

Diagrams of Knowledge and Rhetoric in Manuscripts of Cicero's *De inventione*

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St Gall, SB, Cod. Sang. 817, a manuscript containing the *Cat-egories* and the *De interpretatione* of Aristotle, accompanied by the Boethian commentaries on these texts, contains a series of diagrams on its final leaves (Plate 5). Executed in black ink by an eleventh-century hand contemporaneous with the rest of the manuscript, with red boxes enclosing the labels, and red connecting lines, the three diagrams constitute a visual commentary on the Aristotelian categories.¹ The final diagram, a two-page spread labelled '*Qualitas*', has four labelled subdivisions which are '*Habitus et dispositio*', habits and dispositions; '*Naturalis potentia uel inpotentia*', natural capabilities and incapacabilities; '*Passibiles qualitates uel passiones*', affective qualities and affections, and '*Formae et figurae*', shape. The latter three are expanded in the form of a list, with the fourth subdivision also illustrated with small sketches of the principal forms and figures. The subheading '*Habitus et dispositio*', on the other hand, is comprehensively expanded in diagrammatic form, extending its spidery divisions over a whole page. Within this category, the first subdivision is into the respective characteristics of the soul and of the body. The soul is

1. St Gall, SB, Cod. Sang. 817: *Substantia*, p. 341; *Quantitas*, p. 342; *Qualitas*, pp. 343-4.

2. '*Scientia in his duabus speciebus secundum uictorinum*': Victorinus, *Explanations in Ciceronis Rhetoricam*, I.4.5.

3. '*Sapientia in his duabus secundum modernos*'.

4. '*Uirtus et honestas et bonum idem sunt apud philosophos*', '*Turpitudine uirtutum et malum idem sunt apud eosdem*'.

5. The Ciceronian division of the virtues and their associated parts can be found in Cicero, *De inventione*, II.LIII.159-LIV.165 [henceforth *De inv.*]. Cf. John Cassian, *Conlationes*, 5.10.

6. Newhauser, 'Vices as Anthropology', 109.

7. For the tradition of classifying knowledge, see Copeland and Sluiter, *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric*, 3-14; Weisheipl, 'Classification of the Sciences in Medieval Thought'; Weisheipl, 'The Nature, Scope and Classification of the Sciences'; Iwakuma, 'The Division of Philosophy'; Gibson, 'The *Artes* in the Eleventh Century'. For the tradition of depicting the classifications graphically, see Esmeijer, *Divina Quaternitas*, 43-7. On

further divided, and within this division the inclusion of an elaborate schema of the parts of knowledge, and of the virtues and vices, is of particular interest. The author of the diagram unusually alludes to the sources of his divisions. '*Scientia*' is divided 'according to Victorinus' into '*eloquentia*' and '*sapientia*'.² Within this division, '*sapientia*' is divided into theoretical and practical wisdom '*secundum modernos*' (the Aristotelian schemata).³ The third division enumerates the virtues and vices, drafted according to 'the philosophers'.⁴ Here, the cardinal virtues are divided according to the Ciceronian tradition, while the eight capital vices are derived from Cassian's *Conlationes*.⁵ The inclusion of the virtues and vices alongside the divisions of knowledge demonstrates a scholarly trend to consider ethics 'scientifically', which would reach fruition in the medieval universities where, as Richard Newhauser points out, the divisions of the vices, for example 'were transformed from an articulation of medieval anthropology into one scheme among others for academic examination'.⁶

Diagrams of the type found in Cod. Sang. 817 show a persistent interest in the definition of the parts of knowledge. The desire to present such definitions and divisions in schematic form, whether motivated by the purpose of memorization or efficient synthesis, has a long tradition that stretches back to antiquity, and was popularized for medieval scholars by the inclusion of schematic divisions in manuscripts of texts such as Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*.⁷ As Michael Evans wrote: 'Stemmata had become current in the medieval west not as adjuncts to texts, but as substitutes for them'.⁸ The focus of this article is to demonstrate how such schemes can contribute to our understanding of the intellectual environment influencing the study of Cicero's *De inventione* in the Middle Ages. It will investigate, first, a number of diagrams

of knowledge that are appended to manuscripts of the *De inventione*. Secondly, it will examine how rhetoric could be articulated in diagrammatic form, suggesting that schemes of this type served as a valuable introduction to the art, and were useful for understanding the principal tenets of the *De inventione* and other rhetorical texts.

Cod. Sang. 817, despite being a manuscript showcasing dialectical works, serves as a useful introduction to these themes. It demonstrates one of the principal ways of relating rhetoric to broader studies of knowledge, by placing it, along with the other arts of the trivium under the category ‘*eloquentia*’, a subdivision of ‘*scientia*’. The result of a conflation of this type, as Evans points out, is the simultaneous representation of the ‘Aristotelian’ *diviso philosophiae* alongside the verbal arts.⁹ Cod. Sang. 817, dating from the first half of the eleventh century, is an early example of this combination. In addition to including the arts of the trivium, the diagram also accommodates the subjects of the quadrivium in the following fashion. Wisdom, following the Aristotelian division, is divided into the practical and theoretical arts.¹⁰ The theoretical arts are presented here as physics, theology, and mathematics. Mathematics subdivides into arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy, the quadrivial arts. By placing mathematics and physics alongside each other as species of the same genus, this presentation reflects the contemporary teachings of Gerbert of Rheims (c. 946–1003). Gerbert, in opposition to Otric of Magdeburg (fl. 980), presented a similar *divisio philosophiae*, presumably in diagrammatic form, at the court of Otto II.¹¹ Meanwhile, the practical arts are identified as ethics, economics, and politics [*Ethica, id est moralis; Economica, id est dispensativa; Politica, id est civilis*].¹² By presenting a series of classifications (the virtues, the vic-

the mnemonic function of diagrams, see Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 324–3.

8. Evans, ‘The *Ysagoge in Theologiam*’, 5.

9. Evans, ‘The *Ysagoge in Theologiam*’, 8.

10. Weijers, ‘L’Appellation des Disciplines’, 48–9.

11. Richer of Rheims, *History*, 46–54; Gibson, ‘The *Artes* in the Eleventh Century’, 121–4.

12. These divisions, derived from Aristotle, would find later articulation in the works of Hugh of St Victor, who would associate each of these activities with a different sphere of responsibility – solitary, private, and communal (*Didascalicon*, III.1; II.19).

13. *De inv.*, I.III.4-I.V.6.

14. Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, II, C.III.4-7; Isidore, *Etymologiae*, II.24.

es, the parts of the curriculum, the theoretical divisions of knowledge) simultaneously within the framework of the Aristotelian categories, the diagram allows rhetoric and the other disciplines of medieval scholarship to be understood in a broader intellectual context.

Diagrams of Divisions of Knowledge in Manuscripts of the *De inventione*

In the opening passages of the *De inventione*, Cicero identifies rhetoric with the science of politics, and links it with the acquisition of wisdom.¹³ This seems to have been an inspiration behind including diagrams of divisions of knowledge alongside copies of Cicero's *De inventione*, as it implies that rhetoric must be acquired alongside a broader education. The first example we shall investigate is found in VLQ 33, where a diagram appears directly following the explicit of the text, in the lower two-thirds of the page, filling the blank space (fol. 56r) (see Fig. 2 and Plate 6). The diagram, executed in the hand of the scribe who copied the text on that page, is written in black ink with carefully drawn blue circles enclosing and linking elements. The diagram bears the title '*Scientia in duo diuiditur*' in its principal node, and subdivides into '*sapientiam*' and '*eloquentiam*'. '*Sapientiam*' divides into two branches, '*speculatiua*' and '*actualis*'. These divisions would have been familiar to the medieval reader from a number of sources. Cassiodorus used the same system in his *Institutiones*, and it was reproduced by Isidore in his *Etymologiae*.¹⁴ The classification proceeds to divide '*speculatiua*', the more theoretical branch, into '*naturalis*', '*doctrinalis*', and '*diuina*'. The doctrinal division contains arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. Meanwhile, the practical branch, '*actualis*', contains '*moralis*', '*dispensatiua*', and '*civilis*' (the same divisions found in Cod. Sang. 817). Ev-

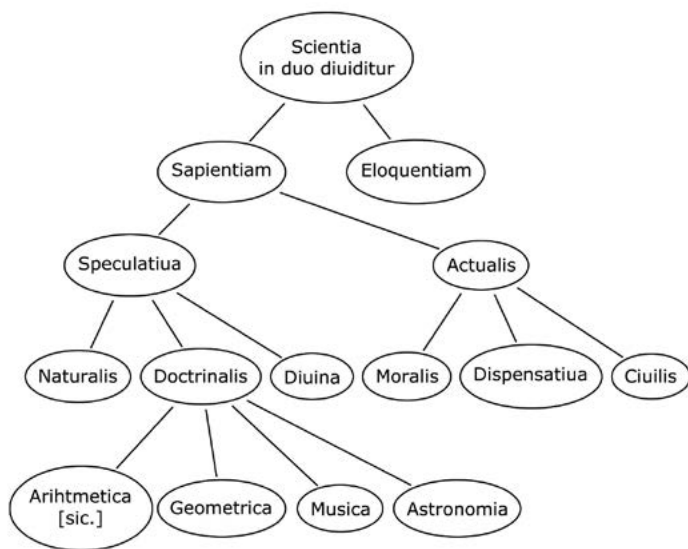


Fig. 2. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 33, fol. 56r (scheme).

ans described this diagram as the ‘earliest extant example of this [visual] *divisio scientiae*’, dating it to the tenth century.¹⁵ Based on the hand, however, it is more likely that the manuscript dates from the early eleventh century, placing it roughly contemporaneous with the theoretical and practical divisions found in Cod. Sang. 817.¹⁶ Like Cod. Sang. 817, VLQ 33 is also connected with St Gall. Peter Gumbert associates the text of this copy of the *De inventione* with that found in St Gall, SB, Cod. Sang. 820.¹⁷ Furthermore, the codicological unit (fols. 1–56) containing the *De inventione* is coupled with a folio (fol. 58) containing a fragment of Cicero’s *De somnium Scipionis*, which comes from a tenth-century manuscript at St Gall (SB, Cod. Sang. 65, pp. 1–152), as identified by Barker-Benfield.¹⁸ Cod. Sang. 817 and VLQ 33, therefore, attest to the use of diagrams as functional learning aids in the scholarly environment of medieval St Gall in the early eleventh century.¹⁹

15. Evans, ‘The *Ysagoge in Theologiam*’, 8.

16. Suggested by the vertical aspect of the text.

17. Gumbert, ‘Cicero-nes Leidenses’, 226.

18. Barker-Benfield, ‘Review of *Codices Vossiani Latini*’, 252–3.

19. Grotons, *Reading in Medieval St Gall*, 80, 85.

20. Evans, 'The *Ysagoge in Theologiam*', 8.

21. Hicks, 'Martianus Capella and the Liberal Arts', 316-24 on the eleventh and twelfth-century commentary tradition on Martianus.

22. Evans, 'The *Ysagoge in Theologiam*', 8-9. Evans references BL, Egerton 628, fol. 2v. Cf. the classification of sciences found in Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, Geral 21, fol. ov, pictured in Meirinhos, 'Dessiner le Savoir', 190.

23. William of Conches, *Consolatione*, 32; *Glosae super Platonem*, 60-2, Figs. 44, 62.

Evans describes the diagram in VLQ 33 as a 'graphic gloss on the *De inventione*' and its placement at the conclusion of the *De inventione* suggests, indeed, that it was intended to be read alongside this text, perhaps illuminating its opening passages, which refer to the origins of wisdom and eloquence.²⁰ A further source for its philosophical content, particularly its division of *scientia*, may be the writings of Martianus Capella, who linked eloquence to *sapientia* in a similar fashion.²¹ The influence of Martianus is reinforced by the fact that this copy of the *De inventione* is preceded by a miniature (fol. 1v) picturing Rhetoric in conversation with two figures attired in archaic clothing. Rhetoric, who wears a helmet and carries a spear, bears on her shield the words: '*Sum quippe ipsa rhetorica quam alii artem uirtutem alii dixerunt. alter disciplinam. Officium meum est dicere apposite ad persuadendum. Finis persuadere dictione*', a quotation from *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (Cap. 5, 438-9). Despite its inclusion alongside a rhetorical text, however, it is interesting to note that while the diagram in VLQ 33 references the arts of the quadrivium, it does not make any accommodation for the arts of the trivium, unlike the diagram contained in Cod. Sang. 817.

An expanded version of the division of *scientia* into *eloquentia* and *sapientia* would gather currency in a diagrammatic tradition Evans associated with the circulation of copies of Boethius' *De consolazione philosophiae*, where *eloquentia* was systematically expanded into *grammatica*, *dialectica*, and *rhetorica* and where music, a subdivision of mathematics, was in turn comprehensively subdivided in parts.²² This division of *scientia* is popular from the second half of the twelfth century; it finds notable expression in the commentaries of William of Conches (1090-1154) on the *Consolatione* and on the *Timaeus*.²³ This expanded set of divisions of *scientia* also

circulated independently of Boethius' texts, however, as the following examples illustrate. In BnF, lat. 18275 (an Italian manuscript from the second half of the twelfth century), for example, the diagram (fol. 26r) is one among several, including a diagram of the phases of the moon, sun, and planets (on fol. 25r), a small diagram showing the waxing and waning of the moon, and four roundels with the features of the cardinal virtues (on fol. 25v). In BPL 127 AC, the diagram (fol. 99r, Plate 7) appears on the reverse of another familiar graphical depiction, that of relations of consanguinity (fol. 99v). Here the executor of the diagram was guided in tracing its circular nodes by the outline of the circles of the consanguinity diagram visible from the verso through to the recto of the parchment sheet. These two instances demonstrate how diagrams of knowledge could become dislocated from their original textual context and rendered 'free-standing'. In the same way as the concluding pages of Cod. Sang. 817 could constitute an independent appendix on Aristotle's categories, so collections of information in diagrammatic form circulated both independently and in tandem with texts. Furthermore, these examples show how diagrams tended to 'breed' more diagrams.

VLQ 33 is not the only instance where the *De inventione* is presented alongside a diagram itemising the parts of *scientia* or *philosophia*. Sandwiched between the texts of the *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* in Montpellier, BIU, H 335 (a late twelfth-century French manuscript, provenance Clairvaux), is a depiction of *Philosophia* (fol. 26r, see Fig. 3 and Plate 8).²⁴ Executed in blue and black ink, she is crowned and bears two lances. The base of each spear pierces one of the arts: 'ethica' and 'phisica', while in a literal demonstration of her dominance over the liberal arts her feet

24. See Munk Olsen, 'The Cistercians and Classical Culture', 120. The volume corresponds to an item in the Clairvaux catalogue (1472), but is not in the usual Cistercian style.

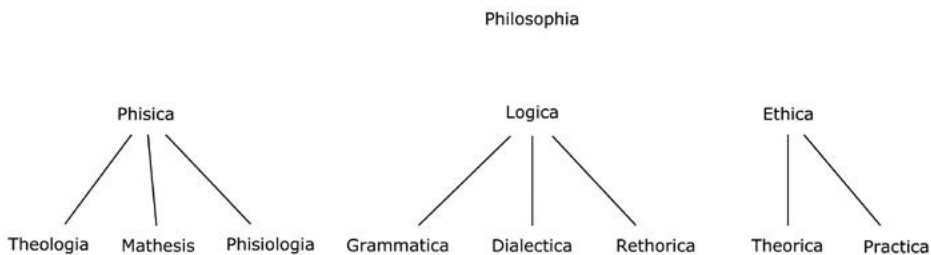


Fig. 3. Montpellier, Bibliothèque Inter-Universitaire, Section Médecine, H 335, fol. 26r (scheme).

25. BnF, lat. 18275, fol. 20r, discussed in Franklin-Brown, *Reading the World*, 76.

26. Reproduced in Wirth, 'Von mitteralterlichen Bildern und Lehrfiguren', Abb. 27.

rest on '*logica*'. The scheme classes the trivial arts under logic, while theology, '*mathesis*', and '*phisiologia*' are classed under '*phisica*'. Meanwhile, '*theorica*' and '*practica*' are regarded as part of ethics. The divisions of knowledge itemised here bear no direct relationship to the rhetorical texts that precede or follow the diagram.

The image of *Philosophia*-crowned was a common one, but there was substantial variation in the divisions such diagrams could contain. BnF, lat. 18275, discussed above, also contains a picture of *Philosophia* (fol. 20r), holding '*theorica*' and '*practica*' in her hands, and with her feet resting on '*logica*'. Here the image appears alongside the text of Fulgentius' *Mythologiae*. The folio is trimmed, but it is likely that '*logica*' originally had two, not three, divisions (as only two lines emanate from the node), perhaps subdividing into dialectic and rhetoric.²⁵ Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, 1253 (dating from the second third of the thirteenth century) also depicts *Philosophia* as crowned (fol. 83v), no doubt associated with Boethius' description in the *De consolatione philosophiae*, the text alongside which this diagram appears.²⁶ As in the Montpellier manuscript, she presents a three-fold division of philosophy into '*phisica*', '*logica*', and '*ethica*'. The subdivisions are more complex here than in the Montpellier example, however. '*Logica*' divides into the three arts of the

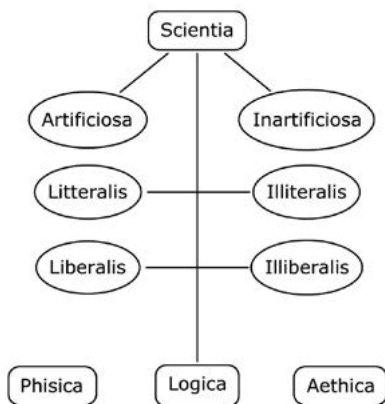


Fig. 4. Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, III.E.30, fol. 193r (scheme).

trivium, and each art is further subdivided. Rhetoric, for example, is divided into ‘*natura*’, ‘*doctrina*’, and ‘*usu*’, divisions identified by Isidore in *Etymologiae*, II.3. These depictions of *Philosophia*-crowned demonstrate that while an image may remain iconographically consistent, it may become a vehicle for different classificatory interpretations. The inclusion of such a diagram in Montpellier, BIU, H 335 may say less about the *De inventione*, therefore, and more about the salience of the tradition of visualising *Philosophia* anthropomorphically.

Like Montpellier, BIU, H 335, and VLQ 33, Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, III.E.30, an Italian manuscript of the *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, dating from the first quarter of the thirteenth century, also contains a diagram presenting the divisions of knowledge (fol. 193r) (Fig. 4). Following the conclusion of the second text, the diagram is decorated with pen flourishes in red and the dark ink in which the text was written. The principal node, ‘*Scientia*’, is defined by a series of oppositions: ‘*Artificiosa/Inartificiosa*’, ‘*Litteralis/Illiteralis*’, and ‘*Liberalis/Illiberalis*’.²⁷ These three divisions rest on top of a table itemising,

27. Similar divisions are found in Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, 399, fol. 29, see Helssig, *Die lateinischen und deutschen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig*, 625.

28. Hunt, 'Introduction to the "Artes"', 85. Copeland notes that the *De inventione* served as a 'substitute dialectical text' prior to the comprehensive reintroduction of the Aristotelian logical corpus (*Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation*, 159).

29. Particularly influential studies of Ciceronian rhetoric in the Middle Ages include Ward, *Ciceronian Rhetoric*; Carmago, 'Rhetoric'; Fredborg, 'Twelfth-Century Ciceronian Rhetoric', and the collection of essays recently published in Cox and Ward, eds., *The Rhetoric of Cicero*.

from left to right, '*Phisica*', '*Logica*', and '*Aethica*'. Bounding knowledge by suggesting what it is and is not, the scheme suggests that all ethical, 'physical', and logical knowledge should be polished, literate, and 'liberal'. Like the other diagrams classifying parts of *philosophia* and *scientia* appended to the Ciceronian rhetorical texts, this does not include any details on the specifics of rhetoric. Instead, the qualitative characteristics of *scientia* are given priority. The presence of these three diagrammatic divisions of knowledge alongside the Ciceronian rhetorical texts presents a conundrum, as they do not facilitate a conceptualisation of the art of rhetoric alongside other parts of knowledge, nor make any attempt to understand the relationship between the different parts of rhetoric, as itemised in Cicero's text.

Perhaps the paradox of their inclusion can simply be explained by considering the prominent place of the *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* in the medieval curriculum. As Hunt points out, 'One of the essential characteristics of the method of teaching used in the twelfth century is that the starting point is the exposition of the text of some ancient author, Donatus and Priscian for grammar, Cicero and the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* for rhetoric, and so on'.²⁸ As the principal textbooks for the study of rhetoric from the tenth century on, these were conterminous with the art, with scholarly focus less on the production of new, original, works on rhetoric, but rather on the production of extensive commentaries following in the footsteps of late-antique writers such as Grillius and Victorinus.²⁹ Such commentaries on the *De inventione* were occupied with the relationship between rhetoric and other arts; their prefaces sought to demonstrate how rhetoric contributed to what John Ward has termed 'total knowledge', even if the par-

ticular interpretation of knowledge assumed was divorced from the original context of composition of the text.³⁰ In this light, the diagrams already discussed may serve a similar function to these prefaces, seeking not simply to supplement the content of the *De inventione*, but to complement it by placing it within a broader intellectual context. Another plausible motivation for their inclusion is the existence of a broader tradition of including diagrams alongside copies of these texts, whether in their margins or subsequent to their conclusion. Around sixty manuscripts of the *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* contain diagrams, which complement and supplement the information of the text.³¹ These attest to the popularity of the use of diagrams in the study of rhetoric in the Middle Ages, a tradition which can be traced back to manuscripts of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*, which often contained diagrams to illustrate the part of the text containing rhetoric, and the inclusion of diagrams in manuscripts of rhetorical commentary texts, such as those by Victorinus and Fortunatius. The text of the *De inventione*, in particular, seems to have been particularly suited to diagrammatic exposition due to its tendency to itemise, enumerate, and subdivide parts of rhetorical argument.

Diagrams of Rhetoric: A 'Visual Prologue'?

The remainder of this article shall focus on two rhetorical diagrams found in the collection of the Universiteitsbibliotheek in Leiden. Unlike the diagrams previously examined, each of these cases presents a comprehensive set of subdivisions of the parts of rhetoric. One is found alongside the opening of the *De inventione* (VLF 70), the second is independent of a rhetorical textual context, but is appended to a previously unidentified text on the divisions of knowledge that con-

30. Ward, 'The Medieval and Early Renaissance Study of Cicero's *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*', 27-32.

31. For preliminary observations on these diagrams found in rhetorical texts, see Munk Olsen, *L'étude auteurs classiques latins*, IV.1, 236. I am completing a monograph on diagrams associated with the *De inv.* and *Rhet. ad Her.*

32. Studies of the genre include Quain, 'The Medieval Accessus ad Auctores'; Hunt, 'The Medieval Introduction to the "Artes"'; Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, 9-39.

33. Sears, 'Portraits in Counterpoint', 61-2, 71.

34. Copeland and Sluiter, *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric*, 9.

35. Hunt, 'The Medieval Introduction to the "Artes"', discusses Types A-C, 94; Type D, 97.

36. For a description of this manuscript and a reconstruction of its accompanying parts now found in Orleans, BM, 277 (233) and BnF, Nouvelles acquisitions latines, 1630, fols. 14-16, see Pellegrin, 'Membra Disiecta Floriacensia', 9-16.

tained a number of schema (BPL 28). As well as investigating their content and presentation, and speculating on their sources, the diagrams shall also be regarded as a form of *accessus*, a genre of introductory texts to particular authors (the *accessus ad auctores*) or particular disciplines (the *accessus ad artes*) common in the Middle Ages.³² In her study of author portraits preceding a text, Elizabeth Sears coined the term 'visual prologue' by comparing how such portraits paralleled verbal prologues, the *accessus ad auctores*.³³ Can diagrams, which may serve an analogous function by introducing and providing information on how a text should be read, and a discipline understood, also be regarded as 'visual prologues'? Akin to the classifications of the sciences, which according to Rita Copeland and Ineke Sluiter had a 'normative force, establishing a curricular standard', the *accessus* to the arts suggested a particular way to contextualise and conceptualise a subject.³⁴ Precedent for the divisions used in *accessus* texts is found in the *De inventione* (1.IV.5): 'But before I speak of the rules of oratory, I think I should say something about the nature [*genus*] of the art itself, about its function [*officium*], its end [*finis*], its material [*materia*] and its divisions [*partes*]'. As Hunt's seminal article on the theme recognized, however, there was a number of alternative schemes of classifying the arts, which expanded and offered alternatives to the Ciceronian divisions.³⁵ The diagrams found in VLF 70 and BPL 28 may show further potential for the adaptation of these classifications in visual form.

VLF 70

The first example of the use of diagrams as a sort of 'visual prologue' to the text to be investigated is found in VLF 70 (Plate 9).³⁶ This tenth-century manuscript from Fleury

is laid out in two columns, and contains a series of marginal diagrams alongside the opening paragraphs of the *De inventione* (fols. 51rb-66va). Unfortunately, this leaf (fol. 51r) of the manuscript is damaged by mould, and the ink is faded and oxidised, so a complete transcription is impossible, but we can attempt to reconstruct the diagrams, five in number, which present a summary of the principal features of rhetoric.³⁷ Written in majuscules throughout, the diagrams present as a series of labelled circles accompanied by three annotations in rectangular boxes, extending along the outer margin of the leaf and into its lower margin. The hierarchy of the elements is enforced by their presentation; the circles are gradated into three sizes, providing a visual cue to their relations. The diagrams are best regarded in conjunction, as they share common features and themes.

The first circular node is preceded by a rectangular label, partially illegible, which reads '*materia rethoricae facultatis e<...> proposita ad dict<...>*'. It is entitled '*genus/facultas*'. Nesting below this circular node is a label entitled '*species*'. The first node divides into three categories: '*iudicialis*', '*demonstrativum*', '*deliberativum*'. Each of these is accompanied by a brief encircled label describing the responsibilities of the art.³⁸ '*Iudicialis*' consists '*in actione et defensione*', for example. This diagram is followed by the next, entitled '*partis facultas rethoricae*', which subdivides into the five parts of rhetoric, '*inventio*', '*dispositio*', '*elocutio*', '*memoria*', and '*pronuntiatio*'.³⁹ The next diagram is also preceded by a rectangular box labelled '*rethoricae facultas instrum <...oratio>*'. It refers to the '*rethorice orationis species*', that is, '*exordium*', '*narratio*', '*partitio*', '*confirmatio*', '*reprehensio*', and '*conclusio*'.⁴⁰ The '*opus*' of rhetoric is identified in the next rectangular box as '*docere et monere*' (*sic. mouere?*). The fourth diagram

37. In the transcription of the diagram angled brackets (<>) indicate where the text is no longer visible/partially visible. Within these brackets, letters/words which may be made out with the aid of a UV light are indicated in plain text. An ellipsis indicates where letters are present, but illegible. Spelling is inconsistent (eg. *rethorica*), as expected in a medieval context. The notation '*sic*' is only used to indicate circumstances where the spelling or grammar are particularly corrupted.

38. Cf. *De inv.*, I.V.7.

39. Cf. *De inv.*, I.VII.9.

40. Cf. *De inv.*, I.XIV.19.

41. Cf. *De inv.*, I.XV.20.

42. Cf. *De inv.*, I.XI.15.

43. For the school at Fleury in this period, see Mostert, *The Political Theology of Abbo of Fleury*, 30–5. Information on manuscript production in Fleury can be found in Mostert, *The Library of Fleury*, 24–7.

44. Pellegrin, *Membra Disecta*, 14. For further information on classical MSS associated with Fleury, see Pellegrin, 'La tradition des textes classiques latins'.

is entitled '*genera causarum*' and subdivides into '*honestum*', '*admirabile*', '*humile*' (the final two nodes are illegible, but presumably read '*anceps*' and '*obscurum*').⁴¹ The final diagram extends along the lower margin of the page and is labelled '*status causa<rum>...*' and subdivides into two branches.⁴² One label reads '*rationales sunt*', but the second label is cropped. The second branch was presumably headed '*legales sunt*', of which there are five subdivisions (four circles are visible, but only two can be read, '*amb<iguitas>*' and '*diffinitio*', as this section at the edge of the folio is badly damaged). The first branch has four subsidiary circles: '*coniectura*', '*finis*', '*qualitas*', and '*translatio*'. '*Qualitas*' stems into another, larger, node entitled '*iuriditiales*' (*sic. iuridicialis*) which contains further subdivisions. First, it divides into '*absoluta*' and '*assumptiva*', the latter then contains four further divisions: '*concessio*', '*rimatio*' (*sic. remotio*), '*relatio*', and a cropped node of which the first two letters can be read, which are '*co*', so presumably this read '*comparatio*'. The node entitled '*rimatio*', presumably a corruption of '*remotio [criminis]*', has two subsidiary nodes reading '*purgatio*' and '*deprecatio*'.

We know that this manuscript dates from a particularly rich period of manuscript production in Fleury, a time when its school was thriving under the direction of Abbo of Fleury.⁴³ As Pellegrin's reconstruction of the original content of the manuscript demonstrates, the text of the *De inventione* originally sat alongside the syllogistic treatise of Abbo himself, as well as the works of Aristotle, Porphyry, Apuleius, Cicero, and Boethius, among others, providing an insight into the state of the study of rhetoric and dialectic in Fleury in this period.⁴⁴ Abbo's personal interest in rhetoric is demonstrated by the account of his studies given in Aimoin's *Life of Abbo*. Aimoin explains that Abbo went to Rheims to

study rhetoric, but made no progress, so returned to Orleans, where he studied Victorinus' *Commentary* on the *De inventione*.⁴⁵ However, the diagrams on fol. 51r do not resemble any of those typically found in the commentary of Victorinus.⁴⁶ It is interesting to note that VLF 70 also contains an extract from another late-antique commentary on the *De inventione*, that of Grillius (fol. 10ra).⁴⁷ Some similarities of the text of the diagrams to book IV of Boethius' *De topicis differentiis* may be suggested. For example, the opening label ('*materia rethoricae facultatis e<...> proposita ad dict<...>*') may be derived from Boethius' definition of the material of the art of rhetoric: '*Materia vero hujus facultatis est, omnis quidem res proposita ad dictionem*', that is that the material of the art of rhetoric is the subject proposed for a speech.⁴⁸ The third label ('*opus rethorice docere et monere*') may also reference Boethius ['*Opus autem rhetoricae facultatis est docere movereque*'].⁴⁹ The identification of the work of rhetoric with the word '*monere*', to warn, is an apt alternative to '*mouere*', to move, so this may simply represent a misreading of the text. The summary *in toto*, however, cannot directly have its roots in Boethius' text; for one thing, book IV of the *De topicis differentiis* does not contain references to the '*genera causarum*' listed here, that is the honourable, difficult, mean, ambiguous, and obscure kinds of cases.

We cannot completely rule out the possibility that the diagrams depend on the text of the *De inventione* itself. Two other possible sources must be considered, however. The first is Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* where the section on rhetoric (II.2) was frequently accompanied by seven diagrams, including the five presented in VLF 70. However, all five diagrams are also found in another set of schemes circulating in this period, that is the set of diagrams that circulated along-

45. *Vita Abbonis*, PL 139. 390. BnF, lat. 7696 contains another copy of the *De inventione* from Fleury dating from the late tenth/early eleventh century coupled with a copy of the Victorinus commentary and the *Partitiones Oratoriae*, the *Praecepta artis rhetoricae* of Julius Severianus, and extracts from the *Institutio oratoria* of Quintilian.

46. Compare, for example, the nine 'standard' diagrams found in the copy of Victorinus in Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, Misc. Class. 25, produced in Rheims in the same period.

47. Comm. 1, 1-5 (lines 1-23 of the introduction), 1-2 in Jakobi, *Commentum in Ciceronis rhetorica*.

48. *De top. diff.*, PL 64. 1207C.

49. *De top. diff.*, PL 64. 1208C.

50. The diagrams are printed in *PL* 101. 945–50. A discussion of the diagram tradition can be found in Knappe, *Traditionen der klassischen Rhetorik*, 171–6, and Knappe, ‘Classical Rhetoric in Anglo-Saxon England’, 13–15. See also *Clavis scriptorium Latinorum* II, 160–1 for a list of surviving manuscripts.

51. Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*, 525.

52. For the possible Irish origins of the division of physics, see Bischoff, ‘Einteilung der Wissenschaften’, 18–19. On the contribution of the scheme to medieval interpretations of the virtues, see Bejczy, *The Cardinal Virtues in the Middle Ages*, 37.

53. See, for example, the copy of the Pseudo-Alcuinian stemmata in *PL* 101. 945–49, edited with reference to the 1541 edition of a manuscript from St Emmeram, now BSB, Clm. 14377 (fol. 26r). For other examples of the corruption, see: Valenciennes, BM, 404, fol. 51r; BSB, Clm. 6407, fol. 38r; BSB, Clm. 13084, fol. 24r; BSB, Clm. 14377, fol. 26r; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, C 80, fol. 108r; St Gall, SB, Cod. Sang.

side Alcuin’s *De disputatio rhetorica et uirtutibus* (c. 794), a popular text in the ninth and tenth centuries.⁵⁰ This set of seventeen schemes has been described by Martin Irvine as ‘an attempt at building a unified model for all the arts and sciences’, a ‘Carolingian attempt to schematise what is implicit in Alcuin’s teaching and writing’.⁵¹ In addition to divisions of the parts of oratory, the set of stemmata also includes a discussion of the parts of physics, and a summary of the cardinal virtues.⁵² Some interesting similarities between these stemmata and the diagrams on fol. 51r of VLF 70 can be noted. In the first diagram the use of the judicial case of rhetoric is identified as ‘*in actione et defensione*’, not ‘*in accusationem et defensionem*’ as the Ciceronian/Cassiodorian tradition would hold, a corruption that is common in the copies of the Pseudo-Alcuinian stemmata.⁵³ Similarly, while the last diagram, the division of *status*, may derive from Cassiodorus’ *Institutiones* where a diagram entitled ‘*Status causarum aut rationales sunt aut legales*’ was commonly appended to the text, a version of it is also found among the pseudo-Alcuinian stemmata.⁵⁴ Not only do the Pseudo-Alcuinian stemmata invariably refer to ‘*remotio*’, rather than the expanded form ‘*remotio criminis*’ common in the Cassiodorian tradition, but an error found in VLF 70, fol. 51r is also shared by at least three manuscripts of the pseudo-Alcuinian stemmata.⁵⁵ All four divide ‘*remotio*’, rather than ‘*concessio*’, into ‘*purgatio*’ and ‘*deprecatio*’, a division that does not make sense and is a departure from Cicero’s text.⁵⁶

It is tempting to consider, therefore, the diagrams found in VLF 70 as a truncated version of the pseudo-Alcuinian stemmata. If that is the case, the combination of Cicero’s text alongside these Carolingian diagrams on fol. 51r represents an interesting juncture in the study of rhetoric, that is, a point

identified by Kempshall when Alcuin's *Disputatio de rhetorica* exerted a 'waning influence', as the rhetorical texts of Cicero and Quintilian began to be copied and sought out in their own right.⁵⁷ Whatever the source of the diagrams, they attest to the use of schematic reasoning in the school of Fleury, where diagrams appear to have been a common teaching and learning aid.⁵⁸ The diagrams serve as a useful summary of rhetoric appended to the opening of the most used classical rhetorical text. In identifying the genus, material, species, and purpose of rhetoric, their objective seems primarily to describe what is to follow in the text. Summarising, rather than systematising is the principal goal, but through their presence at the start of the text, the diagrams serve the secondary purpose of introducing the fundamentals of the text, and in so doing, introducing the art of rhetoric.

BPL 28

The diagram of rhetoric on fol. 2v of BPL 28 is part of a three-folia fragment appended to a copy of the works of Horace dating to the second half of the ninth century (Fig. 5 and Plate 10).⁵⁹ The fragment, which is not recorded in the most recent catalogue, dates from the eleventh century.⁶⁰ By the twelfth century, the manuscript was part of the collection of St-Pierre in Beauvais, as attested to by a contemporary *ex libris* on the first folio, which demonstrates that the fragment must have already been attached to the Horace work by this stage.⁶¹ The folia are in the wrong order; the correct order of the text is fol. 1r-v, fol. 3r-v, fol. 2r-v. The diagram on fol. 2v is, therefore, added at the end of the texts contained in the fragment, and is in a different, but contemporary hand to the rest of the fragment. The first text of the fragment (fols. 1r-v, 3r), previously unidentified, is a copy of a Carolingian short

273, p. 226; Cod. Sang. 64, p. 378 (here the text has been corrected to read 'accusatione'); Cambrai, BM, 168, 111 bis.

54. Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, II.2.4.

55. BSB, Clm. 13084, fol. 24r (Freising, ninth century); BSB, Clm. 6407, fol. 39r (Freising, ninth century); Valenciennes, BM, 404, fol. 51v (St Amand, ninth century).

56. Cf. *De inv.*, I.XI.15. It should be noted that I have found this error in two copies of the Cassiodorian schemes also – St Gall, SB, Cod. Sang. 820, p. 66, where it has been corrected and Kassel, UB, 4° Ms. philol. 3, fol. 85v. The error, which may simply be that, is easily made.

57. Kempshall, 'Virtues of Rhetoric', 8.

58. Barker Benfield, 'A Ninth-Century Manuscript from Fleury', 153–4; Saenger, *The Space Between Words*, 79, 160.

59. Gumbert, *IIMM*, 24. Cf. Tarrant, 'Ancient Receptions of Horace', 287 for revised dating of the manuscript to the tenth century.

60. Molhuysen, *Codices manuscripti*, III, identi-

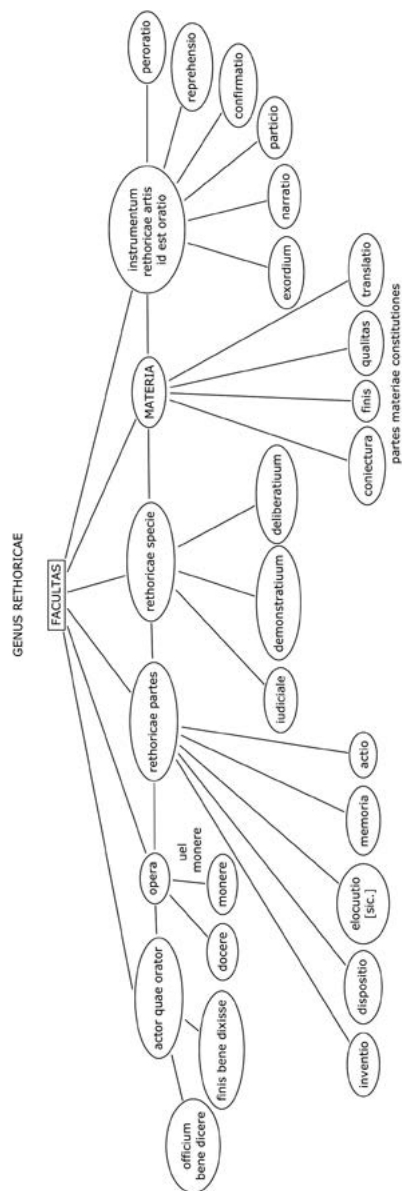


Fig. 5. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 28, fol. 2v (scheme).

text containing a set of inscriptions and diagrams of philosophy with the incipit '*Philosophiae trifariae primo dividitur in Theoricam, Practicam et Logicam*'.⁶²

The text, with its accompanying diagrams, are found in a number of manuscripts.⁶³ The most comprehensive list is that of Evans, who refers to thirteen manuscripts containing the text (although he does not distinguish between those that contain the text and schemes, and those that contain the text alone, which is the case for BnF, lat. 7418, for example).⁶⁴ His list can now be supplemented, not only with the Leiden example, but also with St Gall, SB, Cod. Sang. 251, pp. 183-185, which includes the text and a series of diagrams at the conclusion of the manuscript. Evans suggests that the text and its associated diagrams are related to the Pseudo-Alcuinian stemmatic tradition, noting in particular Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 9565-66, where the texts appear in conjunction as an 'elaborate redaction' or 'enlarged version' of the pseudo-Alcuinian stemmata.⁶⁵ While it is true that in a number of cases the *Philosophiae trifariae* text and diagrams appear alongside the seventeen pseudo-Alcuinian stemmata, there are also a number of cases where the text and diagrams appear independently.⁶⁶ As the first three leaves of BPL 28 are a fragment, it is impossible to determine whether or not the text was originally appended to a copy of the pseudo-Alcuinian stemmata, but as the text starts about ten lines down the page, and follows a simple circular diagram (badly faded and unclear), we can determine that it was certainly not directly preceded by them.

The second text contained in the fragment is a series of extracts from Origen's *Commentary on the Song of Songs* (fols. 3v, 2r-v) The inclusion of parts of this text in conjunction with the *Philosophia trifariae* makes sense. The latter

fies it as '*Fragmenta rhetorica et theologica*', 17.

61. S[an]c[t]i pet[ri]i belvacensis. Q.xvii at the bottom of the folio. At the top is a content list of the volume: '*Mecenas atavis. Ode. Ep[isto]le. et S(er)mones Horacii. Q.xvii*'.

62. See Bischoff, 'Einteilung der Wissenschaften', 5-6; Grabmann, *Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*, 42-3.

63. Irvine says the text is 'probably a product of the early Carolingian renaissance' and notes its inclusion in two manuscripts containing grammatical texts (*The Making of Literary Culture*, 281-2). Note the attribution of the text to Jerome in Wells Cathedral, VC/II, a manuscript dating to the second half of the twelfth century, item 7 (fols. 2v-3), '*Incipit interpretatio ieronimi de philosophia. Philosophia tripharia primordio dividitur... fraudulentem et fictam*', Ker and Piper, eds., *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, Vol. 4, 567-69.

64. Evans, 'The *Ysagoge in Theologiam*', 7, n. 32.

65. Evans, 'The *Ysagoge in Theologiam*', 6. Derolez, 'Dubthach's

Cryptogram' contains an alternative reconstruction of Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 9565-66.

66. See, for example, Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, Msc. Nat. 1, fols. 44r-45v; Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, Misc. Ph. 1, fols. 51r-v; BSB, Clm. 14456, fols. 68r-69v; BAV, Pal. lat. 834, fols. 91r-92v.

67. On the medieval tradition of studying Origen, see Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved*, 34-41. Matter (at 35) notes that the commentaries are extant in thirty MSS, of which the earliest dates from the eleventh century.

68. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, 27.

69. *'Temptemus inquit prius de eo require... uel de amico uerbidi coniunctione dirigitur'*. The extract in the Leiden MS is slightly shorter and ends *'...in mutationibus agitur personarum'*. The Origen extract in Valenciennes, BM, 404 is introduced with the phrase *'Item quae ex his Origenis in Canticum Canticorum dixerit inserendum esse putauimus'*, the same introductory phrase found in BPL 28, fol. 3v.

text refers to the tropological, anagogical, and allegorical parts of *spiritualis*, a theme also found in Origen's *Commentary*. Origen associates the three books of Solomon (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs) with the three parts of knowledge – ethics, physics, and logic – and, in fact, identifies this as the source of later Greek philosophical divisions.⁶⁷ This point seems to have been of particular interest, as the extracts (Prologue: III.1-7, 14-16; IV.3; Bk. 1.1) directly concern these neo-Platonic divisions of philosophy. The Origen extracts, when placed in conjunction with the *Philosophia trifariae* text act, to borrow a phrase from Minnis, as 'a conscious transition from secular to sacred', demonstrating a will to combine traditional definitions of knowledge derived from the classical heritage with Christian interpretations.⁶⁸ It should be noted that the *Philosophiae trifariae* text and the Origen extracts are found in combination in another manuscript, that is, Valenciennes, BM, 404.⁶⁹ This manuscript, owned by Hucbald of Saint-Amand, dates from the ninth century and contains a series of diagrams: the seventeen pseudo-Alcuinian stemmata (fols. 50v-55v), a diagram entitled *'Septem Sapientes'*, accompanied by a short text (fols. 56v-57r), followed by the *Philosophia trifariae* text (fols. 55v-60r) and the extract from Origen's *Commentary* (fols. 60r-61v).⁷⁰ The diagram on rhetoric added at the conclusion of the extracts from Origen in BPL 28 is already associated, therefore, with a particular classification of the parts of knowledge, one that combined elements of classical and Christian doctrine. In addition, as the content of the *Philosophiae trifariae* text 'depends on the stemmatic layout', in Evans' words, it may have provided an implicit prompt for considering rhetoric in schematic form, demonstrating again how diagrams tend to attract other diagrams.⁷¹

This diagram is simple in form, but surprisingly informative. Executed in black ink, it is carefully constructed. The structure of the diagram appears to have been drawn before the labels were added, which has led to compression of the text in some labels. This is also demonstrated by the fact that there were originally seven, not six, nodes branching from the element on the furthest right of the diagram. The extra node and connecting line have been erased, and there is no trace of erased text therein. This suggests that the scribe of the diagram had a clear idea of its structure and content before drawing it; it was not a spontaneous addition. The diagram is entitled ‘*Genus Rethoricae*’, a title which rests on top of a rectangular box containing the word ‘*facultas*’. From this principal node stem six subsidiary nodes entitled respectively: ‘*actor quae orator*’, ‘*rethoricae partes*’, ‘*opera*’, ‘*rethoricae specie*’, ‘*materia*’, and ‘*instrumentum rethorica artis id est oratio*’. This set of distinctions is derived from Boethius’ *De topicis differentiis* IV: ‘Accordingly we will talk about the genus of the art, [its] species, matter, parts, instrument, parts of the instrument, work, function of the speaker, the end – and after that about questions and Topics’.⁷² The subdivisions of the sections, in turn, also directly reference Boethius:

So the genus of rhetoric is discipline. There are three species of rhetoric: judicial, epideictic, and deliberative. The matter [of rhetoric] is the political question, which is called a case. The parts of this matter are issues. The parts of rhetoric are discovery, arrangement, expression, memorization, and delivery. [Its] instrument is discourse. The parts of the instrument are exordium, narration, partition, confirmation, refutation, and peroration. [Its] work is to teach and to move. The one

70. On Hucbald’s collection and its provenance, see McKitterick, ‘The Knowledge of the *Timaeus* in the Ninth Century’, 93 who notes that Valenciennes, BM, 404 was at least bound at Saint Amand, if not made there.

71. Evans, ‘The *Ysagoge in Theologiam*’, 8.

72. *De top. diff.*, PL 64. 1207A: ‘*Dicemus itaque de generis artis, speciebus, et materia, et partibus, et instrumento, instrumentique partibus, opere etiam officioque actoris et fine, post haec de quaestionibus ac de locis*’; trans. Stump, *De topicis differentiis*, 80.

73. *De top. diff.*, PL 64. 1211B-C: '*Quare genus est rhetoricae facultas. Rhetoricae vero species tres, iudiciale, demonstrativum, deliberativum. Materia autem civilis quaestio quae dicitur causa; partes huius materiae, constitutiones. Rhetoricae partes inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, pronuntiatio. Instrumentum oratio; instrumenti partes, exordium, narratio, partitio, confirmatio, reprehensio, peroratio. Opus est docere et movere; actor est orator; officium bene dicere; finis bene tum dixisse, tum persuadere*'; trans. Stump, *De topicis differentiis*, 87.

74. *De top. diff.*, PL 64. 1211B, directly preceding the summary.

75. Stump, *De topicis differentiis*, 142 for the resemblances between the texts. Of the corpus of manuscripts containing the *De inventione* and/or *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 27 contain book IV of *De top. diff.*: 2 from the tenth century, 4 from the eleventh century, 18 from the twelfth century. In the earlier MSS the work appears in combination with other Boethian texts, or extracts from other rhetorical works, such as the pertinent

who does this work is the orator. [Its] function is to speak well. [Its] end is sometimes to have spoken well, sometimes to persuade.⁷³

The work of the orator is divided into '*docere*' and '*monere*' (to warn), rather than the conventional '*movere*' (to move). A notation on the diagram, which appears to be in the same hand, adds '*uel movere*', referencing this, more typical, division. Although in this summary, Boethius describes the *materia* of the art as '*civilis quaestio*', it should be noted that elsewhere in book IV Boethius lists the four Ciceronian divisions of the material of the art (*coniectura, finis, qualitas, and translatio*), as given in the diagram.⁷⁴ A note added at the base of the connecting lines under the node labelled '*materia*' reads '*partes materiae constitutiones*', reinforcing this connection. Boethius emphasized the fact that the genus of rhetoric was wholly in its species, just as the matter of rhetoric was in its species; he conceives of rhetoric as a system that is symbiotically dependent in all its aspects. In this respect, the diagram serves as a uniquely appropriate way to summarize the relations between all facets of rhetoric. Its drafter seemed to appreciate this, as he linked the secondary nodes of the diagram together, so they not only all stem from '*facultas*', but are also linked on the secondary level. Therefore, the diagram summarizes not only the content of Boethius' summary, but also the conceptual relationships construed by it.

Boethius' *De topicis differentiis* was a popular text, and the fourth book on rhetoric frequently circulated as an extract alongside the *De inventione*, presumably because the first half of the fourth book closely resembles, and serves as a summary of, the Ciceronian text.⁷⁵ The diagram in BPL 28, however, goes beyond exclusively commenting on the *De*

inventione, as interpreted through the medium of Boethius, and becomes a template for understanding the art of rhetoric as a whole; it is a visual *accessus*, or prologue, to the art. In the study of types of *accessus* to the art, Hunt identified a set of divisions ('Type D'), dependent on book IV of the *De topicis differentiis*, pointing out that it 'was only suited as an introduction to an art or a science, not to introducing the book itself'.⁷⁶ Hunt's conclusion that this type of *accessus* originated in the 1130s in the writing of Thierry of Chartres, who complemented it with a distinction between the 'intrinsic' and 'extrinsic' parts of the art, was refuted by Ward, who suggested that rather than regarding Thierry as an innovator in this respect, we should instead recognize his debt to the medieval rhetorical tradition, in which the *De topicis differentiis* played an important role.⁷⁷ This eleventh-century diagram demonstrates anew the significance of the *De topicis differentiis* as a source for introductory divisions to the art of rhetoric. It also provides evidence for the use of the text for that purpose significantly prior to its employment by the glossators on the *artes* in the second half of the twelfth century.⁷⁸

Conclusion

This chapter sheds some light on the presence of diagrams in copies of the *De inventione*. In three cases enumerated above (VLQ 33, Montpellier, BIU, H 335, and Prague, NK, III.E.30) a diagram containing the divisions of philosophy or knowledge was appended to the text. As well as serving a suppletive function (by extending the observations on the derivation of wisdom and eloquence made in its opening passages), the inclusion of such diagrams points to a general interest in forms of classificatory divisions in this period. Furthermore, although these diagrams frequently failed to

section of Isidore's *Etymologiae*. Among the later MSS, the dominant trend is to present it as a 'filler text' between the *De inv.* and *Rhet. ad Her.*

76. Hunt, 'Introduction to the "Artes"', 97.

77. Ward, 'Thierry of Chartres and Liberal Arts', 252-61.

78. On the glossators, see Hunt, 'Introduction to the "Artes"', 109.

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address explicitly the divisions of the parts of rhetoric in their systematisation, their physical presence within copies of the *De inventione*, the principal text for the study of rhetoric in this period, implicitly ties the text to its broader intellectual context.

Although these diagrams of divisions of philosophy proved useful for conceptualising the intellectual place of the *De inventione*, to understand the specifics of how the art of rhetoric was conceived in this period an alternative type of diagram needs to be examined. In the two examples (VLF 70 and BPL 28) succinct summaries of the parts of rhetoric were presented. As noted, however, these did not derive their content and construction exclusively from the *De inventione*, but depended on a cohort of explanatory texts which circulated alongside it. As well as suggesting that such diagrams function as a sort of *accessus* to the art of rhetoric (and in so doing, could circulate either alongside, or independently of the *De inventione*, as in the case of BPL 28), these diagrams demonstrate the necessity of reading the *De inventione* along with the texts which contributed to the medieval understanding of it. Therefore, the visual summaries found in these diagrams enable, in turn, the metaphoric visualisation of the intellectual landscape of rhetorical study in the Middle Ages.

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