

**Rhetoric as praise of the emperor and
applied politics of an education concept.**

The ‘res publica litteraria’ inside the monarchy. Alcuin of York and Rhabanus Maurus as representatives of the early rhetoric in Germany during the Renaissance of Charlemagne and the manuscript *Albinus ad Regem*.

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This article focuses on the establishment of the early rhetoric in Germany during the ‘renaissance’ of Charlemagne. Alcuin and his pupil Rhabanus Maurus were prominent persons for the establishment of rhetoric and the *artes liberales*. The conception of education under Charlemagne was on the one hand based upon the *artes liberales*. On the other hand this ‘renaissance’ of ancient education was arranged under a different political system compared with the one, which was used in Rome and Greece. So the educational concept itself contains the interest of adornment and honour of the king perfectly used in the rhetorical dialogue between the king and the scholar Alcuin of York and the works of the first ‘Praeceptor Germaniae’ Rhabanus Maurus. The common term ‘Carolingian Renaissance’ refers to this culture of learning in the late 8th century. Discussing the political function of the *artes liberales* with a special emphasis on the status of rhetoric and the manuscript *Albinus ad Regem* we see, how the ‘res publica litteraria’ inside the monarchy worked.

In 800 the Frankish king Charlemagne became crowned emperor of the West. Charlemagne was a strong leader who unified Western Europe through military power and the blessing of the Church. Charlemagne saw the need for education of the Frankish people and started reforms for religious, political, and educational issues. Charlemagne – considered being himself a ‘homo illiteratus’ – promoted this educational goal by using himself as an example of a scholar of ancient culture at the top of the system and achieving the ability to read and write Latin and Greek. The time of Charlemagne was a period of great activity in the areas of later France and Germany.

Charlemagne asked Alcuin to act as the head of the school system. While returning from Rome in March 781, Alcuin met Charlemagne at Parma, and moved to France and took up residence at the royal court as Master of the Palace School. The school was kept at the main place of the residence of the king, Aachen, most of the time. It

was removed from place to place according to the change of the royal residence. In 786 and again 790-793 Alcuin returned to England. Alcuin remained in France from the summer of 793 until his death, May 19, 804. Alcuin was an educator, scholar, and theologian. Alcuin's educational writings are the treatises *On Grammar*, *On Orthography*, *On Rhetoric and the Virtues*, *On Dialectics* and the Disputation with Pepin.¹ In other words: The educational works consist of works dedicated for the trivium like *De grammatica*, *De dialectica*, *De rhetorica* and a fragment concerning music, *De orthographia* and the dialogue *Disputatio Pippini cum Albino scholastico*. The writings of Priscian, Donatus, Isidorus and Beda for grammar, of Cicero for rhetoric and from Augustine for dialectics were used by Alcuin. The language of Carolingian culture for the church and bureaucracy was Latin. For most people in Europe after the 'barbarian invasions' Latin was a foreign language. Charlemagne encouraged literacy in Latin, his own clergy being helped in this work by Anglo-Saxon and Irish monks, who had already had to develop methods of teaching Latin as a second language. Carolingian scholars made the copies of the Latin classics, which the humanists later discovered.

According to Einhard (Eginhard), the *Disputationes*, and Alcuin's correspondence, Charlemagne listened to his Anglo-Saxon advisor in all matters not political. Charlemagne's *Admonitio generalis* stressed the importance of education. The academic scholars working at his court developed a concept based upon the ancient *artes liberales*. Among the clergy many of them were barely literate. Monks who spent their days copying manuscripts could barely read or understand them. Charlemagne wanted unity in the Frankish Church under his supervision. By this time the state needed the monastery schools to teach civic lessons in addition to Christian coverage. Einhard writes in the *Vita Karoli Magni* that eloquence was to be expressed in foreign languages and Charlemagne learned Greek and Latin:

[25] *Erat eloquentia copiosus et exuberans poteratque quicquid vellet apertissime exprimere. Nec patrio tantum sermone contentus, etiam peregrinis linguis ediscendis operam impendit. In quibus Latinam ita didicit, ut aequae illa ac patria lingua orare sit solitus, Grecam vero melius intellegere quam pronuntiare poterat. Adeo quidem facundus erat, ut etiam dicaculus appareret.*²

¹ <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01276a.htm>. [5.8.2002]

² <http://www.gmu.edu/departments/fld/CLASSICS/ein.html#25>. [3.9.2003]

Charles had the gift of ready and fluent speech, and could express whatever he had to say with the utmost clearness. He was not satisfied with command of his native language merely, but gave attention to the study of foreign ones, and in particular was such a master of Latin that he could speak it as well as his native tongue; but he could understand Greek better than he could speak it.

Einhard writes in the *Vita Karoli Magni* about the method of learning of the king:

*Temptabat et scribere tabulasque et codicillos ad hoc in lecto sub cervicalibus circumferre solebat, ut, cum vacuum tempus esset, manum litteris effigiendis adsuesceret, sed parum successit labor praeposterus ac sero inchoatus.*³

He also tried to write, and used to keep tablets and blanks in bed under his pillow, that at leisure hours he might accustom his hand to form the letters; however, as he did not begin his efforts in due season, but late in life, they met with ill success.

The biography written by Einhard is in general considered as a problematic source, since it obviously is not a historically objective source. But the text cited above gives us a good sample to discuss the function of ‘political literature’ of that time. On the one hand the author had the intention to promote the king’s authority and to put him on top of the educational system. This, of course, is also a common topos of philosophy going back to the sentence ‘kings to philosophers and philosophers to kings’ mentioned by Socrates in *The Republic*, when discussing the ideal republic. Of course, in the concept used by Einhard the idea of the ideal republic is used for the idea, which later on became prominent as the ‘res publica litteraria’ in the 18th century. A common topos in the literature written in the time of Charlemagne is that the king was educated according to the system he promoted. Einhard says in his vita of Charlemagne that the king had the gift of a ready and fluent speech and could express whatever he had to say with the utmost clearness. The king wasn’t satisfied with command of his native language merely, but gave attention to the study of foreign ones. According to Einhard Charlemagne was such a master of Latin that he could speak it as well as his native tongue; according to Einhard the king could understand Greek better than he could speak it. Einhard, although illiterate as a youth, presented Charlemagne, as fascinated by new ideas and to learning. Charlemagne studied subjects of the *artes liberales* such as Latin, Greek, rhetoric, logic and astronomy. Charlemagne was – according to

³ <http://www.gmu.edu/departments/fld/CLASSICS/ein.html#25>. [3.9.2003]

Einhard's description – so eloquent, that he might have passed for a teacher of eloquence. We must consider these statements as part of the political ideology of that time and a praise of the king and following certain traditions of scholarly knowledge mentioned above. The realisation of this concept by using the ancient education system based upon the liberal arts. Einhard describes in *Life of Charlemagne* (25) Charlemagne as the mentor and cultivator of the *artes liberales*:

*Artes liberales studiosissime coluit, earumque doctores plurimum veneratus magnis adfliciebat honoribus. In discenda grammatica Petrum Pisanum diaconem senem audivit, in ceteris disciplinis Albinum cognomento Alcoinum, item diaconem, de Britannia Saxonici generis hominem, virum undecumque doctissimum, praeceptorem habuit, apud quem et rhetoricae et dialecticae, praecipue tamen astronomiae ediscendae plurimum et temporis et laboris impertivit. Discebat artem computandi et intentione sagaci siderum cursum curiosissime rimabatur.*⁴

He most zealously cultivated the liberal arts, held those who taught them in great esteem, and conferred great honors upon them. He took lessons in grammar of the deacon Peter of Pisa, at that time an aged man. Another deacon, Albin of Britain, surnamed Alcuin, a man of Saxon extraction, who was the greatest scholar of the day, was his teacher in other branches of learning. The King spent much time and labor with him studying rhetoric, dialectics, and especially astronomy; he learned to reckon, and used to investigate the motions of the heavenly bodies most curiously, with an intelligent scrutiny.

According to the image of the philosophically educated king, which goes back to the Platonic idea of the sovereign as philosopher, Charlemagne joined the school of Alcuin, attended classes, and fulfilled his scholarly duties. In the school system of Charlemagne a text was read by a student or teacher accompanied by an explanation. So the genre dialogue is typical for the teaching system at that time. A master lectured on various subjects and there was a 'disputation'. The student would be asked a multitude of questions and was forced to defend his position with logical arguments. This method of teaching was responsible for students learning to discipline their thoughts in Charlemagne's day, and under the kings who followed, which used the canon of the *artes liberales*.⁵

⁴ http://www.noctes-gallicanae.org/Alcuin/Alcuin_epitaphe.htm. [3.9.2003]

⁵ The text *Caroli regis contra synodum* from the 790s, traditionally called *Libri Carolini*, is written in opposition to the Byzantine empire and its rulers Irene and Constantine. Ommundsen investigated

Compared to the *artes liberales* education in the ancient Roman time during the Middle Ages and Renaissance rhetoric – like other sciences of the system – was a tool for the access to theology and philosophy. Since the seven liberal arts of the *trivium* of grammar, rhetoric, and logic and the *quadrivium* of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music were the ground for the access to philosophy and theology, a hierarchy existed according to contemporary political and social circumstances.⁶ Students began their career in the faculty of arts. There they studied grammar, rhetoric and logic (*trivium*) next to arithmetic, astronomy, geometry and music (*quadrivium*).⁷

Isidore and Alcuin wrote an encyclopaedia of human knowledge, which included rhetoric and dialectic. Alcuin made a treatise on legal procedure in the form of a dialogue. Alcuin less describes in his book *De Disputatio de Rhetorica et de virtutibus sapientissimi regis Carli et Albini Magistri* rhetoric at the court of Charlemagne; furthermore it is a propagandistic writing. So in the introduction Alcuin says that the one who desires to know the civil customs (*civil customs*) shall read the teachings (*praecepta*), which the book contains and which were written at the court of Charlemagne who gave his ‘placet’ for it (*ille probat*) in this fictional pretext of co-authorship:

*Qui rogo civiles cupiat cognoscere mores,
Haec praecepta legat, quae liber iste tenet.
Scripserat haec inter curas rex Karulus aulae
Albinusque simul: hic dedit, ille probat.
Unum opus amborum, dispar sed causa duorum:
Ille pater mundi, hic habitator inops.
Neu temnas modico lector pro corpore librum:
Corpore praemodico mel tibi portat apis.*⁸

about the role of the liberal arts in the *Opus Caroli Regis*: Å. OMMUNDSEN, *The Liberal Arts and the Polemic Strategy of the Opus Caroli Regis Contra Synodum (Libri Carolini)*, in: *Symbolae Osloenses*. 77/ 1 (2002) Pp. 175-200.

⁶ Cf.: *Renaissance literary theory and practice. Classicism in the rhetoric and poetic of Italy, France, and England 1400-1600*. Ed. with introduction by D.L. CLARK. 1939, Pp. 87-94.

⁷ C.D. LANHAM, *Latin grammar and rhetoric from classical theory to medieval practice*. 2002, Pp. 57-70.

⁸ <http://www.gmu.edu/departments/flid/CLASSICS/alcuin.rhetorica.html>. [9.6.2004]

Important is here the fact that it is a writing getting its note of approval by censorship of the king. The text itself is according to the fact that it was written by Alcuin and accepted by Charlemagne not an authentic dialogue. The *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus sapientissimi regis Carli et Albini magistri* is the debate of the wise king and the teacher Alcuin about rhetoric and the virtues. As a moralizing political treatise the dialogue between Charlemagne and Alcuin the speakers describes that the proper subjects of rhetoric are politics, law and morals. The final section of the four cardinal virtues ends with honouring sentences for the king.⁹ The sixteen chapters of the dialogue between the questioning pupil Charlemagne and the master Alcuin base on writings of Cassiodorus, Boethius, Cicero, Marius Victorinus, Julius Victor, Quintilian, and Pseudo-Augustine. The work distinguishes rhetoric as the art of disputation on practical matters from dialectic as the art of disputation on theoretical matters (theology).¹⁰ The work *On Rhetoric (Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus sapientissimi regis Carli et Albini magistri)* is a moralizing political treatise in form of a dialogue between Charlemagne and Alcuin. The dialogue closes with a final section on the four cardinal virtues. The sixteen chapters of dialogue between the questioner Charlemagne and the master Alcuin are based on Cassiodorus, Boethius, Cicero, Marius Victorinus, Julius Victor, Quintilian, and Pseudo-Augustine. Texts by the Church Fathers such as the *Confessions* by St. Augustine dealing with rhetoric issues were known to Alcuin. Alcuin's *Disputatio Pippini regalis et nobilissimi iuvenis cum Albino scholastico Alcuinus* is a sample for the didactical literature of Alcuin in form of a dialogue. Although Alcuin's importance as a central intellectual figure in the Carolingian Renaissance has never been seriously questioned, the quality of his literary production can be considered only part of the reason for his importance. His contemporary and rival Theodulf called him '*nostrorum gloria vatum*'. A letter to Aethilhard (Ep. 311) is evidence that Alcuin was still writing poetry at least as late as 802.¹¹

⁹ A first modern edition was made in 1841: Flaccus Alcuinus, *The rhetoric of Alcuin and Charlemagne*. A translation, with an introduction, the Latin text, and notes. 1941.

¹⁰ See also: Introduction of: W.S. HOWELL, *The rhetoric of Alcuin and Charlemagne*. A translation. 1941; A.F. WEST, *Alcuin and the rise of the Christian schools*. 1892 (Reprint 1969); H.V. FRIEDMAN, *Rhetoric of Alcuin and Charlemagne* (Howell), in: *Classical Weekly* (1942) Pp. 21-39, P. 25ff.

¹¹ P.D. SCOTT, *Alcuin as a Poet. Rhetoric and Belief in his Latin Verse*, in: *University of Toronto Quarterly* XXXIII (1964) Pp. 233-257; W. WILMANN, *Disputatio regalis et nobilissimi juvenis Pippini cum Albino scholastico*, in: *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 14 (1869) Pp. 530-555; <http://ub.leidenuniv.nl/bc/whs/catalogi/catcomp1/01.html>. [15.9.2003]; Editions of Alcuin's *De Rhetorica*: K. HALM, *Rhetores Latini Minores, ex codicibus maximam partem primum adhibitis*. 1863, Pp. 523-550.

Alcuin introduced with his *Disputatio de rhetorica et virtutibus* the definition of rhetoric in a dialogue between him and Charlemagne:

K. Unde dicta est rhetorica?

K. Where does 'rhetoric' come from?

A. Apo tou retoreuein, id est copia locutionis.

A. 'Apo tou retoreuein', this is the variety of speaking.

K. Ad quem finem spectat?

K. What is its purpose?

A. Ad bene dicendi scientiam.

A. The art of good speaking.

K. In quibus versatur rebus?

K. To which things is it related?

A. To civil things, these are scholarly questions [...].

A. In civilibus, id est doctis quaestionibus [...].¹²

Alcuin invokes the king with the words *Dominus rex Karlus*:

A. Deus te, domine mi rex Karle, omni sapientiae lumine inluminavit et scientiae claritate ornavit, ut non solum magistrorum ingenia prompte subsequi, sed etiam in multis velociter praecurrere possis.¹³

A. God enlightened you, my master King Charles, with the light of total wisdom and decorated you with the clearness of science, so that you not only are able to follow immediately the intellect of the teachers, but also are able to proceed in many.¹⁴

In the *Epistola de litteris colendis* (784/85), for which Charlemagne is considered being the author, the *docendi et discendi instantia* is mentioned:

¹² K. WERNER, Alcuin und sein Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur christlich-theologischen Literaturgeschichte. 1876, Pp. 12ff.

¹³ <http://freespace.virgin.net/angus.graham/Alcuin.htm>. [2.2.2004]

¹⁴ <http://freespace.virgin.net/angus.graham/Alcuin.htm>. [2.2.2004]

[...] *ita quoque docendi et discendi instantia ordinet et ornet seriem verborum, ut, qui deo placere appetunt recte vivendo, ei etiam placere non neglegant recte loquendo. scriptum est enim: aut ex verbis tuis iustificaberis, aut ex verbis tuis condemnaberis (Matth. 12,37). quamvis enim melius sit bene facere quam nosse, prius tamen est nosse quam facere. debet ergo quisque discere, quod optat implere, ut tanto uberius, quid agere debeat, intellegat anima, quanto in omnipotentis dei laudibus sine mendaciorum offendiculis concurrerit lingua.*¹⁵

For the *trivium* Alcuin chose the genre of the didactic dialogue to arrange the classical knowledge of ancient times in a new form. Alcuin's *Dialectica* is structured the way the dialogue about the rhetoric is composed. Alcuin wrote five didactic works. All except one have the form of a dialogue. This form illustrates that many of his writings are used for the needs of his students. The Platonic tradition of the dialogue as method of education was renewed restoring the study of the liberal arts in Europe. The *Ars grammatica* consists of two parts: a conversation between Alcuin and his students; the grammar, in which a 14-year old Frankish pupil and a 15-year old Saxon pupil concern themselves mainly with morphology and etymology. *De Orthographia* is an alphabetical list of words, based mainly on Bede's *De orthographia*. The *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus sapientissimi regis Carli et Albini magistri*, *The debate of the wisest king Charles and the teacher Alcuin, about rhetoric and the virtues* is a moralizing political treatise, is a dialogue between Charlemagne and Alcuin.

According to the edition of J.-P. Migne Alcuin's work consists of *letters, Exegetica, Dogmatica, Liturgica et Moralia, Hagiographica*, poems such as inscriptions, epitaphia, epigrammata and *Didascalia* such as the writings *Grammatica, De orthographia, Dialogus de rhetorica, De dialectica Pippini Regalis et nobilissimi juvenis disputatio cum Albino Scholastico. Dubia* are *Joannis Mabillonii disquisitio de antiquitate et auctore confessionis fidei sequentis Albini Confessio fidei Disputatio puerorum per interrogationes et responsiones, Propositiones Alcuini doctoris ad acuendos juvenes Scripta alia nonnulla Alcuino dubitanter ascripta. On Computation* was written in 820.¹⁶ Alcuin composed more than 120 poems in hexameters, distichs, adonics with alliteration similar to that of Old English vernacular verse, sapphics, and

¹⁵ Bibliotheca Augustana:

http://www.fh-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost08/CarolusMagnus/kar_epli.html. [2.2.2004]

¹⁶ Peter Dale SCOTT, Alcuin as a Poet. Rhetoric and Belief in his Latin Verse, in: University of Toronto Quarterly 33/3 (1964), Pp. 233-245, Pp. 235-250, P. 240f.

freer liturgical forms, in a range of genres that included letters, history, hagiography, epitaphs, epigraphs, manuscript inscriptions or subscriptions, riddles, carmina figurata, prayers, nature poems, liturgy, poems on literary subjects, hymns, and more. One of the extant works is Coena's epitaph in verse, but the next is the vast poem on York, so that his first compositions include his grandest and most impressive. *A letter to Aethilhard* is evidence that Alcuin was still writing poetry at least as late as 802.¹⁷ This is another piece in the form of a dialogue between a master and his disciple. Much of it was copied from Bede's *De temporum ratione*, Isidore's *Etymologies*, and Boethius' *Arithmetic*. The resulting work marked an advance in instruction in the important matter of computing numbers, times and seasons. Isidorus Hispalensis dedicated the first and second book of the *De etymologiarum libri XX* to the trivium:

Liber I	De grammatica
Liber II	De rhetorica et dialectica
Liber III	De quatuor disciplinis mathematicis
Liber IV	De medicina

Alcuin's treatise on legal procedure was written in the form of a dialogue. *Sprahha* (*eloquentia*) is the Middle German language term for eloquence. Alcuin wrote in *De Disputatio de Rhetorica* about the parts of rhetoric according to the ancient scheme: *Artis rhetoricae partes quinque sunt: inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria*.¹⁸ While Church Father Isidorus in his *Etymologiarum libri XX* simply tells the rhetorical categories, Alcuin adds examples taken from the *Bible*. So Isidore says 'genera causarum tria sunt, deliberativum, demonstrativum, iudiciale' (caput IV, 1), while Alcuin adds examples for each *genus*. Alcuin also mentions the three genres (*genera*) of speech (1.5) in his work *De Rhetorica*:

¹⁷ <http://freespace.virgin.net/angus.graham/Alcuin.htm>. [2.3.2004]

As secondary literature see: G. BAESECKE, *Die Karlische Renaissance und das deutsche Schrifttum*, in: *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 23 (1949) Pp. 178-181, 367.2; P. GODMAN, *Poets and Emperors: Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry*. 1987, Pp. 25ff.; C. LEONARDI, *Alcuino e la scuola palatina*, in: *Nascita dell'Europa carolingia. Un'equazione da verificare*, *Settimane* 27 (1981) Pp. 459-496; J.I. MCENERNEY, *Alcuin, Carmen 58*, in: *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 16 (1981) Pp. 35-42; D. SCHALLER, 'Alcuin', in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon* 1. Ed. by K. RUH et al. 1978, Cols. 241-53, Pp. 35-40ff.; P.D. SCOTT, *Alcuin as a Poet: Rhetoric and Belief in his Latin Verse*, in: *University of Toronto Quarterly* XXXIII (1964) Pp. 233-257. In Leiden, Library of the University, we find a manuscript: *Disputatio Karoli regis et Albi (Alcuini) magistri sui de dialectica et virtutibus* (fol. 61r-74r) 3. *Sermones duo* (fol. 74r-88v) 4. *Tractatus de unione, quaestiones et responsa* (fol. 89r-103r).

¹⁸ <http://www.gmu.edu/departments/fld/CLASSICS/alcuin.rhetorica.html>. [5.8.2002]

*Ars rhetorica in tribus versatur generibus, id est demonstrativo, deliberativo et iudiciali. Demonstrativum genus, quod tribuitur in alicuius certae personae laudem vel vituperationem, ut in Genesi de Abel et Cain legitur: Respexit dominus ad Abel et ad munera eius, ad Cain autem et munera eius non respexit. Deliberativum est in suasionem et dissuasionem, ut in Regum legitur, quomodo Achitophel suasit David citius perdere, et quomodo Chusai dissuasit consilium eius, ut regem salvaret. Iudiciale est, in quo est accusatio et defensio, ut in actibus legimus Apostolorum, quomodo Iudaei cum Tertullo quodam oratore Paulum accusabant apud Felicem praesidem, et quomodo Paulus se defendebat apud eundem praesidem. Nam in iudiciis saepius quid aequum sit quaeritur, in demonstratione quid honestum sit intellegitur, in deliberatione quid honestum et utile sit consideratur.*¹⁹

The art of rhetoric is in three genres divided, these are the genus demonstrativum, the genus deliberativum and the genus iudicale. The genus demonstrativum, in which praise or blame is dedicated to a person, like we read in the Genesis about Abel and Cain: The Lord had respect for Abel and his works, but for Cain the Lord had no respect. The genus deliverativum is related to suasion and dissuasion, just like we read in Kings how Achitophel suaded David to further perishing, and how Chusai dissuade his plan to save the king. The genus iudicale is the one for accusations and defences, just like we read in the documents of the Apostles, how the people of Iudaea accused Paul with the help of an orator called Tertullus under the supervision of Felix, and how Paulus defended himself under this supervision. Because often in judgements is asked about equality, in a demonstration one thinks about what is honest and in a deliberation what is honest and usable.

In his work *De Rhetorica* (1.4.) Alcuin mentions the parts of rhetoric:

*Artis rhetoricae partes quinque sunt: inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, pronuntiatio. Inventio est excogitatio rerum verarum aut verisimilium, quae causam probabilem reddant: dispositio est rerum inventarum in ordinem distributio: elocutio est idoneorum verborum ad inventionem accommodatio: memoria est firma animi rerum ac verborum A.D. inventionem perceptio: pronuntiatio est ex rerum et verborum dignitate vocis et corporis moderatio.*²⁰

¹⁹ <http://www.freespace.virgin.net/angus.graham/Alc-Rhet.htm>. [5.8.2002]

²⁰ <http://freespace.virgin.net/angus.graham/Alcuin.htm>. [5.8.2002]

In the art of rhetoric the five parts are: Invention (inventio), disposition (dispositio), elocution (elocutio), memory (memoria), delivery (pronuntiatio). The inventio is the finding of true things or things that appear true that lead to the causa probabilis, dispositio is the distribution of the invented things in a scheme. Elocutio is the accommodation of the accurate words for the invention. Memoria is the solid perception of things and words in the mind. Delivery is the moderation of the coice and body from the dignity of things and words.

For the question of the relation between the king and Alcuin the document *Albinus ad regem* is very interesting. The document is a letter of advice in Latin; the first part is a plain text and the second part put in the scheme of the majuscules A and L. A codex now in Köln (Köln, Dombibliothek, Codex 106. Darmst. 2106) is a very interesting manuscript concerning the relation between the scholar Alcuin and the king. Written about 810 at Werden a. d. Ruhr in the Benediktinerabtei St. Ludger in Latin in Carolingian minuscules the codex contains in Fol. 2r-59v copies of Alcuin: *Enchiridion* (including Fol. 5v *De octo vitiis principalibus*, Fol. 17r-17v *Versus de contemptu mundi*, Fol. 22r-22v *Orationes de septem psalmis poenitentialibus*, Fol. 22v *De oratione dominica*, Fol. 23r-26v Alcuinus: *Epistola ad pueros sancti Martini de confessione peccatorum*, Fol. 26v *Ad regem*, Fol. 44r *Hymni*, Fol. 44v-45r. The manuscript *Ad regem* contains no paragraph signs. Words do not close up with line endings.

Albinus Ad Regem

Fuganda sunt omnimodis et abscidenda ac ferro totoque artificio separanda: Languor a corpore, imperitia ab animo, luxoria a ventre, a civitate sedicio, a domo discordia et in commune a cunctis rebus intemperantia. Amicorum debent esse cuncta communia. Duorumque temporum maxime habenda cura mane et vespere: et eorum qui aucturi sumus et eorum quae gesserimus. Post deum veritas maxime colenda.

In the letter *Albinus ad regem* the king is advised, that the following habits are to be avoided (*fuganda sunt*) in any way:

Inactivity from the body

*Ignorance from the mind
 Abundance from the stomach
 Dissension from citizenship
 Disagreement from the home
 and in the community extravagance from all things.*

Furthermore, the king is advised that all of the friends has to be common. Special emphasis he puts on the two times morning and evening and finally closes the letter with the notice, that after god the truth (*veritas*) is mostly to collect.

This riddle follows the text of the letter:

A stateram ne transilias

F id est iusticiam ne proptergradiaris

A (i)gnem gladio ne fodias

F id est iratum videlicet verbum maledicis lacessias

A coronam minime carpas

F id est leges urbium conserves

A cor non comedas

F id est merorem de animo proiece

A cum profectus fueris ne redeas

F id es post mortem vitam istam ne desideras

A per viam publicam ne ambules

F (id est) multorum errores non sequaris

A hirundinem in domo ne suscipias

F id est garrulos et verbosos homines sub eodem tecto non habeas

A oneratis onus suppone

(F) id est ad virtutem incedentibus auge praecepta

A deponentibus non communices

F id est tradentibus se otio relinque²¹

Since the text is a copy and so does not contain any criteria for the time of the writing, we can only look at the contents and style of the text: The letter is addressed finally to an unknown person, only the title indicates the king and Alcuin. In opposition to Alcuin's written documents, which relay to the artes liberales, this document is only concerned with ethical questions and has a very pragmatic focus on them. These general advices are in their style and quality directed towards a person in

²¹ The text taken from Dom.-Hs 106, Fol. 26v was edited at: Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde 7 (1839) Pp. 857-858.

a higher or even the highest position, but also contain advises for general life-conduction.

Derived from Secundus Symphosius and an anonymously written disputation between Hadrian and Epictetus, the *Disputatio regalis et nobilissimi juvenis Pippini cum Albino scholastico* (*The dispute of the royal and most noble young man Pippin with the teacher Albinus*) provides another pedagogical dialogue, this time with the son of Charlemagne. The main didactic method used by Alcuin was the question and answer scheme. We find this in the teachings and in the dialogues. It can be considered as a rhetorical concept. The dialogue between Pippin and Alcuin is composed in question and answer. If we compare now the dialogues between Pippin and Alcuin as well as between Charlemagne and Alcuin, we first have to ask about their origin, time, purpose and authenticity. So the first dialogue could have been only homage to Pippin later made by his son Charlemagne in order to establish him in the annals as the legitimate emperor following Pippin.²² While we find as topic of the dialogue between Pippin and Alcuin the definition of main elementary things such as things and abstract values in an encyclopaedic approach, which establishes his text in one tradition of educational literature with Comenius' *Orbis pictus*, the dialogue with Charlemagne focuses only on rhetoric in the tradition of the ancient rhetorical concepts and allows derivations only as exempla. Alcuin invokes Charlemagne with the title 'rex' and is respected by the king for his ability to open the subtle value of *rhetoricae artis vel dialecticae*. In the dialogue with Pippin no special invocation of the king is made. So this demonstrates the importance of the dialogues to represent the king Charlemagne, while Pippin is the basic elementary background expressed with the encyclopedic approach of the text. His son is object of rhetorical honor when Alcuin says, that God made Charlemagne great (*magnus*) and beautiful (*beatus*): '*Magnum te faciat Deus et vere beatum, domine mi rex [...]*.'

²² For the editorial history of *Pippini Regalis et Nobilissimi Juvenis Disputatio cum Albino Scholastico* see: A text edition of *Pippini Regalis et Nobilissimi Juvenis Disputatio cum Albino Scholastico* was made by Jean Lauand: *Pippini Regalis et Nobilissimi Juvenis Disputatio cum Albino Scholastico* (PL 101, 975-980). One copy of the *Disputatio Pippini cum Alcuino* is the Ms 808 in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. *Pippini Regalis et Nobilissimi Juvenis Disputatio cum Albino Scholastico* (PL 101, 975-980). *Monitum praeivium*. Cl. Quercetanus *Disputationem quae sequitur edidit juxta exemplar impressum Hamburgi anno 1615*. In codice ms. Salisburgensi 900 annorum eadem *Disputatio exstat media inter epistolas et carmina Alcuini, absque tamen auctoris nomine; e quo lectiones variantes adnotavimus*. Modern print editions: Philosophus Secundus; Publius Aelius Hadrianus; Epictetus; Albinus Diaconus, *Altercatio Hadriani Aug. et Epicteti philosophi; Item Disputatio Pippini et Albini scholastici*. Haer nova; illa auctior prodit. Ed. H. LINDENBROG. Hamburgi 1615; Flaccus Alcuinus, *Gespräch des jungen hochedlen Königssohns Pippin mit seinem Lehrer Albinus [Disputatio Pippini et Albini]*. 1880.

Alcuin's pupil Hrabanus (Rabanus, Rabanus) Maurus, known as the first 'Praeceptor Germaniae', was born in 780 in Mainz, Germany.²³ At the time of Hrabanus' birth, Charlemagne was ruling from his capital in Aachen, after having been crowned King of Franks in 768. Around 790 Hrabanus entered a monastery in Fulda, which was a centre of learning in Germany at the time. In 801 Hrabanus moved to France, where he studied under Alcuin, a leading figure of the 'Carolingian Renaissance'. Hrabanus Maurus' book *De natura* contains passages about rhetoric.²⁴ Although it is not a book containing all elements of rhetoric known in ancient time, we find here parts derived from the Latin rhetoric and specific ones for a certain style of speech. Next to the expression *orationes legitimae* Hrabanus uses the expression *oratio peculiaris*:

XI. de peculiaribus orationibus

*Peculiares autem orationes pure et frequenter facere et bonum et laudabile est, quia multorum patrum exempla id nos facere suadent, et ipse dominus etiam suo gamisterio hoc docere nos dignatus est dicens: "Tu autem, cum oraveris intra in cubiculum et clauso ostio, ora patrem tuum, et pater tuus, qui videt in abscondito, reddet tibi."*²⁵

Alcuin's work includes genres such as poems, letters, history, hagiography, epitaphs, epigraphs, manuscript inscriptions or subscriptions, riddles, carmina figurata, prayers, nature poems, liturgy, poems on literary subjects, hymns, and more. Alcuin's *Propositiones* are composed as little riddles (*aenigmata*) in the scheme of *propositio* and *olutio*:

XIX. PROPOSITIO DE VIRO ET MULIERE PONDERANTIBUS. De viro et muliere, quorum uterque pondus habebat plaustris onusti, duos habentes infantes inter utrosque plaustrali pondere pensantes fluvium transire debuerunt. Navem invenerunt

²³ Basic editions and works on Maurus: B. Rabani Mauri Fuldensis abbatis et Moguntini archiepiscopi opera omnia accurante J.-P. Migne. T. 2. Edited by J.-P. MIGNE. 1990; M. RISSEL, Rezeption antiker und patristischer Wissenschaft bei Hrabanus Maurus. Studien zur karolingischen Geistesgeschichte. 1976; Rabanus Maurus, Die sieben freien Künste. 1879; Rabanus Maurus, Poemata de diversis. Nunc primum vulgata et scholiis illustrata. S. l., s.t. (1617).

²⁴ W. SCHIPPER, The Earliest Manuscripts of Rabanus Maurus' *De rerum naturis* (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS Aug. 68 and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 121), in: *Brills Studies in Intellectual History* 79 (1997) Pp. 363-380.

²⁵ Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum libri tres*. Studien und Editionen von D. ZIMPEL (Freiburger Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte. Studien und Texte 7) 1996, P. 352. Lib II, XI.

quae non poterat ferre plus nisi unum pondus plaustris. Transfretari faciat, qui se putat posse, ne navis mergatur.

XIX. Solutio. Eodem quoque ordine, ut superius. Prius intrassent duo infantes et transissent: unusque ex illis reduceret navem. Tunc mater navem ingressa transisset. Deinde filius ejus reduceret navem. Qua transvecta frater illius navim ingressus ambo ultra transissent, rursusque unus ex illis a patrem reduceret navem. Qua reducta, filio foris stante, pater transiret: rursusque filius, qui ante transierat, ingressus navim eamque ad fratrem reduceret: jamque reductam ingrediantur ambo et transeant. Tali subremigante ingenio erit expleta navigatio forsitan sine naufragio.²⁶

Rhabanus Maurus writes in *De rerum naturis* (Book 15): *Rhetorica est disciplina ad persuadendum quodque idonea. Sicut enim omnis uir prophetans uel uates dicitur uel propheta, ita omnis femina prophetans sibilla.*²⁷ Maurus also described the art of rhetoric in his encyclopaedic work. During 9th and 10th century only a few developments of rhetoric were made. The 9th century was often considered as a time of decadence of rhetoric. In the 9th century Rhabanus Maurus also described the art of rhetoric in his encyclopaedic work. During 9th and 10th century only a few developments were made on rhetoric. Rhabanus Maurus later returned to Fulda, where he was abbot from 822 to 842. Rhabanus was later appointed Bishop of Mainz. Rhabanus died in Mainz on February 4, 856. His feast day is celebrated in Mainz on February 4 and he is often referred to as the ‘blessed’ although he was never beatified or canonized. Rhabanus is known as the author of encyclopaedic and scholarly works, along with sermons and poems. *De universo* and *De rerum naturis* were Rhabanus’s encyclopaedia of worldly knowledge. His picture-poems were named *De laudibus sanctae crucis*. Rhabanus’ encyclopaedia *De rerum naturis* often covers the same ground as Saint Augustine. Many important academic reforms were initiated with Charlemagne's support, including efforts to standardize Latin writing with the use of a new script. This alphabet, called the Carolingian alphabet, introduced lower case letters into the writing system. Rhabanus Maurus was one of the great educators of the Carolingian age and his *De rerum naturis* is one of the most notable productions of the period. It relies heavily on earlier works, such as the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville

²⁶ <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/alcuin/alcuin.propos.shtml>. [7.7.2004]

See also: M. FOLKERTS, *Die älteste mathematische Aufgabensammlung in lateinischer Sprache. Die Alcuin zugeschriebenen Propositiones ad acuendos iuvenes. Überlieferung, Inhalt, kritische Edition.* 1978.

²⁷ <http://www.mun.ca/rabanus/drn/15.html>. [7.7.2004]

(560-636), while paving the way for later medieval encyclopaedias, such as the works of Thomas of Cantimpré and Vincent of Beauvais.

Hrabanus describes in book 15 of *De natura* the genders of philosophy (*de philosophis gentium*):

Dialectica est disputatio acuta uerum distinguens a falso. Rhetorica est disciplina ad habentes quidam nomina ex auctoribus, ut Platonici, Epicurei, Pitagorici.

(Dialectica is an acute dispute to divide truth from false. Rhetorica is the discipline of having certain names from authors like Plato, Epicure, Pythagoras.) Maurus divides into the branches of Logica, seven branches of Phisica (sic!), Ethica with her for parts Prudentia, Iustitia, Fortitudo and Temperantia. Logica, Dialectica and Rhetorica are another group of philosophy.

In other words: Maurus divides the *philosophi* into three genders (*‘Idem autem philosophi triplici genere dividuntur. Nam autem phisici sunt etheci aut logici.’*)²⁸ In Book 15 of *De rerum naturis* Rhabanus also divides genders (*gentes*) of philosophers, poets, sibylls, magicians, pagans and gods.²⁹

De philosophis gentium

De poetis

De sibillis

De magis

De paganis

De diis gentium

Rhabanus classifies the sophists as *sapientes aut doctores sapientiae* (liber XV [1]):

Nam dum antea Greci ueteres sophistas, id est sapientes aut doctores sapientiae, semetipsos lactantius nominarent, iste interrogatus quid profiteretur, uerecundo nomine philosophum, id est amatorem sapientiae se esse respondit. Quoniam sapientem profiteri arrogantissimum uidebatur, ita deinceps posteris placuit, ut quantalibet de rebus ad sapientiam pertinentibus doctrina quisque uel sibi uel aliis

²⁸ http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Isidore/8*.html. [7.7.2004]

²⁹ M.A. MAYESKI, “Let Women Not Despair”. Rabanus Maurus on Women as Prophets, in: *Theological Studies* 58/2 (1997) Pp. 237-250.

*uideretur excellere.*³⁰

Philosophi
Philosophi fisici
Philosophi fisi
Philosophi ethici
Philosophi logici

Phisica
Arithmetica
Astronomica
Astrologia
Mechanica
Medicina
Geometrica
Musica

Ethica
Prudentia
Iustitia
Fortitudo
Temperantia

Logica
Dialectica
Rethorica

Augustine defines in *De Dialectica* (liber I.) dialectics as the science of good dispute:

Dialectica est bene disputandi scientia. Disputamus autem utique verbis. Verba igitur aut simplicia sunt aut coniuncta. Simplicia sunt quae unum quiddam significant ut cum dicimus ‘homo equus disputat currit’. Nec mireris, quod ‘disputat’, quamvis ex duobus compositum sit, tamen inter simplicia numeratum est; nam res definitione inlustratur.

³⁰ Rhabanus Maurus: *De rerum naturis*. Book 15: <http://www.mun.ca/rabanus/drn/15.html>. [7.7.2004]

Dialectica is the science of the good dispute. We have a dispute by the use of words. Words are either single or conjunct. Single ones are those, which signify one thing like when we say 'man horse dispute run'. It is not a wonder that 'dispute', although it is composed out of two, is considered as a simple one, because the thing is illustrated by the definition. Dialectica is the acute disputation to divide the true from the false. Rhetorica is the discipline to choose what is appropriate for persuasion.

Rhabanus defines *dialectica* and *rhetorica*:

*Dialectica est disputatio acuta uerum distinguens a falso. Rhetorica est disciplina ad persuadendum quodque idonea.*³¹

While rhetoric is the art of disputation on practical matters, dialectic is the art of disputation on theoretical matters. The concept under which Rhabanus re-organised the human science on the one hand by the exchange of a hierarchical system between philosophy and the *artes liberales* and the *artes mechanicae*, which dominated later Renaissance culture. Rhabanus put together instead of these sciences of philosophy, *artes liberales* and *artes mechanicae*. Although Rhabanus provides his readers with some 'secular' or 'worldly' learning, you will see that in these paragraphs about the world itself Rhabanus is always revolving within the boundaries of learning determined by the Biblical text and, perhaps even more important, the ritual language of the Catholic Church itself, which was Latin. By the 8th century, Jerome's Vulgate translation of the Bible had become universally adopted throughout Western Europe. Yet when it comes to the Psalms, you will find that the citations of the Psalms in Rhabanus' work often do match the *Vulgate*.³²

In 822 Rhabanus was elected for the position as an abbot. During his reign the monastery enjoyed its greatest prosperity. Rhabanus completed the new buildings that had been begun by his predecessor. Rhabanus erected more than thirty churches and oratories. Rhabanus was buried in the monastery of St. Alban at Mainz, but Archbishop Albrecht of Brandenburg transferred his relics to Halle. Rhabanus was probably the most learned man of his age. In Scriptural and patristic knowledge he had

³¹ Rhabanus Maurus: De rerum naturis. Book 15: <http://www.mun.ca/rabanus/drn/15.html>. [7.7.2004]

³² Cf. for the reception of the *artes liberales*: F. DECHANT, Die theologische Rezeption der artes liberales und die Entwicklung des Philosophiebegriffs in theologischen Programmschriften des Mittelalters von Alcuin bis Bonaventura. 1993.

no equal. Rhabanus was thoroughly conversant with canon law and liturgy. Rhabanus' literary activity extended over the entire field of sacred and profane learning as then understood. Rhabanus followed in the beaten track of his learned predecessors.³³ Also other scholars of the Carolingian empire took part in the educational concept of Charlemagne. Modoinus (ca. 770-840/43) praises in his *Ecloga ad Karolum* (Prologus Liber prior Liber posterior Epilogus) the emperor:

*Caesareis, Karolus sapiens, hec auribus hauri
Carmina, que nulla sunt peritura die,
Dum rapidis sol currit equis, vibramine terras
Inlustrat, gelidis dum mare fervet aquis,
Epistola Theodulfi ad Modoinum.*³⁴

In the *Rescriptum Modoini ad Theodulfum* it is mentioned that no one can play, speak or care about the art correctly without right:

*Modoinus indignus episcopus Theodulfo suo.
Ludere nemo potest versu sine lege polito,
Nempe loqui recte nec valet arte carens.
Sed prius accipiter nec temptat vivere in armis,
Quam instructus proprii hoc more parentis agat.*³⁵

Most of Rhabanus' works have been edited by Colvenerius in Cologne in 1627. His chief pedagogical works are *De universo*, a sort of encyclopaedia in 22 books, based on the Etymologies of Isidore, *De computo*, a treatise on reckoning and the *Excerptio de arte grammatica Prisciani*, a treatise on grammar. Other important works are *De ecclesiastics discipline*, sermons, treatises, a martyrology, and a penitential. The tradition of advising in rhetoric came traditionally from the relation father to son and later on developed into the broader relation of teacher and student, which was adapted by Alcuin. Later, Albertanus of Brescia writes in his treatise to the son entitled *loquendi et tacendi* six questions used as conditions for speech:

[...] *sed linguam nemo domare potest: ideo ego, Albertanus, brevem doctrinam*

³³ Raymund KOTTJE, Hrabanus Maurus – “Praeceptor Germaniae”?, in: Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters 31 (1975) Pp. 534-545.

³⁴ http://www.fh-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost09/Modoinus/mod_intr.html. [7.7.2004]

³⁵ http://www.fh-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost09/Modoinus/mod_resc.html. [7.7.2004]

Text in: MGH Poet. I, pp. 569-73 ed. Ernst DÜMMLER. 1881.

*super dicendo atque tacendo, uno versiculo comprehensam, tibi filio meo, Stephano, tradere curavi. Versiculus hic est: Quis, quid, cui dicas, cur, quomodo, quando, requiras.*³⁶

But the language no one can control: that is why I, Albertanus, made a concise teaching advice about speaking and silence only in one verse for you, my son, Stephanus. The little verse is the following: Who, What, to whom you speak, why, in which way, when is required.

In *De rerum naturis* (Book 5) Rhabanus describes the oration (*oratio*) in *De oratione et ieiunio*:

5.13 De simbolo

[14] *De oratione et ieiunio*

*Oratio petitio dicitur, nam orare est petere, sicut exorare in petrare. Constat autem oratio loco et tempore [...].*³⁷

About the symbol

About the oratio

The oratio is called a petition, because orare means to make a petition, just like 'exorare' in 'petrare'. But the place and time of the oratio are fixed.

Clement of Alexandria looked for meaning on four plains, the natural, the mystical, the moral, and the prophetic. The threefold sense as used by Origen included the allegorical, the tropological, and the analogical, to which Rhabanus Maurus also added the historical. The Pietistic method of interpretation is similar but the rules of grammar and the common meaning and usage of words are discarded and the eternal light of the spirit is held to be abiding and infallible Revealer. The problems start when interpreters have contradictory revelations because each person has no authority but himself, and his own subjective feeling or fancy is the end of the controversy.

Rhabanus speaks in the preface of *De rerum naturis* (preface 1) about the invention of the manifestation of history (*hystoriae*) and allegory (*allegoriae*): *Et sic satis facere quodammodo posset suo desiderio in quo et hystoriae et allegoriae inueniret manifestationem.*³⁸ Carl Joachim Classen already mentioned that Marurs in his *De*

³⁶ <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/albertanus/albertanus.arsloquendi.shtml>.

³⁷ *De rerum naturis*. Book 5. <http://www.mun.ca/rabanus/drn/5.html>. [7.7.2004]

³⁸ Cf.: <http://www.mun.ca/rabanus/drn/pref1.html>. [7.7.2004]

institutione clericorum took elements of Melanchthon's *De Rhetorica libri tres*. By the end of the 11th century, Western Europe had made some remarkable advances in a number of areas.³⁹ Many of the often-quoted statements about Charlemagne and literacy derive from the work of his contemporary biographer Einhard. This work is known to be defective in such matters as chronological detail, and presents an idealised portrait of the great man in the mode of classical writers describing Roman emperors. Rhabanus writes in his preface of *De rerum naturis* called *Domino excellentissimo et omni honore dignissimo Hludouuico regi* that nearly in every part of Europe Charlemagne is praised:

*Rhabanus uilissimus seruorum dei seruus aeterne beatitudinis in Christo optat salutem. Audita bona opinione uestra quae predicatur per totas prouincias Germaniae atque Galliae. Et pene in cunctis partibus Europae crebris laudibus intonant satis exulto, et domini misericordiam imploro quatinus hoc cum bono augmento ad salubrem finem peruenire concedat.*⁴⁰

Rhabanus' writings fall into various classes. Among those of an exegetical nature, the earliest is his commentary on Matthew written between 814 and 822. It is less an original work than a compilation, especially from Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory the Great. Commentaries followed on the other historical books of the Old Testament, with the exception of Ezra and Nehemiah, and including Maccabees. Then he explained Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. To a later period probably belong the commentaries on Proverbs, the Pauline epistles, and the Gospel of John. Of these there are yet unpublished Isaiah (a 12th-century manuscript in the possession of Erlangen University), Daniel and John (Munich Library).⁴¹ Burgess

³⁹ R. MCKITTERICK, ZIMPEL (ed.), Maurus Hrabanus, *De institutione clericorum libri tres*. Studien und Edition, in: *Journal of ecclesiastical history* 49/2 (1998) P. 343-370, P. 350ff.

⁴⁰ <http://www.mun.ca/rabanus/drn/pref1.html>. [7.7.2004]

⁴¹ Medieval Latin. The Latin Library. The Classics Homepage:

<http://www.ccel.org/s/schaff/encyc/encyc09/htm/iv.vii.htm>. [7.7.2004]

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Collection at University Oregon contains Rabanus Maurus' *Commentary on the Book of Numbers*.⁴²

Charlemagne in *Epistola de litteris colendis*, a work alternatively ascribed to Einhard, mentions parts of the rhetorical system.⁴³

*Quamobrem hortamur vos litterarum studia non solum non neglegere, verum etiam humillima et deo placita intentione ad hoc certatim discere, ut facilius et rectius divinarum scripturarum mysteria valeatis penetrare. cum enim in sacris paginibus scemata, pi et cetera his similia inserta inveniantur, nulli dubium, quod ea unusquisque legens tanto citius spiritualiter intelligit, quanto prius in litteraturae magisterio plenius instructus fuerit. tales vero ad hoc opus viri eligantur, qui et voluntatem et possibilitatem discendi et desiderium habeant alios instruendi. et hoc totum ea intentione agatur, qua devotione a nobis praecipitur.*⁴⁴

In the *Epistola de litteris colendis* the *docendi et discendi instantia* is mentioned:

[...] *ita quoque docendi et discendi instantia ordinet et ornet seriem verborum, ut, qui deo placere appetunt recte vivendo, ei etiam placere non neglegant recte loquendo. scriptum est enim: aut ex verbis tuis iustificaberis, aut ex verbis tuis condemnaberis (Matth. 12,37). quamvis enim melius sit bene facere quam nosse, prius tamen est nosse quam facere. debet ergo quisque discere, quod optat implere, ut tanto uberius, quid agere debeat, intellegat anima, quanto in omnipotentis dei laudibus sine mendaciorum offendiculis concurrerit lingua.*⁴⁵

Employing his pedagogical skills, Rhabanus systematized the ancient canon of education in schools, universities, and churches. In this basic educational system Rhabanus stands in the tradition of the later 'Praeceptores Germaniae', which used the ancient knowledge for the re-arrangement of the educational institutions. In this

des deutschen Schulwesens, in: Allgemeine deutsche Lehrerzeitung, zugleich Organ der allgemeinen deutschen Lehrerversammlungen und des Deutschen Lehrer-Pensionsverbandes 8 (1856) Pp. 105-106.

⁴² Special Collections: Burgess Manuscripts MS 9:

<http://libweb.uoregon.edu/speccoll/exhibits/burgess/ms9.html>. [7.7.2004]

⁴³ Luitpold WALLACH, Charlemagne's De litteris colendis and Alcuin. A Diplomatic-Historical Study, in: *Speculum. A Journal of Mediaeval Studies* 2 (1951) Pp. 288-311, P. 290ff.

⁴⁴ *Epistola de litteris colendis ad Baugulfum Fuldensem abbatem* Return to general survey of titles.

<http://www.fh-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost08/CarolusMagnus/karlepi.html>. [7.7.2004]

⁴⁵ Bibliotheca Augustana:

http://www.fh-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost08/CarolusMagnus/kar_epli.html. [7.7.2004]

ancient canon of education rhetoric took part as one of the elements of the trivium. Like later 'Praeceptores Germaniae' (Melanchthon, Heyne) the work of Rhabanus contains rhetorical writings in order to develop the educational program and the political intentions.

William of Ockham's *Dialogus* contains passages mentioning the authority of Rhabanus Maurus (pars 3, tr. 1, lib. 3, cap. 8-11):

Magister

*Ad illam quae in promissione Christi Matthaei ultimo est fundata respondetur quod Christus futurus est cum ecclesia universalis usque ad consummationem seculi, et ideo (ut dicit Rabanus, sicut allegatum est) "usque in finem seculi non sunt defuturi in mundo qui divina mansione et inhabitatione sunt digni"; ex quibus verbis Rabani colligitur quod dicta promissio Christi non debet intelligi de concilio generali, tum quia dicit "non sunt defuturi in mundo" et non dicit non sunt defuturi in concilio generali, tum quia raro concilium generale est in mundo, universalis autem ecclesia semper usque ad consummationem seculi erit in mundo. Ergo secundum Rabanum illa promissio Christi non de concilio generali sed de universalis ecclesia debet intellegi, ut pie et absque dubio sit tenendum semper Spiritum Sanctum adesse universalis ecclesiae. Sic etiam Hieronymus de universalis ecclesia intellegit cum dicit Christum nunquam a credentibus recessurum, quia semper erunt usque ad consummationem seculi aliqui Christo credentes, sive concilium generale sit sive non sit.*⁴⁶

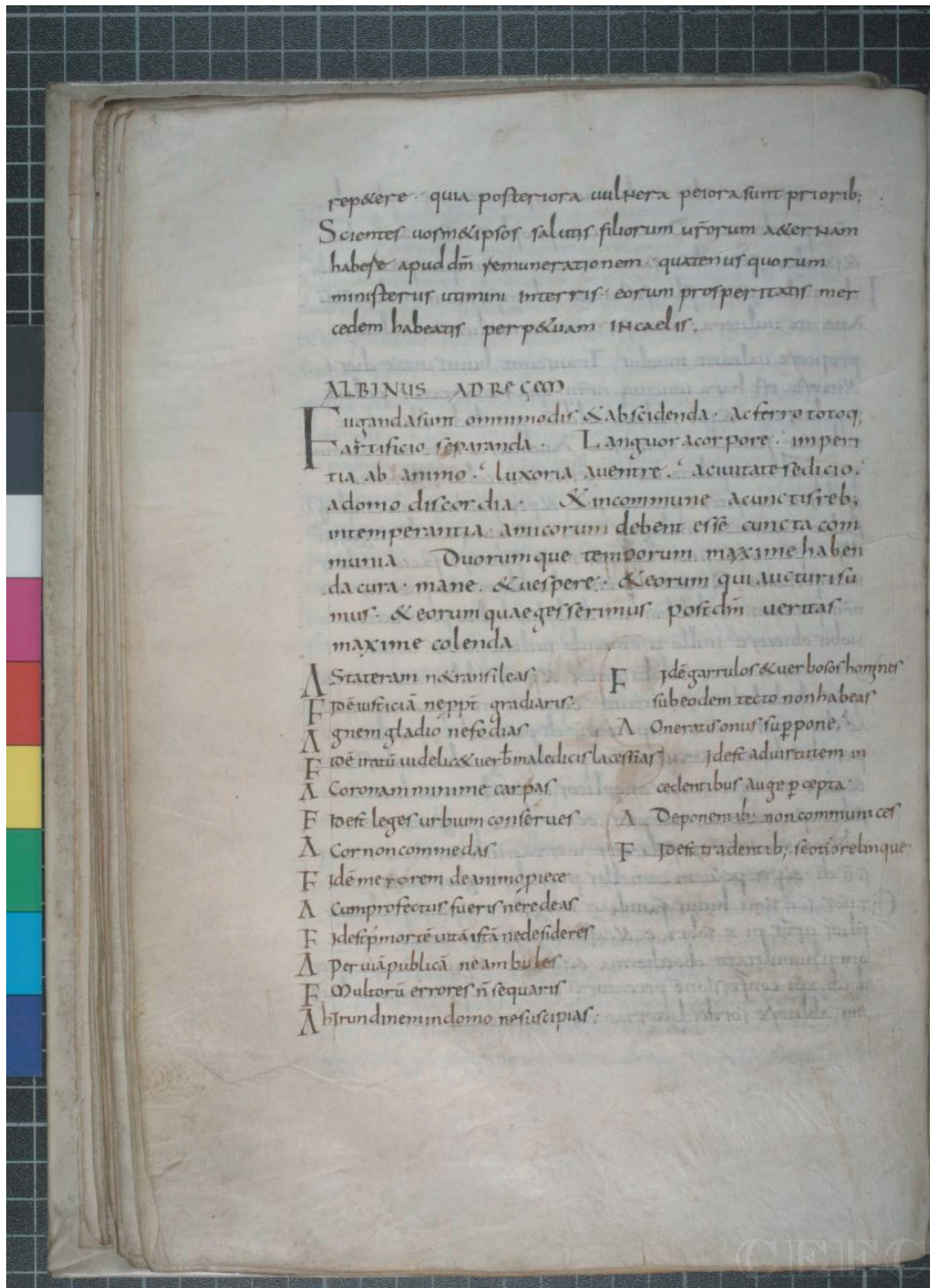
The tradition of rhetoric after ancient time brings changes into the use of the literary genre of the didactical dialogue. In general, authenticity is no longer a value and instead of this the literary genre is more concerned with the documentation of ancient knowledge. Alcuin's work shows how the speakers become *exempli* for good speaking and so also object of the *genus laudativum*. The ideal dialogue has the function of a political image propagating the wise emperor, which is of course an ancient philosophical topos. Plato's work is a paradigm for the dialogue as a form of didactical writing and Plato can claim to have founded this literary genre. The characters of Alcuin and Charlemagne are chosen *exempli* for the transmission of ancient knowledge. While the Platonic dialogues were also constructed in regard of the background and their disposition is chosen depending on the theme of each dialogue in terms of the speakers and the circumstances of the meeting, the dialogue between

⁴⁶ <http://www.humanities.mq.edu.au/Ockham/w31d3btx.html>. [7.7.2004]
William of Ockham, *Dialogus*, pars 3, tr. 1, lib. 3, cap. 8-11.

Alcuin and Charlemagne is purely an ideal dialogue for the transfer of knowledge. In ancient literature, the *Dialogus de oratoribus* written by Tacitus also has elements of circumstances and typical speech situation, so that the question of authenticity can arise. Desiderius Erasmus chooses in his works *Dialogus cui titulus ciceronianus sive de optimo dicendi genere* and *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione dialogus* the literary genre as method of teaching. In classical time the dialogue *De amicitia dialogus* written by Cicero represents his genre. Later representative works of this literary genre focusing on a didactical purpose are *De ludo globi* written by Nicolaus of Cues and the *Dialogue between a philosopher, a jew and a Christian* written by Peter Abailard. In the early enlightenment time Leibnitz's *Dialog zur Einführung in die Arithmetik und Algebra* follows the tradition of the didactical dialogue taken the subject of *De computo* written by Rhabanus Maurus and Isidore.

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Appendix



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