

Record of the eighth conference of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, at Università di Palermo, 7–12 July 1997

- I The following papers were presented on the general theme of the conference, Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Twentieth Century: Retrospect and Prospect.
- A. N. Doane, 'The History and Codicology of the "Werden Glossary"'
- Scott Gwara, 'Glosses to Aldhelm's Prose *De virginitate* and Glossaries from the Anglo-Saxon Golden Age, c. 670–800'
- Kazuyoshi Yamanouchi, 'Corrections in Old English Glosses to the Third Part of the Lambeth Psalter (Ps. XCVII–CL)'
- John Gray, 'Recent Teaching Resources and "Instant Anglo-Saxon" in Australia'
- Jane Roberts, "'Words and Containers": a New Look at Some Old Problems'
- Susan Irvine, 'Binding the Spoken to the Unspoken: *The Wanderer* and Oral Discourse'
- Haruko Momma, 'Old English as Living Language: Henry Sweet and an English School of Philology'
- Kees Dekker, 'Francis Junius (1591–1677): Copyist or Editor?'
- Michael D. C. Drout, 'J. R. R. Tolkien's Bequest of Anglo-Saxonism'
- Jonathan Wilcox, 'Anglo-Saxon Attitudes to Laughter: the Case of Abraham and Sarah in London, British Library, Cotton Claudius B. iv'
- David Johnson, 'Winchester Revisited: Æthelwold, Lucifer and the Date and Provenance of MS Junius 11'
- Malcolm Godden, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Bible: Using the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* Database'
- Andy Orchard, 'Old Sources and New Resources: Finding the Right Formula for Boniface'
- Dora Faraci, 'Sources and Cultural Background: the Example of the OE *Phoenix*'
- Angelika Lutz, 'Æthelweard's *Chronicon* and Old English Literature'
- Paul Szarmach, 'Alfred, Alcuin and the Soul'
- Ursula Lenker, 'The Gospel Lectionary in Anglo-Saxon England: Manuscript Evidence and Liturgical Practice'
- Christopher A. Jones, 'Ælfric as Liturgist: the *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*'
- Éamonn Ó Carragáin, 'Northumbria Imitating Rome: Good Friday at Ruthwell in the Eighth Century'

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- J. R. Hall, 'Interpreting the Thorkelin Transcripts of *Beowulf*'
 Patrick Wormald, '*Beowulf*: the Redating Reassessed'
 Joyce Hill, 'Exemplum and Exegesis: Working with an Intertextual Tradition'
 Thomas N. Hall, 'Four Anglo-Latin Sermons in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C.i.'
 Mary T. Swan, 'Lambeth Palace 487: a Manuscript on the Margins'
 C. R. E. Cubitt, 'Virginity and Misogyny in Anglo-Saxon England'
 Catherine E. Karkov, 'Æthelwold and the Saints: Death, Translation and the Making of History in Tenth-Century England'
 John Hines, 'Old English Studies and Anglo-Saxon Archaeology'
 Catherine Hills, '*Beowulf* and Brooches? Anglo-Saxon Archaeology in the Twentieth Century'
 Tim Malim, 'Investigating Anglo-Saxons in Cambridgeshire, England' (read by Catherine Hills)
 Stephanie Hollis, 'The Social Milieu of Bald's *Leechbook*'
 Georges Whalen, 'The Monastic Memoria of Royal Benefactors in Eleventh-Century Hagiography and Cartulary Texts'
 Carole Hough, 'A New Reading of Alfred, ch. 26'
 Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, 'Body and "Self": Construing the Anglo-Saxon Subject'
 Daniel P. O'Donnell, 'A New Theory of Poetic Textual Transmission'

The following media presentation was given.

- Martin Foys, 'Electronic Threads: the Bayeux Tapestry and the Digital Revolution'

The following reports were given.

- Patrick Conner, Joyce Hill and Nicholas Howe, Friends of 'The Dictionary of Old English' Campaign
 Phillip Pulsiano, 'Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile'
 Paul Szarmach, 'Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture'

A round-table discussion on Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Twenty-First Century was offered by Wilhelm G. Busse, Joyce Hill, Nicholas Howe, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe and Ursula Schaefer.

II General Business Meeting held at the Facoltà di Scienze della Formazione, Via Aquileia, n. 32, Università di Palermo, on 11 July 1997, at 4:15 p.m., President Patrizia Lendinara presiding.

A The President reported on behalf of the Executive Committee:

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- 1 The Society expressed sorrow at the deaths of Peter Clemoes, James E. Cross and John C. Pope.
 - 2 The conference was dedicated to the memory of Peter Clemoes.
 - 3 Gratitude was expressed to Loradana Teresi, Claudia Di Sciacca, Rosanna Zaffuto and Lilla Kopar for their generous assistance in running the conference.
 - 4 Note was made of the appointments and honours bestowed upon the following members: Hans Sauer has become the editor of *Anglia*, and has been appointed to the Chair of English Philology at Universität München; Jonathan Wilcox has become editor of the *Old English Newsletter*; Joyce Hill continues as Pro-Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University.
- B** The Executive Director reported on behalf of the Executive Committee:
- 1 Membership dues have generated revenues of \$10,330.00, yielding a balance after expenditures as of 30 June 1996 of \$21,585.60. Of this amount, \$8,800.32 is retained in a certificate fund.
 - 2 As of the date of the Università di Palermo meeting, the Society records 637 active members, an increase of 34 since the last meeting of the Society. Lifetime memberships, which were introduced at the last meeting of the Society, stand at 77.
 - 3 The Eastern European dues programme will continue until such time as individual members indicate they are able to pay dues to the Society.
 - 4 Officers of the Society. In accordance with the Society's constitution, Patrizia Lendinara completes her term as President on 31 December 1997, after which Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe will assume the post of President. Matti Kilpiö will assume the post of First Vice-President. Phillip Pulsiano completes his term in the office of Second Vice-President, which will be assumed by Joyce Hill. Patrick Conner completes his term as Executive Director and will be succeeded by Phillip Pulsiano.
 - 5 Membership of the Advisory Board. The term of office expires on 31 December 1997 for the following members: Michelle Brown, Mary Clayton, Matti Kilpiö and Tadao Kubouchi. The following have been appointed as members of the Advisory Board from 1 January 1998 until 31 December 2001: Hugh Magennis, Michiko Ogura, Katalin Halácsy Scholz and Elaine M. Treharne.
 - 6 Honorary Memberships of the Society. The Honorary Membership consists of †Peter Clemoes, Rosemary Cramp, André Crepin, René Derolez, Henry Loyn, Bruce Mitchell, Shigeru Ono, †John Pope, Helmut Gneuss, Edward B. Irving and Barbara Raw. Janet Bately has now been awarded honorary membership.
 - 7 The Officers and Advisory Board propose the following amendment to the constitution: 'Members elected to the Advisory Board are expected

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to fulfil the duties of a board member. Advisory Board members may be removed from the board at the discretion of the Executive Committee for non-performance of duties.' Ballots will be distributed to the membership for a vote on the proposed amendment.

- 8 New business. The Second Vice-President proposed to examine the possibility of publishing a volume of selected papers from the conference and to report back to the membership. The proposal was approved. On behalf of the Dictionary of Old English, Nicholas Howe asked that the Society contribute funds to the project. The Executive Committee agreed to examine the treasury and make its recommendation. During open discussion, members voiced concern regarding representation of the various fields within the discipline. The Executive Committee and the Advisory Board will examine means by which representation within in the Society can be promoted.
 - 9 The Society expressed its gratitude to Nancy Brotherton of the Department of English of West Virginia University for her help in administering ISAS.
- C The First Vice-President reported on behalf of the Executive Committee:
- 1 Thanks were expressed to Patrizia Lendinara for hosting a successful conference.
 - 2 The ninth conference of the Society will be held at the University of Notre Dame, 8–14 August 1999; the theme of the conference will be 'Imagined Endings: Borders, Reigns, Millennia.'

III The conference included two day-long excursions, the first to Palermo, Monreale and Cefalù, the second to Morgantina and Piazza Armerina.

Registration forms for the ISAS conference to be held at Notre Dame University will be mailed to all paid-up members of the Society. Payment may be made by cheque or postal money order for \$15.00 or £10.00 sterling (regular members) or for \$10.00 or £7.00 (student and retired members) and should be sent to Professor Phillip Pulsiano, Exec. Dir., International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, Department of English, Villanova University, Villanova, Pennsylvania, USA. Payment may be made to the Executive Director by Visa or MasterCard or by personal cheque. For members outside the US, transfers in sterling may be sent to the ISAS account, Midland Bank plc, 32 Market Hill, Cambridge CB2 3NU; sorting code no. 40-16-08, account no. 21241605. Members may arrange to pay dues for more than one year. Payment forms are available from the Executive Director.¹

¹ This record of the Palermo meeting was compiled by Phillip Pulsiano.

Classical rhetoric in Anglo-Saxon England

GABRIELE KNAPPE

Hwær cwom mearg? Hwær cwom mago? Hwær cwom maþþumgyfa?
 Hwær cwom symbla gesetu? Hwær sindon seledreamas?

(*The Wanderer* 92–3)¹

This passage from *The Wanderer* demonstrates some of the rhetorical techniques which have been noted in Old English texts. Its most striking features are the rhetorical questions and the figure of *anaphora* which is produced by the repetition of ‘Hwær’. Another rhetorical element is the use of the theme (*topos*) of *ubi sunt* (‘where are . . .?’) to lament the loss of past joys.² In classical antiquity, features such as these, which served to create effective discourse, were the products of *ars rhetorica*. This art was distinguished from the more basic subject of *ars grammatica* in that rhetoric, the ‘ars . . . bene dicendi’ (Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* II.xvii.37), aimed at the *good* production of text (for oral delivery) with the aim of persuading the listeners to take or adopt some form of action or belief, whereas grammar, the ‘recte loquendi scientia’, was responsible for *correct* speech and also for the interpretation of poetical texts (‘poetarum enarratio’: Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* I.iv.2).³ In terms of classical rhetoric, the above passage from *The Wanderer* could be analysed according to the three phases of the production

¹ ASPR III, 136: ‘Where has gone the steed? Where has gone the man? Where has gone the giver of treasure? Where has gone the place of the banquets? Where are the pleasures of the hall?’ (trans. S. A. J. Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry: an Anthology of Old English Poems in Prose Translation* (London and Melbourne, 1982), p. 324).

² The theme of *ubi sunt*, usually expressed by ‘where are . . .?’ questions, has been thoroughly investigated by J. E. Cross, ‘“Ubi Sunt” Passages in Old English – Sources and Relationships’, *Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund Årsbok* (1956), pp. 23–44, and *idem*, *Latin Themes in Old English Poetry* (Bristol, 1962), pp. 2–5. On further *topoi* in *The Wanderer*, see below, pp. 25–6 and nn. 88–9; for *anaphora*, see below, p. 23, n. 76.

³ The quotations are taken from *M. Fabi Quintiliani Institutionis oratoriae libri duodecim*, ed. M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1970). See also the concise definition of rhetoric by the late antique encyclopedist Isidore of Seville, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1911), II.i.1. Some rhetorical principles can be transferred to the writing of verse (poetics) without difficulty – the basic parts of both disciplines are identical and rhetoric had always been the one which was elaborated in detail. See H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik: eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft* (Munich, 1960; repr. Stuttgart, 1990 with a preface by A. Arens), § 35. Rhetoric has been used for the analysis of both prose and verse in modern scholarship.

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of a text (*partes artis*) which pertain to both written and oral discourse: *inventio* (finding topics such as the *ubi sunt*), *dispositio* (arranging the parts of the text)⁴ and *elocutio* (embellishing the text stylistically, for example with rhetorical questions and other figures and tropes).⁵

How and under what circumstances did the Anglo-Saxons acquire their knowledge of how to compose a text effectively? We should indeed be careful about attributing rhetorical features of Old English (and Anglo-Latin) texts to a direct influence of the *ars bene dicendi* because, generally speaking, there are no indications that scholars in Anglo-Saxon England (c. 700–1066) studied this discipline.⁶ In order to understand the nature of Anglo-Saxon rhetorical learning it is first of all necessary to consider the different traditions of classical rhetoric together with their adaptation in Anglo-Saxon England while taking into account the specific literary culture of the time – the age of the *grammaticus*.⁷

⁴ Thus, McPherson has suggested that an instance of the *ubi sunt* theme in *The Seafarer* 80b–83 (ASPR III, 145), belongs to the third part of a speech (*confirmatio*) within her theory that this elegy is a speech in reply to a first speech. See C. W. McPherson, ‘The Influence of Latin Rhetoric on Old English Poetry’ (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Washington Univ., 1980), pp. 175–98 and below, pp. 26–7.

⁵ For the *partes artis*, see Lausberg, *Handbuch*, §§ 255–1091. The other two *partes* pertain to the oral medium only. These are *memoria* (learning the text by heart) and *actio* or *pronuntiatio* (performing the speech). To my knowledge, there is no indication that *memoria* and *actio* were of theoretical interest in Anglo-Saxon England. For techniques of *memoria* in the monastic culture, without a classical rhetorical background, see P. Riché, ‘Le rôle de la mémoire dans l’enseignement médiéval’, *Jeux de mémoire: aspects de la mnémotechnie médiévale*, ed. B. Roy and P. Zumthor (Montréal, 1985), pp. 133–48, esp. 133–41.

⁶ The exceptional role of Alcuin will be discussed separately below, pp. 12–13. Knowledge of classical rhetoric in Anglo-Saxon England has been investigated above all by J. J. Campbell, ‘Knowledge of Rhetorical Figures in Anglo-Saxon England’, *JEGP* 66 (1967), 1–20; *idem*, ‘Adaptation of Classical Rhetoric in Old English Literature’, *Medieval Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric*, ed. J. J. Murphy (Berkeley, CA, 1978), pp. 173–97; L. M. Reinsma, ‘Rhetoric in England: the Age of Aelfric, 970–1020’, *Communication Monographs* 44 (1977), 390–403; *idem*, ‘Ælfric: the Teacher as Rhetorician’ (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Univ. of Michigan, 1978), esp. part I; R. Ray, ‘Bede and Cicero’, *ASE* 16 (1987), 1–15; H. Gneuss, ‘The Study of Language in Anglo-Saxon England’, *Bull. of the John Rylands Univ. Lib. of Manchester* 72 (1990), 1–32, at 28–32. See also the annotated bibliography by L. M. Reinsma, ‘Rhetoric, Grammar, and Literature in England and Ireland before the Norman Conquest: a Select Bibliography’, *Rhetoric Soc. Quarterly* 8.1 (1978), 29–48, and *idem*, ‘Middle Ages’, *Historical Rhetoric: an Annotated Bibliography of Selected Sources in English*, ed. W. B. Horner (Boston, MA, 1980), pp. 45–108. The present article presents the essential results of my *Traditionen der klassischen Rhetorik im angelsächsischen England*, *Anglistische Forschungen* 236 (Heidelberg, 1996).

⁷ On the grammatical nature of Anglo-Saxon literary culture, see esp. Gneuss, ‘The Study of Language’, V. Law, *The Insular Latin Grammarians*, Stud. in Celtic Hist. 3 (Woodbridge, 1982) and the recent study by M. Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture: ‘Grammatica’ and Literary Theory, 350–1100*, Cambridge Stud. in Med. Lit. 19 (Cambridge, 1994), esp. chs. 7–9.

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TRADITIONS OF CLASSICAL RHETORIC

Before the emergence of the *artes* (*poetriae*, *dictaminis* and *praedicandi*) from c. 1100 onwards, the *ars bene dicendi* did not undergo a thorough transformation and adaptation to the needs of the day.⁸ Rather, what we encounter in late antiquity are attempts to reduce this complex lore to manageable proportions. What is more, with the growing importance and status of the grammar teacher and the declining impact of rhetoric in a Christian culture focused on the interpretation or exegesis of the written word, rhetorical lore subtly entered the field of grammar. It is this last aspect which is of particular importance in the early Middle Ages. Therefore, two main traditions will be distinguished here: the rhetorical tradition of antiquity and the tradition of rhetoric within grammar.⁹

The rhetorical tradition of antiquity can be traced back to Greece but, because the Anglo-Saxons could not in general read Greek texts,¹⁰ this survey starts from Roman antiquity. Rhetorical works in this tradition transmit, excerpt or discuss the *ars bene dicendi* as it is outlined by Cicero, the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and in Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*.¹¹ Several types of textbooks

⁸ On the later *artes*, see J. J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: a History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley, CA, and London, 1974), chs. 4–6, and literature cited in Knappe, *Traditionen*, pp. 4–6.

⁹ On the following, and for details of the works referred to here, see Knappe, *Traditionen*, pp. 43–109 (part II). Earlier classifications of traditions of classical rhetoric include Reinsma, 'Rhetoric in England', pp. 393–403 (Augustinian, encyclopedic and grammatical traditions) and Gneuss, 'The Study of Language', pp. 28–31 (classical and grammatical traditions). The 'encyclopedic' and 'Christian' traditions are here subsumed within the rhetorical tradition of antiquity, and the full impact of the 'grammatical' tradition, which refers solely to the figures and tropes in the grammars in the studies mentioned above, is elaborated in the tradition of rhetoric within grammar.

¹⁰ One notable exception is the school of Theodore and Hadrian in Canterbury in the late seventh century. See M. Lapidge, 'The Study of Greek at the School of Canterbury in the Seventh Century', *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: the Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. M. W. Herren, King's College London Med. Stud. 2 (London, 1988), 168–94, and *idem* in *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian*, ed. B. Bischoff and M. Lapidge, CSASE 10 (Cambridge, 1994), esp. 240–2. See also M. C. Bodden, 'Evidence for Knowledge of Greek in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 17 (1988), 217–46.

¹¹ On classical rhetoric in antiquity and late antiquity, see esp. the chronological survey in Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, chs. 1–2; G. A. Kennedy, *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World: 300 B.C.–A.D. 300*, A Hist. of Rhetoric 2 (Princeton, NJ, 1972); T. M. Conley, *Rhetoric in the European Tradition* (Chicago, IL and London, 1994), chs. 1–4; B. Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric* (Oxford, 1988), ch. 1; M. L. Clarke, *Rhetoric at Rome: a Historical Survey* (London, 1953); D. L. Clark, *Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education* (New York, 1957); C. S. Baldwin, *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic (to 1400): Interpreted from Representative Works* (New York, 1928), chs. 1–5; J. O. Ward, 'Artificiosa eloquentia in the Middle Ages', 2 vols. (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Toronto Univ., 1972), esp. I, 37–118; *idem*, *Ciceronian Rhetoric in Treatise, Scholion and Commentary*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 58 (Turnhout, 1995), pp. 76–104. Rhetoric is also very close to logic and dialectic; see the summary in Knappe, *Traditionen*, pp. 78–82, and below, p. 13, n. 31.

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belong to this tradition. Apart from the ones already mentioned, these are late antique compendia and commentaries, chapters on rhetoric in the encyclopedias by Martianus Capella, Cassiodorus and Isidore of Seville and separate treatises both on basic rhetorical exercises (the *progymnasmata* or *praeexercitamina*) and on the rhetorical figures and tropes. Particularly the *praeexercitamina* and the treatises on the figures and tropes reflect an important cultural change in late antiquity. Juridical (forensic) rhetoric, which used to be the main concern of Ciceronian rhetoric, was declining at a time when the legal system had changed, and subsequently the other two *genera causarum*, deliberative and especially epideictic speeches in praise or censure of people, were gaining ground.¹² This led to rhetorical teaching which concentrated on the style of a speech and only to a lesser degree on its contents.¹³ Finally, this tradition was controversially discussed by the Christians who, on the one hand, feared the power of the heathen art of persuasion and, on the other, were tempted to use their own rhetorical education against their religious opponents. It was St Augustine who, in bk IV of his *De doctrina christiana*, defended the potential use of the *ars bene dicendi* for the preacher (without discussing the rules). However, he also stated that learning from models can be of greater use than knowing rhetorical rules, ‘Quoniam si acutum et fervens adsit ingenium, facilius adhaeret eloquentia legentibus et audientibus eloquentes quam eloquentiae praecepta sectantibus’ (*De doctrina christiana* IV.iii.4).¹⁴ The Christian teachers did not transform the art of rhetoric written for orators to suit the needs of the preacher.

The tradition of rhetoric within grammar is more complex. While the *ars rhetorica* was losing ground, other cultural conditions favoured the importance and enrichment of *ars grammatica*. As the indispensable foundation of all learning, the *recte loquendi scientia* retained its important status. Furthermore, Christian learning brought with it a different and more grammatically oriented approach.¹⁵

¹² For the *genera causarum* (*genus iudiciale*, *genus deliberativum* and *genus demonstrativum*), see Lausberg, *Handbuch*, §§ 61 and 139–254.

¹³ On the developments in the so-called ‘Second Sophistic’ (c. 50–400) and the set speeches typical of the time, the *declamationes*, see Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, pp. 35–42, Baldwin, *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic*, pp. 8–50 and Kennedy, *The Art of Rhetoric*, pp. 301–472, esp. 428–61.

¹⁴ *De doctrina christiana*, ed. W. M. Green, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini opera VI*, CSEL 80 (Vienna, 1963), pp. 119–20: ‘For those with acute and eager minds more readily learn eloquence by reading and hearing the eloquent than by following the rules of eloquence’ (trans. D. W. Robertson, Jr, *Saint Augustine: On Christian Doctrine*, Library of Liberal Arts 80 (New York, 1958), 119). For the dilemma of the Church Fathers and the role of St Augustine, see J. J. Murphy, ‘Saint Augustine and the Debate about a Christian Rhetoric’, *Quarterly Jnl of Speech* 46 (1960), 400–10; *idem*, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, pp. 46–64; H.-I. Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique*, 4th ed. (Paris, 1958); E. L. Fortin, ‘Augustine and the Problem of Christian Rhetoric’, *Augustinian Stud.* 5 (1974), 85–100. Cf. the discussion in Knappe, *Traditionen*, pp. 63–72.

¹⁵ For surveys of grammar and grammarians in late antiquity, see in particular R. A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: the Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*, *Transformation of the Classical Heritage* 11 (Berkeley, CA, 1988); *idem*, ‘Islands in the Stream: the Grammarians of

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Christian scholars were first and foremost concerned with the correct interpretation (exegesis) of the Holy Scriptures and other Christian writings. Therefore, they valued the second *officium* of *ars grammatica* very highly, namely *poetarum enarratio*, the interpretation of the poets (and also of prose).¹⁶ For this grammatical task the exegetes did not hesitate to turn to rhetorical means. This tradition will be referred to as ‘grammatical rhetoric’. In the wider sense of the term, grammatical rhetoric refers to rhetorical concepts which are used for interpretation but have not entered grammar textbooks. This is the case, for example, with the *genera dicendi* in commentaries on Vergil and in Cassiodorus’s *Expositio psalmorum* where, among other things, a great number of figures and tropes in the rhetorical tradition are used for the interpretation of the psalms.¹⁷ In the narrower sense of the term, grammatical rhetoric is apparent in the inclusion of rhetorical lore within grammar books as, for example, the treatment of the figures of sense in Charisius’s grammar.¹⁸ The main ‘intrusion’, to use James

Late Antiquity’, *The History of Linguistics in the Classical Period*, ed. D. J. Taylor, Stud. in the Hist. of the Lang. Sciences, Amsterdam Stud. in the Theory and Hist. of Ling. Science III/46 (Amsterdam, 1987), 149–68; Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*, chs. 1–6; Marrou, *Augustin*, pp. 3–26 and 422–44.

- ¹⁶ Note also the flourishing of commentaries on Vergil. For the interpretation of prose by grammatical methods, see Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* I.iv.2 and I.iv.4, and the definition of grammar by Cassiodorus (*Institutiones* II.i.1), quoted below, pp. 10–11. While rhetoric focuses on the production of texts, grammar is based on interpretation. These are the main tasks (*officia*) of the two arts although there is some overlap. Rhetoric, too, used to be concerned with interpretation (of prose), and the *ars recte loquendi* has certainly a productive aspect.
- ¹⁷ For the *genera dicendi* in commentaries on Vergil, see F. Quadlbauer, *Die antike Theorie der Genera Dicendi im lateinischen Mittelalter*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 241.2 (Vienna, 1962), 10–15. Cassiodorus’s use of rhetorical figures and tropes in his commentary on the psalms and his sources are discussed in U. Schindel, ‘Textkritisches zu lateinischen Figurenlehren (Anecdoton Parisinum, Cassiodor, Quintilian)’, *Glotta* 52 (1974), 95–114; *Anonymus Ecksteinii: Scemata dianoecae quae ad rhetores pertinent*, ed. U. Schindel, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen I, philologisch-historische Klasse, 1987 no. 7 (Göttingen, 1987), introd., esp. pp. 5 and 45; J. M. Courtès, ‘Figures et tropes dans le psautier de Cassiodore’, *Revue des études latines* 42 (1964), 361–75. See Knappe, *Traditionen*, pp. 97–100. An index of the figures and tropes in Cassiodorus’s *Expositio psalmorum* is provided *ibid.* Appendix B. This index is based on the marginal *notae* to the text reproduced in *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori Expositio psalmorum*, ed. M. Adriaen, 2 vols., CCL 97–8 (Turnhout, 1958).
- ¹⁸ *Flavii Sospatri Charisii Artis grammaticae libri V*, ed. K. Barwick, repr. with addenda and corrigenda by F. Kühnert (Leipzig, 1964), p. 371, line 29–p. 375, line 9. The figures of sense traditionally belong to rhetorical treatises only; see, for example, the typical statement by Donatus, *Ars maior* III.5, ed. L. Holtz, *Donat et la tradition de l’enseignement grammatical: étude sur l’Ars Donati et sa diffusion (IV^e–IX^e siècle) et édition critique* (Paris, 1981), pp. 603–74, at 663. Other intrusions of rhetorical lore into the grammars include *memoria* and *chria* in Diomedes’s *Ars grammatica*; see *Grammatici latini*, ed. H. Keil, M. Hertz [for vols. 2 and 3: Priscian] and H. Hagen [for vol. 8: *Anecdota Helvetica*], 8 vols. (Leipzig, 1855–80) [=GL], I, 419, lines 22–5 and 310, lines 1–29, and fable (‘de fabula’) and narrative (‘de historia’) in Isidore’s *Etymologiae* I.xl and xli. On these chapters in Isidore, see especially J. Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l’Espagne wisigothique*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1983), pp. 179–80, and Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*, pp. 261 and 234–41.

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J. Murphy's term,¹⁹ is that sections on the figures of diction and the tropes appear in a number of late antique grammars. Among these, bk III of Aelius Donatus's *Ars maior* (this book is sometimes also called *Barbarismus* because this is its first word) is the most important for the early Middle Ages. One has to be careful, however, about speaking of rhetorical lore in this case, because the figures and tropes in the grammars seem from very early on to have a distinct tradition from the rhetorical treatises; but it is not improbable that they originate in rhetorical teaching. Being defined as poetic licences (*virtutes orationis*), they are firmly connected to the vices of speech (*vitia orationis*) which make up the first part of the *Barbarismus*, and thus to the aspect of *recte loqui*.²⁰

Grammatical studies can also be seen to transgress their proper sphere and enter the field of rhetoric in that they are concerned with the good production of text.²¹ In this case we are dealing with the rhetorical aspect of grammar teaching. This development is usually not reflected in the definitions of the arts, which tend to be of a conservative nature. One remarkable exception, however, is Cassiodorus's definition of grammar (*Institutiones* II.i.1): 'grammatica vero est peritia pulchre

¹⁹ J. J. Murphy, 'The Rhetorical Lore of the *Boceras* in Byrhtferth's *Manual*', *Philological Essays: Studies in Old and Middle English Language and Literature in Honor of H. D. Meritt*, ed. J. L. Rosier (The Hague, 1970), pp. 111–24, at 114.

²⁰ The term *Barbarismus* is henceforth used to refer to the sections in grammars which correspond to *Ars maior* III. For surveys of figures and tropes in the grammars, see U. Schindel, *Die lateinischen Figurenlehren des 5. bis 7. Jahrhunderts und Donats Vergilkommentar (mit zwei Editionen)*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse, 3rd ser. 91 (Göttingen, 1975); *idem*, 'Die Quellen von Bedas Figurenlehre', *Classica et Mediaevalia* 29 (1968), 169–86; L. Holtz, 'Grammairiens et rhéteurs romains en concurrence pour l'enseignement des figures de rhétorique', *Colloque sur la rhétorique: Calliope I*, ed. R. Chevallier (Paris, 1979), pp. 207–20; *idem*, *Donat*, pp. 69–74 and 136–216; Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, p. 32; *idem*, 'Rhetorical Lore', esp. pp. 111–19. On problems concerning the make-up and origin of the *Barbarismus*, see especially the discussions in K. Barwick, *Remmius Palaemon und die römische ars grammatica*, *Philologus Supplement* 15.2 (Leipzig, 1922), 89–108; M. Baratin and F. Desbordes, 'La "troisième partie" de l'*ars grammatica*', *The History of Linguistics in the Classical Period*, ed. Taylor, 41–66; D. M. Schenkeveld, 'Figures and Tropes: a Border-Case between Grammar and Rhetoric', *Rhetorik zwischen den Wissenschaften: Geschichte, System, Praxis als Probleme des 'Historischen Wörterbuchs der Rhetorik'*, ed. G. Ueding, *Rhetorik-Forschungen* 1 (Tübingen, 1991), 149–57. See also Knappe, *Traditionen*, pp. 86–97.

²¹ This development (the close link between interpretation and production, i.e. the rhetorical principles of *ars grammatica* in late antiquity) has been noted by M. J. Irvine, 'Grasping the Word: "Ars Grammatica" and Literary Theory from Late Antiquity to the Carolingian Period' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Harvard Univ., 1982), pp. 192, 309 and 356, n. 5 (for Anglo-Saxon England), *idem*, *The Making of Textual Culture*, pp. 7–8, 50–1, 54–5, 197, 206, 304, 319, 326, 426 and 440, and by Rita Copeland in her study of translation practice, 'As hermeneutics supplanted rhetoric as the master curricular practice, it also assumed the character of rhetoric': R. Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts*, *Cambridge Stud. in Med. Lit.* 11 (Cambridge, 1991), 62; see also *ibid.* p. 55, and Knappe, *Traditionen*, pp. 100–7.