UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI TRIESTE

FORME DI ACCESSO AL SAPERE IN ETÀ TARDOANTICA E ALTOMEDIEVALE

VI

A cura di Lucio Cristante e Vanni Veronesi

Raccolta delle relazioni discusse nell’incontro internazionale di Trieste, Biblioteca statale, 24-25 settembre 2015

Edizioni Università di Trieste
2016
FILIPPO BOGNINI

Classical Characters in the First Commentary on the Rhetorica ad Herennium: Unpublished Glosses from MS. München, BSB, Clm 29220.12

lacrima nihil citius arescit

The history of the enormous ‘Fortleben’ of classical rhetoric known throughout the centuries thanks to the many commentaries on the topic encompasses among other things a little, but intriguing chapter, which would perhaps deserve an entire book: that is to say, the mention of classical figures within the explanation, produced by commentators in order to make more lively and concrete the rhetorical rules they were illustrating, which often did not have any example. This habit is visible in some Ciceronian passages, but it particularly stands out and considerably increases in medieval commentaries on standard rhetorical handbooks, such as Cicero’s De inv. and pseudo-ciceronian Rhetorica ad Herennium: so Terence’s plays, Sallust’s speeches or Vergilian characters could provide excellent instances for the Ciceronian rules, whose bare contents were thus both explained and pleasantly enlivened.

With regard to this subject, it is furthermore relevant to point out that to the same ‘Ciceronian’ tradition is to be credited the creation of a really unique piece in the wide panorama of the ‘paratextual’ apparatus: the auctores were surrounded by, the so called Si tam agentis: a long gloss to Cic. inv. I 17,24 (the core of teaching about rhetorical insinuatio) which especially focuses on classical figures such as Verres – here fictitiously, and quite oddly, winner of a war against the Dacians – and Marius, seen as models of

---

1 I publish here a revised version of the paper I presented in Trieste in September 2015. I warmly thank Marjorie Curry Woods for reading the English text and improving it through precious suggestions.


3 See e.g. Cic. inv. I 19,27 (narratio); 23,33 (partitio), both provided with quotations from Terence’s plays.

4 See literature quoted here (n. 1).

5 Namely how to open a speech in defense of a defendant who seems particularly hated by judges (see also rhet. Her. I 6,9 - 17,11). Which was very different from the insinuatio taught by the ars dictaminis (that is to say, the insinuatio rerum: the introduction of the topic by the sender), heir of the classical narratio: see Bognini 2008a, 82-83.
the guilty who nevertheless should be absolved by judges for their good deeds\(^5\). It originally belonged to an innovative 'catena' commentary (now readable only in MS. Trier, Bistumsarchiv, Abt. 95, Nr. 18, c. XII\(^6\), Germany, from Hildesheim, St. Michael), and then circulated independently in roughly 25 MSS. written all around Europe between the 12\(^{\text{th}}\) and the 15\(^{\text{th}}\) centuries\(^7\); which testifies to the large success of this exegetical praxis in the schools of rhetoric between the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Early Modern.

Yet this interesting chapter about classical characters in rhetorical commentaries is to be continued, since the bulk of them are still unpublished\(^8\), and research work about catalogues, and consequently about newly found MSS., can still yield some surprises, and allow us to write new paragraphs of the chapter: the last one, concerning the first commentary ever on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, I will try to draw up in the next few pages.

One of the most important outcomes of cataloguing is, as everyone knows, the rescue of fragmentary texts which were often used for the binding of other volumes and thus remained unknown, or not examined, for centuries; once discovered, they can significantly contribute to a better knowledge of mediaeval literature and culture. In the field of studies about classical tradition, which particularly concerns us here, it is quite easy to verify that this is precisely one of the great results of Birger Munk Olsen's impressive catalogue of extant classical MSS. from 9\(^{\text{th}}\) to 12\(^{\text{th}}\) century\(^9\), whose detailed census brought to light many (complete or fragmentary) MSS. which had been earlier totally disregarded by scholars – and that wait now for thorough inspection to weigh the exact extent and the nature of the contents labelled by Munk Olsen as «commentaire», «gloses», «gloses abondantes»: a vast and exhausting task to which attends the *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum* started (and formerly directed) by Paul Oskar Kristeller\(^{10}\).

The most recent *trouvaille* within this large *corpus* affects rhetorical glosses, and seems to be not secondary, since the discovery displays the first commentary on one of the basic handbooks for rhetorical education in medieval schools: the *Rhetorica ad*

\(^{5}\) See especially Cox - Ward 2006, 430-445 (who quote Courcelle 1955), together with Bognini 2008c, 338-339 and n. 5; Bognini 2015.

\(^{6}\) I am preparing the critical (and commented) edition, which is forthcoming; see in the meantime literature quoted here (n. 5).

\(^{7}\) For the new commentaries of 11th-12th centuries it is now necessary Ward 2006. We have today only 2 critical editions of this large group of 'modern' masters: Fredborg 1988 ('Thierry of Chartres in *Cic. rhet.; in rhet. Her*') and Bognini 2015 (*Menegaldus in Cic. rhet.*).


\(^{9}\) *CTC* 1960- (so far 10 volumes have been published).
Herennium – or Rhetoric a nova, so usually called because the text, lacking of an ancient commentary, entered the scholastic curricula many centuries after Cicero’s De inventione (the Rhetorica vetus, whose reading was in contrast supported by the commentaries of Victorinus and Grillius)\(^{10}\); and precisely helped the teaching of figurae through the rich collection of book IV, which could superbly offer examples to medieval students about the flourishes of elocutio, not included, as everyone knows, in the De inventione.

This is what we can see in the MS. M = München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 29220.12, c. XII\(^{1}\), Germany (from Tegernsee)\(^{11}\): a shelfmark which, in fact, labels a series of unbound parchment sheets, once part of other books. The feature is typical of such Munich shelfmarks, generally employed today for the so called fragmenta Latina of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, now recovered and catalogued\(^{12}\), and significant for the tradition of other auctores too – as we can observe e.g. in the MSS. Clm 29216.1-6; 11: 15; 18: all Virgilian fragmenta written in 11\(^{th}\) and 12\(^{th}\) c., mostly in southwestern Germany, and bearing signs of interpretation\(^{13}\).

Manuscript M, so far not examined in detail in print\(^{14}\), deservedly claims a real place d’honneur in the history of reception and transmission of classical rhetoric, since its 11 extant sheets preserve excerpta of the two rhetorical commentaries that master Menegaldus – probably the first ‘modern’ master in the wide series of 11\(^{th}\)-12\(^{th}\) c. modernorum magister magistorum – left us of his teaching career, allegedly devoted to an ecclesiastical capitulum, probably in the second half of 11\(^{th}\) century, and surely having included, among other things, commentaries on Hor. ars and Ov. met. too\(^{15}\).

The glose conserved by these parchment scraps are intermittent and sometimes no longer readable (because of humidity and cropped edges), but nevertheless absolutely outstanding, because they respectively belong to the first medieval commentary on Cic. inv. (M, ff. 1r-8v) and to the first commentary hitherto known on the Rhetorica ad Herennium (M, ff. 9r-11v)\(^{16}\). These fragmenta Monacensia appear more precisely as follows:

---

\(^{10}\) See Bognini 2008b and Bognini 2015, both with previous literature; and now Ward 2015.

\(^{11}\) See the ex libris at f. 11v, marg. inf. (upside down): Tegernsee attinet.

\(^{12}\) Hauke 1994 (see VII-XI for the whole history of these fragments), 2001; Hauke - Ikas 2013.

\(^{13}\) The only interesting fragment among them is the Nr. 15 (Hauke 1994, 33-34), as I will point out in the general entry about glosses to Virgil between 11\(^{th}\) and 12\(^{th}\) centuries, forthcoming in the Catalogus translationum et commentariorum. For the other classical fragments: Hauke 1994, 3-61.

\(^{14}\) See the precious though quick notices by Ward 1995, 136 (and n. 273), 137-8 (and nn. 281, 284), 223; Ward 2001, 184 n. 33; Ward 2006, 71 (Nr. V-VI) and n. 344-5; and now Bognini 2015, passim. The MS. is catalogued in Munk Olsen 1989, 253 and Hauke 1994, 42; and mentioned in Munk Olsen 2009, 66 too.

\(^{15}\) See the most recent overview, with literature, in the Bognini 2015 (Introduzione).

\(^{16}\) For this evidence see Bognini 2015, XX-XXIV.
Menegaldus’ commentary on Cic. inv. has been recently edited (with very precious readings from M included)

A passage which could strongly pray for commentator’s enlargements and exemplifications was undoubtedly rhet. Her. II 31,50 Misericordia commouebitur auditoribus […] the second, wide section of the conclusio (sixth and last part of the rhetorical speech), which was divided into the amplificatio adaugendi criminis causa (loci for the prosecutor: rhet. Her. II 30, 47-49) and the misericordia (loci for the defense), described by the classical handbook at the end of book II (= Cic. inv. I 53,100 – I 56,109: indignatio et conquestio). The many and varied loci were not provided, neither in rhet. Her. nor in Cic. inv., with specific examples, calling thus for a more detailed and lively explanation in Menegaldus’ impressive commentary about Cic. inv., ad l., where the late ancient Victorinus’ auctoritas – here actually meagre indeed – is completely overtaken by the amazing accumulation of roughly 20 original quotations from Sallust (above all), Virgil, Lucan, Terence, Ovid and Statius, almost all involving classical characters, mostly caught in the act of supporting their own cause, often through a rhetorical speech. But Menegaldus shows his ‘penchant’ for classical characters in the commentary on rhet. Her. too, as we easily begin to see in the glosses on II 31,50 Misericordia commouebitur auditoribus si aarium fortunam commutassmus dicemus: [...] si, quae nobis futura sint, nisi causam optimierimus, enumerabimus et ostendemus: [...] si nostrum fatum aut fortunam conqueremur: si animum nostrum fortet, patientem incommodorum ostendemus futurum (M, f. 10r).

---

17 Bognini 2015, CXXV-CXXVII.
18 I am preparing the critical edition of these gloss.
19 For the text of rhet. Her. I generally follow here Marx 1894, with some corrections where it seems necessary to make the text more readable.
20 Bognini 2012, 2014; 2015, ad l.
21 I transcribe here texts which are unpublished with modern punctuation ("..." are used for the commented lemmata, «...» for quotations) and capital letters; and with correction of evi-

We learn here that, according to the author of the Rhetorica ad Herennium, a hint of the varia fortunarum commutatio to which someone is subjected can be a good strategy for persuading people who must judge him/her; and this reference makes immediately Menegaldus think about the events which come in succession in Terence’s plays\textsuperscript{23}. Thus, the classical locus about the troubles that could affect someone who loses in a trial becomes, in the mind of Menegaldus, the anguished thought of Chremes at the beginning of Phormio’s act IV (Phorm. 567-590): if his wife would know that he had a daughter from another woman, he should run away from his house - and this complaint immediately gains the attention of his brother Demipho (588: scio ita esse, et itae mihi res sollicitudinise)\textsuperscript{24}. We can see the same with the second locus, which suggests that one commiserates with his own destiny in order to move the audience to pity: this time it’s Myrrha’s turn to talk (at the beginning of Hecyra, act IV: v. 516ff.), complaining about her future destiny (quo me vertam?), for her daughter, Philomena, just gave birth to a child she conceived with a stranger - who then will be identified with Panphilus, her husband, bringing so the comedy to the usual happy end.

In contrast, the third and last classical lemma leads M’s attention to a tragic moment of Adrastus’ digression in Statius’ Thebais, book I (especially v. 638-666)\textsuperscript{25}. Here Coroebus accepts being sacrificed in order to save his people (devastated by a plague coming from Apollo), showing his strength and patience, and thus deserving, after a long and fervent speech, to be spared by the god (who had sent the plague against Coroebus’ people, the Argivi, because he dared kill a monstrum incited by the god himself). The hero consequently becomes in Menegaldus a perfect example of someone who can obtain mercy by presenting himself ready to face every misfortune (as

\textsuperscript{23} This integration depends on the exact repetition master William made of Menegaldus’ words: see below within the text.

\textsuperscript{24} Donatus’ commentary on these passages does not display anything relevant for our purpose: see Wessner 1905, 463; 281-282. For the wide success of Terence it is enough here the mention of the ‘classical’ basic work of Villa 1984.

\textsuperscript{25} For the quotations from Terence I follow Kauer - Lindsay 1926.

\textsuperscript{26} For the success of Thebais in medieval schools see de Angelis 1997 (= de Angelis 2011, 151-212).
explained in the related passage of rhet. Her.: *si animum nostrum fortem, patientem incommodorum ostendemus futurum*).

Furthermore this exegetical praxis can find significant correspondences in Menegaldus’ glosses on Cic. *inv.*, where Terence seems to be one of the favourite authors, because the alternate *fortuna* of many among his characters (taken here from *Andria* and *Adelphoe*) is for Menegaldus the best way to explain the many partitions of the rhetorical *narratio* (Cic. *inv.* I 19.27)\(^{14}\); and above all we can read, always within the section about *conquestio*, the same, although enlarged, reference to Coroebus (Menegaldi in Cic. *inv.* I 56.109 *sextus decimus, per quem animum nostrum in alios misericordem esse ostendimus et tamen amplum et excelsum et patientem incommodorum esse et futurum esse, si quid acciderit, demonstramus*)\(^{27}\):

> *Sextus decimus est per quem demonstramus “animum nostrum esse misericordem” erga alios; et quamvis multa simus passi causa aliorum, tamen demonstramus animum adhuc esse “amplum” in multis alis faciendis “et excelsum” in gravibus faciendis, et hoc esse in presenti et etiam in futuro, si quid evenetit […] Velut in Statio de Coroeb quodam legitur, qui monstrum quuddam ab Apolline immisum interfectit, propter quod Apollo magnam cladem in cunctum populum immiserit; tandem ab oraculo responsum est ut si ille, qui monstrum interfecerat, ad supplicium daretur, dades cessaret. Coroebus, hoc audito, patiens animo propter saltem omnium supplicium subire paratus fuit. Quam magnificentiam animi Phebus videns, iuvenci indulsit. ‘Materia est ab habitu […]*

In the presence of such relevant and innovative quotations - which show once more in Menegaldus a real, modern awareness of possible ‘interrexual’ links between two different *auctores* - one could wonder whether he gained resonance among his followers within the *lectura Ciceronis*, or not. Our knowledge is certainly limited by the lack of editions; but there is something new we can definitely tell. Unfortunately we must here set printed editions aside\(^{15}\), and start once again to look up in the MSS. So far it is possible to determine that among the voices which at that time read the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* - the first commentators ever of the *Rhetorica nova*, so successful in the Middle Ages – master William (of Champeaux?), the first and more accurate of Menegaldus’ followers, surely repeats the quotation of Coroebus in the

\(^{14}\) Bognini 2015, 61-62.


\(^{15}\) Since in this passage the commentary by Thierry of Chartres (roughly 1130) is no longer readable: Fredborg 1988, 272; and 171, where it’s evident that no classical quotations are used nor in Thierry’s glosses to Cicero’s treatment of *conquestio* (*inv.* I 56.109), which seem really poor and below Menegaldus’ lesson.
commentary on Cic. *inv.*, *ad l.* (very briefly: *sicut de Corebo legitur*)\(^{22}\), but in the (short) explanation of *rhet. Her.* II 31,50 does not say a word about Chremes, Myrrhina, or Corebus\(^{23}\); nor does master Odalricus of Reims (end 11\(^{th}\) – beginning 12\(^{th}\) c.)\(^{31}\).

Only the still anonymous, and equally unpublished, commentary now kept in the above mentioned MS. Trier, Bistumsarchiv, Abt. 95, Nr. 18, c. XII, focus, with many details, on Corebus (f. 137va)\(^{32}\):

> "Si ostendemus animum nostrum fortem" id est intimidum contra adversa, "patientem futurum" omnium "incommorum", quicumque possint evenire. Sicut ille iuuenis in Statio, scilicet Corebus, assistens in templo Phbeo dixit: "si minor tibi iactura <de> <Ina>chis [quam] hominibus quam de monstris [nostris T]. o Phoebe, ecce adsum". Ecce per hoc quod ille dedit se et ostendit intimidum et fortem, bene commoveret Phebum ad misericordiam: id est, statim condonavit ei Phebus quicquid contra eum peccaverat. Locus est ab habitu per hoc quod dicit "fortem, impatientem incommorum".

The explanation is here clearly more developed than the quick hint in Menegaldus *ad l.* (= Munich MS.), but no doubt totally different from the description of Menegaldus’ glosses in *De invention*. The latter text seems written in a different, more elegant style (with *e.g.* dependent conditional clause), while Trier MS. appears to be paratactic and simple, using the direct speech and features as *ecce* (both quite uncommon in Menegaldus)\(^{35}\). Yet the ‘Trier master’ claims attention, since he has correct awareness of Statius’ context: of which he reports the image of Corebus who seats in Apollo’s temple (*Theb.* I 641–642 *Cirrhaei in limine templi / constitit*)\(^{36}\) and speaks directly to the god (*Theb.* I 643–644 *non missus, Thymbraeae, tuos supplices penates / advenio*), the precise term *iactura* in the sense of ‘loss’ of men (*Theb.* I 648–650 *quod si monstra effera magnis / cara adeo superis, iacturaque vilior orbi / mors hominum [...]*, and the reference to the

---

\(^{22}\) See MSS. V = Città del Vaticano, BAV, Borgh. lat. 57, f. 78vb, and Y = York, Minster Library, XVI.M.7, f. 28rb; previously see Dickey 1968, 12 and Ward 1995, 139 and n. 286. About William see Bognini 2015, with literature; and Ward 2015.

\(^{23}\) It is enough here the mention of MS. Y = York, Minster Library, XVI.M.7, f. 57bisva: "Misericordia. *Hic agit de conquestione, de qua quaia sufficienter supra dixit, paucar ponit [...]*, without other relevant comparisons with Menegaldus’ glosses in MS. M.

\(^{31}\) Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 1032 / 32.8°, sec. XII, f. 157r-171v (here f. 163, end of page, where only Misericordia commovebitur is glossed); the commentary stops at *rhet. Her.* IV 54,67 *salsamentarii* (f. 171v). For literature about Odalricus and this MS. see below (§ 2).

\(^{32}\) About the whole, complicated question related to the rhetorical commentaries kept by this MS. see now Bognini 2015, *passim*. For transcription standards see above, n. 21.

\(^{33}\) About other differences between Menegaldus and Trier MS. see again Bognini 2015, XCIff.

\(^{34}\) I read *Thelaid*’s text in the edition of Klotz–Klennert 1973.
Argives as Inachii (Theb. I 660-661 pallidus Inachii qui desuper imminet Argis / dum morior, dispelle globum), although in the strange (trivialized?) reading Chii instead of Inachii (as one can see above, the whole passage, spoiled by many errors, is to correct).

Careful and complete research has still to be undertaken about the relationships between Menegaldus and the information we find in Trier MS.; but in any case we are now discovering how the story of the young and brave Coroebus, hitherto lacking a proper narratio in literature, had between 11th and 12th c. a remarkable flourishing within the rhetorical teaching of conquesatio - not to mention two additional witnesses from 12th c. (both without rhetorical implications): the large glosses on Statius’ passage attributed to the brilliant Hilarious of Orléans and the work of his pupil Arnulf on the Bellum civile, who, commenting Lucan. V 110-111 resolvit / aera tabiscum (general hint to the heavenly power to heal a pestilence), quotes exactly Coroebus as example of human sacrifice used to stop an outbreak of plague.

It is difficult at this point to identify who was at the origin of the link between Coroebus and commentaries on classical rhetoric: perhaps Menegaldus, whose lesson was surely followed by William, and could have inspired the overall re-reading of Trier anonymous too. Nevertheless we’ll be able to try answering only after a more detailed survey on the latter and generally on these first ‘modern’ rhetorical commentaries.

2. Skills in deceiving: Sinon and Sulla (and Volus)

The other passage which deeply interests memories about classical characters comes from rhet. Her. III 2,3: the treatment of the utilitas within the rhetorical speeches, divided into tuta and honesta, the former of which includes might (vita) and craft (dolus). Here is the commentary of Menegaldus in rhet. Her. III 2,3 Dolus consuntur in pecunia, polluvitto, dissimulazione, maturazione, mentizione et ceteris rebus de quibus magis idoneo tempore loquemur, si quando de re militari aut de administratione rei publicae scribere velimus (M. f. 10v):

[...], "maturazione", ut quando incautos preoccupare <festinamus?>30; "<mentitio>ones", ut Sinon, qui per mendatia sua Troianos decepit [Verg. Aen. II 57-104]; vel

30 See MS. Berlin, SB, lat. fol. 34, f. 91r-va; for the tactura at v. 649 see f. 91v: "tactura vi(lior) or(lis) id est si est vilius dempnum in orbe mori homines quam monstrum; vel "orbi" id est disi, qui sunt dignior pars orbis, vel quia habent spera corpora. About this MS. and Hilarious’ glosses on Statius: de Angelis 1997 (= de Angelis 2011, 151-212) and Invernizzi 2012. Nor Lactantius Placidus ad l. shows any connection between Coroebus and rhetorical conquesatio: Sweeney 1997, 77-80.


33 See below the parallel passage in master Odaliarius, who could suggest this integration.
"mentiti<ones>". <ur quando fortiter f>acta\textsuperscript{34} et in quibus prospere cessit commemoramus, quod Silla apud Salustium <fecit>, <cum milites> trepidarent filio Bochi adventurae [Iug. 105-107].

The mention of Sinon as liar who can build a proper rhetorical speech for his own utilitas surely comes from late ancient commentaries. So Servius in Aen. II 79-80, who charges Sinon with a mocking way of talk (oratio diasyrctica)\textsuperscript{35}; and likewise Grillius in his commentary on the De inventione: where Cicero deals with the insinuatio, he creates an explanation made up of a real 'collage' of parts taken from Sinon's speech (Grill. rhet. I 15.20 insinuatio est oratio cum quadam dissimulazione aut circutione)\textsuperscript{36}.

Sallust's memory is instead really original and at first glimpse not so easy to understand, for in fact in the classical text we don't see anything about Sulla's lies; and moreover in Sallust the convincing speech of Sulla to his scared soldiers is placed not during the messy attack of Volus, Bochus' son (Iug. 105, 3-5), as Menegaldus seems to tell us, but after a sudden raid of the terrible Lugartha (Iug. 106, 5-6; 107, 1)\textsuperscript{37}.

105. [...] 3. Sed in itinere quinto denique die Volus, filius Bocchi, repente in campis patentibus cum mille non amplius equitibus sese ostendit, qui temere et effuse euntes Sullae alisque omnibus et numerum ampliorem vero et hostilem metum efficiebant. 4. Igitur se quisque expedire, arma atque tela temptare, intendere; timor aliquantus, sed spes amplior, quippe victoribus et adversum eos, quos saepve vicerant. 5. Interim equites exploratum praemissi rem, uti erat, quietam nuntiant. [...] 106. [...] 5. Iamque nocturno itinere fessis omnibus Sulla pariter cum ortu solis castra metabantur, quam equites Mauri nuntiant Lugartham circiter duum milium intervallum ante consedisse. 6. Quod postquam auditum est, tum vero ingens metus nostros invadit; credere se proditos a Voluce et insidii circumventos. Ac fuere qui dicerent manu vindicandum neque apud illum tantum scelus inultum relinquentum.

107. At Sulla, quamquam eadem existumbat, tamen ab injuriarum Maurum prohibit. Suos hortatur, uti fuerunt animum gererent: saepe antea a pauciis strenuis adversum multitudinem bene pugnatum; quanto sibi in proelio minus peperissent, tanto tutiores fore; [...]

We have thus to conclude that, according to Menegaldus, this could have been a particular kind of mentitio: namely the fact that Sulla calms his soldiers by telling them

\textsuperscript{34}See n. 37.


\textsuperscript{36}Ed. Jakobi 2002, 88-90; for Grillius' transmission see also: Jakobi 2005.

\textsuperscript{37}Text according to Kurfess 1972. Literature about Sallust's Fortleben in Bognini 2012.
that they had already won against the people of Mauretania. Certainly in that moment it was not so true that Romans could be better than Mauri: it was only the *utilitas* of Sulla, who wanted them to be quiet and face the enemies in the best possible way. If we trust this interpretation, Menegaldus’ *ut quando fortiter facta et in quibus prospere cessit commemoramus* could recall Sallust’s *saepe ante a paucis strenuis adversorum multitudinem bene pugnatum*.

It is moreover worth noticing that both quotations have been perhaps stimulated in Menegaldus by the pseudo-ciceronian context itself, who makes explicit allusion to situations *de re militari*, exactly as we see in the ‘Trojan or Jugurthine war, respectively illustrated by Virgil and Sallust.

Here too, we find relevant comparisons with Menegaldus’ glosses on Cic. *inv.* whose deep passion for Sallust and his characters (by far the most quoted classical feature in the whole commentary) has been demonstrated - and can now see Sulla and Volus mix long gallery where Catilina and Lentulus. Caesar and Cato, Aetherbal and Bominar are already depicted. As for Sinon, nor here does Menegaldus forget about him, as we see in the glosses on Cic. *inv.* II 58, 176 Affectio est quaedam ex tempore aut ex negotiorum eventu aut administratione [...] commutatio rerum [...] ut ad hostes transire turpe videatur esse, at non illo animo quo *Ulixes transire*:

[...] ‘Quod fit “ex tempore”, “ex eventu negotiorum”, “ex administratione” et “ex studio hominum”: “ex tempore”, veluti patrimonium vendere turpe est <et> inutile, sed non sì quis tempore maxime facies hoc faciebat, ut familiaris pascat; “ex eventu negotiorum”, veluti inutile et turpe est magnam pecuniam negligere, sed non eo animo, id est ea affectione, qua Aristippus, qui propter socios liberandos ut navim alleviaret totum aurum, quod in ea habuit, in mare proiectit [Hor. sat. II 3,100-102]; “ex administratione”, veluti de Sinone apud Virgilio, qui administravit ut ligaretur, et quasi ad suspensum pararetur: quae omnia libero viro essent inhonesta, nisi ea affectione faceret, ut patrie prodesset.

Yet this gloss diverges from many others about Sinon, since it places him in a different, perhaps more favourable light, for the Greek traitor, together with Ulysses and Aristippus, is here introduced as example of *affectio*; namely one of the *attributa personis* within the *confirmatio*, fourth part of the rhetorical speech. Consequently we have to see here a more human side of Sinon: the attachment to his homeland, who brings him to lie and to face trouble in order to be decisive for the Greeks against the Trojans.

---

42 Bognini 2012 (for wide commentary); Bognini 2015 (for the critical edition).
43 Bognini 2015, 268.
44 Conversely Thierry of Chartres *ad l.* will oddly keep Menegaldus’ references to Ulysses and Aristippus, omitting the mention of Sinon: Fredborg 1988, 215, II. 24-29.
For reactions to Sinon and Sulla too, we can find intriguing comparisons with other masters of that time. The most astonishing stands out in the commentary of Odalricus of Reims to the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, for his gloss *ad l.* is particularly similar to the one left by Menegaldus, as proves evidence in MS. Tr = Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 1082 / 32, 8*-IV, XII c., Germany (f. 163v)⁴₅:

[...] "maturaciones", quando festinant incautos preoccipare; "mentioniones", ut Si-
non [Symon Tr], qui Troianis adeo mentitus est; vel rationes (?), quia fortiter
ante facta † et in quibus feliciter accidit commemorant, ut Silla apud Salustium,
cum Volus fìlius Bochi adventaret et milites admodum trepidarent, fecit.

The likeness of the two commentaries is amazing here, as we can better appreciate in the following comparison, which shows how much the conjectures in Menegaldus’ text owe to Odalricus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Menegaldi in rhet. Her. III 2.3</th>
<th>Odalrici Remensis ad l.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[..] “maturaciones”, ut quando incautos preoccupare &lt;festinamus&gt;!; “&lt;mentiti&gt;ones”, ut Sinon, qui per mendatia sua Troianos decepit, vel “mentiti&lt;ones&gt;!; &lt;ut quando fortiter &gt;acta et in quibus prospere cessit commemoramus, quod Silla apud Salustium &lt;fecit&gt;, &lt;cum milites&gt; trepidarent filio Bochi adventante.</td>
<td>[..] “maturaciones”, quando festinant incautos preoccipare; “mentioniones”, ut Sinon [Symon Tr], qui Troianis adeo mentitus est; vel rationes (?), quia fortiter ante facta † et in quibus feliciter accidit commemorant, ut Silla apud Salustium, cum Volus fìlius Bochi adventaret et milites admodum trepidarent, fecit.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I cannot, at least beyond this, for Odalricus of Reims was active at the end of 11th, beginning of the 12th c.,⁴⁶ and thus the two masters are really near, at least chronologically. Only a critical edition of both commentaries, together with a proper comparison, will be perhaps able to go on unravelling the relationships between these real pioneers in the field of rhetorical studies.

Other commentaries I could consult are by far less interesting; master William as usual only repeats the mention of Sinon in both commentaries⁴⁷, whereas Thierry of Chartres does not show classical quotations *ad l.*⁴⁸. As for the glosses of MS. Trier, Bistumsarchiv,

---

⁴⁵The MS. is an interesting *recueil factice* with 3 *ex libris* coming from Koblenz (f. 77v and 114r; 156v); our commentary builds the fourth section of MS. (f. 157r-171v); see Munk Olsen 1982-1985, vol. I. 329. About Odalricus: Ward 2015, 31-32; Ward 2006, 72; and Ward 1995, 137, 165-166, 184, 220-223.

⁴⁶On the studies about *trivium* at the Reims school: Williams 1954.

⁴⁷See e.g. MS. Y = York, Minster Library, XVI M.7, f. 51ra; 58ra.

⁴⁸But he keeps a place for Sinon in the commentary on Cic. *inv.* I 17.24 (as ‘usual’ example of dissimulation: Fredborg 1988, 277, 32-42 and 115, 7-13, where Sinon appears among the cases of
Abt. 95, Nr. 18, they do not recall by name either Sinon or Sulla, illustrating through a quite different exposition and yet showing affinities with both Menegaldus and Odalricus (f. 138va):

"Mentitione" pro mendatio, id est mentimur [metamur T] nos esse amicos eorum, et hac astutia, quia putabunt nos esse eorum, capiemus eos; vel "menti<ti>one"® pro memoria, ut dicamus commemorando quod, cum <cum> paucis quondam vicimus illos et illos, tum multo facilius cum plures habeamus vicemus istos.

The first part of the gloss could be an echo of the episode of Sinon; and the second part of the gloss could as well be a memory of the teaching we see in Menegaldus and Odalricus: not only in the repetition of verb commemorare, but also – and especially – in the description of the military strategy, who could be a general echo of the more specific Sallust’s context we outlined above. But here too (as we underlined above for Coroebus), the problem of the relationships between the ‘Trier master’ and other commentaries deserves further investigations, because the words we read in the Trier MS. (last sentence: <cum> paucis quondam vicimus illos et illos) are not so far from Sallust’s saepe ante a paucis strenuis adversum multitudinem bene pugnatum in Sulla’s speech to soldiers (Iug. 107, 1; see above).

**Conclusion**

To sum up, it is possible to conclude that the glosses published here for the first time and in detail commented could contribute to the enhancement of research in many directions: first of all by offering scholars a glance at the dawn of the long-lasting lectura on the Rhetorica nova – hitherto dark indeed; then by the providing classical tradition with new episodes of many characters’ success; and finally, on a wider scale, by proposing new textual evidence about the scholastic roots of what we usually call the ‘renaissance of the 12th century’ – about which we still have so much to read.

---

**insinuatio** (insinuatio benignitiae a nostra persona, since he deceives enemies while telling them something they find right): Deinde dissimulatione defendonis veluti Sinon apud Vergilium defensionem suam dissimulat et tamen, postquam vidit auditores mitigatos, coepit pedetemptum dicere: "mortem meam volet Ulixes. Dicit etiam idem Sinon facta Graecorum, quae Troianis dissipabant, sibi quoque indigna sideri, id est dissipare. Et haec dissimulatio est insigniatio benignitiae a nostra persona. Which could come from Grillius, who had quoted Sinon exactly within the treatment of **insinuatio** (see above).

® In fact one should accept *mentione*, which belongs to the tradition of the rhet. *Her.:* see Marx 1894, 257, *in app.*
BIBLIOGRAPHY

de Angeli 1997

de Angeli 2011

Bognini 2008a

Bognini 2008b

Bognini 2008c

Bognini 2012

Bognini 2014

Bognini 2015
Menegaldi in Cicorinis Rhetorica glose, ed. F.Bognini, Firenze 2015.

Courcelle 1955

Cox – Ward 2006

CTC 1960
Catalogus translationum et commentariorum. Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Trans-

Dickey 1968

Donavin – Strödola 2015

Fredborg 1988

Hauke 1994

Hauke 2001

Hauke – Ikas 2013

Invernizzi 2012

Jakobi 2002

Jakobi 2005

Kauer – Lindsay 1926
P.Terenti Afrifi Comoeniae, rec. R.Kauer – W.M. Lindsay, Oxonii 1926.

Klotz – Klinnert 1973

Kurfess 1972

Mart 1894
Marti 1898
Arnulfi Aurelianensis Cloule super Lucanum, ed. B.M.Marti, Roma 1898.

Marx 1894
Incerti auctoris de ratione dicendi ad C. Herennium libri IV, ed. F.Mart, Lipsiae 1894.
Munk Olsen 1982-1985
Munk Olsen 1987
Munk Olsen 1989
Munk Olsen 2009
Munk Olsen 2014
Shackleton Bailey 1988
Stroebel 1915
  M. Tulli Ciceronis scripta quae manerunt omnia. II. Rhetorici libri duo qui vocantur de inventione, rec. E. Stroebel, Stuttgardiae 1915.
Sweeney 1997
Thilo – Hagen 1881-1887
Villa 1984
Ward 1995
Ward 2001
Ward 2006
Ward 2015
Wessner 1905

Williams 1954

Woods 2002

Woods 2009a

Woods 2009b

Woods 2010
M.C. Woods, Classroom Commentaries. Teaching the Poetria nova across Medieval and Renaissance Europe, Columbus (Ohio) 2010.

Woods 2015