

De schematibus et tropis (*DST*) was not always ascribed to Bede. A colophon in MS Bern 207 reads *Tractatus...quem alii Bedae, alii Cassiodoro tribuunt,* while other codices attribute the work to Cassiodorus *tout court* (Kendall 1975, 65, 66, 68, 71, 72). My paper will propose that *DST* was composed with material assembled by Cassiodorus before the Gothic War, then revised and published from Vivarium in accordance with the remarkably different principles of Pope Gregory I. *DST* reached Northumbria in this posthumous Gregorian version and found there its adroit, definitive revision by Bede.

DST is an ‘expansion of Donatus’ (Brown 2005, 5) with examples drawn from the *Expositio psalmodum* of Cassiodorus. The juxtaposition of biblical passages and the *Ars* of Donatus responds to the program outlined by Cassiodorus in his preface to *Expositio*, aimed to prove that rhetorical figures present in the Bible are on a par with those of pagan literature. Thus rhetoric becomes a polemical instrument in favor of Christianity for a society that still prized pagan culture, a solution to the dilemma ‘Ciceronian or Christian?’ that had so troubled Jerome.

There are two textual traditions of *DST*. One is that of MS Bamberg 43 (‘B’ in Kendall’s edition), used by the scribe of MS Paris BN 7558, by Walafrid Strabo (Bischoff 1950) *et al.* Bamberg 43 was written in Rome (Cuppo Csaki 2002), Paris BN 7558 is from Tours, but not from Alcuin’s convent. Both codices contain pre-Bedan texts and derive from late antique exemplars. The ‘B’ recension differs from the main one because *DST* appears either without *De arte metrica* (*DAM*) or clearly distinct from it, biblical citations are in the *vetus* translation known to us from manuscripts of Mediterranean provenance, and the text contains one allusion to the anti-Christ (*Ap.* 11.2-3, 13.5) not cited in the main line of transmission.

While schemes and tropes go back to Donatus and biblical citations to Cassiodorus, one lengthy piece on allegory is explicitly attributed to the teaching of Gregory the Great and replete with flattery for that pope. This is most un-Bedan, for Bede used allegory in his works, but did not flaunt his dependence from Gregory, and when reworking patristic material did so in his own style, not clumsily pasting a new section to an older text. The use of the *vetus* is also un-Bedan - he used the Vulgate. Bede’s catalogue of his own works includes those he wrote and those he edited, but a distinction is made between *DAM* (the primary work) and the *libellus* appended to it, a hierarchy reflected in the layout of codices such as Paris 7558. Finally, Bede used Cassiodorus in the same way as Julian of Toledo did – a strange coincidence that has been explained with the presence of a lost archetype.

The very traits that make *DST* un-Bedan render it akin to works from Vivarium in and after the time of Gregory (MS BAV, Reg. Lat. 2077, the chronicle of Mellitus, the posthumous edition of *Institutiones*), attuned to the sentiments of that pope and replete with apocalyptic allusions, symbolism, and allegory. In its 'B' recension *DST* was compiled at Vivarium. When he found it, Bede did far more than to "add" it to *DAM*. By updating the language, eliminating the apocalyptic allusions, and appending it to a work on poetry, Bede reinstated *DST* in the rhetorical tradition that Gregory had professed to despise. Thanks to Bede, *DST* found its home.

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