



**The Reception of Latin Grammar Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages:
Bede and Donatus**

**La recepción del conocimiento de la Gramática latina en la primera
Edad Media: Beda y Donato**

**A recepção do conhecimento da Gramática latina na Primeira Idade
Média: Beda e Donato**

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Abstract: The article treats the grammatical tradition of Late Antiquity and its reception in the early Middle Ages. Bede's rhetorical and grammatical works are analysed in the context of medieval school practice; the question of the extent to which Bede's texts depend on Aelius Donatus' *Ars grammatica* is considered; the parallels and differences between their texts are discussed.

Resumo: O artigo trata da tradição gramatical Tardo Antiga e sua recepção na Primeira Idade Média. Os trabalhos retóricos e gramaticais de Beda são analisados no contexto de práticas escolares medievais; a questão de quanto os textos de Beda dependem do *Ars Grammatica* de Aélío Donato é considerada; os paralelos e diferenças entre os textos são discutidos.

Keywords: Bede – Donatus – Grammatical knowledge – Tradition.

Palavras-chave: Beda – Donato – Conhecimento gramatical – Tradição.

ENVIADO: 12.11.2013

ACEITO: 14.12.2013

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Among the writings of a rhetorical and grammatical kind that Bede the Venerable wrote in 691-703 *De orthographia*,² *De arte metrica*³ and *De schematibus et tropis sacrae Scripturae* survive.⁴ Since the third mentioned work is a continuation of the second, they both are considered as one. They were studied by Ruby Davies (1933),⁵ Robert Palmer (1959),⁶ Ch. W. Jones (1975),⁷ Anna Carlota Dionisotti (1982),⁸ Calvin Kendall (1991)⁹ and Carin Ruff (2001)¹⁰ - to mention the most important scholarly works.¹¹ All of these writings were also translated into English: *De schematibus* by Tannenhaus (1973) and Kendall (1991), *De arte metrica* by Kendall (1991); the fragments of *De orthographia* by Ruff (2001).

The texts that served as the sources to Bede in his rhetorical and grammatical works are various. Mostly he uses the works of Latin grammarians of the fourth and fifth centuries, but also Ancient and Christian poetic works. Bede

² BEDE. 'Venerabilis Bedae Presbyteri Liber de orthographia' (henceforth BEDE. *De orthographia*). In: JONES, Ch. W. (ed.), *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* 123A: *Opera Didascalica*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1975 (henceforth *CCSL* 123A), pp. 7-57. See also MIGNE, J.-P. (ed.), *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*. Paris: Garnier, 1844-1865 (henceforth *PL*) 90, 123A-150D; KEIL, H. (ed.), *Grammatici Latini*, 7 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1855-1880, repr. Amsterdam, 1961 (henceforth *GL*), VII, p. 261-294. On the dubious authorship of this work, see GILES, J. A. 'Praefatio'. In: GILES, J. A. (ed.), *Venerabilis Bedae Opera quae supersunt Omnia*. 12 vols. London: Whittaker, 1843, VI, pp. i-ii.

³ BEDE. 'Liber primus de arte metrica' (henceforth BEDE. *De arte metrica*). In: KENDALL, C. B. and KING, M. H. (Eds.), *CCSL* 123A, pp. 81-141. See also *PL* 90, 149D-176A; *GL* VII, pp. 227-260.

⁴ BEDE. 'Liber secundus de schematibus et tropis' (henceforth BEDE. *De schematibus et tropis*). In: KENDALL, C. B. and KING, M. H. (Eds.), *CCSL* 123A, pp. 142-71. See also *PL* 90, 175A-186D.

⁵ DAVIES, Ruby. 'Bede's Early Reading'. *Speculum*, 8, 1933, pp.79-95.

⁶ PALMER, Robert, B., 'Bede as Textbook Writer: A Study of His *De arte metrica*'. *Speculum*, 34, 1959, pp.573-84.

⁷ JONES, C. W. 'Preface'. In: *CCSL* 123A, pp. v-xvi.; JONES, C. W. 'Introduction', In: *CCSL* 123A, pp. xvi-xxvi

⁸ DIONISOTTI, Anna Carlota. 'On Bede, Grammars and Greek'. In: *Revue Bénédictine*, 92, 1982, pp. 111-41

⁹ KENDALL, Calvin, B. 'Introduction'. In: BEDE. *Libri II. De arte metrica et De schematibus et tropis: The Art of Poetry and Rhetoric*, KENDALL, CALVIN B. (trans.). Bibliotheca Germanica, Ser. nova 2. Saarbrücken: AQ-Verlag, 1991, pp.59-171

¹⁰ RUFF, Carin. 'Bede's *De orthographia* (II. 2)'. In: 'The Hidden Curriculum: Syntax in Anglo-Saxon Latin Teaching'. PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 2001, pp.158-188

¹¹ See also DARBY, Peter. *Bede and the End of Time*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012, pp. 158-62.



willingly borrows from these authors and includes excerpts of various lengths in his own writings.¹² Sometimes he indicates his source, sometimes not.

He mentions by name Donatus (fourth century) and his commentators (Pompeius¹³ and Sergius¹⁴), Audax,¹⁵ Maximus Victorinus,¹⁶ Mallius Theodorus,¹⁷ and did not acknowledge his use of Servius,¹⁸ Charisius,¹⁹ Diomedes,²⁰ Aldhelm [639-709; *De metris*, *De pedum regulis*], and Quintilian [*Institutio oratoria*].²¹

Although Bede makes use of pagan grammatical texts, he at the same time is one of the outstanding developers of a Christian grammatical science.²² Bede legitimised the scriptural text as the learning tool for the education of the monks.²³ Rhetorical and grammatical devices are presented by Bede within a Christian perspective and for the purpose of Christian learning.

In our paper we confine ourselves only to one topic, that of the dependence of Bede's rhetorical and grammatical works on Donatus' *Ars grammatica*. From this point of view, we will make a brief survey of Bede's works and will try to see them against the background of the educational needs of early Middle Ages.

¹² *De arte metrica* 25: Quod tria sint genera poematos, *CCSL* 123A, p. 144, ll. 27-28. See also *PL* 90, 147D; *GL* VII, p. 260, ll. 3-5): 'ex antiquorum opusculis scriptorum excerpere curavi, et quae sparsim reperta ipse diuturno labore collegeram'. See also DAVIES. 'Bede's Early Reading', p. 184.

¹³ *Pompeii commentum Artis Donati*. In: *GL* V, pp.95-312.

¹⁴ Id est ps.-Cassiodorus. See *Sergii de littera de syllaba de pedibus de accentibus de distinctione commentaries*. In: *GL* IV, pp.475-85.

¹⁵ *Audacis Excerpta*. In: *GL* VII, pp.320-362.

¹⁶ [*Maximi Victorini*] *de finalibus metrorum*. In: *GL* VI, pp.229-242.

¹⁷ *Mallii Theodori Liber De metris*. In: *GL* VI, pp.585-601

¹⁸ There are a collection of notes on Donatus' *Ars grammatica*; a treatise on metrical endings in verse (*De finalibus*); and a treatise on the different poetic meters (*De centum metris*).

¹⁹ *Ex Charisii Arte grammatica excerpta*. In: *GL* I, pp.533-565; *Flavii Sosipatri Charisii Artis grammaticae libri V* [*Institutiones grammaticae*]. In: *GL* I, pp. 1-296.

²⁰ *Diomedis Artis grammaticae libri III*. In: *GL* I, pp.533-565

²¹ DAVIES. 'Bede's Early Reading', p. 184-88; PALMER. 'Bede as Textbook Writer', pp. 574-75.

²² AMSLER, Mark. *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1989, p. 183.

²³ JONES. 'Introduction', p. 2.



I

As might be expected the *De orthographia* is something between a spelling book and an explanatory dictionary: it discusses the Latin spelling rules, sometimes illustrating them with parallels from Greek or even Hebrew. All the dictionary entries of the work can be divided into several groups. In the first one, the spelling of a Latin word (and sometimes of its derivatives) is established; in the second, the meaning of the word is discussed and its usage is explained; in the third group Bede indicates a corresponding Greek lexeme for the Latin word; finally, in the fourth group Bede investigates the etymology of certain words.

Sometimes, one entry contains elements of different groups. For the convenience of his monastic readers, Bede arranged dictionary entries in alphabetical order.²⁴ The word list is preceded by an introductory section, which treats the Latin alphabet and the meaning of different letters:²⁵

A littera etiam nota praenominis est cum **Augustum** sola significat.²⁶

B propinqua est **p** litterae qua saepe mutatur, ut **supponit, opponit**.²⁷

C nota est praenominis cum **Caesarem**²⁸ significat; item numeri, cum **centum**.²⁹

D littera, propinqua est consonantibus his **c g l p r m t** quae³⁰ succedunt in locum eius, ut **accipere**,³¹ **aggere**,³² **alliga, appare, arripe, ammitte, attende**.

Nota praenominis cum **Decium** sola significat. Item numeri, cum **quingentos**.³³

²⁴ The alphabetical order was in use from the time of Antiquity. Cf. Verius Flaccus' (late first/beginning of the second centuries) work preserved in the abridged and revised paraphrase of Pompeius Festus' *De significatu verborum* (second century). In: DACERIUS, Andreas (ed.), *M. Verrii Flacci Quae extant et Sexti Pompeii Festi De verborum significatione libri XX*. London: A.J. Valpy, 1826, vols. 1-2.

²⁵ BEDE. *De orthographia*, p. 7. See also *PL* 90, 123A-124B; *GL* VII, p. 261, ll. 1-16. Russian translation of this fragment see BEDA DOSTOCHTIMYJ. 'O pravopisanii'. In: PETROVOJ, M. S. *Intellektual'nye tradicii v proshlom i nastojashchem (issledovanija i perevody)*. Moscow: IVI RAN, 2012, pp. 65-67.

²⁶ *Flavii Sosipatri Charisii Artis grammaticae*, I, p. 9, l. 3; Cf. *Diomedis Artis grammaticae*, II, p. 424, ll. 1-3; *Dosithei magistri Ars grammatical*. In: *GL* VII, p. 382, l. 11.

²⁷ *Diomedis Artis grammaticae*, II, p. 424, ll. 6-7; cf. *Dosithei magistri Ars grammatical*, p. 384, ll. 10-12; *Q. Terentii Scauri Liber de orthographia*. In: *GL* VII, (pp.3-35), p. 14, l. 3. Cf. BEDE. *De orthographia*, ll. 764, 1140 (Jones's reading).

²⁸ *PL* 90, 123B (Migne's reading).

²⁹ *Flavii Sosipatri Charisii Artis grammaticae*, I, p. 10, ll. 2-3; *Diomedis Artis grammaticae*, II, p. 424, ll. 8-9; cf. *Veli Longi de orthographia*. In: *GL* VII, (pp. 46-81), p. 53, l. 9; *Dosithei magistri Ars grammatical*, p. 384, ll. 13-15.

³⁰ Jones's reading. Cf.: 'quia hae succedunt'; Migne's reading.



L sola **Lucium** significat.³⁴

M sola **Marcum**.³⁵

N sola **Numerum**. Praeposita **G Gneum**.³⁶

P sola **Publium**, et cum **R** **populum Romanum**; et subiecta **R rem publicam**;
et praeposita **C** litterae,³⁷ **patres conscripti**, siue **post consulatum**.³⁸

Q littera etiam nota est praenominis, cum **Quintum** sola significat; item honoris
cum **quaestorem**; **populum**³⁹ cum **Quirites**.⁴⁰

T nota est praenominis cum **Titum** sola significat.⁴¹

V adiuncta **C**, cum uirga iacente superposita, **uir clarissimus**. **V** geminata, cum
uirga iacente superposita, **uerbi gratia**. **V** geminata cum **C** duplice <**VVCC**⁴²>,
uiri clarissimi.

Letter **A** is a sign referring to a personal name when – placed separately – it
stands for ‘**August**’.

Letter **B** is similar to letter **p** and thus it often changes as in the words **supponit**,
opponit.

Letter **C** is a sign referring to a personal name when it stands for ‘**Caesar**’, and
to a number when it stands for ‘**centum**’ (one hundred).

Letter **D** is similar to such consonants as **c g l p r m t**, which takes its place, as
in the words **accipere**, **aggere**, **alliga**, **appare**, **arripe**, **ammitte**, **attende**.

Letter **D** is a sign referring to a personal name when - placed separately - it
stands for ‘**Decius**’, and to a number, when it stands for **quingenti** (five
hundred).

Letter **L** placed separately it stands for ‘**Lucius**’.

³¹ Cf. Migne’s reading: ‘accipe’.

³² Cf. Migne’s reading: ‘aggrega’.

³³ *Flavii Sosipatri Charisii Artis grammaticae*, I, iii, p. 10, ll. 3-7; cf. p. 112, ll. 8-10; *Diomedis Artis grammaticae*, II, p. 424, ll. 9-13; *Dosithei magistri Ars grammatica*, p. 384, l. 15; p. 385, l. 3.

³⁴ *Flavii Sosipatri Charisii Artis grammaticae*, I, iii, p. 9, ll. 13-14; *Diomedis Artis grammaticae*, II, p. 425, l. 5; *Dosithei magistri Ars grammatica*, p. 383, ll. 7-8; cf. *Q. Terentii Scauri Liber de orthographia*, p. 445, l. 13.

³⁵ *Flavii Sosipatri Charisii Artis grammaticae*, I, iii, p. 9, l. 16; *Diomedis Artis grammaticae*, II, p. 425, l. 9; *Dosithei magistri Ars grammatica*, p. 383, l. 11.

³⁶ *Diomedis Artis grammaticae*, II, p. 425, ll. 12-13; *Dosithei magistri Ars grammatica*, p. 383, l. 14.

³⁷ Cf. Migne’s reading: ‘et praeposita C, P. C. patres conscripti, sive post consulatum’.

³⁸ *Flavii Sosipatri Charisii Artis grammaticae*, I, iii, p. 10, ll. 16-18, cf. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE. *Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum libri XX*. In: *PL* 82 (henceforth ISIDORE. *Etymologiae*), I, 23. 1.

³⁹ Cf. Migne’s reading: ‘populi’.

⁴⁰ *Flavii Sosipatri Charisii Artis grammaticae*, I, iii, p. 10, l. 18; p. 11, l. 2; *Diomedis Artis grammaticae*, II, p. 425, ll. 20-22; *Dosithei magistri Ars grammatica*, p. 385, l. 14; p. 386, l. 2.

⁴¹ *Flavii Sosipatri Charisii Artis grammaticae*, I, iii, p. 11, l. 4; *Diomedis Artis grammaticae*, II, p. 425, ll. 29-30; *Dosithei magistri Ars grammatica*, p. 386, l. 5.

⁴² Migne’s reading.



Letter **M** placed separately stands for '**Marcus**'.

Letter **N** placed separately stands for '**numerus**' (number). When **G** precedes it, they signify '**Gnaeus**'.

Letter **P** placed separately stands for '**Publius**'; while together with letter **R** it stands for '**populus Romanus**' (the people of Rome); and placed before letter **C** it stands for '**patres conscripti**' (members of the Roman Senate) or '**post consulatum**' (after consulship).

Letter **Q** is a sign referring to a personal name when, placed separately, it stands for '**Quintus**'; it also refers to a rank, when used for the word '**quaestor**', and to the '**populus**' when placed together with the word '**Quirites**'.

Letter **T** is a sign referring to a personal name when, placed separately, it stands for '**Titus**'.

Letter **V**, when **C** is joined and a line is stretched above, stands for '**vir clarissimus**'. Double **V**, when a line is stretched above, stands for '**verbi gratia**'.

Double **V** with double **C** stands for '**virī clarissimi**'.

Donatus' *Ars grammatica* also contains a section dedicated to letters (it is named *De littera*). However, in contrast with Bede, Donatus divides letters into different types and categories (vowels, semivowels, mutes etc.), discusses their compatibility and combinations following the models established by the grammarians of his time:⁴³

Littera est pars minima uocis articulatae. Litterarum aliae sunt uocales, aliae consonantes. Consonantium aliae sunt semiuocales, aliae mutae. Vocales sunt, quae per se proferuntur et per se syllabam faciunt. Sunt autem numero quinque a e i o u. Harum duae, i et u, transeunt in consonantium potestatem, cum aut ipsae inter se geminantur aut cum aliis uocalibus iunguntur, ut Iuno, uates. Hae etiam mediae dicuntur, quia in quibusdam dictionibus expressum sonum non habent, i, ut uir, u ut optumus. Extra quam formam u littera interdum nec uocalis nec consonans habetur, cum inter q litteram consonantem et aliquam uocalem constituitur, ut quoniam, quidem. Huic item digammon adscribi solet, cum sibi ipsa praeponitur, ut seruus, uulgus. Nam i litteram geminari in una syllaba <posse> plurimi negant. Latinae uocales omnes et produci et corripī possunt. Atque his solis adspirari quidam existimant. Semiuocales sunt, quae per se quidem proferuntur, sed per se syllabam non faciunt. Sunt autem numero septem, f l m n r s x. Ex his una duplex est, x, et liquidae quattuor, l m n r, ex

⁴³ See DONATUS. 'Ars Donati grammatici urbis Romae'. In: HOLTZ, L. (ed.), *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical, étude sur l'Ars Donati et sa diffusion (IVe-IXe siècle)*. Paris: CNRS, 1981, (pp.585-674), pp. 603-05. See also DONATUS. 'Donati Ars Grammatica'. In: *GL IV*, (pp.367-402), pp. 367-68. All references henceforth DONATUS. *Ars grammatica*. For the Russian translation of this fragment see DONATUS. *Nauka grammatiki (O bukvah. O chastjab rechī. Ob imeni)*. per. s lat. i primech. M.S. PETROVOJ, *Dialog so vremenem*, 34, 2011, pp. 313-14 (henceforth DONATUS, *Nauka grammatiki*).



quibus l et r faciunt communem syllabam, et s littera suae cuiusdam potestatis est, quae in metro plerumque uim consonantis amittit. Item ex illis f littera superponitur liquidus l uel r, quem ad modum muta quaelibet, et communem syllabam facit. Mutae sunt, quae nec per se proferuntur nec per se syllabam faciunt. Sunt autem numero nouem, b c d g h k p q t. Ex his superuacuae quibusdam uidentur k et q; qui nesciunt, quotiens a sequitur, k litteram praeponendum esse, non c; quotiens u sequitur, per q, non per c, scribendum. H interdum consonans interdum adspirationis creditur nota. Y et z remanent, quas litteras propter Graeca nomina admisimus: altera namque uocalis, altera est consonans duplex. Vnde fit, ut quidam putant, Latinas litteras non plures esse quam decem et septem, si quidem ex uiginti et tribus una adspirationis nota est, una duplex, duae superuacuae, duae Graecae. Accidunt uni cuique litterae tria, nomen, figura, potestas. Quaeritur enim, quid uocetur littera, qua figura sit, quid posit.

The letter is the smallest part of articulate voice. Some letters are vowels, some - consonants. Some of the consonants are semivowels, some are mutes. The vowels are those that are pronounced by themselves and [combining together] produce a syllable. They are five in number: a, e, i, o, u. Two of these [letters] - i and u - may fall under the influence of consonants, when they are either connected to each other or combined with other vowels, as in *Iuno, uates*. The same letters are called intermediate, because they do not have a clear sound in some words, for example, letter 'l' in the word *uir*, letter 'u' in the word *optumus*. In addition to this form (formam), sometimes the letter 'u' is considered neither vowel nor consonant, when it is placed between the consonant 'q' and any vowel, as in the words *quoniam, quidem*. To this, the digamma is usually attached, when it precedes itself as in *seruus, uulgus*. But many do not agree that 'l' can be double in one syllable. All Latin vowels can be long and short. And some think that only these are pronounced with aspiration. Semi-vocals are the letters, which, although pronounced by themselves, however, do not produce by themselves a syllable. They are seven in number: f, l, m, n, r, s, x. One of them is a double, it is 'x', and four are liquid: l, m, n, r, of which the letters 'l' and 'r' produce common syllable, and the letter 's' has its own special quality; in verse, in most cases, it loses the property of a consonant letter. Also, of those letters only letter 'f' is placed before liquid letters 'l' or 'r', although it is considered in the same way mute, and moreover, it produces a common syllable. Mute are the letters, which neither are pronounced by themselves nor produce by themselves a syllable. They are nine in number: b, c, d, g, h, k, p, q, t. Of these, the letters 'k' and 'q' are considered to be redundant by some, who do not know that each time they are followed by letter 'a', one should use 'k' and not 'c', and each time they are followed by 'u', one should write 'q', and not 'c'. The letter 'h' sometimes is believed to be a consonant, sometimes a sign of aspiration. The letters 'y' and 'z' remain from the Greek, we preserve their own Greek names for these letters: since one of them is a vowel, and the other is a double consonant. It



follows, as some believe, that Latin letters are not more than seventeen, since one of the twenty-three is a sign of aspiration, one is a double, two are redundant, and two are Greek ones. Each letter has three attributes: name, shape, and property. For it can be asked in application to a letter what is its name, what is its shape, what it affects.

Bede does not follow Donatus here, as he does not follow him in further discussion, which explains difficult or rare Latin words. Bede frequently accompanies his words with etymological arguments (*ratio etymologiae*), making use of words from the three sacred languages (*tres linguae sacrae*⁴⁴) - Latin, Greek and Hebrew:⁴⁵

PLATEA similiter in utraque lingua unum idemque significat; sed ut etymologiae ratio probat, a graeca origine nomen tractum atque a latitudine deriuatum, quoniam graece *πλατύ* dicitur latum.

PLATEA means one and the same thing in both languages; but as the proof by *etymologia* demonstrates, the noun flows from a Greek origin and derives from *latitudo*, because in Greek *latum* is called *platu*.⁴⁶

It is obvious that the goals of Bede and Donatus are different: Bede designed his work for the use of those who read Christian texts in monasteries and for the scribes who could consult it in the process of copying and correcting the religious texts.⁴⁷

Besides, Bede enlists common word-groups and phrases, making use of short explanatory formulas like 'dicitur id est'. This method (accepted by many medieval authors,⁴⁸ commentators and glossators) is reminiscent of that of

⁴⁴ AMSLER. *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse*, pp. 109, 185. Already very early Christians considered Hebrew, Greek and Latin to be sacred languages because of their special role in the history of salvation. The idea which forms the basis of Bede's theory of translation (*translatio*) is presented in his account of Pope Gregory's sending missionaries to the Anglo-Saxons, see BEDE. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, COLGRAVE, B. and MYNORS, R. A. B. (eds.). Oxford: Clarendon, 1969, II. 1.

⁴⁵ BEDE. *De orthographia*, p. 39, l. 809; p. 40, l. 812. See also *PL* 90, 141BC; *GL* VII, p. 282, l. 31; p. 283, l. 2.

⁴⁶ Trans. in: AMSLER. *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse*, p. 185.

⁴⁷ IRVINE, M. 'Bede the Grammarian and the Scope of Grammatical Studies in Eighth century Northumbria', *ASE*, 15 (1986), pp.31-32; AMSLER. *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse*, p. 185.

⁴⁸ For example, in Jerome and Augustine. See AMSLER. *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse*, pp. 100-18; 185.



Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologies*. This can be proved by number of lexical parallels present in their works. We can compare these texts.

ISIDORE, *Etymologiae*, I. 27⁴⁹

4 (101B). **DEUS** per e solam; **DAEMON** per ae diphthongum est notandus.

Deus ('God') is written with an E alone, but daemon ('demon') should be marked by the diphthong AE.

5 (101C). **EQUUS**, quod est animal, per e scribendus. **AEQUUS**, quod est justus, per ae diphthongon est scribendus.

Equus ('horse'), which is the animal, should be written with E alone, but aequus, which means 'just', should be written with the diphthong AE.

8 (102A). **FEDUS**, quod est deformis, per e solam scribendum; **FOEDUS**, quod est pactum, cum oe diphthongo scribendum.

'Fedus', that is 'deformed', should be written with an E alone; 'foedus', that is 'pact', should be written with the diphthong OE.

9 (102A). **FORMOSUS** sine n scribitur quia a *formo*, id est, *calido*; calor namque sanguinis efficit pulchritudinem.

'Formosus' ('beautiful') is written without an N (i.e. not formonsus), because it is so called from 'forma' ('beauty'), [or from formus, that is, 'warm'; for warmth of blood produces beauty].

BEDE, *De orthographia*⁵⁰

(p. 20, v. 324) **DAEMON** per diphthongon notandus; **DEUS** per e solam.

'Daemon' (demon) should be marked by the diphthong AE.

(p. 23, vv. 401-403) **EQUO** sedeo datiuo casu et ablatiuo sine praepositione dicendum; et **EQUUM** sedeo accusatiuo; et in **EQUO** et super **EQUUM** similiter.

'I sit *equo*' ('on the horse') should be put in the dative and ablative case without preposition; and 'I sit *equum*' ('on the horse') in the accusative case; and similarly 'in *equo*' and 'super *equum*'.

(p. 25, v. 440-441) **FEDUS**, quod est deformis, per e solam scribendum; **FOEDUS**, quod est pactum, cum oe diphthongon <scribendum>.⁵¹

'Fedus', that is 'deformed', should be written with an E alone; 'foedus', that is 'pact', should be written with the diphthong OE.

(p. 25, v. 442) **FORMOSUS** sine n, sicut speciosus.

'Formosus' ('beautiful') is written without an N (i.e. not formonsus) as 'speciosus' ('good-looking').

⁴⁹ PL 82, I. 27; ISIDORE OF SEVILLE. *The Etymologies*, BARNEY, S. A. et al (trans.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, p.52

⁵⁰ CCSL 123A. See also BEDE. *De orthographia*; PL 90, 131A-133C. See also GL VII, pp. 270-273.

⁵¹ Add. Migne (ad loc.).



II

In the *De arte metrica* – another grammatical work of Bede – the art of versification is under consideration. The text begins with an introduction dedicated to letters. It includes the list of vowels and consonants, semivowels and mutes as well as the discussion on correspondence between some Latin and Greek letters (which already Donatus' had done).

Then follows the main section of the work which breaks into three sections which deal with syllables and their species (namely, the common, the short, and the long; then the short that can turn into the long etc.), it treats verses and metres and points out the best forms of verse (with examples from Sedulius, Arator, Venantius Fortunatus, Prosperus and others). Its contents may be described as follows:

[Preface:⁵²]

(1). De littera (The Letter⁵³).

[First Part:⁵⁴]

I. (2). De syllaba (The Syllable).

I. 1 (3). De communibus syllabis (Common Syllables).

I. 2 (4). De primis syllabis (Initial Syllables).

I. 3 (5). De mediis syllabis (Medial Syllables).

I. 4 (6). De ultimis syllabis nominum, pronominum, et participiorum (The Final Syllables of Nouns, Pronouns, and Participles).

I. 5 (7). De ultimis syllabis uerborum et aduerbiorum (The Final Syllables of Verbs and Adverbs).

I. 6. (8). De regulis syllabarum⁵⁵ coniunctionum, praepositionum, interiectionum (The Final Syllables of Conjunctions, Prepositions, and Interjections).

⁵² BEDE. *De arte metrica* 1, PL 90, 149D-152A; GL VII, p. 227, l. 15; p. 229, l. 10; CCSL 123A, p. 81.

⁵³ English titles are trans. by KENDALL. In: BEDE. *Libri II. De arte metrica et De schematibus et tropis*.

⁵⁴ BEDE. *De arte metrica* 2; 8, PL 90, 152A-161C; GL VII, p. 229, l. 11; p. 241, l. 13; CCSL 123A, p. 86-107.

⁵⁵ Cf. MIGNE (ad loc.): De ultimis syllabis conjunctionum, praepositionum, et enteriectionum.



[Second Part⁵⁶]

II. (9). De pedibus (Metrical Feet).

II. 1 (10). De metro dactylico exámetro uel pentámetro (The Dactylic Hexameter and Pentameter).

II. 2 (11). Quae sit optima carminis forma (The Best Kind of Dactylic Verse).

II. 3 (12). De scansionibus uel caesuris heroici uersus⁵⁷ (The Scansions and Caesuras of Heroic Verse).

II. 4 (13). De synalipha (Elision).

II. 5 (14). De episyralipha uel dieresi (Fusion and Redolusion).

II. 6 (15). Quod et auctoritas saepe et necessitas metricorum decreta uiolent
(Concerning the Fact that the Rules of the Prosodists are often broken
both by Authority and from Necessity).

II. 7 (16). Vt prisci poetae quaedam aliter quam moderni posuerunt⁵⁸
(Prosodic Differences Between Ancient and Modern Poets).

II. 8 (17). De metro Phalaeucio (The Phalaecean Metre).

II. 9 (18). De metro Saphico (The Sapphic Strophe).

II. 10 (19). De metro tetrametro catalectico (The Dactylic Tetrameter
Catalectic).

II. 11 (20). De metro iambico exámetro (The Iambic Senarius).

II. 12 (21). De metro iambico tetrametro (The Iambic Tetrameter).

II. 13 (22). De metro Anacreontio (The Anacreontic Meter).

II. 14 (23). De metro trochaico tetrametro⁵⁹ (The Septenarius).

[Third Part⁶⁰:]

III (24). De rithmo (Rhythmic Verse).

[Conclusion⁶¹:]

(25). Quod tria sint genera poematos⁶² (The Three Genres of Poetry).

Bede refers to Donatus **five** times in the *De arte metrica*. The first reference occurs in the discussion on letters ‘i’ and ‘u’. Confer:⁶³

⁵⁶ BEDE. *De arte metrica* 9; 23, PL 90, 161C-173C; GL VII, p. 241, l. 14; p. 258, l. 17; CCSL 123A, p. 107-137.

⁵⁷ Cf. Migne (ad loc.): De scansionibus sive caesuris uersus heroici.

⁵⁸ Migne (ad loc.): proposuerint.

⁵⁹ Cf. Migne (ad loc.): De metro trochaico.

⁶⁰ BEDE. *De arte metrica* 24, PL 90, 173C-174C; GL VII, p. 258, l. 18; p. 259, l. 12; CCSL 123A, p. 138-139.

⁶¹ *Ibidem* 25, PL 90, 174C-176C; GL VII, p. 259, l. 13; p. 260, l. 11; CCSL 123A, p. 139-141.

⁶² Cf. Migne (ad loc): Quod tria sunt genera poematis.

⁶³ Hereafter exact textual parallels between the texts are highlighted in bold; lexical discrepancies which do not affect the meaning are put in italic; the change in word order is underlined.



BEDE, *De arte metrica*. (1.) De litteris⁶⁴

Itaque omnes litterae quibus utimur sunt XX et VII,⁶⁶ uocales videlicet VIII,⁶⁷ A E I O V H Y Ω ⁶⁸ et consonantes undeiginti. Sed *et ipsis*⁶⁹ uocalibus **I et V** plerumque **in consonantium potestatem transeunt, cum aut ipsae inter se geminantur, ut iumentum, uinum, aut cum aliis uocalibus iunguntur, ut ianua, iecur, iocus, uanitas, ueritas, uolatus. V quoque nonnunquam sibi ipsa praeponitur, ut uultus; sed et alterum consonantis locum tenet, cum uel Latine au<a>rum uel euangelium Graece nominamus. Mirum autem quare dixerit Donatus *eam interdum nec uocalem nec consonantem haberi, cum inter Q litteram consonantem et alteram uocalem constituitur, ut quoniam, quidem...*** –

DONATUS, *Ars grammatica*. De littera⁶⁵ *Harum* duae, **i et u, transeunt in consonantium potestatem, cum aut ipsae inter se geminantur aut cum aliis uocalibus iunguntur, ut Iuno, uates. Hae etiam mediae dicuntur, quia in quibusdam dictionibus expressum sonum non habent, i ut uir, u ut optumus. Extra quam formam *u littera interdum nec uocalis nec consonans habetur, cum inter q litteram consonantem et aliquam uocalem constituitur, ut quoniam, quidem...***⁷¹

–

– see our translation *above*

And so we use twenty-seven letters in all – namely, eight vowels, A, E, I, O, U, eta, Y, and omega, and nineteen consonants. But the vowels I and U frequently take on the value of consonants, either when they are paired with each other: as, iumentum, vinum; or when they are joined with other vowels: as, ianua, iecur, iocus, and uanitas, ueritas, uolatus. Sometimes U precedes itself: as, uultus. It can also act as a consonant following a vowel, as when we pronounce the Latin word avarus or the Greek word euangelium. It is a puzzle why Donatus said that U is considered neither a vowel nor a

⁶⁴ CCSL 123A, p. 83, v. 26-p. 84, v. 38. See also BEDE. *De arte metrica*, GL VII, p. 227, l. 15; p. 229, l. 10; PL 90, 151BC.

⁶⁵ DONATUS. *Ars grammatica*, HOLTZ (ed.), p. 604, ll. 1-5. See also GL IV, p. 367, ll. 13-18.

⁶⁶ MIGNE (ad loc.): viginti et septem.

⁶⁷ MIGNE (ad loc.): octo.

⁶⁸ MIGNE (ad loc.) – omittent.

⁶⁹ MIGNE (ad loc.): de his.



consonant when it is found between the
consonant Q and another vowel: as
quoniam, quidem.⁷⁰

The presence of lexical parallels reveals Bede's direct knowledge of Donatus' work. However, sometimes Bede does not agree with Donatus: for instance, discussing the meaning of letter *v*,⁷² Bede expresses surprise at Donatus explanation and insists on his own opinion.

In general, Donatus talks of 23 letters (including so called extra letters, an aspirate, Greek letters and diphthongs) and Bede discusses 27 because he does not only follow Donatus but in this case prefers other grammarians as well (including Pompeius and Sergius, whose names are mentioned in the same fragment).

But in the opening section (*De arte metrica* 1) Bede spoke of 21 letters:⁷³

Sunt autem Latinae litterae omnes XXI, e quibus quinque vocales appellantur, a e i o u, ceterae omnes consonantes. At de isdem consonantibus septem dicuntur semivocales, f l m n r s x, ceterae novem mutae, b c d g h k p q t.

The Latin alphabet consists of twenty-one letters, of which five, A, E, I, O, and U, are called vowels, and the rest, consonants. The consonants are divided into seven semivocales, F, L, M, N, R, S, and X, and mutes, B, C, D, G, H, K, P, Q, and T.⁷⁴

Here again, speaking of 21 letters Bede follows not Donatus but rather Diomedes, who discussed 21 Latin letters and 2 Greek ones - *y* and *z*,⁷⁵ although elsewhere Diomedes had not separated these 2 from the others and counted 23 total.⁷⁶

⁷¹ For the Russian translation see DONATUS, *Nauka grammatiki*, pp. 313-14.

⁷⁰ Trans. by KENDALL. In: BEDE. *Libri II. De arte metrica et De schematibus et tropis*, p. 39.

⁷² ISIDORE discusses this at length in the *Etymologiae*, I. 4. 5-8.

⁷³ BEDE. *De arte metrica* 1: De littera, *PL* 90, 150D-151A (see also *CCSL* 123A, p. 82, l. 4; *GL* VII, p. 227, ll. 17-20).

⁷⁴ Trans. by KENDALL. In: BEDE. *Libri II. De arte metrica et De schematibus et tropis*, p. 37.

⁷⁵ See *Diomedis Artis grammaticae libri III* II: De littera, *GL* I, p. 421, l. 34.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 421, l. 20.



We may point out that the opinion that Latin alphabet consists of 21 letters was expressed in an anonymous treatise, that was probably composed by Maximus Victorinus,⁷⁷ and also in the work of Audax.⁷⁸

Audax (without mentioning the total number of letters) wrote of 5 vowels, 7 semivowels and 9 mutes which make 21 letters. And Donatus follows another tradition, which speaks either 17 or 23 letters,⁷⁹ although in the beginning of his work he spoke of 5 vowels, 7 semivowels and 9 mutes.⁸⁰

It should be mentioned that Sergius and Pompeius did not discuss letters h, k, q, x, y, z, although both grammarians followed Donatus when they spoke of 23 letters; referring to ancient authors Pompeius also points out that they had spoken of 16 letters: ‘apud maiores nostros’.⁸¹

When Bede speaks on the number of letters he probably follows not Donatus but *De finalibus metrorum* (possibly written by Maximus Victorinus).⁸²

Bede refers to Donatus twice in the section dedicated to common syllables. There Bede uses such expressions as ‘Unde bene Donatus [...] dixit’ and ‘ut Donatus ait’; besides he directly quotes Donatus’ text (*Ars grammatica* [*Ars maior*]).

| | |
|--|---|
| BEDE, <i>De arte metrica</i> . (3.) De communibus syllabis ⁸³ | DONATUS, <i>Ars grammatica</i> : De littera ⁸⁴ |
| Vnde bene Donatus, cum de <i>liquentibus</i> litteris loqueretur, dixit specialiter de hac, ⁸⁵ ‘ S litterae suae cuiusdam potestatis est, quae in metris plerumque uim consonantis amittit’. | ...et s littera suae cuiusdam potestatis est, quae in metro plerumque uim consonantis amittit. ⁸⁷ |

⁷⁷ See [*Maximi Victorini*] *de finalibus metrorum*, GL VI, p. 229, ll. 5-8.

⁷⁸ See *Audacis Excerpta*. De littera, GL VII, p. 325, ll. 18-326.

⁷⁹ See DONATUS, *Ars grammatica*, GL IV, p. 368, ll. 12-14.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, GL IV, p. 367, ll. 11-12; p. 368, ll. 1-2, 6-7.

⁸¹ See *Pompeii commentum Artis Donati*, p. 98, ll. 20-21.

⁸² On the influence of this treatise on Bede see PALMER. ‘Bede as Textbook Writer’, pp. 577, 581.

⁸³ CCL 123A, p. 90, ll. 48-51. See also BEDE. *De arte metrica*, PL 90, 154A; GL VII, p. 231, ll. 27-29.

⁸⁴ DONATUS. *Ars grammatica*, HOLTZ (ed.), p. 604, ll. 12-13. See also GL IV, p. 368, ll. 2-3.

⁸⁵ MIGNE (ad loc.) – ...h...



Hence, Donatus, speaking of the liquids, remarked appropriately of this letter, ‘and the letter S, which frequently loses consonant force in poetry, has a property of its own’.⁸⁶

BEDE, *De arte metrica*. (3.) De communibus syllabis⁸⁸
Sextus modus est, ut Donatus ait, **cum producta uocalis est uocali altera consequente.**

DONATUS, *Ars grammatica*: De syllaba⁸⁹

...aut **cum producta uocalis est uocali altera consequente.**

The sixth kind of common syllable occurs, as Donatus says, when a long vowel is followed by another vowel.⁹⁰

All these references testify that Bede held the Roman grammarian in high esteem, as did many other medieval authors. In the section dedicated to verses and meters Bede writes:⁹¹

de quibus in Donato plenissime quisque⁹² uelit inueniet. Sed nos in praesenti opusculo disyllabos et trisyllabos tantum meminisse sufficiat.

Anyone who wishes will find a very full treatment of them all in Donatus.⁹³

The second reference to Donatus occurs at the end of the treatise, in the section dedicated to *synalepha* (or rather *synaeresis* which describes a phonological process of sound change in which two adjacent vowels within a word are pronounced as a diphthong) or *diaeresis* (the separate

⁸⁷ For the Russian translation of this fragment, see DONATUS. *Nauka grammatiki*, pp. 313-14.

⁸⁶ Trans. by KENDALL. In: BEDE. *Libri II. De arte metrica et De schematibus et tropis*, p. 51.

⁸⁸ CCSL 123A, p. 91, ll. 76-77. See also BEDE. *De arte metrica*, PL 90, 154C; GL VII, p. 232, ll. 16-17.

⁸⁹ DONATUS. *Ars grammatica*, HOLTZ (ed.), p. 606, l. 13; p. 607, l. 1. See also GL IV, p. 369, ll. 9-10.

⁹⁰ Trans. by KENDALL. In: BEDE. *Libri II. De arte metrica et De schematibus et tropis*, p. 53.

⁹¹ See BEDE. *De arte metrica* 9: De pedibus, CCSL 123, p. 107, ll. 8-11; PL 90, 161D; GL VII, p. 242, ll. 20-21.

⁹² MIGNE (ad loc.) – ...quisquis...

⁹³ Trans. by KENDALL. In: BEDE. *Libri II. De arte metrica et De schematibus et tropis*, p. 93.



pronunciation of the two vowels in a diphthong for the sake of meter). Here Bede explains:⁹⁴

Sed et hoc commemorandum, quia, cum nomina quae in IVS uel in IVM terminantur duo I in genetiuo habere debeant casu duarum aequae syllabarum, metrici nonnumquam in eodem genetiuo casu unam syllabam ponunt pro duabus, uel ablata uidelicet una I de duabus uel ambabus in unam syllabam geminatis, quamuis id fieri posse, Donato teste, plurimi negent.

It should also be observed that, although nouns which end in IUS or in IUM ought to have two I's in the genitive singular so that the genitive has the same number of syllables as the nominative, poets sometimes put one syllable in place of two in the genitive, either, that is to say, with one of the two I's removed or with both fused into a single syllable, although many grammarians, as Donatus points out, deny that this can be done.⁹⁵

There are other passages in Bede's text that are influenced by Donatus but the borrowings from Donatus are not acknowledged. Here are some parallels:

| | |
|--|---|
| BEDE, <i>De arte metrica</i> . (1.) De littera ⁹⁶ | DONATUS, <i>Ars grammatica</i> . De littera ⁹⁷ |
| Sunt et liquentes litterae quattuor, L M N R , quae diuerso quidem modo, sed certa ratione, plerumque in metro solitam consonantium uim amittere solent; nonnumquam natura breues syllabas inueniuntur reddere longas. — | ...et liquidae quattuor, l m n r , ex quibus l et r faciunt communem syllabam, et s littera suae cuiusdam potestatis est, quae in metro plerumque uim consonantis amittit . ⁹⁹ |

In contrast, but still according to a definite rule, the four liquids, L, M, N, and R, in poetry often lose the usual power of consonants to lengthen syllables which are short by nature, although sometimes we find that they do lengthen them'.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ BEDE. *De arte metrica* 14: De episynalepha, vel diaeresi, *CCSL* 123A, p. 126, ll. 80-86; *PL* 90, 168D; *GL* VII, p. 251, ll. 1-5.

⁹⁵ Trans. by KENDALL. In: BEDE. *Libri II. De arte metrica et De schematibus et tropis*, pp. 129, 131.

⁹⁶ *CCSL* 123A, p. 85, ll. 56-60. See also *PL* 90, 152A; *GL* VII, p. 229, ll. 8-10.

⁹⁷ DONATUS. *Ars grammatica*, HOLTZ (ed.), p. 604, ll. 11-13. See also *GL* IV, p. 368, ll. 1-2.

⁹⁸ Trans. by KENDALL. In: BEDE. *Libri II. De arte metrica et De schematibus et tropis*, p. 41.



Thus, although direct references to Donatus are few, we may conclude that this is Donatus' *Ars grammatica* [*Ars maior*] that Bede uses as a model text for his own grammatical and terminological discourse.¹⁰⁰

The grammatical structure of Latin of the seventh to eighth centuries had changed in comparison with the *Latinitas* of the fourth century. Although Bede builds his argument on the Grammar textbooks of Antiquity, he adopts Gregory the Great's directive to subject the grammar rules to the language of the Scriptures and not to ancient Grammar textbooks.¹⁰¹ Thus, speaking of the Roman alphabet, he includes a passage on four Greek letters (Α [alpha], Χ [hi], Ρ [ro], Ω [omega]) since they were used in the texts for monastic reading.¹⁰²

But he did not explain sacred meaning of the letters Υ [ipsylon], Θ [theta], and Τ [tau], as Isidore had done before him.¹⁰³

Etymological descriptions of Greek terms, the poetic feet, and rhetorical figures are introduced by **quod/quia** that is common in such Donatus' commentators as Servius¹⁰⁴ and Isidore. This formula can be found in Bede.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁹ For the Russian translation of this fragment, see DONATUS. *Nauka grammatiki*, pp. 313-14.

¹⁰⁰ See also HOLTZ, L. (ed.), *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical, étude sur l'Ars Donati et sa diffusion (IV^e-IX^e siècle)*. Paris: CNRS, 1981, p. 318.

¹⁰¹ GREGORY THE GREAT, *Moralia in Iob*, PL 75, col. 516: 'quia indignum uehementur existimo, ut uerba caelestis oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati' ('I consider it strongly unworthy to restrict the words of divine revelation to the rules of Donatus').

¹⁰² BEDE. *De arte metrica* 1: De littera, *CCSL* 123A, p. 83, l. 12 (= *PL* 90, 149D-152A; *GL* VII, p. 228, ll. 3-8). If the explanation of the Greek letter H, may go back to the text of Sergius (*GL* IV, p. 477, ll. 20-26), the information on all the other letters (Χ, Ρ, Ω), is found only in the Bible and various Christian writers who followed Bede. This suggests that Bede adapted the pagan Latin alphabet to the Christian alphabet. See PALMER. 'Bede as Textbook Writer', p. 578.

¹⁰³ ISIDORE. *Etymologiae*, I. 3. 8-9, *PL* 82, 76BC: 'There are also five mystical letters among Greeks. The first is Υ, which is signifies human life... The second is Θ, which [signifies] death, for the judges used to put this same letter down against the names of those whom they were sentencing to execution. And it is named 'theta' after the term θάνατος, that is, 'death'. Whence also it has a spear through the middle, that is, a sign of death... The third, Τ, shows the figure of the cross of the Lord, whence it is also interpreted as a symbol in Hebrew... The remaining two mystical letters, the first and the last, Christ claims for himself; himself the beginning, himself the end, he says (*Apocalypse* 22:13): 'I am Alpha and Omega' (*Rev* 1:8)'.



Dictus inde ‘pes’, quod hoc quasi pedali regula ad uersum utimur mensurandum.

It is so called, because we use it like a footrule to measure a verse.¹⁰⁶

It is worth mentioning that Bede dedicated his treatise to his pupil and colleague Cuthbert:¹⁰⁷

ita et in metrica arte, quae divinis non est incognita libris,
te solerter instruerem...

I might instruct you intelligently in the art of metrics, which is not unknown in the Bible.¹⁰⁸

Naturally, Bede derives his quotations not from Vergil but from the Bible. He even quotes hexameters by Venantius Fortunatus (530/40-600/09) entirely composed from the biblical personal names.¹⁰⁹

Therefore, on the one hand, Bede’s work depends on classical grammatical tradition, on the other hand, it belongs to patristic and Christian grammatical discourse. Thus, in exposing Diomedes’ teaching on three types of poetry (*genera poematae*) – dramatic, narrative, and a mixed one – Bede illustrates it with examples from the Bible. The Song of Songs corresponds to dramatic poetry, Ecclesiastes and the Book of Psalms to a narrative type, and Book of

¹⁰⁴ See SERVIUS. ‘Servii commentarius in Artem Donati’. In: *GL* IV, p. 405, ll. 3-4; p. 410, l. 26; p. 417, l. 18; p. 418, l. 11. Significantly, the formula ‘X dicitur quod’ (‘something is said because of’) also occurs in the grammatical discourse of Varro, see VARRO. *De lingua latina*. In: GOETZ, G., SCHOELL, F., Leipzig: Teubner, 1910, V. 73. 5; V. 168. 3; VII. 92. 2.

¹⁰⁵ BEDE. *De arte metrica* 9: De pedibus, *CCSL* 123A, p. 107, ll. 1-4; *PL* 90, 161C; *GL* VII, p. 241, ll. 15-16.

¹⁰⁶ Trans. by KENDALL. In: BEDE. *Libri II. De arte metrica et De schematibus et tropis*, p. 93.

¹⁰⁷ BEDE. *De arte metrica* 25: Quod tria sint genera poematos, *CCSL* 123A, p. 141, ll. 30-31 (see also *PL* 90, 174D; *GL* VII, p. 260, ll. 6-7).

¹⁰⁸ Trans. by KENDALL. In: BEDE. *Libri II. De arte metrica et De schematibus et tropis*, p. 167.

¹⁰⁹ See BEDE. *De arte metrica* (11): Quae sit optima carminis forma, *CCSL* 123A, p. 114, l. 43; (see also *PL* 90, 164A; *GL* VII, p. 244, l. 29): ‘Sarra, Rebecca, Pache, Ester, Iudith, Anna, Noemi?’.



Job belongs to a mixed type.¹¹⁰ In doing this, Bede adapts Diomedes' scheme to the needs of his own time. Divine Scripture precedes human letters.¹¹¹

Dic mihi quis primus finxit litteram? – Mercurius Gigas. – Quid primum a Deo processit? – Verbum hoc, 'Fiat lux'.

Tell me who was the first to invent letters? The giant named Mercury. – What was the first to proceed from God? It's the following word: 'Let there be light'.

The Book of Psalms replaced the *Disticha Catonis* in monastic reading. Following Jerome and Isidore Bede states that it is God himself who is the Creator of all meters and that Moses, David and Job not only precede classical poets but surpass them in purity of poetical forms containing sacred wisdom. It is plausible that Bede used the same Christianised version of Donatus' work as Isidore of Seville and Julian of Toledo (642-690).¹¹² He may also be following Isidore the Junior,¹¹³ when he incorporates quotations from Psalter and Bible into his text.

Following Isidore, Bede make him more Christian when he replaces classical quotations that Isidore had used by biblical ones, and following Isidore the Junior he diminishes the importance of Virgilian passages that Isidore had placed alongside with biblical ones.

III

As was already mentioned, Bede's *De schematibus and tropis sacrae Scripturae* stays close to the *De arte metrica* in intention,¹¹⁴ principles of composition, and its

¹¹⁰ BEDE. *De arte metrica* 25: Quod tria sint genera poematos, *CCSL* 123A, p. 140, l. 11; p. 141, l. 25 (see also *PL* 90, 174C; *GL* VII, p. 259).

¹¹¹ [Auctor incertus] *Excerptiones patrum, collectanea, flores ex diversis, quaestiones, et parabola*, *PL* 94, 539D.

¹¹² AMSLER. *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse*, p. 183-84, with reference to: SCHINDEL, Ulrich. 'Die Quellen von Bedas Figurenlehre'. *Classica et mediaevalia*, 29, 1972, pp. 169-186. See also SCHINDEL, Ulrich. *Die lateinischen Figurenlehren des 5. bis 7. Jahrhunderts und Donatus Vergilkommentar*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1975, pp. 53-95; 182-83; 190-91.

¹¹³ This anonymous text, identified by SCHINDEL in *Die lateinischen Figurenlehren* as belonging to *Isidorus Junior*, contains examples of biblical texts, incorporated in the Donatian-Servian exposition (see also AMSLER. *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse*, p. 179).

¹¹⁴ PALMER. 'Bede as Textbook Writer', p. 573.



goal. Bede added two chapters to the *Metrical Art*, which are entitled *De figuris* and *De tropis*.¹¹⁵

- I. Pars Prima – De schematibus (First Part – Schemes).
- II. Pars Secunda – De tropis (Second Part – Tropes).
 - II. 1. De metaphora (Metaphor).
 - II. 2. De katachresi (Catachresis).
 - II. 3. De metalepsi (Metalepsis).
 - II. 4. De metonymia (Metonymy).
 - II. 5. De antonomasia (Antonomasia).
 - II. 6. De epitheto (An Epithet).
 - II. 7. De synecdoche (Synecdoche).
 - II. 8. De onomatopoeia (Onomatopoeia).
 - II. 9. De periphrase (Periphrasis).
 - II. 10. De hyperbato (Hyperbaton).
 - II. 11. De hyperbole (Hyperbole).
 - II. 12. De allegoria (Allegory).
 - II. 13. De homoeosi (Homoeosis).

The first chapter contains a list of figures of speech and tropes; the second one is dedicated to the explanation of the tropes derived from Scripture. Bede's text, although its author never mentions Donatus, stays close to the corresponding chapters of Donatus' *Ars grammatica* [*Ars maior*] and belongs to rhetorical and grammatical tradition of the previous epoch. This is evident from a number of definitions which are almost identical. Compare:

| | |
|---|---|
| BEDE, <i>De schematibus et tropis</i> II: De tropis ¹¹⁶ | DONATUS, <i>Ars grammatica</i> . De tropis ¹¹⁷ |
| Tropus est dictio translata a propria significatione ad non propriam similitudinem ornatus necessitatisue causa. | Tropus est dictio translata a propria significatione ad non propriam similitudinem ornatus necessitatisue causa. |

'A trope is an expression which, either for the sake of ornamentation or from necessity, has been transferred from its proper meaning and understood by analogy in a sense which it does not have'.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ DAVIES. 'Bede's Early Reading', p. 194.

¹¹⁶ CCSL 123A, p. 151, ll. 1-2. See also PL 90, 179B; *Venerabilis Bedae Opera quae supersunt Omnia*, p. 87.

¹¹⁷ DONATUS. *Ars grammatica*, HOLTZ (ed.), p. 667, ll. 1-2. See also GL IV, p. 399, l. 13-14.

¹¹⁸ Trans. by KENDALL. In: BEDE. *Libri II. De arte metrica et De schematibus et tropis*, p. 183.



There are other identical definitions too. Bede enlists 13 tropes in the same order as Donatus, gives the definition of metaphor and its four species: in this he simply reproduces Donatus' text.

BEDE, *De schematibus et tropis* II: De tropis
1. De metaphora¹¹⁹

Metaphora est rerum uerborumque translatio. Haec fit modis quatuor: ab animali ad animale, ab inanimali ad inanimale, ab animali ad inanimale, ab inanimali ad animale...

DONATUS, *Ars grammatica*. De tropis¹²⁰

Metaphora est rerum uerborumque translatio. Haec fit modis quattuor, ab animali ad animale, ab inanimali ad inanimale, ab animali ad inanimale, ab inanimali ad animale...

Metaphor is the transfer of a word from one object to another. A word may be transferred in four ways: from an animate to an animate object; or from an inanimate to an inanimate object; or from an animate to an inanimate object; or from an inanimate to an animate object.¹²¹

However, after that, while giving his own explanation of the figures of speech, Bede changes quotations from Vergil and other classical authors that Donatus had used, into those from the Book of Psalms. The same approach is applied in his subsequent discussion as well.¹²²

In general, similar to grammarians and biblical commentators of the ninth century after him, Bede incorporates grammatical and etymological analysis in his biblical commentaries. His etymological explanations make the text more accessible. Scriptural texts are taken as normative and regulatory in what concerns language rules; they are given preference over the rules of classical Latin grammar. Bede frequently explains grammatical and etymological issues on the basis of extra-linguistic assumptions that concern the aim of studying Latin in monastic community. Bede believes that moral and spiritual integrity

¹¹⁹ CCSL 123A, p. 152, ll. 8-11. See also *PL* 90, 179C; *Venerabilis Bedae Opera quae supersunt Omnia*, p. 87.

¹²⁰ DONATUS. *Ars grammatica*, HOLTZ (ed.), p. 667, ll. 6-7. See also *GL* IV, p. 399, ll. 17-19.

¹²¹ Trans. by KENDALL. In: BEDE. *Libri II. De arte metrica et De schematibus et tropis*, p. 183.

¹²² Examples selected by Bede were perhaps taken from the Vulgate (see *Codex Amiatinus*, the most complete handwritten copy of the Latin Bible). See PLUMMER, C. (ed.). *Venerabilis Baedae opera historica*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896, vol. I, p. xix; DAVIS, R. 'Bede's early reading', *Speculum*, 8, 1933, (pp. 179-95.), p.194



WOODS, Ian, *et alii* (org.). *Mirabilia 18* (2014/1)
2013 Leeds Congress
Congreso de Leeds 2013
Congresso de Leeds 2013

Jan-Jun 2014/ISSN 1676-5818

of this community depends on the language skills of those who read and speak it, as it was in the Roman ideal of *Latinitas*.

The rhetorical and grammatical works of Bede are a continuation of grammatical tradition of Late Antiquity in what concerns the structure, vocabulary, definitions and rules (cf. *Ars grammatica*). At the same time, they provide an example of the Christianisation of grammatical knowledge. Bede created a special type of a textbook designed for students who were monks and for whom Latin was not their native language. This type of textbook appeared first in Britain and then on the continent. The texts of this kind translated traditional and classical Latin grammatical knowledge but they redirected it to another channel - the channel of Christian discourse.