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Dialectic and Rhetoric in the Ninth and Twelfth Centuries: Continuity and Change

Édouard Jeuneau in one of his *études érigeniennes* printed a short note written around the year 1000 by an anonymous scribe who found himself in the presence of a copy of Augustine's *De dialectica*. The scribe reflected that few men can become competent in dialectic. Dialectic needs to be learned from serious teachers but such teachers are few and far between. Dialectic is, as it were, a sharp point. Rhetoric, however, extends an open hand to each and everyone. Rulers and others who learn the art of rhetoric are able to spread their message far and wide.¹

In one sense the scribe was perfectly right, as was Alcuin when he made a similar observation a hundred years earlier.² Rhetoric did pervade all forms of communication, not only literary works – poems, histories, biographies, letters and so on – but also all kinds of official or public or legal statements and all kind of commentary upon texts and events. But the scribe underestimated the power of dialectic, or at least he underestimated its potential to shape and to determine medieval life and thought. Medieval scholasticism is essentially defined by its dialectical methodology which came to pervade perhaps every intellectual discipline from the time in which he wrote.

Dialectic and rhetoric were studied within the framework of the seven liberal arts. This framework was found in the *De nuptiis* of Martianus, the fourth-century African rhetorician.³ Martianus' work explores the relationship between wis-

¹ "NOTA. Dialectica nempe est quidam pugnus astrictus, sicut et rhetorica palma quaedam extensa. Vnde raros et studiosos requirit magistros: pauci enim sunt qui eam diligentissime ac plenissime scire et investigare possunt. Rhetorica autem in turbas populorum procedit uehementissime, sicut uidetur in legislatoribus et reliquis uiris qui primo sciunt rhetorizare, sed late longeque uerba sua extendendo fundere". Édouard Jeuneau, *Pour le dossier d'Israel Scot in Études érigeniennes (Études augustiniennes, Paris 1987) 639–706, here 679.*

² Alcuin, *De dialectica*, in: PL. 101, 953A: "Dialectica et rhetorica est, quod in manu hominis pugnus astrictus et palma distenta (or distensa). Illa brevi oratione argumenta concludit; ista per facundiae campos copioso sermone discurret. Illa uerba contrahit; ista distendit. Dialectica siquidem ad inueniendas res acutior; rhetorica ad inuentas dicendas facundior. Illa raros et studiosos requirit; haec frequenter procedit in turbas".

³ *Martianus Capella, De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, ed. Adolfus Dick. Addenda et corrigenda iterum adiecit Jean Préaux (Teubner, Stuttgart 1978). Also ed. James Willis (Teubner, Leipzig 1983).

dom and eloquence and was a mine of information concerning classical mythology, the philosophy of the Platonists, the writings of non-Christian authors and also the seven liberal arts. The work was widely read and annotated from the ninth century.⁴ Commentators were attracted to it: one commentary that was once attributed to Dunchad and more recently to Martin of Laon (819–75) now lacks a known author.⁵ But John Scot⁶ and Remigius of Auxerre (d.c. 908)⁷ certainly wrote commentaries on Martianus and they survive. Also important in providing the framework for the study of the liberal arts was Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*. This attracted some commentators in the ninth century and later, including Remigius of Auxerre c.901–2.⁸ Augustine of Hippo too was honoured as an authority on the liberal arts. A short work on *Dialectic*, which was (perhaps rightly) attributed to him, circulated in manuscript.⁹ So too did the *Categoriae*

⁴ Claudio Leonardi, I Codici di Marziano Capella, in: *Aevum* 33 (1959) 434–489 and 34 (1960) 1–99, 411–524.

⁵ Ed. Cora Elizabeth Lutz, Dunchad: Glossae in Martianum (Philological Monographs published by the American Philological Association 12, Lancaster-Oxford 1944); Jean G. Prévaux, Le commentaire de Martin de Laon sur l'œuvre de Martianus Capella, in: *Latomus* 12 (1953) 437–459. John J. Contreni, A Note on the Attribution of a Martianus Capella Commentary to Martinus Laudunensis (Martinus Scotus), in: *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum. Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries. Annotated Lists and Guides* 3 ed. F. E. Cranz and P. O. Kristeller (Washington 1976) 451–452. See further Cora Elizabeth Lutz, Martianus Capella, in *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum* 2 (Washington 1971) 367–381 and John J. Contreni, The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: its manuscripts and masters (Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 29, Munich 1978).

⁶ Ed. Cora Elizabeth Lutz, Iohannis Scotti Annotationes in Marcianum (Cambridge, Mass. 1939); Gangolf Schrimpf, Zur Frage der Authentizität unserer Texte von Johannes Scottus' 'Annotationes in Martianum', in: *The Mind of Eriugena*, ed. John Joseph O'Meara and Ludwig Bieler (Dublin 1973) 125–139; Édouard Jeuneau, Quatre thèmes érigéniens (Montreal – Paris 1978) 91–166.

⁷ Ed. Cora Elizabeth Lutz, Remigii Autissiodorensis Commentum in Martianum Capellam, Libri I–II (Leiden 1962), Libri III–IX (Leiden 1965).

⁸ Pierre Courcelle, La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire. Antécédents et postérité de Boèce (Paris 1967) 241–274, 278–290. Two ninth-century commentaries have been unsuccessfully claimed to be the work of John Scot. One commentary was published by Edmund Taite Silk, Saeculi noni auctoris in Boetii Consolationem philosophiae commentarius (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 9, Rome 1935). Cf. Gérard Mathon, Le commentaire du pseudo-Erigène sur la Consolatio Philosophiae de Boèce, in: *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 22 (1955) 213–257. The second is a commentary on Book 3, cantus 9, Hubert Silvestre, Le commentaire inédit de Jean Scot Erigène au Mètre IX du Livre III du De consolatione Philosophiae de Boèce, in: *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 47 (1952) 44–122. Silvestre later withdrew his attribution of this work to John Scot, Aperçu sur les commentaires carolingiens de Prudence, in: *Sacris Erudiri* 9 (1957) 50–74, 398.

⁹ The Maurists (PL. 32, 579–580, 1385–1386, 1409–1420) regarded the attribution of the *Dialectic* to Augustine as spurious. See, however, Belford Darrell Jackson and Jan Pinborg, Augustine, De dialectica (Synthese Historical Library 16, Dordrecht – Boston 1975).

*decem*¹⁰ and a work on Rhetoric.¹¹ John Scot in his *De praedestinatione* called him 'studiosissimus liberalium artium magister'.¹²

Such high respect for the earlier writers, both pagan and Christian, who had brought together the basic materials and contents of dialectic and rhetoric was characteristic of scholarship in the Carolingian age. And Carolingian patronage enabled new, enhanced centres of literary and philosophical activity to develop in the eighth and ninth centuries. The royal court with its chapel, school and library was itself a centre of activity, for example in the production and composition of letters, charters and histories.¹³ In both the *Admonitio generalis* of 789¹⁴ and the mandate *De litteris colendis* of 794–800¹⁵ learning was encouraged in order to promote Christian scholarship and teaching.

When Alcuin met Charlemagne at Parma in 781 he was asked to enter royal service. Thereafter Alcuin promoted cultural and educational reform on behalf of the Frankish king and in his court. One of Alcuin's main activities was that of a busy schoolmaster. He took a considerable interest in the elements of the arts and wrote introductory textbooks and pedagogic dialogues on grammar, rhetoric and logic. In the dialogues on rhetoric and dialectic Charlemagne appears as a questioner. Classical sources are summarised. Alcuin's *Dialogus de rhetorica et de virtutibus* (801–4) draws upon the *De inventione* of Cicero and upon the *Ars rhetorica* of Julius Victor.¹⁶ Alcuin refers repeatedly to the role of rhetoric in litigation and in the settlement of civil disputes (*causae et quaestiones civiles/publicae, negotia saecularia*). The orator must also possess the virtue of temperance or moderation and be a good man. Thus the dialogue leads into a short disquisition on virtue. Alcuin's *Dialectica*¹⁷ draws upon Boethius and upon Porphyry's *Isagoge* as well as

¹⁰ Ed. Lorenzo Minio-Paluello, *Aristoteles Latinus* 5 (Bruges–Paris 1961) 129–175; PL. 32, 1439–1448.

¹¹ PL. 32, 1419–1440.

¹² *De divina praedestinatione* 18, 6 (PL. 122, 433B); ed. Goulven Madec, *Corpus christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis* 50 (Turnhout 1978) 114.

¹³ See Bernhard Bischoff, *Die Hofbibliothek Karls des Großen. Die Hofbibliothek unter Ludwig dem Frommen, Bücher am Hofe Ludwigs des Deutschen und die Privatbibliothek des Kanzlers Grimalt*. (Mittelalterliche Studien 3, Stuttgart 1981) 149–169, 170–186, 187–212; Josef Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige I: Grundlegung. Die karolingische Hofkapelle* (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 16/1, Stuttgart 1959) 234.

¹⁴ MGH. Legum Sectio II. Capitularia Regum Francorum, ed. Alfred Boretius I (Hannover 1883) no. 22, c. 72, p. 60.

¹⁵ MGH. Legum Sectio II. Capitularia Regum Francorum, ed. Alfred Boretius I (Hannover 1883) no. 29, p. 79; Luitpold Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne: Studies in Carolingian History and Literature* (Cornell Studies in classical philology 32, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York 1959) chapter 11 (with an edition on pp. 202–204); henceforth cited: *Wallach*, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*.

¹⁶ PL. 101, 919–950. Also edited by Carl Felix von Halm, *Rhetores Latini Minores* (Leipzig 1863) 523–550. Alcuin's *Rhetoric* is also, as Luitpold Wallach has shown, a treatise on kingship, Alcuin and Charlemagne, 60–73.

¹⁷ PL. 101, 949–976.

upon the *De interpretatione* and the *Categoriae decem*. The link between philosophy and morality is firmly underlined.¹⁸

The drudgery of being a tutor and a compiler found its reward in the uses to which such learning was put. Like Paul the Deacon in Pavia, Alcuin, along with his rival Theodulf, played the role of court scholars among the Franks. They praised the learning of their royal patron as well as his achievements as a war-lord. They combined the pursuit of political objectives with didactic declarations of moral principles. In a letter to Charlemagne in 801 Alcuin turned to Boethius' *Consolation* in order to define the ideal state and the ideal of the philosopher king.¹⁹ Alcuin is, as Peter Godman has shown, one of a line of able, ambitious scholars who used *carmina publica* to express eloquently the cultural and ideological objectives of their age, taking their inspiration from Vergil when things went well – as they did under Charlemagne – and from Ovid's *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto* when things went wrong – as they did under Louis the Pious.²⁰

The royal capitularies convey some of Alcuin's contributions to royal policy formation. So too do the *Interrogationis responsiones* of the Frankish bishops in relation to their parishioners. The four *Libri Carolini* may be the work of Alcuin or of Theodulf of Orleans.²¹ But with or without the *Libri Carolini* Alcuin's contributions to Carolingian reforms are substantial, and Charlemagne's ambitions in regard to education and learning were identified with those of Alcuin. In a letter written before the year 800 Charlemagne invited all his clergy to study the liberal arts as he himself did.²² Alcuin's followers repeated the basic principle: the study of the arts underpins and increases the understanding of the Christian message.

This principle also supported high scholarship, not just high politics. For Alcuin the seven liberal arts were seven columns which support the temple of Christian wisdom.²³ Like Boethius and like Augustine, Alcuin linked the quest for wisdom to the study of the liberal arts. Alcuin, in writing his *De fide sanctae et individuae trinitatis libri tres*, was stimulated by Augustine.²⁴ In this work and also in

¹⁸ "Est quoque philosophia honestas vitae, studium bene vivendi, meditatio mortis, contemptus saeculi – quod magis convenit Christianis, Dialectica", PL. 101, 952 A.

¹⁹ "Felix populus, qui sapiente et pio regitur principe; sicut in illo Platonico legitur proverbio dicente felicia esse regna, si philosophi, id est amatores sapientiae, regnarent, vel reges philosophiae studerent". MGH. Epistolae IV. Epistolae Karolini Aevi II, ed. Ernst Ludwig Dümmler (Berlin 1895) 373, ll. 2–4. Cf. Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae* I, 4, 5.

²⁰ Peter Godman, *Poets and Emperors. Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry* (Oxford 1987).

²¹ MGH. Legum Sectio III. Concilia II: Supplementum, ed. Hubert Bastgen (Hannover–Leipzig 1924); Wallach, Alcuin and Charlemagne, 169–177.

²² "et ad pernoscenda studia liberalium artium nostro etiam quos possumus invitamus exemplo", Karoli epistola generalis (786–800) in: MGH. Legum Sectio II. Capitularia Regum Francorum, ed. Alfred Boretius I (Hannover 1883), no. 30, p. 80, ll. 27–8.

²³ Alcuin, *De grammatica*, PL. 101, 853 B–C. Cf. Proverbs 9, 1.

²⁴ PL. 101, 9–58. See the preface to this work addressed to Charlemagne at 12CD: "hec non ut convincerem eos, qui minus utile existimabant, vestram nobilissimam intentionem dialecticae disciplinae discere velle rationes, quas pater Augustinus in libris de sancta Trinitate ap-

his *De animae ratione*²⁵ Alcuin showed his interest in *ratio*. He followed the examples, and indeed summarised the writings, of Augustine and of Boethius in their application of *ratio* to an understanding of Christian doctrine on God and the human soul. Alcuin and his followers provided the setting for, and indeed made, the first attempts in the medieval West, the first attempts since at least the time of Boethius, to assimilate the techniques of logic and to apply them to theology.

The importance of the study in the ninth and tenth centuries of the Aristotelian categories has recently been underlined by more than one scholar. There is no clear evidence of the use of Boethius' translation of Aristotle's *Categories* before the eleventh century. Instead, the principal text for study was a digest of Aristotle's *Categories*, made in the circle of Themistius but attributed to St. Augustine and called the *Categoriae decem*.²⁶ The Munich passages recording discussions involving Alcuin and his companions and concerning the categories have been fully studied by Dr. Marenbon.²⁷ They give us a glimpse of the degree of advanced understanding that was attained by thinkers associated with the Carolingian court of the logical doctrines received from antiquity. Most of the Munich passages were collected by Alcuin's friend and pupil, a fellow Anglo-Saxon monk called Candidus. Candidus reveals clearly the link between logic and wider philosophical speculation, for the key subjects discussed in the Munich passages include the soul, its ability to know and the nature of existence. They also include the nature of God's existence and of his image as found in created beings. We are at the beginning of a new phase in the relationship between ancient logic and the study of Christian theology.

The *Categoriae decem* was read and commented on by the masters of the schools of Laon and of Auxerre. Its study underlies some of the intellectual controversies of the age. The *Categoriae decem* treats the categories not as language or names nor as objective realities but as conceptions or perceptions of real things.²⁸ These categories were the inescapable and necessary tools to be used in advanced discussions of beings and of being. They were used too in discussions over the soul, the eucharist, the will and the Trinity. Ratramnus' dialectical nominalism led him to believe that souls are simply individual souls, and that there is no universal or world soul from which individual souls derive.²⁹ Ratramnus also discussed the

prime necessarias esse putavit, dum profundissimas de sancta Trinitate quaestiones, non nisi categoriarum subtilitate explanari posse probavit".

²⁵ PL. 101, 639–650.

²⁶ Aristoteles Latinus I, 5: *Categoriae vel Praedicamenta*, ed. Lorenzo Minio-Paluello (Bruges–Paris 1961) LXXVII–XCVI and 129–175. See also Lorenzo Minio-Paluello, *Opuscula. The Latin Aristotle* (Amsterdam 1972) 448–458.

²⁷ John Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre: Logic, Theology and Philosophy in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge 1981) chapter 2 and Appendix I; hereafter cited: Marenbon, *From the Circle*.

²⁸ Ebd. 16–18, 20–23.

²⁹ Ratramnus of Corbie, *Liber de anima*, ed. Cyrille Lambot (Analecta Mediaevalia Namurcensia 2, Namur, Lille 1952). Cf. Philippe Delhaye, *Une controverse sur l'âme universelle au*

eucharist in the light of dialectic, drawing distinctions between *veritas* and *species* and between *res* and *imago*, *figura* and *mysterium*.³⁰ Gottschalk (c. 805–866/9), the monk of Fulda, and later of Orbais, grammarian and poet also, found in the study of language the basis of a doctrine in favour of divine prescience and predestination.³¹ Hincmar, archbishop of Reims, and Pardulus, bishop of Laon, asked John Scot to refute Gottschalk's views.³² John did so in 851 by writing the *De divina praedestinatione liber*.³³ He complimented these prelates on the persuasive eloquence they had used to criticise Gottschalk but himself appealed to reason, to the tools of dialectic:³⁴ what does not exist cannot be known or foreknown; the defects of creatures are not the work of God. John interpreted the controversial texts of St. Augustine with the aid of the liberal arts. He blamed the heretical errors of Gottschalk and others upon their ignorance of the arts and also on their ignorance of the Greek language. The title of chapter 18 of his *De praedestinatione* reads: Quod error eorum qui aliter quam patres sancti sentiunt de praedestinatione ex liberalium disciplinarum ignorantia inolevit.³⁵ Ratramnus, Gottschalk and John Scot engaged in earnest debates at the root of which lay questions that could be broached with dialectical skills and dialectical convictions.

Such exchanges were no doubt exceptional and also untypical of the basic, continuing routine of learning and teaching the arts. John Scot, celebrated as he is for his translations of Greek religious writings and above all for his theological masterpiece, the *Periphyseon*, was also, like Alcuin, busily occupied in teaching the arts.³⁶ Like Alcuin John attracted and inspired a circle of thinkers who gave the arts sustained and enthusiastic attention. But whereas Alcuin had used the seven liberal arts as introductions to philosophy and as instruments for the study

IX^e siècle (Namur, Lille 1950. *Analecta Mediaevalia Namurcensia* 1); Jean-Paul Bouhot, Ratramne de Corbie. Histoire littéraire et controverses doctrinales (Études augustinienes, Paris 1976).

³⁰ Ratramnus, *De corpore et sanguine domini*, PL. 121, 103–170; also ed. Jan Nicolaas Bakhuizen van den Brink, Ratramnus. *De corpore et sanguine domini*. Texte original et notice bibliographique (Verhandelingen der koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde. Nieuwe Reeks 87, Amsterdam 1974).

³¹ The works of Gottschalk have been edited by Cyrille Lambot, *Œuvres théologiques et grammaticales de Godescalc d'Orbais* (Louvain 1945). Also in: PL. 121, 347–372. Cf. Jean Jolivet, *Godescalc d'Orbais et la Trinité. La méthode de la théologie à l'époque carolingienne* (Études de philosophie médiévale 47, Paris 1958).

³² Jean Devisse, Hincmar, Archevêque de Reims 845–882, tome I (Geneva 1975) 132–153.

³³ PL. 122, 347–440; ed. Goulven Madec, *Corpus christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis* 50 (Turnhout 1978); hereafter cited: CCM 50.

³⁴ "... cum vestrae nobilitas eloquentiae ad omnes novellarum haeresium versutias cavendas, convincendas, destruendas sufficiat, nostrae tamen ratiocinationis astipulationibus vestram perfectissimam de fide praedestinationis diffinitionem roborare non sprevisit." *De praedestinatione*, praefatio PL. 122, 356A; ed. Goulven Madec, CCM 50, 3–4.

³⁵ PL. 122, 430C; *Corpus christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis* 50, 110. See Giulio d'Onofrio, *Fons scientiae. La dialettica nell'Occidente tardo-antico* (Naples 1986) 279–320.

³⁶ Gangolf Schrimpf, *Das Werk des Johannes Scottus Eriugena im Rahmen des Wissenschaftsverständnisses seiner Zeit. Eine Hinführung zu Periphyseon* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, N.F. 23, Münster, Aschendorff 1982).

and understanding of Scripture, John Scot emphasised more their intrinsically philosophical character. Still more than Alcuin, he found in logic a pointer both to metaphysics and to theology.

John Scot defines each of the arts in his *Periphyseon*.³⁷ He often reflects on them³⁸ and shows his esteem for them. He praises dialectic especially as the 'mother of the arts'³⁹, as a technique invented not by man but by God.⁴⁰ God engraved dialectic into the very heart of created things. Dialectic teaches us how to divide genera into species and species into individuals. It also teaches us how to combine individuals into species and species into genera. Likewise the multiplication of reality flows down from its source in the uncreated nature. And multiplicity also returns and climbs back into unity. The two processes – logic and ontology – are one. Dialectic lies in the nature of things. Reality was created by God who also created all the arts. Reason is part of divine creation, an inseparable constituent of its procession from God and its return to God. True religion is true philosophy.⁴¹ Human language, the vehicle of rational communication between creatures, is important here: the first word of John Scot's *Homily* on the *Gospel* of St. John is *vox*. *Vox* is a sound which is heard one moment and is gone the next. But *vox* conveys *verbum*, the Word, and the Word is the eternal essence which *vox* conveys.⁴² Again logic and ontology go together.

So, like his predecessors in the Carolingian royal court, but with a far greater depth of understanding, John Scot found the arts essential as a means towards the understanding of Scripture. The arts converge on Christ, the Word, and the source

³⁷ *Periphyseon* I, 27 (PL. 122, 475AB).

³⁸ *Periphyseon* V, 4 (PL. 122, 868C–870C).

³⁹ *Periphyseon* V, 4 (PL. 122, 870B).

⁴⁰ "... ars illa, quae dividit genera in species, et species in genera resolvit, quae (dialectica) dicitur, non ab humanis machinationibus sit facta, sed in natura rerum, ab auctore omnium artium, quae vere artes sunt, condita, et a sapientibus inventa, et ad utilitatem solerti rerum indagine usitata," *Periphyseon* IV, 4 (PL. 122, 749A).

⁴¹ "quid est aliud de philosophia tractare, nisi verae religionis, qua summa et principalis omnium rerum causa, deus, et humiliter colitur et rationabiliter investigatur, regulas exponere? Conficitur uide ueram esse philosophiam ueram religionem conuersimque ueram religionem esse ueram philosophiam," *De divina praedestinatione*, c. 1, PL. 122, 375D–358A; ed. *Goulsen Madec*, CCM 50, 5.

⁴² "Vox spiritalis aquilae auditum pulsat ecclesiae. Exterior sensus transeuntem accipiat sonitum, interior animus manentem penetret intellectum. Vox altivoli uolatilis, non aera corporeum uel aethera uel totius sensibilis mundi ambitum superuolantis, sed omnem theoriam, ultra omnia quae sunt et quae non sunt, citiuolis intimae theologiae pennis, clarissimae superaeque contemplationis obtutibus transcendentis ... Superuolat itaque beatus theologus Iohannes non solum quae intelligi ac dici possunt, uerum etiam in ea quae superant omnem intellectum et significationem superuehitur, extraque omnia, ineffabili mentis uolatu, in archana unius omnium principii exaltatur, incomprehensibilemque ipsius principii et uerbi, hoc est patris et filii, unitam superessentialitatem necnon et distinctam supersubstantialitatem pure dinoscens, euangelium suum inchoat dicens: *In principio erat uerbum*," *Jean Scot, Homélie sur le Prologue de Jean*. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes de Édouard Jeuneau (Sources chrétiennes 151, Paris 1969) 200–209; PL. 122, 283 BC.

of all wisdom.⁴³ The arts are more than pedagogic aids. They are more than guides to wisdom. They are more than instruments of philosophy. They are an intrinsic element in the division of natures and of their return to the unity from which they begin.

Like their predecessors in the royal courts of Charlemagne and of Louis the Pious, John and his circle were never far from poetry. Sedulius was a poet, like John himself.⁴⁴ Martin of Laon read the *Periphyseon* and was also a poet, although only a very minor one.⁴⁵ So was Heiric of Auxerre, John's disciple in the teaching of the liberal arts.⁴⁶ Heiric's long poem on the Life of Saint Germanus of Auxerre is accompanied by glosses which are often extracts from John's *Periphyseon*.⁴⁷ These glosses – whether or not they were arranged by Heiric himself – illustrate the close links between poetry and philosophy in Eriugenian circles at the end of the ninth century.⁴⁸ These links were not to disappear in the twelfth century.

The concepts of the Carolingian Renaissance and of the Renaissance of the Twelfth Century, while they have justly stimulated historians to explore the renewals of thought and culture that took place in the ninth and in the twelfth centuries, have also contributed to an impression of discontinuity or at least of difference between the ninth and the twelfth centuries. The links between the scholarship of the ninth century and the scholarship of the twelfth century are often obscure. Centres such as the monastery of S. Germain d'Auxerre or the palace school no longer mattered in the Renaissance of the twelfth century. But their products had left a mark. It would be worth studying the reputation in the twelfth century of such Carolingian writers as Alcuin, John Scot, Haimo and Remigius. They were not forgotten. But by and large such studies have not been attempted. On a superficial level many continuities between the ninth and the twelfth centuries are easy to describe. The works of Boethius and Augustine, Cicero and Priscian were still in the forefront of the study of the arts. But to find the agents of transmission, to reconstruct the frail and obscure links between masters and schools during the tenth and the eleventh centuries is a delicate task.

One connecting thread is Remigius of Auxerre. Remigius taught at Rheims

⁴³ *Expositiones super Ierarchias sancti Dionysii I*, 3 (PL. 122, 139C–140A); ed. Jeanne Barbet, CCM 31 (Turnhout 1975) 16. These were written between 865–870.

⁴⁴ Ludwig Traube, MGH. *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini* 3, 151–237; Reinhard Düchting, *Sedulius Scottus: seine Dichtungen* (Munich 1966). See also Siegmund Hellmann, *Sedulius Scottus* (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters I, i, ed. Ludwig Traube, Munich 1906); and Marenbon, *From the Circle*, 105–109.

⁴⁵ See Ludwig Traube, MGH. *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini* 3, 686, 692–693. Also John J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: its manuscripts and masters* (Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 29, Munich 1978), 60–61, 83–87.

⁴⁶ Marenbon, *From the Circle*, 113–115.

⁴⁷ Heiric, *Vita sancti Germani*, written between 865 and 873, ed. Ludwig Traube, *Heirici carmina*, in MGH. *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini* 3, 421–517.

⁴⁸ Édouard Jeuneau, *Études Eriégiennes* (Paris 1987) 77–78. On Heiric's use of the *Periphyseon* in his homilies see *ibid.* 526–557.

from 883 or 893 and then at Paris. Apart from his Biblical commentaries, he commented on the works of Donatus and Priscian, the Latin poets, the Consolation of Philosophy and Martianus. He heralds the rise of the cathedral school of Rheims but he was also a pupil of Heiric, the last famous name from Auxerre.⁴⁹ Perhaps the strongest connecting thread was created by Gerbert of Aurillac and by his contribution to the growth of attention paid to Boethius at the end of the tenth century. In the eleventh century the personal monographs of Boethius and his commentaries on Aristotle's logic gained ground at the expense of other texts such as the *Categoriae decem* of the pseudo-Augustine.⁵⁰ It has often been remarked that this insistence on Boethian and Aristotelian dialectic was of fundamental importance in enabling the realities of this world to be analysed with the tools of reason and not only to be perceived symbolically or sacramentally. But from the 1120s onwards, Latin translations appeared of other logical and scientific writings of Aristotle that had not been known in earlier centuries in the Latin West.⁵¹ Until the twelfth century the only logical works of Aristotle that were available in the Latin translations made by Boethius were the *Categoriae* and the *De interpretatione*. Now other Boethian translations of Aristotle's logic – the *Analytica priora*, the *Topica*, the *Sophistici elenchi* – were found; we do not know where or how. The *Analytica posteriora* was translated out of Greek by James of Venice and later by one Ioannes. James of Venice also translated the *Elenchi* out of Greek, and an anonymous scholar worked on the *Analytica priora* and the *Topica*. These new versions, which were probably made before 1159, were not widely disseminated until the thirteenth century. In the twelfth, as in the eleventh century, we are still in the *aetas Boetiana*, a period strongly influenced by Boethius and by his translations, commentaries and treatises. But the range and scope of dialectic had been extended by mid century.⁵²

⁴⁹ Ibid. 520–522. On Remigius' commentary on Priscian see Colette Jedy, La tradition manuscrite des Partitiones de Priscien et la version longue du commentaire de Rémi d'Auxerre, in: Revue d'histoire des textes 1 (1971) 123–143. Claudio Leonardi, Remigio d'Auxerre e l'eredità della scuola carolingia, in: Giornate filologiche genovesi 1974 (I Classici nell' Medioevo e nell' Umanesimo, Genoa 1975) 271–288.

⁵⁰ See André van de Vyver, Les étapes du développement philosophique du haut moyen-âge, in: Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire, 8 (1929) 425–452; also Lorenzo Minio-Paluello, Opuscula: The Latin Aristotle (Amsterdam, 1972) 28–39, 448–458. John Marenbon has underlined the importance of the work of the glossators of the *Categoriae decem* between the late eighth and the early tenth centuries in his book From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre.

⁵¹ Two excellent surveys of the Latin translations made of scholarly books written in Hebrew, Greek and Arabic are: Bernard Geoffrey Dod, Aristoteles latinus, in: The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy, ed. Norman Kretzmann and others (Cambridge, 1982) 45–79 (with tables summarising the basic information concerning Aristotelian and pseudo-Aristotelian texts): Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, Translations and Translators in: Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Oxford 1982) 421–462. For more recent scholarship see Rencontres de cultures dans la philosophie médiévale. Traductions et traducteurs de l'antiquité tardive au XIV^e siècle, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse and M. Fattori (Louvain-la-Neuve – Cassino 1990).

⁵² Between 1961 and 1975 Lorenzo Minio-Paluello, Gerard Verbeke and Bernard Geoffrey

Commentaries and glosses on the classical authorities had been composed during the Carolingian period. These multiplied in number in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and provided the groundswell, the gathering momentum, for other initiatives. Alongside the preparation of commentaries and of glosses went also the composition of compendia,⁵³ of manuals, of treatises and of *florilegia*. *Florilegia*, as distinct from compendia of long excerpts, are rare before the eleventh century. Thereafter they multiply, especially in monasteries.⁵⁴ They contain tags from classical literature but were often prepared and organised for ethical purposes; the larger ones are astonishingly detailed.⁵⁵ The schools of the twelfth century also gave birth to several notable new encyclopaedias of the arts. Such encyclopaedias were the *Eptateuchon* of Thierry of Chartres⁵⁶, the *Didascalicon* of Hugh of Saint Victor⁵⁷ and the *Summa* written by one William of Lucca, a dis-

Dod edited the translations of Aristotle's logic in *Aristoteles latinus* I–VI. Lorenzo Minio-Paluello's fundamental articles on the transmission of texts have been collected in *The Latin Aristotle* Opuscula (Amsterdam 1972). On *aetas boetiana* see Marie-Dominique Chenu, *La théologie au douzième siècle* (Études de philosophie médiévale 45, Paris 1957) chap. 6.

⁵³ A celebrated series of handbooks containing a corpus of texts used in teaching the arts was produced at Chartres from the time of Fulbert (1004 onwards) to that of Thierry (who died in the 1150s). See A. van de Vyver, *Les étapes du développement philosophique du haut moyen âge*, in: *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 7 (1929) 425–452. The eleventh century, according to Dr. Margaret Gibson, 'was the period of the great *compendia*: designed to contain within two covers all that was needed for the study of one subject, as logic, or a related group, as grammar, logic, rhetoric', *The Artes in the Eleventh Century*, in: *Arts libéraux et philosophie au moyen âge* (Actes du quatrième Congrès international de philosophie médiévale. Université de Montréal, Montréal 2 août – 2 septembre 1967, Montreal – Paris 1969) 121–126, here 124.

⁵⁴ On the genre and its various forms see especially Birger Munk Olsen, *Les classiques latins dans les florilèges médiévaux antérieurs au XIII^e siècle* in: *Revue d'histoire des textes* 9 (1979) 47–121, 10 (1980) 115–164. On the manuscripts of the Latin classics that were copied from the ninth to the twelfth centuries see Birger Munk Olsen, *L'Étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI^e et XII^e siècles* 1: *Catalogue des manuscrits classiques latins copiés du IX^e au XII^e siècle*. Apicius-Juvenal (Paris 1982).

⁵⁵ Examples are the *Florilegium Gallicum* ed. Anders Gagnér (Lund 1936), the *Florilegium morale Oxoniense* (MS. Bodl. 633), ed. Philippe Delhaye and Charles Hugh Talbot (*Analecta Mediaevalia Namurcensia* 5–6, Louvain 1955–6), the *Moralium dogma philosophorum*, ed. John Holmberg (Uppsala 1929).

⁵⁶ Thierry's *Eptateuchon* is still unpublished and is now only preserved on microfilm following the destruction of the unique copy in MSS 497–8 of the Bibliothèque municipale of Chartres by fire in 1944. Peter Dronke, *Fabula* (Leiden 1974) 59n links the *Eptateuchon* with Thierry's activities as a teacher, as does J. O. Ward, *The Date of the Commentary on Cicero's De inventione* by Thierry of Chartres (ca. 1095–1160?) and the Cornifician attack on the Liberal Arts, in: *Viator* 3 (1972) 219–273, here 243–245. The Preface has been edited by Édouard Jeanneau, in: *Mediaeval Studies* 16 (1954) 171–175; reprinted in Édouard Jeanneau, *Lectio philosophorum. Recherches sur l'École de Chartres* (Amsterdam 1973) 87–91. Excerpts are printed by Karin M. Fredborg, *The Commentary of Thierry of Chartres on Cicero's "De inventione"*, in: *Cahiers de l'Institut du moyen âge grec et latin. Université de Copenhague* 7 (1971) 1–36.

⁵⁷ Ed. Charles Henry Buttimer, *Didascalicon, de studio legendi: A Critical Text* (The Catholic University of America: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin 10, Washington 1939). See too Jerome Taylor, *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor*, Translated from the Latin

ciple of Gilbert of Poitiers.⁵⁸ Adelard of Bath, on the other hand, wrote his *De eodem et diverso* to instruct young noblemen who did not want an education that was as arduous as the larger encyclopaedias were suggesting.⁵⁹ To such noblemen John of Salisbury gave more elaborate advice in his *Policraticus*, and in his *Metalogicon* he gave a full justification of the arts of the trivium.⁶⁰ The *encyclopaedias* of the twelfth century provide – in widely differing ways – explanations of the ordering of the arts and of their interdependence and solidarity. In the Prologue of his *Eptateuchon* Thierry distinguished two instruments of philosophy, understanding and its expression (*intellectus eiusque interpretatio*). Understanding is lit up by the quadrivium; expression is given to it reasonably and elegantly by the trivium.⁶¹ More than two thirds of the contents of the *Eptateuchon* are devoted to the trivium. And within the trivium grammar occupies twice as much space as is allocated to rhetoric. In his other writings Thierry used mathematics more than many contemporary philosophers⁶² but in his *Eptateuchon* he extolled especially the matronly role of grammar which prescribes the rules for correct speech and writing. By contrast, Hugh in his *Didascalicon*, written towards the end of the 1120s, had distinguished and arranged twenty one arts of philosophy. Seven of

with an Introduction and Notes (Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies 64, New York 1961). Taylor has provided a valuable introduction and notes. For a census of 125 MSS containing the work see *Rudolf Goy*, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Hugos von St. Viktor: ein Beitrag zur Kommunikationsgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 14, Stuttgart 1976) 14–36.

⁵⁸ This volume contains *Papias'* Dictionary and treatises on five of the liberal arts. See *Ferruccio Gastaldelli*, Note sul codice 614 della biblioteca capitolare di Lucca e sulle edizioni del *De arithmetica compendiose tractata e della Summa dialetice artis*, in: *Salesianum* 39 (1977) 693–702.

⁵⁹ Ed. *Hans Willner*, *Des Adelard von Bath Traktat De eodem et diverso* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters 4, i, 1903). Adelard (writing in 1110) presents Philosophy and Philocosmos engaged in a debate in the course of which Philosophy vindicates her claim to be able to liberate the mind and to lead it to perfection with the aid of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*. Cf. likewise the debate between *Caro* and *Ratio* in the *De consolatione rationis* by *Peter of Compostella* (written probably between 1140–1147), ed. *Petrus Blanco Soto* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters 8, Münster 1912). A similar purpose underlies the *Dialogus super auctores* attributed to *Conrad of Hirsau*: the liberal arts liberate the mind from wordly ties and lead it to love things that are eternal, ed. *Robert Burchard Constantijn Huygens*, *Conradus Hirsaugiensis, Dialogus super auctores* (Brussels 1955).

⁶⁰ The text of the *Metalogicon*, accessible in the edition of *Clement Charles Julian Webb* (Oxford 1929) and in the English translation by *Daniel Doyle McGarry* (Berkeley 1955 and later reprinted), has recently been freshly edited by *John Barrie Hall* with the help of *Katherine S. B. Keats-Rohan*, *Corpus christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis* 98, Turnhout 1991). On the need for the new edition see *John Barrie Hall*, *Towards a text of John of Salisbury's 'Metalogicon'*, in: *Studi Medievali* 3a serie, 24 (1983) 791–816. On interpretations of the work made by modern scholars see my *John of Salisbury in Recent Scholarship*, in: *The World of John of Salisbury*, ed. *Michael Wilks* (Studies in Church History, Subsidia 3, Oxford 1984) 21–37, here 22–6.

⁶¹ *Thierry de Chartres, Eptateuchon*, ed. *Édouard Jeuneau*, 'Lectio philosophorum' 90.

⁶² Cf. *Édouard Jeuneau*, *Mathématiques et Trinité chez Thierry de Chartres*, in: 'Lectio philosophorum' 93–99.

these arts were mechanical and the mechanical arts balance the seven liberal arts. Only the seven liberal arts are essential in a formal programme of pedagogy but, as Robert Javelet has nicely remarked, Hugh enshrined them in a synthesis made out of new gold.⁶³

The eleventh and twelfth centuries are often viewed as the period of early scholasticism.⁶⁴ Already by the early sixth century Boethius had shown in his theological treatises the usefulness of the arts, and the advantages of a conceptual framework, of demonstration of first principles and of definitions of terms.⁶⁵ Medieval scholastic method, which was in part inspired by the work of Boethius, certainly developed during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. And dialectical methods invaded many disciplines. But among some of the best teachers, including Abelard, dialectic was kept in balance to some degree. Gilbert of Poitiers, William of Conches and Abelard explored the links between the arts, on the one hand, and the reality of the universe and of God, on the other; between study and created physical nature; between the arts and morality including politics; between pagan and sacred authors and authorities. They shared the conviction that intellectual progress could be made by reading authoritative texts philosophically – the texts, that is, of classical poetry, the books of the Old Testament, the works of the Greek and Roman philosophers. To undertake this philosophical reading it is necessary to pierce through the wrapping or the envelope (*integumentum, involucrium*) that covers the true meaning of the teachings of the ancient authors. Once the cover is taken off, it is possible to reconcile the best of pagan philosophy with Christian faith, to integrate the arts in a total Christian way of living.⁶⁶

⁶³ Robert Javelet, *Considérations sur les arts libéraux chez Hugues et Richard de Saint-Victor*, in: *Arts libéraux et philosophie au moyen âge 557–568*, here 557.

⁶⁴ Nomenclature varies from historian to historian and has altered during the twentieth century. Martin Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*, 2 Bde. (Freiburg i.B. 1911, reprinted Darmstadt 1957); hereafter cited: *Grabmann, Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*, reserved the term *Vorscholastik* for the period down to Anselm of Canterbury (d. 1109) and viewed the twelfth century as a *Vorbereitung und Grundlegung der Hochscholastik*. Bernhard Geyer, *Die patristische und scholastische Philosophie* (Basel ¹¹1927; reprinted Basel 1955) includes the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the period of *Frühscholastik*. Étienne Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (London 1955) applies the term Early Scholasticism to the early thirteenth century when the full weight of new Greek and Arabic influences was being felt for the first time. Sten Ebbesen, in: *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, ed. Norman Kretzmann and others (Cambridge 1982) 101, notes that scholasticism is neither a medieval nor a western invention. John Marenbon, *Early Medieval Philosophy (480–1150). An Introduction* (London 1983) appears to avoid the term.

⁶⁵ For a very perceptive survey of Boethius' theological treatises see Henry Chadwick, *Boethius* (Oxford 1981) 174–222. See too Grabmann, *Geschichte der scholastischen Methode* I, 148–177 ('Boethius, der letzte Römer – der erste Scholastiker').

⁶⁶ Édouard Jeuneau, *L'usage de la notion d' *integumentum* à travers les gloses de Guillaume de Conches*, in: *Lectio philosophorum* 125–192; Tullio Gregory, *Abélard et Platon* in: Peter Abelard, ed. Eligius M. Buytaert (*Mediaevalia Lovaniensia. Series I/Studia II*, Leuven 1974) 38–64. Also, Édouard Jeuneau, *Jean de Salisbury et la lecture des philosophes*, in: *The*

The seven arts were still accepted everywhere as the traditional and formal framework in which were set the arts of language and the arts of number. In some schools some arts may have flourished more than others – rhetoric in Orleans, dialectic in Paris and so on. Nevertheless the arts were interdependent. Many masters would have accepted what William of Conches wrote in the *Philosophia* about the *ordo discendi*, the correct sequence in which the arts should be approached. First one should learn eloquence. The student should be taught to write correctly and to pronounce correctly what is written; this is achieved through the art of grammar. The student also needs to learn to prove what has to be proved; this is done through the art of dialectic. And he further needs to learn through the art of rhetoric how to embellish words and sentences. So he needs to be introduced first to grammar, secondly to dialectic and then to rhetoric. When so equipped, he should pass to the study of philosophy, beginning with the *quadrivium*. Finally he can proceed to the study of the *sacra pagina*, the Bible.⁶⁷ Likewise Hugh of St. Victor regarded the study of every art without exception as essential for a philosopher: ‘(The seven liberal arts) so hang together and so depend upon one another in their ideas that if only one of the arts be lacking, all the rest cannot make a man into a philosopher. Therefore those persons seem to me to be in error who, not appreciating the coherence among the arts, select certain of them for study, and, leaving the rest untouched, think that they can become perfect in these alone.’⁶⁸ This had already perhaps become a fading dream. It was too large a programme for many students and even for their masters. Adelard of Bath in his *De eodem et diverso*

World of John of Salisbury, ed. *Michael Wilks* (Studies in Church History, Subsidia 3, Oxford 1984) 77–108.

⁶⁷ “Ordo vero discendi talis est ut, quia per eloquentiam omnis sit doctrina, prius instruat in eloquentia. Cuius sunt tres partes, recte scribere et recte pronuntiare scripta, quod confert grammatica; probare quod probandum est, quod docet dialectica; ornare verba et sententias, quod tradit rhetorica. Initiandi ergo sumus in grammatica, deinde in dialectica, postea in rhetorica; quibus instructi et ut armis muniti, ad studium philosophiae debemus accedere. Cuius hic ordo est, ut prius in quadrivio, id est in ipsa prius arithmetica, secundus in musica, tertius in geometria, quartus in astronomia. Deinde in divina pagina.” *William of Conches*, *De philosophia mundi*, lib. IV. c. 41 (printed among the works of Honorius Augustodunensis, in: PL 172, 100). For part of a similar sequence see Richer’s account of Gerbert’s teaching of the arts at Rheims about 150 years earlier; *Richer* lays emphasis on the way Gerbert passed from the study of dialectic first to the study of the poets and of rhetoric and then to the practice of disputation, *Historia III*, 46–48, ed. *Robert Latouche*, *Les classiques de l’histoire de France*, 2 vols (Paris 1937), II, 54–57. *Hugh of Saint Victor* in his *Epitome in philosophiam*, while noting this order, prefers to place rhetoric in the second place after grammar and before dialectic. Rhetoric, according to Hugh, is linked to grammar whereas dialectic deals with subtle interpretations of expressions, *Hugonis de Sancto Victore opera propaedeutica*, ed. *Roger Baron* (Publications in Mediaeval Studies, The University of Notre Dame 20, Notre Dame 1966) 205 and n. 48, 242–244. On the selection and ordering of the books to be studied within individual arts much evidence is presented by *André van de Vyver*, *Les étapes du développement philosophique du haut moyen âge*, in: *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire* 8 (1929), 426–452.

⁶⁸ *Hugh of Saint Victor*, *Didascalicon III*, 4, trans. *Jerome Taylor* (Records of Civilization. Sources and Studies 64, New York 1961) 89.

allowed himself to be asked by Philosophy to choose one art to specialise in: "for to embrace them altogether would be beyond your capacity".⁶⁹ Later in the century Godfrey of Saint Victor (d. 1194) in his *fons philosophiae* described his own education in the schools. He had begun with grammar, dialectic and rhetoric and then moved on to arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy. However, Godfrey expressed himself disappointed by the ruin into which the teaching of the trivium had fallen since the time of Hugh of Saint Victor (d. 1141); students no longer follow the proper order of study and especially neglect the texts of Porphyry and Aristotle. Godfrey seems to be complaining of a lack of close attention to the ancient textbooks themselves and he singles out for criticism the *Porretani* or followers of Gilbert of Poitiers as well as Alberic and Robert of Melun.⁷⁰

Understandably, too, some teachers were more adept in one art than in another. In the second prologue of his commentary on Cicero's *De inventione*, Thierry of Chartres remarked that his fame as a teacher of rhetoric had aroused hostility among dialecticians.⁷¹ There were, however, limits to the possibility of specialising or of picking and choosing between the arts. In the trivium at least it was hardly practicable to confine oneself always to the study of one art to the exclusion of another. Peter Helias, a great name in the history of medieval grammar, taught rhetoric to the young John of Salisbury.⁷² At the height of his controversy with Peter Abelard over the nature of the universals and over other questions of logic, William of Champeaux taught rhetoric in Paris.⁷³ Abelard himself, the greatest logician of the twelfth century, perhaps the greatest logician of the whole period from Aristotle to William of Ockham, did not restrict himself in the *trivium* to the study of logic. Abelard studied language, the art of rhetoric as well as those of grammar and logic.⁷⁴ He wrote, or at least planned, works of grammar and rhetoric, although they have not been identified in any surviving manuscript.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ Ed. Hans Willner, Des Adelard von Bath Traktat *De eodem et diverso* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, Band IV, Heft 1, Münster i. W. 1903) 17.

⁷⁰ Ed. Pierre Michaud-Quantin, in: *Analecta mediaevalia Namurcensia* 8 (1956) 38–40. English translation by Edward Aloysius Synan, *The Fountain of Philosophy* (Toronto 1972) 49.

⁷¹ See Karin M. Fredborg, The commentary of Thierry of Chartres on Cicero's *De inventione*, in: *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin*, 7 (1971) 2–3.

⁷² *John of Salisbury*, *Metalogicon*, II, 10, ed. John Barrie Hall. See Karin M. Fredborg, Peter Helias on rhetoric, in: *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin* 13 (Copenhagen 1974) 31–41.

⁷³ Cf. Abelard, *Historia calamitatum*, ed. Jean Monfrin, 2nd edn. (Paris 1962), l.81. On William of Champeaux as a teacher of rhetoric we now know much owing to the enquiries of Mary Dickey, *Some Commentaries on the De inventione and Ad Herennium of the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries*, in: *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 6 (1968) 1–41 and of Karin M. Fredborg, *The Commentaries on Cicero's De inventione and Rhetorica ad Herennium by William of Champeaux*, in: *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen Age Grec et Latin* 17 (Copenhagen 1976) 1–39.

⁷⁴ Jean Jolivet, *Arts du langage et théologie chez Abélard*. (Paris 1982).

⁷⁵ Julia Barrow, Charles Burnett and David Luscombe, A Checklist of the Manuscripts containing the Writings of Peter Abelard and Heloise and other Writings closely associated with

An example of the interaction and interdependence of the arts of the trivium – and of their usefulness in formulating a general view of the nature of religious differences – is offered by Abelard in his *Dialogus inter Philosophum, Judaeum et Christianum*, a work which consists of two *Collationes*.⁷⁶ The first *Collatio* is a dialogue between a Jew and a Philosopher who is a Muslim. The second *Collatio* involves the same Muslim and a Christian. Abelard associates with the representative of each of the great religions of the medieval western world one of the arts of the trivium. Like a dialectician, the Philosopher wisely submits himself to the rules of definition and to the Aristotelian categories. For ethical notions he turns to Cicero, Seneca and Epicurus. The Christian, on the other hand, follows the teachings of the rhetoricians: the Christian cites and relies on the authority of the written Word. He seeks to spread his message by way of preaching. Finally, the Jew is like a simple grammarian, even like a young child when learning the rules of speech. The Jew scrutinizes the words and phrases found in the Old Testament, but he cannot manage to dispute or to argue and he cannot interpret what he reads. In this framework of dialogue between men with complementary but varying skills, Abelard presents a debate on comparative ethics, on the nature of ultimate good and of ultimate evil. The *Collationes* are yet one more sign that in medieval Europe dialectic, rhetoric and grammar were perceived by many as a gateway to moral science as well as a pillar of human belief in God.

The seven arts survived, supported and honoured by many in both theory and fact, but they were not immune from evolution or from criticism. New arts – or to be more precise, new sub-arts or new divisions of the arts – made their appearance, especially in the twelfth century. Hostile critics also emerged.

The Herculean labours of Professor Lambert Marie de Rijk have established that a *logica nova* and a *logica modernorum*, a new and modern logic, came into existence before the thirteenth century and largely independently of the arrival of translations of hitherto unavailable Greek and Arabic texts.⁷⁷ The *Ars disserendi* of Adam of Balsham (Adam Parvipontanus) stimulated the study of sophisms which was to flourish in the twelfth century.⁷⁸ Still more perceptible are the new arts that were derived from ancient rhetoric: *ars dictaminis*, *ars notaria*, *ars poetriae*, *ars praedicandi* and *ars disputationis*.⁷⁹ Letter-writing, legal practice, the

Abelard and his School, in: *Revue d'histoire des textes* 14–15 (1984–5) 183–302, here 258, nos. 319, 321. *Constant Mews*, On dating the works of Peter Abelard, in: *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 51 (1985) 73–134, here 92–95.

⁷⁶ See *Guy H. Allard*, Une suggestion à propos des trois personnages du *Dialogue* d'Abelard, in: *Actas del V Congreso Internacional de Filosofía Medieval I* (Madrid 1979) 495–503. The work has been edited by *Rudolf Thomas*, *Petrus Abaelardus. Dialogus inter Philosophum, Judaeum et Christianum* (Stuttgart – Bad Cannstatt 1970) and in: *PL*, 178, 1609–1682.

⁷⁷ *Lambert Marie de Rijk*, *Logica Modernorum. A Contribution to the History of Early Terminist Logic*, 2 vols (Assen 1962–7).

⁷⁸ *Adam Balsamiensis Parvipontani Ars Disserendi (Dialectica Alexandri)*, ed. *Lorenzo Minio-Paluello*, *Twelfth-Century Logic I* (Rome 1956).

⁷⁹ For a general guide see *James Jerome Murphy*, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages. A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley 1974). See too *James*

writing of poetry, preaching and disputation – these are the subjects of the new arts and they illustrate well the numerous connections between the study of rhetoric and many other medieval pursuits. There was a close connection between rhetoric and law: legal documents were drawn up by men versed in the art of composition; teachers of the law had to comment on texts, such as the *Corpus iuris civilis*, with the aid of the arts of the *trivium*. Medieval letters were largely written according to the rules of ancient rhetoric as laid down in the *De Inventione* and in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.

However, the question has to be asked: how new were the new arts in the twelfth century? The most important is probably the art of the *dictamen*. This aimed to apply rhetorical doctrine to all forms of Latin composition, not only letters. But the teaching and practice of letter-writing became its most important aspect and the *ars dictaminis* was an indispensable part of the training of lawyers and theologians as well as of all literate holders of positions of responsibility. Its beginnings have for long been associated with the work and the name of Alberic, a monk of Monte Cassino. Around 1070 or 1080 and in his *Dictaminum radii* and *Breviarium de dictamine*, Alberic explored the Ciceronian principles of rhetoric and composition; in particular he adapted Cicero's teaching on the parts of a speech or an oration to the task of dictating the different parts of a letter. And Alberic taught the *dictamen* to students.⁸⁰ The origins of the *ars dictaminis* are also associated with John of Gaeta who was chancellor of the papal curia from 1089 to 1118. John of Gaeta reformed the curial style of writing in a rhymed prose with cadences. Several treatises on the *dictamen* were written in the twelfth century. Among the earliest lay masters to write about the *ars dictaminis* was a critic of Alberic, Adalbert of Bologna, who wrote his *Precepta dictaminum* between 1111 and 1118 and who accused Alberic of being *gauche* and inflexible in his teaching.⁸¹ Adalbert focussed especially on letter-writing, far more so than Alberic, but it is unlikely that twelfth-century dictaminal practises were derived simply from Adalbert or simply from Bologna.⁸² Letter-writing doctrines were deeply embedded in traditional rhetorical teaching. They surfaced clearly in Alberic's gener-

Jerome Murphy, *Medieval Rhetoric. A Select Bibliography* (Toronto Medieval Bibliographies 3, Toronto 1971).

⁸⁰ For the *Breviarium de dictamine* see Ludwig von Rockinger, *Briefsteller und Formelbücher des elften bis vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 2 Bde. (München 1863–4), I, 29–46. The *Dictaminum radii* was published by Mauro Inguanez and H. M. Willard under the title *Alberici Casinensis Flores rhetorici* (Miscellanea Cassinese 14, Montecassino 1938); and see Harald Hagendahl, *Le manuel de rhétorique d'Albericus Casinensis*, in: *Classica et Mediaevalia* 17 (1956) 63–70. An English translation appeared in: *Readings in Medieval Rhetoric*, ed. Joseph M. Miller and other (Bloomington, Indiana 1973) 131–161.

⁸¹ *Adalbertus Samaritanus, Praecepta Dictaminum*, ed. Franz-Josef Schmale (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 3, Weimar 1961). Herbert Bloch, *Monte Cassino's Teachers and Library in the High Middle Ages*, in: *La scuola nell'Occidente latino dell' alto medioevo* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 19, 2 vols., Spoleto 1972) II, 563–605, here 587–601.

⁸² See William D. Patt, *The Early "Ars Dictaminis" as Response to a Changing Society*, in: *Viator* 9 (1978) 133–155.

ation and are increasingly codified during the twelfth century. Among Adalbert's contemporaries was Henry Francigena who taught the *dictamen* at Pavia and who included model letters in his *Aurea gemma* which was written around 1125.⁸³ Another contemporary, Hugh of Bologna, taught the *dictamen* and included model letters in his *Rationes dictandi prosaice* written between 1119 and 1124.⁸⁴ These writers and teachers refer to their rivals and predecessors sufficiently often and easily to allow us to believe that they participated in and were developing an established tradition of dictaminal teaching. And this tradition of teaching the *dictamen* must have been fully in existence before the rules themselves were written down because surviving letters from the eleventh century – the letters of Peter Damian (d. 1072) for example⁸⁵ – were composed according to the rules that were later to be written. The achievement of the writers of the dictaminal treatises was to make available to students (who may not have wanted a fully rounded literary education) a summary of the techniques that were useful when writing letters and documents. But the techniques themselves have their roots in the earlier teaching of grammar and rhetoric.

It is, however, not a coincidence that the twelfth century, with its growing need for exchanges of written letters and for written documents of all kinds, witnessed the rise of the *cursus* and of the *ars dictaminis*⁸⁶ and later, towards the end of the century, of another art of letter-writing, the *ars notaria*, which was a more pragmatic and schematic art serving the specialist needs of notaries. Also towards the end of the twelfth century, the *ars poetriae* – the art of poetry – was defined.⁸⁷ Six treatises on the art of writing verse were written between 1175 and 1280. One of these, written by Geoffroi of Vinsauf around 1200, was entitled the *New Poetry*, *Poetria nova*. The principles upheld in these treatises were old ones but their authors gave them a special accentuation. Towards the end of the twelfth century the art of rhetoric gave birth to two arts of discourse, the art of preaching and the art

⁸³ See *Botho Odebrecht*, Die Briefmuster des Henricus Francigena, in: *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 14 (1936) 231–261. The Prologue of the *Aurea gemma* was edited by *Ernst H. Kantorowicz*, Anonymi "Aurea gemma", in: *Medievalia et humanistica* 1 (1943) 56–57.

⁸⁴ Edited by *Ludwig von Rockinger*, Briefsteller und Formelbücher des elften bis vierzehnten Jahrhunderts (Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte 9, München 1863) 53–94.

⁸⁵ *William D. Patt*, Early "Ars Dictaminis" 145 and n. For Peter Damian's letters see the edition by *Kurt Reindel*, Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani (MGH. Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit 4.1–3, München 1983–1989). Three volumes of this edition have appeared; a fourth volume is in preparation.

⁸⁶ Epistolary practice was not bound by formal, systematic rules but owed much to the *dictamen* and the *cursus*. See the judicious remarks of *Janet Martin*, Classicism and Style in Latin Literature, in: *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. *Robert L. Benson* and *Giles Constable* (Oxford 1982) 537–568, here 539, 543–544. See too *Giles Constable*, Letters and Letter-Collections (Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 17, Turnhout 1976).

⁸⁷ *Edmond Faral* (ed.), Les arts poétiques du XII^e et XIII^e siècle: Recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du moyen âge (Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des hautes études. Sciences historiques et philologiques 238, Paris 1924).

of disputation. Neither preaching nor disputation was a new activity. But the creation of an art of preaching and of an art of disputation was original. Alan of Lille wrote an *Ars praedicatoria* which heralded the writing of hundreds of such manuals in the thirteenth century and later. As for the art of disputation, the arrival of Latin translations of Aristotle's *Topica* and *Sophistici elenchi* around the middle of the twelfth century facilitated development. John of Salisbury in his *Metalogicon* III.10 praised the *Topica* on account of its value for disputation. 'Without this book', he wrote, 'disputation is not an art but a gamble'. The *Topica* are 'the starting point for the study of rhetoric'.⁸⁸

Another development is the appearance from the eleventh century of hostile criticisms of the arts of the trivium. Many centuries before Alcuin St. Augustine had declared that the arts provide a proper preparation for the study of Christian doctrine and are a help in its interpretation. And Augustine's authority in the Middle Ages was enormous.⁸⁹ Boethius too had presented the quadrivium, the mathematical sciences, as a road with four lanes leading to wisdom, that is, to theology.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, nearly everywhere and always during the eleventh and twelfth centuries – unlike the Carolingian age – there were critics and opponents of the study of the arts. Some were filled with religious scruples:⁹¹ for these a taste

⁸⁸ Ed. *John Barrie Hall* 131: Nam sine eo non disputatur arte, sed casu ... hinc non modo rethoricorum adiumentum, sed et principium rethores scriptores artium assumpserunt.

⁸⁹ For one very clear example of the support which Augustine gave to the liberal arts as an aid to the study of Scripture see *Peter Abelard*, *Theologia 'Scholarium'*, II, 19, ll. 257 et seq. (=PL. 178, 1040): "Vnde et beatus Augustinus ceterique doctores ecclesiastici seculares quoque artes atque ipsam precipue dialecticam sacre scripture admodum necessarias perhibent. Adeo namque predictus doctor, libro II De ordine, dialecticam commendare ausus est, ut eam solam scientiam esse profiteri uideatur, cum eam solam posse facere scientes dicat: "Disciplinam", inquit, "disciplinarum, quam dialecticam uocant. Hec docet docere, hec docet discere. In hac seipsa ratio demonstrat atque aperit que sit, quid uelit; scit scire; sola scientes facere non solum uult, sed etiam potest." Idem, in II De doctrina christiana, cum inter omnes artes precipue dialecticam et arithmetica sacre pagine necessarias esse profiteretur, illam quidem ad dissoluendas questiones, hanc ad allegoriarum misteria discutienda que frequenter in natura numerorum investigamus, tanto amplius dialecticam extulit quanto amplius eam necessariam assignauit, ad omnes uidelicet questionum dubitationes terminandas. Ait autem sic: "Restant ea que non ad corporis sensus, sed ad rationem pertinent, ubi disciplina regnat disputationis et numeri. Sed disputationis disciplina ad omnia genera questionum que in sanctis libris sunt penetranda, plurimum ualet ..." Ed. *Eligius M. Buytaert* and *Constant J. Mews*, *Petri Abaelardi opera theologica* 3 (CCM 13, Turnhout 1987) 414–415, Cf. *Augustine*, *De ordine* II, 13, 38 (PL. 32, 1013) and *De doctrina christiana* II, 31, 48 (PL. 34, 57–58). On the value put upon dialectic by Augustine see *Giulio d'Onofrio*, *Fons scientiae. La dialettica nell' Occidente tardo-antico* (Liguori Editore, Napoli 1986) 37–55.

⁹⁰ *Boethius*, *De arithmetica* 1, 1, PL. 63, 1081.

⁹¹ Examples are presented and evaluated by *Jean Leclercq*, *L'amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu* (Paris 1957) 187–201 and by *Stephen C. Ferruolo*, *The Origins of the University. The Schools and their Critics, 1100–1215* (Stanford 1985) chap. 3. *Walter of Saint Victor*, in his *Contra quatuor labyrinthos Franciae* (written in the 1170s), rejected the arts as enemies of the study of theology and a useless preparation for the study of the Bible. Ed. *Palémon Glorieux*, *Le "Contra quatuor labyrinthos Franciae" de Gauthier de Saint-Victor*, in: *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 27 (1952) 187–335, here 270.

for letters seemed to offer a distraction from the love of God. The suspicion that pagan philosophy and Christian revelation were in conflict with each other had probably never been eliminated but the direction of ecclesiastical reform from the mid-eleventh century is surely a main factor in accounting for the attacks on the arts. For example, Cistercian writers were wont to contrast the cloister and the schools or at least to encourage students of the arts to progress to the monastic life.⁹²

Other critics were much less bothered by the worldliness of the arts or by the humanism of their devotees than they were by men who exaggerated their importance. These critics seem to strike a more modern note. Doctors and lawyers, it appears, did not want to spend too much time or too much money in the study of dialectic or the arts.⁹³ 'Ever since the law became supreme, the arts have been useless', complained Walter of Châtillon (d. 1203): "grammar sows but is always in need. Law and medicine harvest a fortune".⁹⁴ The artists themselves did not escape blame at a time when demand for trained lawyers, doctors and theologians was undoubtedly expanding. To combat what he saw as a threat to the arts John of Salisbury caricatured Cornificius and his followers in his *Metalogicon* (1159)⁹⁵: Cornificius was exposed as the model of a teacher who showed his students how to avoid work, despise the rules of eloquence and reject logic. When the victims of this clown went on to Salerno or to Montpellier to study medicine, John writes, they blossomed and became successful money-grubbers, like Cornificius himself. There can be no doubt that concern for the state of the arts was widely and deeply felt and most especially in the middle and later years of the twelfth century.⁹⁶

The arts in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were poised between the conflicting demands of preserving tradition and advancing beyond the old formal framework, poised between pure and applied approaches to their study and use, under pressure from the growing numbers and kinds of students. The tensions were not experienced only in the urban schools and among their products. Monks like William of Malmesbury continued to contribute to the task of faithfully conserving and copying ancient literary texts while assisting also in the discovery of new knowledge. If Sir Richard Southern is right, William of Malmesbury took a heroic initiative in salvaging the correspondence of Anselm of Canterbury and in remov-

⁹² See again for examples *Jean Leclercq*, *L'amour des lettres 184–187* and *Stephen C. Ferruolo*, *The Origins of the University* 66–72. Also, *Jean Leclercq*, *Virgile en enfer d'après un manuscrit d'Aulne*, in: *Latomus* 17 (1953) 731–736.

⁹³ Of these critics we have little direct knowledge. Their supposed attacks on the arts were reported and rebutted by apologists who have left us their views in some abundance. *Stephen C. Ferruolo*, *The Origins of the University*, chapters 4–7, classifies them as satirists, humanists and moralists or preachers.

⁹⁴ Ed. *Karl Strecker*, *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte Walters von Châtillon* (Heidelberg 1929) 8 and 45.

⁹⁵ *Metalogicon* I, 1–6; IV, 25. See *J. O. Ward*, *The Date of the Commentary on Cicero's De inventione* by Thierry of Chartres (ca. 1095–1160?) and the Cornifician Attack on the Liberal Arts, in: *Viator* 3 (1972) 219–273, here 221 ff.

⁹⁶ *Stephen C. Ferruolo*, *The Origins of the University*, chapter 5.

ing it to Malmesbury to ensure its preservation.⁹⁷ It was not always the schoolmen who were at the leading edge in making advances. Translators of Greek texts such as James of Venice, Henry Aristippus, Burgundio of Pisa and Moses of Bergamo were neither masters nor monks.⁹⁸ John of Salisbury, the friend of so many schoolmen, himself a former teacher in Paris, wrote his books after entering the service of an archbishop of Canterbury. The relationship between the liberal arts and “society” was more fluid in the twelfth century than it had been in the ninth. It was also more unstable as the arts were forced to respond to the widening variety of sometimes conflicting demands.

⁹⁷ *Richard William Southern*, *Saint Anselm. A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge 1990) 400–403.

⁹⁸ See the collected papers of *Lorenzo Minio-Paluello*, *The Latin Aristotle. Opuscula* (Amsterdam 1972). Also *Peter Classen*, *Burgundio von Pisa: Richter – Gesandter – Übersetzer* (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1974 – 4. Abhandlung, Heidelberg 1974).