aristotle, 178–79, 211–12; of teaching the *PN*, 178, 211–12  
 printing: invention of, 263; of the *PN*, 234, 238, 241–42, 254. *See also* economics, of book production and writing; writing technology  
 prologue. *See accessus*  
 prose composition, *PN*'s usefulness for, 14–16, 95, 171, 231, 249. *See also* poetry  
 prosopopeia, 80



proverbs, use of, 44–47, 148. *See also* biblical examples

Puncuh, D., 146

Pyramus and Thisbe, G.'s allusion to, 6, 29, 63–65, 66, 129–30; as appealing to adolescent tastes, 65; as digression, 66; other versions of, 65, 216, 223. *See also* lovers, G.'s description of

## Q

Quadlbauer, F., 16n

quadrivial texts, *PN* associated with, 95, 166, 168

*quaestio*, as means of analysis, 164–65

Quandahl, E., 264n

Queneau, R., 265

Quintilian: Erasmus' use of, 262; and the interpretation of the *PN*, 255–58

quotation. *See* citation

## R

recording, of lectures, 185

Redlich, V., 219

refutation, in discourse, 39, 40, 199–200

Reiner von Cappel, 55, 56–60, 68, 72,

75, 87, 104, 167, 260; on conversion, 87–89; on determination, 91–93; on figures, 76–79; as teacher, 84

repetition, as pedagogical tool, 78, 127–28, 172–73. *See also* memorization

Reynolds, S., 264n

rhetoric: Benedict of Aquileia on, 149; and composition exercises, 9, 11, 76, 90, 173; definition of, 196; distinguished from dialectic, 139; Guizzardo's treatment of, 139; medieval teaching of, 10, 139; modern teaching of, 266–67; moral effects of, 18, 30; Pace of Ferrara on, 116–17; parts of, 33, 37, 57, 101, 149, 195, 196–97, 203, 249; and poetics, 13–14, 29, 48, 98, 139, 166, 248–49; *PN* as treatise on, 133–34; and praise, 198; treatises on, 16, 47, 133–34; in the university curriculum, 211, 218; value of, 188, 189, 190–93, 194

*Rhetoric* (Aristotle), 14n, 22. *See also* Aristotle

*Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 10, 13, 14, 15, 33, 53, 56, 75, 80, 82, 126, 137, 143, 152, 153. *See also* Cicero

Richard I: G.'s apostrophe to, 23–26, 41, 50, 143, 144, 175, 238, 239, 242; G.'s intercession for, 34, 38, 39, 116, 132–33, 134–35, 174, 194, 195, 206, 236. *See also* apostrophe; Chaucer; Innocent III

Richmond, V., 25n

Rigg, A. George, 40n

Riley, H., 227n

Rix, H. D., 263n

Robert of Basevorn, 106–7

Roest, B., 107n

Roth, D., 9n

Rouse, M., 17n

Rouse, R., 17n

*rudes*, as audience for the *PN*, 30, 50–51, 254n

Rudolf Agricola, 61

## S

Sanford, E., 223n

Sarti, Mauri, 94n

Scalon, C., 52, 108n

Schedel, Hartmann, 222–27

*Scholastic History* (Peter Comestor), 155

scholasticism, in commentaries on the *PN*, 99, 153, 177–78, 254. *See also* Aristotle; humanists

school text: Dybinus' work as, 183; Reiner von Cappel as, 104; *PN* as, 86–87, 147, 164–65, 167, 224; at universities, 167.

*See also* audience; students; universities

Schwinges, R., 169n

Scylla, 58–59. *See also* Minos

Seneca, 118–19, 148, 190, 191

sermons: composition of, 17; defined, 83–84; of Innocent III, 4–5; in the *PN*, 80, 105; *PN*'s usefulness for, 79–84, 103, 104–7, 187–88; as spur to Crusades, 80–81. *See also* Dominicans; Franciscans

sex: as aid to memory, 60; as example of digression, 61–62; G.'s subtle treatment

of, 62–63. *See also* lovers; Pyramus and Thisbe  
 Singleton, C., 128n  
 Siraisi, N., 108n, 109n, 138  
 snow child, as example in the *PN*, 72–73, 156  
*socius*, meaning of, 130, 151  
 Stadter, P., 108, 109n  
 students: age of, 56, 86–87, 147, 227, 261n; advanced, as audience for the *PN*, 86–87, 164–66; elementary, as audience for the *PN*, 86–87, 147, 164–65; intermediate, as audience for the *PN*, 7, 51, 101, 131, 147, 224, 226; manuscripts owned by, 51–52; modern, 264–67. *See also* audience; school text; universities  
*stupor mundi*: Innocent III as, 3–4; Pace of Ferrara's comments on, 125–26  
 Sturlese, L., 55n  
 style, as part of rhetoric, 33, 35, 37, 39  
 subject, of the *PN*, 28, 30. *See also accessus*; material cause  
 subtlety, of G., 62–63, 65  
 Szklenar, H., 179, 182n

## T

Tanner, Thomas, 236–37  
 Teeuwen, M., 122n, 186  
 Tegernpeck, Johannes, 221, 222–27; *accessus* of, 224  
 Terence, 143  
 textual analysis, by humanists, 96, 262. *See also explication de texte*  
 thema (biblical quotation), in commentaries on the *PN*, 187–88, 190, 209  
 Thomas à Becket, 38, 135  
 Thomas of Erfurt, 217  
 Thompson, D., 22n  
 Tilliette, J.-Y., 42n, 47n, 54n, 62, 85n  
 title, of the *PN*, 27–28, 31. *See also accessus*

transference, and metaphor, 73–75, 131  
 Travesi, Giovanni, 5, 96, 132, 133–36  
*Tria sunt*, 15, 21, 29, 228, 231, 232, 236  
 Triška, J., 179  
 tropes, 16, 17, 170, 258

## U

universities, commentaries designed for, 109, 167, 177, 181, 183, 260, 261  
 Urban V, 151  
 usefulness, of the *PN*, 28, 30, 32. *See also* final cause

## V

Valla, Lorenzo, 136  
 Veneto, influence of the *PN* in, 107–8, 162  
 verbs, G.'s advice on, 73; Tim McCarver's avoidance of, 73  
 verse. *See* poetry  
 Verstraete, B., 260  
 Vienna, teaching of the *PN* at, 210–14  
 Virgil, 106, 228

## W

Walter of Châtillon, 5  
 Watson, D., 267n  
 Wenger, E., 10  
 Wheatley, E., 27n  
 Whethamstede, John, 230n, 235–37  
 Wieland, G. W., 51n, 213n, 242n  
 Witt, R., 69n, 94n, 96, 108, 119  
 writing technology, 66, 181, 254, 263. *See also* economics, of book production and writing; printing

## Z

Zwiercan, M., 214n

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