SHORT CENSUS

**Introduction[[1]](#footnote-1)**

The material contained herein is an attempt to demonstrate the manuscript material upon which the account in the volume *Classical Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: the Medieval Rhetors and Their Art 400-1300, with Manuscript Survey to 1500 CE****,*** especially the overview in chapter 4.1.2,is based. It represents all that has been prepared towards what is best described in the following paper, which was originally intended to accompany the ‘full’ census. What survives in the present format, may be described as the ‘Short Census’, but as a preliminary introduction to this latter, I provide the original introduction to the never-completed ‘Full’ Census.[[2]](#footnote-2)

I have not here brought the *Short Census* into similar format, and have not entered up further details, other texts, provenance, individual bibliographies, and other items that may seem relevant, nor have I in some cases entered up folio numbers. I list after the relevant items in the main list, below particular enquiries that need to be made in regard to the items listed in the entry in question, and sometimes miscellaneous additional information. These items are added below the item in question, in a smaller font, and indented. Unfortunately I have myself no more time / ability to seek these matters out. Some of the needed material is on a Filemaker 1 document which cannot now be opened. It is currently available from me in WARDstuff file.

**Counting manuscripts: the history of Ciceronian rhetorical theory in the Middle Ages.**

**(A)** ***Introduction* and *Description* of the project; procedures; abbreviations / terms / codes used; scope. [[3]](#footnote-3)**

Charles Homer Haskins, in the book that started most of us off on our quest for the significance of the 'Twelfth-Century Renaissance',[[4]](#footnote-4) showed little interest in rhetoric. He was vague about whether Thierry of Chartres wrote a commentary on the *Ad Herennium* or the *De inventione*,[[5]](#footnote-5) and, though he believed that in the writings that have come down to us from the twelfth century 'the rhetorical and philosophical treatises (of Cicero) meet us most frequently' among prose writers, he felt that 'Cicero was "more admired than read."'[[6]](#footnote-6) 'The new rhetoric of the twelfth century had scant respect for any Roman models... The whole basis of forensic oratory disappeared with the Roman political and judicial system... nor did rhetoric possess a simple and convenient manual like Priscian or Donatus to carry it through the rough wear of the Dark Ages... Cicero and Quintilian... were read as models of rhetorical style rather than as textbooks. How little Cicero and Quintilian were actually used appears from the number of surviving copies, respectable for a classic, but insignificant for a standard text'.[[7]](#footnote-7) Haskins' memorial volume pays even scanter attention to rhetoric[[8]](#footnote-8) and despite a rather inefficient attempt in 1974 actually to list the manuscripts of 'copies' of, at least, Cicero's rhetorical juvenilia,[[9]](#footnote-9) Haskins' views have set into a kind of orthodoxy that still prevails.[[10]](#footnote-10)

Much, of course, has been done to counter this orthodoxy,[[11]](#footnote-11) but little to demonstrate the truth of Haskins' assertions about the survival rate of manuscripts of Cicero's rhetorical texts. Nevertheless, recent attention has begun to accumulate some surprisingly precise statistics for other classical texts. Medieval copies of Virgil's works have lately been found to number 1,017,[[12]](#footnote-12)and similar precision is emerging in regard to comparable texts.[[13]](#footnote-13) Moreover, refinements in modern philological attitudes have begun to stress the cultural significance of accounts that record and analyse the evidence of **all** the manuscripts, as individual witnesses to the changing 'reading' of a classical text: ransacking the remnants of medieval libraries in search of what classical authors originally wrote is progressively seen as but one kind of attention to their *fortleben* in later times.[[14]](#footnote-14) Sophisticated thinking about the cultural importance of the pattern of manuscript survival of texts has begun,[[15]](#footnote-15) and the computer has released further new possibilities. The 'gloss' and its cultural significance has also come to light in recent thought: was the gloss, asks L.G.Kelly,[[16]](#footnote-16) 'a way to the truth of the text, or was it a secondary phenomenon which interposed itself between text and reader in order to "explain it"?' What is to be said of the shift from glossed text to 'catena' commentary,[[17]](#footnote-17) and how far may we equate the gloss with the 'scholastic', the 'medieval' approach to the transmission of learning? Were the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in fact, 'an age of second-hand learning',[[18]](#footnote-18) or can we find some useful originality in the medieval handling of its imported legacy of classical learning and wisdom, and how does that originality compare with our own 'abandonment' of our past? The project described in the following pages was intended to contribute to these new endeavours and to render manageable from their point of view the manuscript history of classical texts important in the history of the study of rhetoric and eloquence in western civilisation. The project, for which the short title was 'Census', had, as its aim, new comparative precisions in regard to the survival of manuscripts of Cicero's *De inventione* and the contemporary but still anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, two of the most widely read of all rhetorical textbooks during the Middle Ages, and amongst the best known of all classical texts during the medieval period,[[19]](#footnote-19) together with certain related texts[[20]](#footnote-20). The full title was: ‘Cicero *Rhetor*: A Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts containing texts of, and/or glosses, commentaries, notes etc. on, or *accessus* (introductions) etc to, Cicero's *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, together with certain related texts*.’*[[21]](#footnote-21)

Project 'Census' was intended initially to contain the following sections:

[A] INTRODUCTION: introduction and description of the project; procedures; abbreviations/terms/codes used; scope [in essence the present paper].

[B] Summary list of all relevant items by manuscript: = 'CENSUSall' in iMAC (SC I-VI)[[22]](#footnote-22) and Filemaker version (partial) - on line only.

[C] Comparative essay on quantitative aspects of MS survival in medieval and Renaissance times.

[D] Bibliography.

[E] Index of incipits (each keyed to the 'serial number' by which entries in [B] above are organised, for ease of identification).

(F) Index of explicits (each keyed to the 'serial number' by which entries in [B] above are organised, for ease of identification).

[G] Index of authors (each keyed to the 'serial number' by which entries in [B] above are organised, for ease of identification).

The project was intended to provide novel raw data for the 'Fortuna' section of the project *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum Medii Aevi*[[23]](#footnote-23), and for possible particular studies devoted to aspects of the rhetors and their Ciceronian art in the medieval and Renaissance period[[24]](#footnote-24). It was also related to a further project which is only in embryo stage, and which it may be convenient to refer to as *Medieval and Renaissance Communication Theory: the Ciceronian background and its evolution (M&RCT).* My aim here would be to help organise machine-readable texts of sources useful for the study of the subject, but too extensive for publication in the normal manner, or else which might benefit from the advantages of machine-readability[[25]](#footnote-25). Clearly, these projects may never be realised; however, they do seem a reasonable approach to the material in question, which is extensive, of considerable interest to cultural historians now and in the future, but unlikely in many instances to attract the resources necessary for conventional hard-copy production throughout.

Project 'Census', to return to my present concern, will not attempt to discuss the cultural significance of the material it surveys: this will be the task of the *Catalogus* 'fortuna' and the further studies mentioned in the preceding paragraph.The focus of all these projects will **not** be texts that deal with the *artes predicandi*, *dictaminis*, *poetriae*, *arengandi*, and similar, or substantially rewritten theoretical rhetorics, even if they are heavily dependent upon the doctrines of the *Ad Herennium,* unless they are entitled by their authors as abridgements, introductions to or presentations / versifications of the doctrines of the *Ad Herennium*, and they deal substantially with those doctrines. The texts are normally in Latin, but occasionally in French, and not uncommonly in Italian.[[26]](#footnote-26) Other European languages have not been included systematically.

The rationale for exclusion of the above categories of text is simply that in the past, 'histories' of medieval rhetoric have been compiled from them, without sufficient indication of the backdrop of continuous Ciceronian study that funded them. This latter continuous attention to Cicero's theories is not only a cultural fact of interest in itself, given our contemporary urge to abandon the canon of the past and to privilege novelty and innovation, but is also one that underwent significant changes, each of which has important links with larger cultural movements evident at the time. In addition, the attitude towards truth and language enshrined in the Ciceronian rhetorical works is an important anticipation of our modern deconstructive preoccupations, and one that we do not expect to find so heavily stressed in the medieval period. It is therefore worthy of considerable attention, especially in terms of its links with the developing scholasticism of late medieval culture. Once the importance of this material in medieval culture is properly understood, the relative position of the 'applied' arts of rhetoric excluded from the present 'Census' and the envisaged work that is to follow it, can be properly assessed.

Project 'Census' derives from another on which I have been at work for a number of years:[[27]](#footnote-27) the *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum Medii Aevi [Medieval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries]* series (ed. P.O.Kristeller, V.Brown and F.E.Cranz, Union Académique Internationale[[28]](#footnote-28)) entries for the *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. Many years ago, the second volume of my doctoral dissertation[[29]](#footnote-29) sought to survey the manuscript evidence for the study of the 'Ciceronian' texts in the medieval period. This volume was occasioned by the need to establish the base for the assertion that classical rhetorical doctrines were vitally influential in medieval culture. In that connection I resolved to establish what texts survived of the two classical works in question,[[30]](#footnote-30) and how they were used. In regard to the latter I attempted to devise a computerised approach which had a certain amount of potential, but needed refinement.[[31]](#footnote-31) Further work on this 'Census' was delayed while I followed up increasing clues in the manuscript libraries of USA and Europe to material that could be included in it. The scope of the project was also widened to include the classical texts themselves and certain other texts that had not hitherto been thought of as within the Ciceronian rhetorical commentary tradition.

The basic idea of project 'Census' is that each manuscript must be considered in its own right as an act of cultural 'replication'. I am not concerned with establishing the 'text' of the Ciceronian works in question, but with how these texts were used in the medieval and Renaissance periods. To track this usage, I have devised a set of 'keys' under which to enter information about each manuscript. Some of these are bibliographic, but most attempt to plot information concerning uses to which classical rhetoric was put in the medieval and Renaissance periods. It is necessary to stress that the exercise is one of rendering otherwise scattered and relatively meaningless serial information meaningful and serviceable for an historical enquiry of broad import. It is not simply a matter of tabulating data. Information is entered in uniform coded form, under the following headings (fields), using the current version of the MacIntosh Filemaker Pro software:

nation: the country in which the manuscript is currently located;

location:the place--usually a city, town or village--in which the repository in which the manuscript is currently preserved is located;

repository:the library or other repository in which the manuscript is currently preserved;

shelf mark: the current number or finding aid used by the relevant repository for storing and retrieving the manuscript in question, usually located on the volume's spine, with a note of any older or superseded shelf-mark(s), which may be needed for tracing purposes;

*The above categories are primarily bibliographical;*

key text(s) / relevant works:the portion(s) of the manuscript in question which is/are of particular interest to the present project, usually a text of the *De inventione* or *Ad Herennium*, or a commentary or gloss on these works. In general an attempt has been made to classify glossing acts as separate from the act of writing the classical text to which the glosses are attached. Many medieval books contain glosses dating from several eras and representing the attentions of many scholars and students. In an ideal sense it would be desirable to consider each of these attentions as a separate key text. The practical difficulties involved in such an effort, however, are prohibitive, and a compromise has been aimed at in the present work. Glossing acts are always considered separately from the act of writing the classical text, but glosses from several eras are normally considered as a single key text, spread, if necessary, across a number of centuries. This practice will involve some slight imprecision when the computer is asked to 'sort' key texts by century, but a manual adjustment for the multiple-century entries can be effected; in some cases these items have been included under the '**o**' field, but in italics.

foliation / date / provenance / author / title / incipit / explicit: comprising relevant information about the selected work(s) of interest to the project, thekey text(s)**,** within the manuscript.[[32]](#footnote-32)

*The above categories include the nature of the key text in question, colophons, whether and in what way the text has been 'used' [glossed, supplemented with annotations, tables, chapter heads, other 'aids to reading'];*

other text(s): consisting of a coded, summary indication of the nature of the 'other contents' of the MS (so that it is possible to track the texts and topics with and in connection with which rhetoric was studied at different times);

bibliography: containing summary reference to the best available printed reference to the manuscript in question, as well as, from time to time, to the key text(s) selected;

status: a coded indication of the 'status' of the manuscript as a whole, or of the key text(s) within it, if the status of the latter portion(s) differ(s) from the status of the rest of the manuscript. An impression of 'status' can be derived from such aspects of a manuscript as size (external measurements), columnar lay-out, lines to the page, illumination and anything else that may serve to indicate the prestige or value of the book in question, or the degree of public investment in its production. The leading idea here is that new subjects begin life as miscellaneous 'private' notebooks, on poor quality parchment with every effort to save space being clearly visible; later, when the subject becomes institutionally 'established', the books become more prestigious and more easily usable in their lay-out. This is an aspect which has not yet been codified and drawn out of the manuscripts;

serial (number): each 'selected work' or key text is assigned its own entry and once these entries have been placed (manually) in alphabetical order of location(usually a town), repository, shelf-mark and foliation; each entry is allocated a **continuous arabic or** serial **numeral** (at intervals of five between MSS, in order to facilitate the entering of any later-discovered manuscript into the in-between numbers). The primary need for this serial number is because the MacIntosh Filemaker Pro software cannot automatically 'sort' by location/repositoryandshelf mark: it cannot recognise Roman numerals as anything other than letters and it cannot handle mixed shelf-marks, such as (to invent a typical example) Plut. g.IV.10. The system can then be asked to sort by serial number, which will, in effect, be a sort by shelf-mark. The key text in question can also be cited by this serial number. To permit easier cross reference to the manuscripts contained within the 'Census', a shortened, readily identifiable code will be adopted for each MS, for example 'Paris BN lat 2335' for 'Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 2335', and this code will be added after the serial (number), as well as in other relevant places (for example after the incipit / explicit, in order to permit identification of these when printed out by themselves, automatically, from the programme, for the purposes of alphabetical indexing);

creation number: indicates the chronological order of entry creation on the software used;

inspection: indicates whether the manuscript has been sighted itself on location, or in film/photostat, or not at all.

If the entries were completed, [which they will not be] it would be possible to make a variety of 'sorts', asking the computer to locate, for example, all manuscripts, in which an *Ad Herennium* is found with another rhetorical work of Cicero, or a work of logic, or a poem of Virgil, or similar and to sort these by century. It will also be possible to sort all entries by century. One way and another it would be possible to arrange by century a variety of data derived from the manuscripts themselves, from which it would be possible to prepare the further studies proposed above.[[33]](#footnote-33)

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**Description**

**Abbreviations, conventions and codes used[[34]](#footnote-34)**

**(i) General**

**(see also** OTHER TEXT(S)**).**

abr abridged

corr corrected, corrections

def defective

exc excerpt, extract

flor florilegium

frg fragment

hdgs headings

i/l interlinear

Inst Institutes

IRHT information derived from notes and/or film kept at the Institut de Recherche et d'histoire des Textes, Paris

MS(S) manuscript(s)

mut mutilated

par paraphrased, paraphrases

pr proem, preface, introduction

r recto

rubr headings

v verso

var variants, variant readings

vern vernacular

vers versified, verses

wm water mark(s)

*Transcriptions* from unprinted MSS: in many cases, due to the state of a MS or some other factor, transcriptions are only provisional. Alternative transcriptions will be indicated in parentheses, preceded and followed by query marks (?.......?). Material not in the original but required by the sense will be included within square brackets. Lacunae or gaps in the MS will be indicated by a single spaced dash per word in square brackets [- - -] or by continuous dashes followed by an arabic numeral indicating the number of lines missing [---------4]. Abridgements in a transcription are indicated by dots within round brackets (.....). A query following a word, in round brackets (?) indicates that the transcription of the word is conjectural.

**(ii) by relevant field**

LOCATIONandREPOSITORY:the current names used in the countries themselves for the places and respositories have been adopted, usually in accordance with the practice of Kristeller's *Latin Manuscript Books,*[[35]](#footnote-35) except where a name has changed since the last edition of that volume. Cross references to assist those familiar with English practice are included (for example from 'The Hague' to 's Gravenhage', from 'Breslau' to 'Wroclaw', from 'Antwerp' to 'Anvers', from 'Vienna' to 'Wien', etc).

SHELF MARK: older shelf marks sometimes still cited in accessible books will be referred to in parentheses.

FOLIATION: the folio (or, less commonly) page numbers within the manuscript occupied by the key text. Occasionally, where information is inadequate and an older catalogue has been used to provide didactic and intellectual context for that text, I have usually satisfied myself (from an examination on site of the gatherings, or from some other source of such information) that the contents so described **did** form part of an assemblage in the middle ages, though I cannot rule out the possibility in some cases that, for a time, individual 'booklets' later assembled together into a collection did circulate independently.[[36]](#footnote-36) (Separation between individual codings making up a single work is maintained either by differentiation between upper and lower case, or by a hyphen). The codings, which, when combined for a particular text, are usually presented in a particular order[[37]](#footnote-37)**,** follow the order of the texts in the manuscript, and are as follows:

(CODES BEGINNING WITH UPPER CASE)

A antique work

*AP*  the *Ars poetica* of Horace

B Biblical work

Bo Boethius

C Cicero

Cass Cassiodorus

CMN = Census Manuscript Notes (a collection of letters and photocopies of information about MSS, in my personal collection)

COR Ciceronian rhetorical work other than the *De inventione* or *Ad Herennium*

D dialectical work

*Ddt* (or *De diff. top.)* *De differentiis topici*s of Boethius

Di dictaminal work

*Ep(p)* letter(s)

Gr grammatical work

H historical work

Hu humanist work; a work written by predominantly Italian participants in the cult of classicism that prevailed between approximately the time of Petrarch and that of Erasmus

Inst Institutes

L legal work

La work on the liberal arts

LL canon law work

M medieval work

Mo work on morality, ethics, etc

My work on mythology etc

NR non-rhetorical work

OAR antique work of rhetoric other than *Ad Herennium*, *De inventione* or COR or RLM

PAT patristic (non-rhetorical) work

Ph philosophical work

Po poetry

Pr sermon(s)

Q Quintilian

Qu work relating to the quadrivium or *artes mechanicae*, Astrology, the occult arts (etc)

R work of rhetorical theory in the classical tradition, or material designed for use in a general rhetorical didactic context, other than a gloss or commentary on the *Ad Herennium*, or the *De inventione*, or COR or OAR or RLM or other text as specified above under key text(s)

RLM work of rhetorical theory contained in C.Halm's *Rhetores Latini Minores*

S speech(es), work of oratory

T theological work

V work on the virtues and vices

(LOWER CASE - see also key text[s])

a *ars*, *artes*

c commentary

beg beginning

cat catalogue

chart charter or diploma

defn definitions

dial dialogue

eccles work on liturgy or ecclesiastical administration

ex *exempla*, examples

exord *exempla exordiorum*, model beginnings of speeches

fol(s) folio(s)

fr fragment

gl gloss(es)

i incomplete

invect invective, polemic

m major

mat material

mi minor

mill Biblical work concerning prophecy, eschatology, millenarianism

n(n) notes

not notarial document

pol work on politics, political theory

ps pseudo

s sparse

t text

ta table

treat treatise

trans translation

BIBLIOGRAPHY: minimum modern printed source of information for manuscript and/or key text. Usually a catalogue reference. Manuscript catalogues are referred to by abbreviated title where they are **not** listed in P.O.Kristeller *Latin Manuscript Books* [or now in KK]. Catalogues listed in that work are referred to by the letter 'K', followed by the page number in Kristeller's book, by the column number ('a' or 'b'), and by a very short indication of title or author to enable the reader to locate the relevant item in Kristeller; the page number in the catalogue in question (or occasionally the item number) then follows. [Nowadays, references would be had to KK]. Other abbreviations are:

IRHT Institut de Recherches et d'histoire des textes (Paris)

L personal letter from another scholar

Fuller bibliographical detail will be found in the supplementary descriptions [(SD) above n.20]

INSPECTION:

seen manuscript inspected on location

seen: mfm manuscript seen only on film or in photostat

not seen the manuscript has not been seen in either form

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**Acknowledgements**

Two initial versions of the present material, sufficiently compressed to permit article-format publication, have been prepared. One was sent to *Mediaeval Studies* in 1975-76, but suspended pending further work, and the later was prepared to facilitate a further period of European study in January 1986. Both have been absorbed in the present project. During the course of my work on these rhetorical manuscripts I was fortunate enough to secure much help by way of correspondence, not only from Professor P.O. Kristeller himself, always an unstinting font of information and help, whether in letter form or on the spot in European libraries (as too, was the late Dr R.W. Hunt of the Bodleian Library, Oxford), but also of Professors G.Ballaira, James Banker, John Monfasani, Charles Faulhaber, Martin Camargo, Emil Polak, R.H. Rouse, Malcolm Parkes, David D'Avray, Olga Weijers,and lately and most amply, Giancarlo Alessio, who generously gave me access to his own extensive collection of entries for MSS of the *De inventione* and *Ad Herennium*, and has been of great assistance ever since, both by way of correspondence and in person. Margareta Fredborg has always been an indefatigably generous, enthusiastic and expert correspondent and host, and I have always received much help from the IRHT, Paris, especially from Madame J. Fohlen, who sent me, in 1971, information about twenty important MSS and assisted me on a personal visit during 1975, and subsequently. Professor Giuseppe Billanovich made possible a four months sojourn in Milan during 1982. In recent years I have also learned much from the expertise of Dr Ruth Taylor-Briggs, who has given me her lists of MSS, made available advance copies of her important studies and monographs, and generously agreed to be a 'collaborator' in the present project. Others, for example, Dr Sandra (Karaus) Wertis, Dr Renata Bruschi and Ms Johanna von Gottfried, helped me much, but, as with all who carry out research in this kind of area, I owe especial thanks to the numerous librarians to whom I have come cap in hand, who have contributed generously of their time and interest, to make the task I have undertaken possible. The Prefect of the Vatican Library, Father Leonard Boyle, my teacher from Graduate School days in Toronto, has helped much with access to the Vatican collections, and, before him, Professor J. Ruysschaert assisted me in a similar way. Professor Julian Plante of the Hill Monastic Microfilm Library, St. Johns, Minnesota, made me very welcome on a visit there. At Hereford Cathedral, I received warm hospitality on a visit, and the list could go on. If there should seem to be an interminable delay in the completion of this work, I can only suggest that it has always occupied the proverbial back-burner, because of more pressing exigencies. An Australian Research Grant over the years 1994-96 has, however, admirably expedited the matter, and culminated decades of less obvious support that I have enjoyed in this kind of work, from the University of Sydney and from the Department of History within it.

**s:** status, a general estimate of the class of the volume (whether deluxe, well prepared and presented, workaday, scrappy, etc. 'A', 'B' etc.) followed by an estimate of size (F = folio, Q = quarto, O = octavo etc) and whether long lines, two columns or the like. Refers to all relevant works if listed under MS heading, or, where referring only to one relevant work, is listed under that work.

**t:** title(s) of any relevant work(s)

**i:** incipit of any relevant work(s)

**e:** explicit of any relevant work

**o:** other texts in the MS apart from those relevant works listed in the present *Census*. No attempt is made to list items that were *not* part of what can be conjectured to have been the original volume containing the relevant work(s); items are presented usually in the order in which they come in the MS. For the works themselves see separate list of abbreviations.

**b:** bibliography; references to the Krämer revision of POK's *Latin MS Books* are given thus: POKk followed by the page number in that volume and the abbreviated title

**v:** seen or not, or whether from film etc.

**Abbreviations used for other works in each manuscript ('field 'o'):**

ANR: ancient, non-rhetorical work

APOa: ancient poetic 'ars'

APOa+gl: ancient poetic 'ars' with later glosses

APOa+C: ancient poetic 'ars' with later copmmentary

COR: Cicero other rhetorical work (e.g. *Partitiones rhetoricae*)

HUEPPex: humanist work of rhetoric, on the spistles, examples of openings, e.g. by Gasparino

HURex: humanist work of rhetoric, *exempla* (e.g. *exordiorum* of Gasparino)

MEPP: medieval epistolary collection

MLA: misc. nn on the Liberal arts

OAR: other work of ancient rhetoric (e.g. Cassiodorus 'De rhet.)

PAT: work from the Latin patrology.

psAEPP: pseudo ancient letter collection

SHORT CENSUS: introduction

C: S-KWC

**Cicero Rhetor: a Short Census of medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts containing texts of, and / or glosses, commentaries, notes on, or *accessus* (introductions) etc. to, Cicero's *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, together with certain related texts:**

**[A] Summary Key Works Short-title Manuscript Catalogue by Serial Number**

**([B] represents the full File-maker entries, which will be available only 'on-line')**

**In this list all relevant items within each manuscript are arranged by folio order under the manuscript in question; the manuscripts are arranged by order of location (town, abbey etc.) and respository (library, archive etc.) in alphabetical order of location, then repository. Within the repository, MSS are arranged in order of current shelfmark. The arabic number at left is the identification number for each item (enabling simple call-up of the full entry for the item in question on the Filemaker programme) *and* the major means of ordering the entries in Filemaker by the above comprehensive order (Filemaker cannot sort automatically by location, repository and shelfmark, for fairly obvious reasons). The location is followed in the list below by abbreviated repository indication (e.g. UL = University Library), followed by the shelfmark [old, former 'segnature' indicated in smaller font] and the century of the MS. Below this are the relevant items within that MS, in summary description, using abbreviations as follows:**

**+ = MS now destroyed or lost**

**abr = abridged; = ‘epitome’**

**acc = accessus or short ‘prefatory’ or ‘introductory’ text designed to accompany or actually accompanying a text of the *De inv* or *Ad Her.*; sometimes followed (in brackets or directly) by an indication of the book(s) or passage(s) or the original text to which the acc is relevant. A general introductory text on rhetoric that may be appended to the end or beginning of text(s) of the De inv and / or Ad Her.**

**Ad Her = *Ad Herennium***

**[Ad Her] = a work (gloss etc.) written on, about or using in a major way the *Ad Herennium* (the code following indicates the type of work, according to the present list of abbreviations)**

**anon = anonymous**

**Bibl. = Bibliotheca, Bibliothek etc.**

**Brunetto Latini = *La Rettorica di Brunetto Latini*, testo critico di Francesco Maggini, pref. Cesare Segre, Firenze: Felice le Monnier 1968; see Cox 2005 p.155**

**Coll. = College**

**comm = commentary**

**cn = collection of random notes displaying less structure than a treatise or prologue / epilogue**

**‘cum sint …’ = De adtrib. = Halm *RLM* pp.305-310**

**De adtrib. = Halm *RLM* pp.305-310**

**def = definitions accompanying text of *Ad Her* or *De inv,* probably orginally from a commentary or set of lectures**

**De inv = *De inventione***

**[De inv] = a work (gloss etc.) written on, about or using in a major way the *De inventione* (the code following indicates the type of work, according to the present list of abbreviations)**

**Dogaer (1968) = F.Masai, M.Wittek, A.Brounts, P.Cockshaw, M.Debae, M. Dewévre, G.Dogaer and others *Manuscrits dates conserves en Belgique (819-1400),* (2 vols, Bruxelles-Gand, 1968).**

**E = excerpt only**

**epil = short concluding remarks connected with a text of the *De inv* and / or *Ad Her*, or remarks placed at the end of such text(s) and having to do with them in some way**

**epitome: see ‘abr’.**

**ex = exempla, illustrative examples; a text , for example, that has been designed specifically to inculcate the classical text, but which does not fit any of the above categories; for example, Marbod of Rennes' versifications to illustrate *Ad Herennium* book IV, commonly known as *De ornamentis verborum* (usually beginning 'versificaturo quaedam tibi tradere curo', *PL* 171.1687-1692, Leotta pp. xvii-lvii, 1-25, 73-83), that is, a collection of examples to illustrate the precepts of the *Ad Herennium* or *De inventione,* and usually with the passages illustrated included. It is possible that the fourth book of the *Ad Herennium* cirulated independently as a list of figures. Murphy *Rhetoric* p.188 n.108 cites a catalogue of the year 1290 (Vorau) with a listing ‘Tullius de ornatu verborum. Tullius de ornatu sententio[=a?]rum’. Later texts, however, such as the *Summa de coloribus* of Geoffrey of Vinsauf, or the *Exempla Honestae Vitae* of John of Garland, or the St. Omer 'Anonymus' (etc. Leotta p.xvii n.2; Faral pp.46, 50-51, 321-27), will not be included (and many do not warrant it in that they do not repeat the definitions of the *colores* as found in the *Ad Herennium*). The abbreviation ‘ex’ will not be used to refer to the kind of text described below as exord.**

**exord = collection of *exordia* or model sample speech beginnings, usually based on the early chapters of book 1 of the *Ad Herennium* (1.4.6 - 1.7.11). The major example here is the *Exempla exordiorum* of Gasparino Barzizza, 65 model speech openings based on the categories announced in the *Ad Herennium* (published in 1483 – Venice Marc . incunabulum 1044, Mercer p.98).**

extr = extract[s]; in plural, does not always imply consciously selected; may be the result of loss of folios, or copying from defective text(s). Thus, sometimes = 'frg', fragment. Also includes collections of ‘proverbial’ extracts, amounting to very little of the original text.

**f., ff. = folio, folios**

**form. = formerly**

**fren\* = in(to) French; for John of Antioch’s 1282 autograph (?) translation of the *De inventione* and *Ad Herennium*, carried out at the request of the Italian William of Santo Stefano, Brother of the Holy House of the Hospital of St.John of Jerusalem, see Cox 2005 p.157**

**frg = extr.**

**hh = ‘hands’**

**Halm = Carolus Halm (ed.) *Rhetores Latini Minores* (1863) Dubuque, Iowa: Brown Repr. Lib n.d.**

**Holloway *Brunetto Latini:* see 'ital\*' below**

**Holloway *Twice-told Tales* = J.B.Holloway *Twice-told Tales: Brunetto Latini and Dante Alighieri* N.Y.: Peter Lang 1993.**

**IL = interlinear (gloss)**

**inaug = inaugural lecture designed to accompany a lecture series based on, usually, the *Ad Her***

**inc = incipit; note that sometimes a number of incipits are given; in the case of glossed texts it is often difficult to decide which gloss represents the ‘beginning’ of the annotation**

**incompl = incomplete; that is, most of the text, but defective, in contrast with 'extr' which will represent but a fragment or small portion of the text**

**ital\* = in(to) Italian. Not comprehensive on the versions of the proem and tractate on memory from the 'Fra Guidotto' *Fiore di retorica* paraphrase of the *Ad Her* (Speroni 1970 'Sulla tradizione' 'redaction gamma') which are found in the appendix to the *'Ammaestramenti degli antichi latini e toscani* di Bartomomeo da San Concordio', ed. Nannucci, Florence 1840 pp.644-56 (Speroni 1970 pp.25-29) and see for an example Speroni 1994 p.CXI. Other 'memory' tractates in Italian are not covered (e.g. Speroni 1994 p.LXXX - Firenze BNC Magl. XXI.158 fols 39-42v and note 14 to p.LXXVIII - Vatican, BAV Barb. Lat. 3929 fols 61v-67; see also Cox p.158 no.12.4). I exclude also vernacular 'exordia' or proem-books, even though they may well be based on the *Ad Her.* (for example Firenze Bibl.Med.Laur. Plut. XLIII.19 fols 25va-38va - Speroni 1994 p.C). Also excluded are MSS of Brunetto Latini's *Tresor*, even though bk III of that work is derived in large part from the *Ad Her* (J.B.Holloway *Brunetto Latini: an analytic bibliography* London: Grant and Cutler 1986 p.33 and Paul Barrette and Spurgeon Baldwin [trans.] *Brunetto Latini The Book of the Treasure [Li Livres dou Tresor]* New York: Garland [Garland Library of Medieval Literature Vol.90, Series B] 1993 pp.279ff). Also excluded are treatises that bear striking resemblances to the rhetorical sections of Brunetti's *Tresor* (cf. e.g. Speroni 1994 p.LXXI, Firenze BNC Magl. VI.79 fols 60-66 'Trattatello di retorica'; Cox 2005 p.155). As Speroni indicates ('Intorno' 1973 p.25 n.2), the full array of MSS containing Italian paraphrases of parts or all of the *Ad Her* and / or *De inv* is not yet known. For this reason I have departed from usual practice in this list and given some secondary references, not to Mazzatinti's *Inventari* vols VII-XIII etc. (which can be readily consulted) but to the leading authorities who have discussed the MSS. See below *Titles and Incipits of the Italian Ciceronian Rhetorical*, Speroni 1994, Brunetto Latini, Scolari. For Guidotto’s ‘putative independent abridgement of the *Ad Herennium*, dedicated to Manfred of Sicily, son of Frederic II, of which only the dedicatory ;etter and initial chapters survive, annexed to Giamboni’s *Fiore di rettorica* in several manuscripts’ see Cox 2005 p.156-57. For a thirteenth-century ‘compilatione di retorica’ surviving in three manuscripts and containing, probably, some of the lost portions of this text, see Cox p.157. The ‘first surviving attempt at an integral translation [into Italian] of the *Ad Herennium* … seemingly Tuscan in origin…., [incorporating] much explanatory and exemplificatory material not found in the original … [and deviating from it] in the section on deliberative rhetoric at chs 52-53, which include local interpolations from Martin of Braga’s *Formula honestae vitae*, and from the *De* inventione’ (Cox 2005 p.157) has the incipit ‘Avvegna Dio che la natura ministrasse’ and dates from the mid-14th century.**

**lemma[ta] = portions of original classical text incorporated into a gloss; usually underlined here**

**Lib. = Library**

**M = *M.Tulli Ciceronis Scripta quae manserunt omnia, fasc. 1 Incerti auctoris De ratione dicendi ad C.Herennium Lib.IV,* ed. F. Marx, cum addendis W.Trillitzsch Leipzig: Teubner 1964 (= Ed.Min.), by page and line number**

**Martin = Jos. Martin (ed.) *Grillius, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Rhetorik* Paderborn: Studien z. Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums XIV, 2-3, 1927**

**Mattmann = Romuald Mattmann *Studie zur Handschriftlichen Überlieferung von Ciceros 'De inventione': die Schweizer Handschriften mit 'De inventione' im verhältnis zu den ältesten Codices* Frieburg Schweiz: Universitätsverlag 1975**

**mem. = *de arte memorativa***

**m-gl = major or important gloss, often one for which the MS has been set out in a formal way**

**m/mi-gl = occasionally used to indicate a gloss that has the characteristics of both a major and a minor gloss**

**mi-gl = minor or not so important gloss, but still of sufficient importance for noting or quoting from in connection with the history of the study of the text; an aid to reading rather than a gloss for which the MS has been set out in a formal way; an extensive accompaniment of glosses, not necessarily by the one hand**

**mi/s-gl =** **occasionally used to indicate a gloss that has the characteristics of both a minor and a slight gloss, or of a gloss that begins ‘mi’ and ends ‘s’.**

**MO = B.Munk Olsen *L'Étude des Auteurs Classiques Latins aux XIe et XIIe Siècles*, I, Paris: CNRS 1982**

**Müllner = 'Acht Inauguralreden des Veronesers Guarino und seines sohnes Battista: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Pädagogik des Humanismus' *Wiener Studien* 18 (1896) 283-306**

**n = note accompanying a text of *Ad Her* or *De inv,* displaying less structure than a treatise or prologue / epilogue**

**NRW = not a relevant work**

**para = paraphrase; this term is used broadly and includes independent treatises that one has reason to believe are or may be fairly narrowly based upon the doctrines of the De inv and / or the Ad Her**

**para-v = verse paraphrase**

**POK *Iter* = P.O.Kristeller *Iter Italicum* (for full description see POKk [below] pp.114-144)**

**POKk = *Latin Manuscript Books before 1600: a list of printed catalogues and unpublished inventories of extant collections*, by P.O.Kristeller; Fourth Ed., rev. and enlarged by Sigrid Krämer, München: MGH 1993**

**S = M.Tulli Ciceronis *Scripta quae manserunt omnia, fasc. 2 Rhetorici libri duo qui vocantur De inventione*, ed. E.Stroebel (1915) Stuttgart : Teubner 1965, by page and line number**

**Scolari = Antonio Scolari 'Un volgarizzamento trecentesco della *Rhetorica ad Herennium*: il *Trattatello di colori rettorici*' *Medioevo Romanzo* 9:2 (1984) 215-66; this refers to a ‘Trattatello di colori rettorici’ ca 1328-29, a ‘much-abridged version of the *Ad Herennium*, consisting of a brief introductory summary of rhetorical doctrine, followed by an exemplified account of the *colores’* (Cox 2005 p.157)**

**s-gl = sparse, casual annotations (interlinear or marginal) normally to a text of the *Ad Her*, or *De inv*, sometimes no more than a few headings / variants, or the Greek equivalent for the names of the *colores* in *Ad Her* IV. This category is mainly to indicate texts that have been used to some extent. A category ‘nsg’ (‘no significant glosses’) has been incorporated into ‘s-gl’ here. Where I have inspected a MS and decided that ‘s-gl’ is relevant, a reader will sometimes find an apparent conflict with MO, who might write ‘pas de gloses’ against the same MS; the ‘conflict’ is simply because I am prepared to consider a low level of attention to the text as ‘s-gl’ whereas MO is (and for his purposes, rightly), not. A text ‘without’ an ‘s-gl’ indication may still have corrections or even headings**

span\* = in(to) Spanish (Castilian)

**Speroni 1970 = Giovanni Battista Speroni 'Sulla tradizione manoscritta del *Fiore di Retorica*' *Studi di Filologia Italiana: Bolletino Annuale dell' Accademia della Crusca* 28 (1970) pp.5-53**

**Speroni 1973 = Speroni 'Intorno'**

**Speroni 'Intorno' = Giovanni Battista Speroni 'Intorno al testo di un volgarizzamento trecentesco inedito della *Rhetorica ad Herennium*' *Studi di filologia e di letteratura italiana offerti a Carlo Dionisotti* Milan: Riccardo 1973 pp. 25-76**

**Speroni 1994 = Bono Giamboni *Fiori di Retorica* ed. Giambattista Speroni, Pavia 1994. According to Cox 2005 pp.155-56, summarising Speroni, there are four redactions, commencing with *elocutio* only and expanding to include wider coverage of the ancient material; there are two redactions of the last version, the better printed three times in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries**

**ta = table of chapters, chapter list for *De inv* or *Ad Her***

**ta-rhet = tables of parts of rhetoric attached to or part of *De inv, Ad Her,* Vict. or related text, but not otherwise included in a systematic category (e.g. m-gl, s-gl etc.)**

**tC** = **text and commentary alternating, with the classical original as a marginal addition to the commentary**

**tca = text and commentary alternating equally as a ‘combined text’**

**trans = translated**

**Uni(v). = University, -versität, -versità etc.**

**var = variant readings**

**vernac = vernacular**

**Vict. = Victorinus, commentary on the *De inventione*, ed Halm *RLM* pp.153-304**

**Yates Art of Memory = F.A. Yates *The Art of Memory* New York 1966, 1969**

**Volg. = in the vernacular (Italian)**

**Where an item is attached to, refers to or is part of an assemblage containing a text of the *De inv* or *Ad Her,* the latter is placed within square brackets. See [Ad Her] and [De inv] above.**

**The full title of a manuscript repository is usually given for the first entry for that repository, and sometimes abbreviated for subsequent entries.**

Authors and brief incipits, where relevant, are given after the folio indications. Where a work might be known from, or begin with a variety of incipits, others are listed after '//' (in some cases potential incipits that follow upon one another without '//' are listed separately in the incipit index, in case other research workers should find texts beginning only with one or another of these possible incipits).

**Additional note: I have included in the ‘list’ of manuscripts that follows, in VI sections, items that were not in the original list. Any additional manuscripts found by anyone who looks these items up, will have to be added to chapter 4(a) of my revised dissertation. Such items are included where they fit in, in smaller, indented font and are preceded by the words ’Additional MS?’ Further bibliographical items that would need to be checked are the volumes of *Scriptorium;* Polak (1993-2015); Black (2001) pp. 428+ and 456+; Thomson (2011 and 2013). Also valuable would be *A Microfilm Corpus of Unpublished Inventories of Latin Manuscripts through 1600 AD* (a copy of which may be found thus: film boxes 21-340, Microfilm Room, University of Sydney, Fisher Microform 011.31 / 41). Interested persons might also consult volumes such as the following: *Biblioteche e Archivi, Società Internazionale per lo studio del Medioevo Latino* ed. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani; RICABIM: *Repertorio di Inventari e Cataloghi di Biblioteche Medievali dal secolo VI al 1520* 3, Italia, Umbria, Marche, Abruzzo, Molise, ed. Elena Somigli, 2013 (‘RICABIM offers the most current picture of book culture in Medieval Europe, with information on all published inventories. The census has produced over 9,000 documentary records relating to Italy as a whole, of which the 625 records concerning the central and central southern areas [Umbria, Marche, Abruzzo, Molise] are presented in this volume’); Paolo Chiesa and Lucia Castaldi, eds *La Trasmissione dei Testi* Latini del Medioevo (Te.Tra 4, Sismel 2012, Strumenti e Studi n.s. 32). No doubt many similar titles will appear that could in future be consulted. One would need to notice also:** **Le Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France,**

**Liens entre la version imprimée et la version en ligne, Suppléments**

* [**Départements — Tome XL. Supplément. Tome I. Abbeville-Brest**](javascript:toggle2('div-vol054','vol054');)
* [**Départements — Tome XLI. Supplément. Tome II. Caen-Luxeuil**](javascript:toggle2('div-vol055','vol055');)
* [**Départements — Tome XLII. Supplément. Tome III. Lyon-Orléans**](javascript:toggle2('div-vol056','vol056');)
* [**Départements — Tome XLIII. Supplément. Tome IV. Paris (Arsenal) – Vitry-le-François**](javascript:toggle2('div-vol057','vol057');)
* [**Départements — Tome XLIV. Caen (Collection Mancel). Avignon (2e supplément)**](javascript:toggle2('div-vol058','vol058');)
* [**Départements — Tome XLV. Besançon. Aix-en-Provence (Suppléments)**](javascript:toggle2('div-vol059','vol059');)
* [**Départements — Tome XLVI. Bibliothèques de la Marine (Supplément). La Rochelle, Nancy (2e supplément)**](javascript:toggle2('div-vol060','vol060');)
* [**Départements — Tome XLVIII. Rouen et Amiens (Deuxièmes suppléments). Metz (Supplément)**](javascript:toggle2('div-vol062','vol062');)
* [**Départements — Tome XLIX. Aix. Arles. Avignon (Suppléments)**](javascript:toggle2('div-vol063','vol063');)
* [**Départements — Tome L. Amiens, Bayonne, Bordeaux, Dieppe, Fontainebleau, Nîmes (suppléments)**](javascript:toggle2('div-vol064','vol064');)
* [**Départements — Tome LI. Dépôts d'archives départementales (Supplément)**](javascript:toggle2('div-vol065','vol065');)
* [**Départements — Tome LVI. Colmar**](javascript:toggle2('div-vol070','vol070');)
* [**Départements — Tome LVII. Abbeville. Armentières. Bar-le-Duc. Beauvais. Blois. Boulogne-sur-Mer. Calais. Cambrai. Compiègne. Dinan. Laon. Le Havre. Orléans. Rouen. Soissons. Vendôme (suppléments)**](javascript:toggle2('div-vol071','vol071');)
* [**Départements — Tome LVIII. Angoulême, Bourges, Carpentras, Castelnaudary, Dijon, Nantes, Pau, Périgueux, Toulouse (suppléments)**](javascript:toggle2('div-vol072','vol072');)
* [**[Départements — Tome LIX et LX]. Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris**](javascript:toggle2('div-vol074-075','vol074-075');)
* [**Départements — Tome LXI. Aix-en-Provence. Arles. Pau. Rouen (suppléments)**](javascript:toggle2('div-vol076','vol076');)
* [**Départements — Tome LXII. Grenoble. Deuxième supplément**](javascript:toggle2('div-vol077','vol077');)
* [**Départements — Tome LXIII. Dijon. Pau. Troyes (suppléments)**](javascript:toggle2('div-vol078','vol078');)
* [**Départements — Tome LXIV. Versailles. Deuxième supplément**](javascript:toggle2('div-vol079','vol079');)
* [**Départements — Tome LXV. Amiens (quatrième supplément). Caen (deuxième supplément)**](javascript:toggle2('div-vol080','vol080');)

[Départements — Tome LXVI. Reims. Supplément](javascript:toggle2('div-vol081','vol081');).

An increasing number of manuscripts are now on line, for example, the Abbey Library of St. Gall, Switzerland ([www.cesg.unifr](http://www.cesg.unifr): http:/www.cesg.unifr.ch/en), containing 131 manuscripts and regularly updated, accessible also in German, French and Italian.

The card index in the British Library, should also be checked.

1. This ‘introduction’ dates from 2016, and has not been brought up to the present, as has *Classical Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*. It has been re-read, however, 9-1-18, and a few things corrected / added; but it should be used by any reader, but with caution. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Re-reading this prospectus now (2016) reveals its mostly unrealized and even unrealizable ambitions, but as such, they are perhaps worth the recording. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Bibliographical items are given here either independently (particularly at the end of this document), or in accordance with the Bibliography presented in chapter 18 of *Classical Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Still, it seems, a phrase leant 'substance' by such later writers as Beryl Smalley and M-D Chenu (Kelly, L.G. [1993], review of Rita Copeland *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts*, Cambridge and N.Y. 1991, in *Allegorica* 14 pp.83-92, p.91); cf. also, lately, Owen, D.D.R. *Eleanor of Aquitaine Queen and Legend* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1993) p.11; Gehl, P. *A Moral Art: grammar, society and culture in Trecento Florence* (Cornell U.P., 1993) pp.178, 188. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. C.H.Haskins *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (New York: Meridian Books, 1958) p.102. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Haskins *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* p.111. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Haskins *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* pp.112, 138-39. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Under 'Classicism and style in Latin literature' (pp.537ff of Benson, R.L. and Constable, G. (eds) *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century,* Cambridge, Mass. 1982) we find that 'classicizing episodes are the exception. The pervading stylistic tendency is... mannerism... with its predilection for the artificial and the affected, for accumulated and exaggerated ornament, for far-fetched metaphor and pointed and surprising ideas' (p.553). [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. 8 Gallick, S. 'Medieval rhetorical arts in England and the manuscript tradition' *Manuscripta* (1974) 18 67-95. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Ward [1995] p.270 n.3. For more recent statements see Cox and Ward [2006], with full bibliography, and Ward's introduction to rhetorical research for Rosier-Catach's 'Glosulae project' (on the web). The other 'Typologie' rhetorical fascicules are listed in Cox and Ward [2006] under their authors. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. For example, the 1953 dissertation of Mary Dickey ('The study of rhetoric in the first half of the twelfth century with special reference to the cathedrals schools of northern France', B.Litt. St.Hilda's, Oxford; published only in small part ['Some commentaries on the *De inventione* and *Ad Herennium* in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries' *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 6 (1968) pp.1-41], J.O.Ward "*Artificiosa Eloquentia*" in the Middle Ages: the study of Cicero's "De inventione", the "ad Herennium" and Quintilian's "De institutione oratoria" from the early middle ages to the thirteenth century, with special reference to the schools of northern France. Toronto 1972 (now re-written as*Classical Rhetoric in the Middle Ages****)***; Ward (1995a) pp.254 and 228ff, Tinkler, J. 'Renaissance Humanism and the *genera eloquentiae', Rhetorica* (1987) 5 279-309; the publications of J.J.Murphy and the journal devoted to the history of rhetoric, *Rhetorica*. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Alessio, G. (1987) 'Tradizione manoscritta' in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* Rome III 'Medioevo' pp.433-43. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. See Ward (1978, citing Margaret Gibson on Priscian MSS and Paola Piacentini on Persius MSS), Passalacqua, M. *I Codici di Prisciano* (Rome, 1978). The most outstanding products, perhaps, of this new quantitative approach, have been the volumes of B. Munk *Olsen's L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XIe et XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1982-89), the series by Elisabeth Pellegrin and others *Les Manuscrits Classiques Latins* *de la Bibliothèque Vaticane* (Paris, CNRS 1975+, and by Colette Jeudy and Y-F.Riou *Les Manuscrits Classiques Latins des Bibliothèques Publiques de France* (Paris, CNRS 1989+). [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Ward, (1995a) pp.229ff; Masters, B. (1992) *Esthétique et Manuscripture: le "Moulin à paroles" au moyen âge* Heidelberg: Carl Winter and her subsequent publications. The recent expansion of interest in medieval library catalogues and their ascertainable remnants further indicates the importance currently allocated to quantitative aspects of manuscript culture, building on work brought to an initial summary stage as early as 1935 (see Manitius, M. (1935) 'Handschriften antike Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen' *Beiheft zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* no.67, Leipzig, and the same author's 'Ergänzungsheft philologisches aus alten Bibliothekskatalogen, bis 1300' *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* NF vol.47, Frankfurt-am-Main 1963, and Ward, J.O. (1972ax) I pp.407-17). For an example of this kind of sleuthing at its best, see Gilbert Ouy's paper 'Simon de Plumetot et sa bibliothéque' in *Miscellanea* *Codicologica F.Masai MCMLXXIX*, ed. P.Cockshaw, M-C Garand and P.Jodogne, II (Ghent, 1979), esp. pp.358-81. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Munk Olsen, B. 'La popularité des textes classiques entre le IXe et le XIIe siècle' *Revue d'histoire des Textes* (1984-85) 14-15 pp.169-81; Bozzolo, C. and Ornato, E. *Pour une histoire du livre manuscrit au moyen âge: trois essais de* *codicologie quantitative,* Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 2 vols 1983; De Hamel, C. *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Book Trade* Boydell and Brewer, 1984; Eggert, P. *Editing in Australia* (Occasional Paper no.17, English Department, University College, ADFA, Canberra, 1990); Robinson, P.R. 'The "Booklet", a self-contained unit in composite manuscripts' *Codicologica* 3 (1980) pp.46-69; Stengers, J. 'Réflexions sur le manuscrit unique, ou un aspect du hasard en histoire' *Scriptorium* 40 (1986) pp.54-80; Bruns, G.L. 'The originality of texts in a manuscript culture' *Comparative Literature* 32:2 (1980) pp. 113-129; the *Gazette du Livre Médiéval*, and the publications of the Oxford History of the Book conferences. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Kelly, L.G. (1993, n.4 above) pp.88-89. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. De Hamel, C. (1984); Ward [1996b] and [1998]. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. The phrase is that of Kelly, L.G. (1993, n.1 above) p.89. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. With the possible exception of the Latin translations of some of the works of Aristotle (303 MSS containing Aristotle's *Categoriae* are listed in Minio-Paluello, L. [1961] pp.xxiii-xxxviii). [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. It could be argued that the project should include MSS of *the Rhetores Latini Minores*, Quintilian's works, the mature rhetorical works of Cicero, and perhaps also other Roman rhetorical works (for example those by Tacitus, Seneca, Suetonius). With the possible exception, however, of Cicero's *Topica*, use of these works was limited during the medieval period and their MSS are probably better dealt with in another project. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Full description will be found in a paper I have given in Los Angeles for a colloque organised by Nancy Van Deusen at Claremont Graduate School in February 2005. This paper will be referred to as 'Ward LA 2005'. It contains a short presentation of the final results of the present 'Census' project. (portions of this have been incorporated into *Classical Rhetoric in the Middle Ages* PrChB). [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. [formerly: Key Works Catalogue (*KWC,* i.e. basic list of items in manuscript relevant to the present project, organised according to a shelf-mark-ordered file of relevant manuscripts). This will be available in full only as an electronically accessible data (Mac Filemaker Pro), but the printed version will contain a sample print-out of an entry, and a complete *Summary List (SL)* of relevant entered data (Key Works) organised according to a shelf-mark-ordered file of relevant manuscripts (basically a print-out of fields 'serial', 'foliation', 'date', 'key-text' from the list of fields presented below)]. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. See below, and the review by Craig Kallendorf of vol.7 of the project in *Allegorica* 14 (1993) pp.95-96. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. These studies may deal with the rhetors and their art in the Renaissance of the Twelfth Century, the rhetorical teaching of Guarino da Verona, and, perhaps, also of Marino Becichemo. Such studies may well incorporate some renovated portions of volume 1 of my 1972 dissertation (parts of which have already appeared in other places) . Perhaps, too, some of the texts presented in vol.2 of that dissertation may be manageable within the framework of these studies [some of vol.2 has been included in the revision of my original dissertation *Classical Rhetoric in the Middle Ages***]**. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. For example, my own 1972 dissertation (though now revised as *Classical Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*); the 1953 dissertation of Mary Dickey, already referred to, still the major work on the subject, and unlikely now to appear in any other form); a set of 'supplementary descriptions' *(SD)* of the manuscripts surveyed in the project 'Census', and for which a machine-readable basis exists in the material entered at Davis in 1982 (on which, see below) - these will partly cross-reference and partly supersede those contained in vol. 2 of my 1972 dissertation, may contain comments on the stemmatological affiliations of the MSS from my [former?] collaborator Ruth Taylor, and will provide fuller bibliographical and incipit / explicit identification than is aimed at in the 'Census' project described in the present paper (they will not pretend to duplicate good existing manuscript catalogues, but only to provide descriptive material not yet in print); machine-readable versions of key manuscripts of important medieval and early Renaissance *Ad Herennium / De inventione commentaries,* where these are not available or likely to be available in the near future in properly edited and printed form (for example, the commentaries by 'Menegaldus', 'William of Champeaux', Petrus Helias, the Venice 4686 text of the 'proto-Alanus' *Ad Herennium* commentary and other versions of the 'Alanus' commentary, the Jacques de Dinant *Ad Herennium* commentary, versions of the Bartolinus and Guarino commentaries [some of which have now been edited, or are in line for editing using modern printed methods]. My aim here would be to participate in some form of 'cooperative' where different scholars [many of whom are already working on one of these texts] might agree to circulate machine-readable versions of their text, before, or even instead of a properly worked-up and published version. I believe the informal and 'unauthoritative' nature of the medieval rhetorical commentaries lends itself to this format and procedure). A start has been announced by H.Lewis Ulman and Roger Graves, Department of English, Ohio State University: 'Rhetorica, a machine-readable text base for the study of rhetorical theory' (prospectus, dated 1/6/1990). [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. I include MSS of the Italian paraphrase/versions of the *Ad Herennium* because they form the only extensive vernacular corpus of commentary on / paraphrase of the pseudo-Ciceronian text and are significant in their own right. Further, reference to these MSS is common, but sometimes without sufficient indication as to language. There is no readily accessible check-list of such MSS. The present list is designed in part to assist and to prevent confusion between the Italian and Latin MSS. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Since 1966, when Professor P.O. Kristeller assigned me the task - with, at the time, (the late) Professor Caplan, who was to describe the *Ad Herennium* commentaries. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. 'It is impossible to overstate the importance of this series' (from a review by Craig Kallendorf of *Catalogus* vol.VII in *Allegorica* 14 [1993] p.95. Since this was written, Professors Cranz and Brown have, lamentably, passed away and their duties have been taken over by Greta Dinkova-Bruun. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. 1972, entitled 'A preliminary check-list of antique, medieval and Renaissance commentaries on and glossed texts of, *the De inventione* and *Ad Herennium'.* The first volume was intended to establish the importance of classical rhetorical theory in medieval culture, and is now revised as *Classical Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*. *.* [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Considerable attention was also paid to the medieval fortleben of Quintilian's *Institutes of Oratory*. For the history of the subject in detail, see Ward (1995a) Bibliography 'A'. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. It was written up under the title 'The Ward Census' in Kevin P.Roddy's 'Computer aspects for Project Rhetor: an encyclopedia in the history of rhetoric', an expansion of an article which appeared in the *Sixth International Conference on the Computer and the Humanities,* edd. S.K.Burton and D.D.Short (Rockville, MD, Computer Science Press, 1983 pp.579-87): 'the most dramatic use for Bibliophile ['an interrelated set of programs which allows a scholar to design, enter and retrieve records in a structured, logical way' created by Professor Earl H. Kinmonth of the University of California, Davis Campus] has been the census of medieval commentaries and glosses on Cicero's *De inventione* and the anonymous *Ad Herennium* compiled by Professor John O.Ward of the University of Sydney. Dr. Ward spent the 1981-82 academic year at Davis organising, entering and editing the 753 records of this Census, each record averaging a little over 1000 characters'. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. The above material is, for the most part, contained in the ‘Short Census’ contained in the present disc follows. The categories that follow, have not, unfortunately, been presented in the ‘Short Census’, though they are to some extent contained in the original Filemaker project. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. The reader may wish to know how thorough my search for relevant MSS has been. In general I have worked from the printed catalogues listed in Kristeller *Latin Manuscript Books* (3rd edition), together with the later edition Kristeller-Krämer (1993), subsequent printed catalogues, as readily available in the major MS research libraries around the world. I have also consulted extensively microfilms catalogues, especially those held in the Hill Monastic Microfilm Library (Minnesota) and the Library of Congress, Washington D.C. Working in many of the actual libraries in North America and Europe, from Ireland to the former Soviet Union, I have verified catalogue references from the MSS themselves, and, in the larger repositories (British Library, Bibliothéque Nationale, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, the Berlin libraries, the Bodleian, Oxford, the Vatican Library, the National libraries in Vienna, Milan, Naples and Venice, the Ambrosiana in Milan, etc.) I have worked extensively from the MSS themselves and the handwritten catalogues, over a period of time extending from 1972 until the present. It is unfortunate that time and resources have prevented completion of the project described above. I have, as late as 2014, consulted all manuscript catalogues in the Bodleian Library that came out since my original work was undertaken. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. These are retained as used to some extent in the ‘Short Census’ introduction below. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. P.O.Kristeller *Latin Manuscript Books before 1600* (3rd edition, N.Y., 1965). See also Dogaer, G. (1968). [= F.Masai, M.Wittek, A.Brounts, P.Cockshaw, M.Debae, M. Dewévre, G.Dogaer and others *Manuscrits dates conserves en Belgique (819-1400),* (2 vols, Bruxelles-Gand, 1968)] [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Robinson, P.R. (1980). [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. That is, for example, 'A' [time period of composition for the work in question] '-' [dividing hyphen] 'COR' (nature and classification of the work in question) '+' [indicating that the work is glossed] 'M ' [indicating that the gloss is medieval] 'gl' [abbreviation for 'gloss']. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)