THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

Carolingian Sermons: Religious Reform, Pastoral Care, and Lay Piety

A DISSERTATION

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Carolingian reformers, especially under Charlemagne in the late eighth and early ninth century, drafted ambitious legislation calling for educational as well as spiritual *correctio*. While work has been done on the sources that *prescribed* reform, much less is known about how and if these reforms were realized on the local level. I argue that the key to uncovering Carolingian reform in action is by studying the tools that reformers created and used for that purpose. I analyze two case studies, both pastoral miscellanies containing popular sermons among a variety of other texts, created to educate pastors so that they could educate the laity. I argue that these sources, when preserved in their ninth-century form, are particularly useful for understanding local reform strategies, even though modern scholars have often regarded them as derivative.

My introduction examines how scholars have used other sources to contextualize Carolingian reform. I focus on the value of studying sermons and miscellanies and also explain my terminology, particularly why I am using the word “pastor” and how I understand the process of ninth-century Christianization. In chapters 2-4, I analyze Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, a miscellany used at the cathedral school of Laon. It contains a table of contents created by Martin Hiberniensis, a prominent master at Laon. I use this case study to analyze how miscellanies and sermons were utilized in formal school settings; what pastors-in-training were being taught and how they were being prepared to diffuse Christianity to their future lay flocks. In chapters 5-7, I analyze Paris, BN lat. 2328, an anonymous compilation, which, like the majority of miscellanies, cannot be traced to a particular *scriptorium* or user, although the bulk of the material was written
in the same ninth-century hand. I argue that this case study provides rare insights into why reformers were disseminating texts widely, outside of the schools, in their efforts at widespread Christianization. In sum, this thesis seeks to emphasize the strategic, practical and sophisticated ways that Carolingian reformers used miscellanies and sermons to implement ambitious educational and spiritual reform.
This dissertation by Laura A. Hohman fulfills the dissertation requirement for the doctoral degree in History approved by Jennifer R. Davis, Ph.D., as Director, and by Katherine L. Jansen, Ph.D., and Philip Rousseau, Ph.D. as Readers.

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Philip Rousseau, Ph.D., Reader
Dedicated to one of my favorite storytellers:

my grandpa.
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<tr>
<td>CCCA</td>
<td>Corpus Christianorum Clavis Apocryphorum</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCCM</td>
<td>Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCPM</td>
<td>Clavis Patristica Pseudepigraphorum Medii Aevi</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCSL</td>
<td>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSEL</td>
<td>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</td>
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<tr>
<td>MGH</td>
<td>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</td>
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<tr>
<td>Capit.</td>
<td>Capitularia regum Francorum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conc.</td>
<td>Concilia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Epp.</td>
<td>Epistolae</td>
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<td>PL</td>
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My research was supported in part by the Professor Henri Hyvernat Doctoral Fellowship and the American Historical Association’s Bernadotte Schmitt Research Grant. I am especially grateful to the Council for European Studies’ award of a Pre-Dissertation Research Fellowship in 2011, which enabled me to spend over two months at the Paris Bibliothèque nationale. That early funding allowed me to work on my paleography skills and analyze the Paris codex, which directed my interest in Carolingian sermons to those found in often overlooked pastoral miscellanies. I would like to thank the librarians at the Suzanne Martinet library in Laon and at the Stiftsbibliothek at St. Gallen in particular; they worked with my tight travel schedule and were so patient with my linguistic shortcomings.
I am confident that I could not have completed this journey without the love, prayers, and encouragement of sweet friends and family. I am so grateful that I have parents who did not bat an eye when their daughter announced that she wanted to be a historian. They have been my safety net, my biggest fans and they instilled in me a love for reading and travel. I am thankful for my sister, who has been my life-long friend and fashion guru. I am also appreciative of the storytelling of my grandparents; they reminded me all my life the importance of studying the past. This work is especially dedicated to my grandfather, who, if he was still here, would have cried from happiness at this accomplishment. I miss him and his big heart every day.

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Sometime towards the end of the eighth century, Charlemagne’s court sent out an urgent letter. It was addressed to Abbot Baugulf of Fulda but was intended to be circulated more broadly. The letter, known as the *Epistola de litteris colendis*, addressed an important matter that Charlemagne and Alcuin of York, a renowned scholar and Charlemagne’s closest advisor, believed was endangering the Frankish church and society. The message in the imperial letter was simple: the spiritual leaders of society, who were supposed to be the proponents of reform, must do better. Charlemagne had been assembling around himself a community of theologians and scholars but he also wanted educational and religious revitalization throughout society. Yet there was a problem that dogged his efforts, hampering and sabotaging his reform aspirations. The success of the reform mission depended on the educational capabilities of local spiritual leaders, capabilities that Charlemagne’s court had found wanting. “For although it is better to do what is good than to know it, knowing comes before doing” and, based on the number of grammatical errors found in letters from unnamed monasteries, Charlemagne and Alcuin saw serious deficits in the existing

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1 Thomas Martin, “Bemerkungen zur ‘Epistola de litteris colendis,’” *Archiv für Diplomatik* 31 (1985): 227–272, 246–254, 266; Luitpold Wallach, “Charlemagne’s *De litteris colendis* and Alcuin,” *Speculum* 26, no. 2 (April 1951): 288–305; Giles Brown, “Introduction: The Carolingian Renaissance,” in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 32; Donald Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 383–386; and Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 237–243. All agree Alcuin played a significant role in the drafting of the letter that was written in Charlemagne’s name. Even though the extant copy was addressed to Baugulf, it was probably a circular letter, although scholars have disagreed if it was originally intended to be circulated. Martin has argued that it was distributed from Metz. In terms of the dating of the document, Wallach, whose study is now mostly out of date, first argued that the letter was written between 794 and 796. Others, such as McKitterick, say it could be dated to as early as 784/785 and Martin argues for circa 790.
educational standards. This was a dangerous problem. How could an uneducated tongue preach or pray or sing? How could an ignorant mind interpret the mysteries of scripture? The study of letters, litterarum studia, was required for reading scripture that was filled with figures of speech and tropes that needed to be interpreted before one could begin to grasp the spiritual meaning.

In this letter, Charlemagne and his court were calling for a blossoming of the liberal arts, a well-rounded educational movement with a religious objective. “For it is our desire,” the letter concludes, “that you should be, as becomes soldiers of the church, both inwardly devout and outwardly learned, chaste in correct living and scholarly in correct speaking.” The reformers needed local spiritual leaders to be on the front-lines of the reform movement as it was realized on the grassroots level; pastors needed to diffuse reform in word and in deed, exemplifying holy living through their actions, while teaching theology through preaching and exegesis. Charlemagne and his court strongly believed education was the key for large-scale, orthodox, reform and they were disseminating the De litteris colendis to articulate this agenda.

De litteris colendis, along with the Admonitio generalis capitulary from 789, demonstrated that Charlemagne and his advisors had begun to emphasize educational reforms in the name of orthodoxy. Over the next several decades and throughout subsequent generations, strongly worded, seemingly idealized reform goals would continue to be expressed through imperial legislation, although in a less concentrated form as the ninth century progressed. The goal was to reform the kingdom, that later became an empire, from the top down through education.

2 P.D. King, trans., Charlemagne: Translated Sources (Lancaster: University of Lancaster Central Print Unit, 1987), 232; Karoli epistola de litteris colendis, 780-800, MGH Capit. 1:79: Quamvis enim melius sit bene facere quam nosse, prius tamen est nosse quam facere.
3 Karoli epistola de litteris colendis, 780-800, MGH Capit. 1:79.
4 King, Charlemagne: Translated Sources, 233; Karoli epistola de litteris colendis, 780-800, MGH Capit. 1:79: Optamus enim vis, sicut decet ecclesiae milites, et interius devotos et exterius doctos castosque bene vivendo et scholasticos bene loquendo...
Carolingian reformers were very appreciative of the rich church history they had inherited, as well as the importance of the sacred rituals and feasts that created community within the church and empire. As McKitterick puts it, most Carolingian laity in the late eighth century would have only had a “veneer of Christianity” and would have needed to be schooled in not only the structures but also in the theology and symbolism behind those structures. That Christianization process, which I will explain in more detail later in this chapter, was achieved through education. Reform agenda was successfully circulated among and promoted by Carolingian scholars, bishops, and abbots through letters, capitularies, and book exchange networks and yet, the Carolingians needed at least some of that information to be diffused down to the local level – to parish priests and their flocks – in order to produce meaningful societal change. For Charlemagne, this was a conscious effort to proceed according to the example of his father Pippin and continue “to repair the manufactory of learning” in local churches and thus move away from the “sloth of our forefathers.” Thus, the reform capitularies and letters of the late eighth century were associating reform with education and linking the success of the reform movement with the superiority of the Carolingians as a dynasty and as a new society.

The question is how did the Carolingian reformers proceed without an established school system that trained pastors with a standardized curriculum? How did Carolingian spiritual leaders

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7 King, *Charlemagne: Translated Sources*, 208; and Karoli epistola generalis, 786–800, MGH Capit. 1:80: *Igitur quia curae nobis est, ut nostrarum ecclesiarum ad meliora semper proficiat status, oblitteratampene maiorum nostrorum desidia reparare vigilanti studio litterarum satagimus officinam, et ad pernoscenda studia liberalium atrim no st etiam quos possumus invitamus exemplo... Accensi praeterea venerandae memoriae Pippini genitoris nostri exemplis...*
on the local level move beyond the rudimentary level of education Charlemagne’s court has observed in the *De litteris colendis* letter, that is, if they did at all? In this dissertation, I will seek to demonstrate that the Carolingians were able to implement aspects of their idealized reform agenda successfully in the ninth century through pastors, which is a label I hope will function as a broad, neutral term in order to encapsulate the variety of spiritual leaders who were a part of the reform movement at this time. I will define the Carolingian reform movement in terms of both educational and religious aims because they were linked by the reformers ideally, as shown in the *De litteris colendis* letter, and actually, as I will demonstrate. I will take into account the goals of the legislation but will analyze in detail a select sampling of the actual educational tools that the Carolingians used to promulgate a movement of reform: pastorally-focused, intentionally assembled, miscellanies containing, among other texts, popular sermons. While Carolingian reforms began as imperially mandated goals, as the ninth century unfolded, and the Carolingian empire began to fracture politically, there is some evidence that the reform movement became self-run by local church leaders. I will look at two case studies which I believe provide us with a glimpse of what local reform and education looked like both inside and outside the schools.

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*Carolingian Essays: Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in Early Christian Studies*, ed. Uta-Renate Blumenthal (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1983), 72; and Yitzhak Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul, AD 481-751* (Leiden: Brill, 1995). The Carolingians clearly built on Merovingian systems but how developed those systems were, or how much survived the later, turbulent Merovingian years is a matter of debate. Hen’s research has pointed out that Carolingian propaganda shed a more negative light on Merovingian schools than they deserve. It appears as if Merovingian education was carried out in private and was more practical than scholarly in nature and thus the Carolingian educational goals were different. Contreni argued that in the eighth century the liberal arts were idealized but often misunderstood, which is evidence that the formal educational system was still in need of development.

I believe that these kinds of miscellanies were essential educational tools that were used in cathedral schools and disseminated to local pastors; thus they were employed in both formal educational settings and in lieu of one. These are valuable manuscripts for study because they diffused educational and religious reform on two fronts. On the first level, these compilations of texts were teaching pastors-in-training. Pastoral “Christianization” seems to have focused on developing a base of knowledge in pastoral care, scriptural comprehension, and liberal arts disciplines. In this sense, Carolingian pastors-in-training were receiving a customized Christian education through text compilations; the miscellanies contain orthodox sources, often abridged works of the church fathers, which detail and demonstrate skills such as biblical exegesis, grammar and dialectic, apologetics, preaching and sermon writing, and the administration of the liturgy and sacraments. The emphasis throughout these works is on meaning and symbolism; Carolingian pastors were not simply being taught the rituals and phrases that would fulfill the basic requirements of their office. They also received texts that imparted specialized knowledge with regional or chronological relevance, like a lapidary manual on a select group of stones, or a hagiographical story related to a current event. I will argue that these texts would have provided a pastor with practical knowledge that would help him establish himself as a learned authority figure in the community. In these ways, Carolingian reformers were using instructional miscellanies to provide a nuanced and multi-faceted manual for pastoral care.

On a second level, as Susan Keefe has argued, these collections often contained a mix of devotional works combined with didactic and popular works, meaning that not only could miscellanies educate pastors, they could teach them how to educate others, namely their lay
flocks. I will argue that pastoral, educational miscellanies contained popular texts that would have been used, in some cases directly, for the education of the laity. Pastors were taught about the administration of the mass and sacraments and, most importantly, their symbolic meaning. The most valuable texts in this category, however, in terms of understanding how the Carolingian pastors disseminated Christianization to the laity, were sermons that could have been used verbatim or as exemplars. In these ways, I will analyze two pastoral miscellanies in detail as case studies, in order to comment on the realities of the Carolingian educational and religious reform movement.

Carolingian Reform: The Ideal Blueprint for Reform

In addition to the De litteris colendis circular letter, which mainly focused on the problems with the kingdom’s educational system, the most overt and lengthy statement on Carolingian ideals for reform can be found in the 789 Admonitio generalis. This, too, was produced by Charlemagne’s court in Charlemagne’s name. In the spirit of the Old Testament reformer-king, Josiah, it is a capitulary calling for a long list of specific reforms. These instructions and exhortations are directed to a wide audience, as evidenced by the fact that some of the manuscripts include headings that address sections to bishops (episcopis), abbots (abbatibus), priests (sacerdotes), clerics (clericis), monks (monachis), nuns (nonnanis), virgins (virginibus) and the inclusive “all” or omnibus, which would have even included the laity. The capitulary writers open and close the document by addressing all spiritual leaders as pastors (pastores), which is a term I will also use throughout this dissertation in the same spirit. These recipients are explained to be the “pastors of

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11 Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen, MGH Fontes iuris 16:182.
Christ’s churches and leaders of his flock and brightest luminaries of the world.”¹² The agenda
Charlemagne’s court recommends over eighty chapters outlines the reformers’ idealized methods
of Christianization in the empire. They specify and condemn certain sins and crimes such as usury,
the breaking of monastic vows, absenteeism, bestiality, avarice, impersonating monks, circulating
heretical apocrypha, and pride. The reformers also encourage good practices such as the
observation of the Sabbath, the taking of the Eucharist, the kiss of peace, the veiling of virgins, the
preaching of the gospel, the examination of priests, moral living, and the singing of correct Roman
chant. In these ways, Charlemagne was reminding, encouraging, mandating, and guiding a reform
movement he knew required the participation of local leaders who were, at the time, generally ill-
equipped. The capitulary makes high demands and depends on a broad base of helpers. When
Charlemagne’s court worked to explain their reform objectives, they opened with an address to all
pastores, demonstrating that the reform agenda was to be carried out by local spiritual leaders from
a variety of categories: clerical and probably monastic leaders, as I will argue later in this chapter.
With the goal of articulating theological truths to the laity, they were to be bright lights and
shepherds who set an example through their lifestyle and habits. Their participation required that
these local spiritual leaders be educated, that they be authority figures in their communities, and
that they be held accountable to a higher calling. Moreover, the reform agenda stipulated that the
laity be correctly, persuasively, fervently and diligently taught.

A few of the later chapters, and especially the closing chapter of the capitulary, focus on
preaching strategies and thus transition into how these pastores were supposed to diffuse Christian
instruction to their flocks. As agents of reform, pastors needed to work on their own education and

¹² King, Charlemagne: Translated Sources, 209; Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen, MGH Fontes iuris
16:180: o pastores ecclesiarum Christi et ductores gregis eius et clarissima mundi luminaria...
moral character in order to teach and set an example for those under their care; this was how Carolingian reformers wanted Christian knowledge, practices, and values to spread throughout society. In chapter eighty of the *Admonitio generalis* Charlemagne urges spiritual leaders to preach orthodox theology, centered on the attributes and power of God and the Trinity, the incarnation, passion, and ascension of Christ, and the resurrection of the dead. Preachers are to warn listeners against the vices and real threat of hell, as well as encourage them in the virtues, almsgiving, confession, reconciliation and the rewards of heaven. The implication of placing this chapter at the end suggests that pastors needed seventy-nine chapters of instructions to lay the moral and educational groundwork before they could be exhorted to be diffusers of Christianization to others. Capitularies often put important topics at the start and end and, given the length and detail in this final chapter, that seems to be the case here. This series of instructions on living and preaching Christianity, coupled with the demands for stricter educational standards from the *De litteris colendis*, make up the heart of the aspirational Carolingian vision of reform.

The *Admonitio generalis* was idealized and yet it was also practical as it provided a rather specific blueprint for reform. It demonstrates that the Carolingians were formulating a plan in which texts would be created and disseminated for teaching purposes and local spiritual leaders would oversee the process. The reform legislation laid out a vision. While much of it was impossible to measure and other parts difficult to achieve, it did set in motion a series of changes which indicate efforts to carry out that vision. Many of these are high-level reform texts, such as episcopal capitularies and conciliar legislation, which were more prescriptive than descriptive. The

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reality is, however, that there was an explosion in text production, and especially in the production of sermons and pastoral texts, in the ninth century. I will argue that reform materials, particularly in the form of pastoral miscellanies containing sermons, can be seen as a vehicle for disseminating and indeed for carrying out the program locally. Although scholars have questioned the use of the term “renaissance” for this late eighth and early ninth century context, it has been widely accepted that this was a consciously intentional era of correctio that centered on developing an educational system. Earlier councils, even under the Merovingians, had been concerned with clerical morals, often admonishing priests about lust, greed, and corruption. What was new after 789 was that reforms sought to elevate the priesthood and required disciplined minds and words of spiritual leaders, not just behaviors. One of the most important ideas about the priesthood under the Carolingians, in the words of Carine van Rhijn, was the concept of “governing souls.”

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18 van Rhijn, Shepherds of the Lord, 62.
were to be involved in their communities, active as teachers and shepherds to their flocks, and were to preach theology and morality to their lay listeners.

Apparently, the Carolingians believed that the governing of souls could be taught through texts because the late eighth into the ninth century era saw a massive proliferation of manuscripts. Rosamond McKitterick has effectively proven that in as much as this was an era of correctio it was also an era of literacy and that the two were connected. Although proper Latin was at this point a learned skill due to the increased development of the vernacular languages, the basic understanding of Latin was not the linguistic barrier that scholars used to assume. As has been particularly argued by Roger Wright, Rosamond McKitterick and Michael Banniard, there were similarities between Latin and the proto-vernaculars; the distinction can be likened to the differences between related dialects. As a result, most illiterate listeners would have understood Latin if it was read aloud to them in this period. As Banniard puts it, “Latin was deep rooted among the populations of the empire” and it should be considered a vibrant and living language at the time, one that the developing dialects and vernaculars revolved around. In an empire that had united a wide variety of cultures, linguistic compromise was the norm and would not have been considered an obstacle in most of the empire. In addition, McKitterick has argued that such

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23 Banniard, “Language and Communication,” 703–706. This is particularly true in the Western parts of the empire, which is where my two case studies were probably used.
literacy was rather large-scale in clerical, monastic and lay circles. High literacy rates were assumed in the capitularies and charters and proven through the evidence of book exchange, private libraries, and letters. In this context, it makes sense that the Carolingians utilized texts for the dissemination of reform down to the local level; there was an expectation that those texts could be used even by minimally educated pastors, and even read in Latin verbatim to the laity.

Yet, while the Carolingians were relying on texts to spread reform ideas and Christianize the population, the learning they disseminated through these texts was not uniform. They required careful orthodoxy but did not enforce rigid standardization. Contreni refers to the “prismatic effects of the Carolingian programme” that may have been less centralized than the imperial court originally envisioned, perhaps because of a lack of resources. Yet, this allowance for diversity gave space for enthusiastic scholars, reformers and scribes to customize their instructions, prioritizing subjects such as grammar, a liberal arts discipline that reformers believed was paramount for the education of pastors. Carolingian masters also worked to select, abridge and comment on the works of the Church Fathers, even synthesizing different authors. These collections and commentaries made the Church Fathers more accessible to a wide audience. Thus, in the same way that the extant evidence seems to indicate that the Carolingians were relying on a variety of pastores, it also suggests that the Carolingians were supplying them with a variety of written tools.

24 McKitterick, The Carolingians and the Written Word.
A Cross-Section of the Historiography on Carolingian Education & Reform

As shown, the legislation about the reform movement, like the *Admonitio generalis*, and about educational goals, like the *De litteris colendis*, reveal the kind of reform the Carolingians *wanted* to achieve but not necessarily what the Carolingians were actually able to achieve. The reformers were working to create a literate society and they used texts, often based on copies from early church and late antique fathers, as reform tools; teaching through texts allowed them to spread reform ideals and educate local pastors in and in lieu of schools. Many scholars have sought to see beyond the legislative ideal of reform in order to try to understand the realities of the Carolingian reform movement. These studies have been inspirational and useful for this project in their efforts to analyze works that provided practical instruction and resources for pastors in this era.

In the following section I will first look at what scholars have been able to uncover about Carolingian schools. Next I will analyze a select cross-section of the modern scholarship that has focused on a variety of texts that were created to educate pastors and their lay flocks both inside and outside of the schools. Scholars have used a variety of extant sources such as episcopal statutes, virtues and vices treatises, lay mirrors, penitentials, baptismal instructions, miscellanies and sermons to try to determine the strategies of Carolingian reform. In the end, I will focus in the most detail on what has been done with Carolingian miscellanies and sermons, since these are the sources that I will argue have the most potential for unearthing what resources Carolingian pastors had at their disposal and to what extent Carolingian reform ideals infiltrated society.

*First, what did formal Carolingian schooling entail?* Pierre Riché, John Contreni and MM. Hildebrandt in particular have worked to discover actual Carolingian efforts to create an
educational system that could carry out their large-scale reform agenda. The setting for elementary education is unclear in the sources. Riché has hypothesized that monastic or episcopal complexes had separate external schools that were open to all students, whether they were entering the church or not. Hildebrandt, with her analysis of the Plan of St. Gall and monastic records, as well as capitulary, archaeology and charter evidence, has argued, however, that there is very little evidence that external schools existed outside of St. Gall. According to both Riché and Hildebrandt, monks were involved in the educational movement. Hildebrandt, however, argued that despite the ninth-century legislation that called for a separation between monastic and lay schooling, monasteries were not actually investing in building external schools, perhaps because of the economic and political turbulence of the middle and late ninth century. While Contreni did not address the issue of external schools, he did conclude that the proposed changes in the legislation of Louis the Pious and Benedict of Aniane that restricted monks would have been devastating to the reform movement if they had been executed in full. This, however, is just one legislative moment and not a reflection on a full educational policy.

Regardless of their exact parameters, the Carolingians were building school centers that were related to cathedrals and monasteries; literacy was increasing throughout the population. Riché and Contreni have estimated that there were about seventy active schools in the ninth century. On the most basic level, this is where students would have learned to read and write,

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often practicing with a Psalter.\textsuperscript{34} For students interested in joining the church, chant and computation were also taught.\textsuperscript{35} As much as writing was stressed, so was memorization. The material was often read or recited to pupils or books were loaned out so that students could memorize large amounts of material. Riché, whose research did not extend beyond the eighth century, argued that this was the extent of formal education for the majority of clerics and monks in the early Carolingian context.\textsuperscript{36} Higher education was offered to some and involved more training in Latin and rhetoric, specifically in grammar and dialectic.\textsuperscript{37} Riché has argued that although libraries contained complex, full texts from the Church Fathers, we cannot assume these were used as teaching texts, arguing that they were much too complicated for the vast majority of students. In the eighth century Riché doubted that exegetical skills were stressed at all and the focus in schools was predominantly on teaching the moral meaning of scripture.\textsuperscript{38}

Contreni has built on the conclusions of Riché and extended his study to focus on the late eighth into the ninth century context. He has argued that Carolingian schools continued to expand their influence and develop their curriculum as they gained highly educated masters as second and third generation students became masters.\textsuperscript{39} The reform legislation also inspired progress, and Contreni has argued that the study of grammar was moved from an alternative for higher education to a required educational goal following the demands of the \textit{Epistola de litteris colendis}.\textsuperscript{40}


\textsuperscript{36} Riché, \textit{Education and Culture}, 468.


\textsuperscript{38} Riché, \textit{Education and Culture}, 472–474.


century Carolingian schools formed sophisticated networks; they communicated with each other, participated in book sharing, so that “by the middle of the ninth century the Frankish contribution to the amalgam that had become Western European culture was palpable.” Reformers and school masters sought to revive the classical model of the liberal arts, stressed the importance of scriptural exegesis, and the study of the Church Fathers, although often still in small doses through strategically excerpted florilegia. These compilations were intended to simplify the rhetorical complexity of the original works and to emphasize points that were particularly relevant to the Carolingian present; compilers at times even mined a large number of commentaries in order to define a term or follow a specific idea. These compilations ranged in complexity and there is evidence that teachers and students often engaged in a series of questions and answers, practicing dialectic as they were learning it. The details of what this looked like, however, are in need of further study and will be one of the main goals of this dissertation.

Second, I will analyze how scholars have studied the ways Carolingian reformers were educating pastors and the laity through texts outside of the developing school system. This is not a comprehensive overview of the historiography on the realization of Carolingian reform but it is an analysis of a selected cross-section of works that have been the most influential on my research trajectory. Most of the recent scholarship that has tried to uncover the strategies of reform under the Carolingians has focused on the kind of oversight and instruction that pastors received through texts and often outside of the schools. Carine van Rhijn, for example, has used Carolingian

episcopal statutes to determine that, like the legislation envisioned, many bishops really were involved in instructing local priests in orthodoxy and the sacraments. These episcopal statutes showed a concern that local pastors understand and follow a code of behaviors, preach regularly and correctly to the laity, and remain under the control of their regional bishops. This new genre of texts was used for top-down reform, to connect bishops, enriched by their education, libraries, and councils, to their priests. And yet, episcopal statutes were, like the royal legislation, prescriptive texts. In fact, many episcopal statutes were written by bishops who were involved in shaping royal documents and thus they may have been articulating ideal goals more than reflecting the reality of reform and pastoral care.

In an effort to trace the ways the Carolingians used texts to spread reform, some scholars have focused on the educational texts the Carolingian created such as biblical commentaries, treatises on the virtues and vices, lay mirrors, penitentials and baptismal instructions. John Contreni estimated that there were at least 150 biblical commentaries produced between the eighth and tenth centuries in the Carolingian empire, but many have been left unstudied by modern scholars. The collection of articles in *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era* has filled some of this historiographical lacunae. Although Carolingian commentaries were intentionally rooted in the works of the Church Fathers, they were streamlined rather than exhaustive copies and they showed a great deal of originality in how they were put together. In the introductory article, Celia Chazelle and Burton van Name Edwards identified different waves of scholarship

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The articles that follow then detail the characteristics of those waves through analyses of different case studies; they thus work to show how Carolingian biblical commentaries can be used to reflect on the changing nature and aims of the Carolingian reform movement. This change over time will also be a point of emphasis in my research.

The work that has been done on treatises on the virtues and vices, lay mirrors, and penitentials has been useful because scholars have demonstrated that these texts were meant to diffuse Christianization to pastors and their lay flocks. More specifically, Richard Newhauser, Rachel Stone and Rob Meens have all concluded that Carolingian reformers were taking liberties in order to adjust the content and genre of works for their wide-reaching and practical reform purposes. Newhauser has researched Carolingian reformers’ use of treatises on the virtues and vices, which, traditionally, had been created for monastic audiences; the Carolingians repurposed and broadened the genre in an effort to establish “a renewed code of conduct” among clerics and laymen. Newhauser’s research indicates that the Carolingian reformers were redefining genres to use texts for dual purposes – the instruction of the clergy and the laity. Rachel Stone has since focused on the latter audience, looking at how these treatises, as well as lay mirrors, secular poetry, histories and legislation, were used to shape moral norms among the Frankish elite. Stone’s research has demonstrated that the Carolingians were not just trying to reach the laity with moral instructions, they were trying to transform the laity to be co-laborers in the reform movement.

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both Newhauser and Stone’s research, they were able to use texts to demonstrate how Christianization was being diffused to the laity.

While Newhauser and Stone focused on how reformers taught the laity to avoid sin, Rob Meens has done extensive work on the use of penitentials to understand how reformers corrected lay behaviors after sins had already been committed. His research has proven that early medieval penitentials were not simply derivative texts that contained straight-forward rules and consequences. Penitentials were meant to be adaptable guidelines that taught pastors how to teach moral standards to the laity.50 Meens argued that for a time, Carolingian reformers appreciated penitentials for their clarity and authority.51 But, as penitential production increased, regionalism and diversity increased resulting in sometimes significantly different prescriptions for sins. Although many other scholars have demonstrated that the Carolingian reform movement as a whole was marked by diversity, Meens has shown that a number of reformers became wary of penitentials because of these regional inconsistencies.52 In this way, Meens was able to use the evidence of penitential handbooks and how they were discussed in reform councils to analyze how the Carolingians struggled to implement empire-wide Christianization.53

As shown, scholars have been working to identify the ways that Carolingian reformers were completing reform agenda ideals and they have analyzed a variety of texts to that end. Susan Keefe’s research on baptismal instructions and the manuscripts in which they circulated has particularly impacted the field. In her 2002, two volume publication Water and the Word: Baptism

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51 Meens, Penance in Medieval Europe, 114.
52 Meens, Penance in Medieval Europe, 114–123
53 Meens, Penance in Medieval Europe, 138–139.
and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire, Keefe found, analyzed and edited sixty-one Carolingian baptismal instructions. Her objectives were to place these baptismal instructions within their manuscript context, to analyze the content of the baptismal instructions themselves, draw conclusions about the genre as a whole, and to reflect on the realities of the Carolingian Reform movement as separate from the ideals.\(^{54}\) With this work, Keefe effectively highlighted the importance of baptismal instructions for Carolingian Christianization, arguing that they were being used to educate spiritual leaders both inside and outside of the schools and that their messages were meant to be articulated to the laity.\(^{55}\) At the same time she noted that there was a great deal of diversity in these instructional texts, both in terms of how the symbolism was explained but even in the layout of the baptismal *ordo*.\(^{56}\) She also emphasized the value of looking into miscellany collections as a whole and called for more scholarship on pastoral collections. She argued that the nature of the reform movement “was not simply the cranking out of more, same florilegia for clerical instruction, but it involved the careful consideration of the texts and its appropriateness, the adding and exchanging of other sources, and the rewriting of the order of topics.”\(^{57}\) Keefe’s conclusions on the importance of baptismal instructions and the pastoral miscellanies in which they often appeared, as well as her massive catalogue of pastoral manuscripts have been extremely useful to this project and to the field.

**Historiographical Focus: Sermons & Miscellanies as Sources for Reform**

This overview has summarized some of the ways modern scholars have used texts to try to uncover how Carolingian reformers sought to diffuse reform to pastors and their lay flocks both

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inside of and in place of the developing school system. In all of these recent works there has been an effort to appreciate the Carolingians as creative compilers and diverse reformers. In this final section I am going to focus in greater detail on the ways miscellanies and then sermons, in particular, have been analyzed by scholars. I will also point out why I believe these two specific genres contain the greatest potential for glimpsing the actual ways that Carolingian reform was being implemented on the local level.

Keefe was not the only one who saw value in studying miscellanies, also known as *florilegia*. Their popularity under the Carolingians is unmistakable, given the large number that are extant. The high goals of texts like the *Admonitio generalis* and *De litteris colendis* required the circulation of educational manuscripts. While Carolingian *scriptoria* seem to have responded accordingly with a high proliferation of texts, the reality is that it was rare for most scholars and priests, especially those operating outside of the major learning hubs, to have access to extensive libraries. Contreni argued that *florilegia* were the solution since they brought together carefully selected parts of a number of commentaries and moral lessons. The selection and compiling process itself is important to study since it required that scribes interpret, harmonize, and prioritize a number of different authorities. These collections fulfilled the Carolingian interest in assembling information. As John Marenbon puts it, the Carolingians had an “encyclopedic level of learning dominated by authority rather than argument” because they were “active assimilators.” The *florilegia* devoted to classical education texts have received the most attention from modern scholars, since they were rather rare and demonstrate an early medieval interest in

secular, late antique instructional materials. McKitterick has noted that moral, Christian florilegia are abundant in the extant sources and seem to have been relied on by Carolingian reformers; nonetheless they have been largely overlooked by scholars. Many were filled with information that would have been useful for parish priests to use as reference works but at the same time, scholars have considered them derivative, since many of their texts were, at least in part, unoriginal copies from late antique exemplars.

For the most part, the moral florilegia that have been studied in the greatest detail are those that were made into one text and became very popular in the Carolingian period. For example, the Liber scintillarum of Defensor of Ligugé was circulated widely under the Carolingians and consisted of a collection of sentences from the Church Fathers on Christian virtues and behavior, particularly directed to monks. Another important example is Alcuin’s De virtutibus et vitiis, a treatise on moral behavior interestingly addressed to a lay elite recipient and yet circulated prolifically in a number of different manuscript collections. What Keefe’s scholarship in particular has brought to light, however, is that more work needs to be done on miscellany collections as genre. The same impetus that led Carolingian reformers to create florilegia texts,

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61 McKitterick, The Frankish Church, 163–164.

62 Brown, “Carolingian Renaissance,” 34; McKitterick, The Frankish Church, 42–44.


made up of strategically selected and combined extracts from the Church Fathers, led reformers and scribes to do the same thing with entire manuscripts.

An exception to this pattern in modern scholarship is the work that was done on the Merovingian miscellany, the Bobbio Missal, in the book of essays edited by Yitzhak Hen and Rob Meens in 2004 entitled *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*. Although this is a study of an early medieval compilation, it was compiled under the Merovingians, the ruling Frankish dynasty before the Carolingian take-over. The Bobbio Missal *florilegium* is particularly interesting to historians because of the range of materials it contains, including liturgical, canonical, and pedagogical texts. Even though the origin and exact dating of the compilation is unknown, and is complicated by the fact that there are clearly later additions and multiple hands, the twelve scholars who participated in this study were able to draw many valuable conclusions about the development of liturgy and the status, education and duties of Frankish priests of the seventh into early eighth-century Francia. The scholars who participated in this analysis looked at paleographical and codicological evidence and analyzed individual texts as well as the collection as a whole. Changes to the original selection of texts and uncertainties about details such as authorship, origin and dating were not regarded as dead ends but as opportunities for creative investigation and logical deductions.\(^{65}\) This study is useful because it analyzes a miscellany in terms of its overall content and specific details.

Another example of a more recent work on miscellanies, this time in the Carolingian context, is Felice Lifschitz’ *Religious Women in Early Carolingian Francia: A Study of*

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Manuscript Transmission and Monastic Culture. Here, Lifschitz analyzed the ways the nuns in two women’s houses in Francia, the houses of Karlburg and Kitzingen, created “in many ways feminist” miscellanies. She came to this conclusion through an in-depth study into how these women copied texts to form compilations. In particular she noticed that the nuns were rearranging and selecting texts that supported the learning and participation of women in the religious life and they skipped the sections that stated or implied otherwise. Although her main conclusions are especially interested in gender politics and expressions of feminism (as she defines it) in the Carolingian era, this study is also important because of Lifschitz’s methodology. Through a detailed analysis she was able to see not only the strategic changes that were being made to otherwise copied texts, but she was also able to draw conclusions about the compilations as a whole and how they were used as customized educational tools with a particular agenda and purpose.

In my research, I will focus on miscellanies that contained a wide range of pastoral materials and, in particular, those which contained popular sermons. I will argue that Carolingian reformers depended on compilation miscellanies in their efforts to diffuse reform outside of the court circles and school settings into local parishes. Pastoral, educational miscellanies strategically packaged accessible, practical, orthodox information for the purpose of continuing the education of pastors and helping them learn how to Christianize their lay flocks. Although I will argue that all of the included texts played a role in that effort, I will especially focus on the sermons as the culmination of these teachings. Thus, I will end this historiographical overview with an excursion

of the latest work that has been done on Carolingian popular sermons and the incredible potential of these sources, many of which remain unedited and unstudied.

The Carolingians clearly valued sermons, as evidenced by the large number that have survived. Thomas Amos identified 970 original sermons from the height of the Carolingian Empire between 750 and 950 AD and concluded that these sermons were circulated by bishops and abbots and scholars in an attempt to equip and train clerics.67 Amos focused predominantly on popular sermons that could have been read to the laity. The content of these sermons was simple and practical, focused on moral teachings and instructions on the symbolism and meaning behind the liturgy, creeds and prayers. Many were based on late antique sermons and yet contained original elements.68 Saints were used as exempla for moral and devotional teachings in an attempt to inspire popular piety.69 Amos pointed out that sermons played many functions in Carolingian society; they were used to encourage tithing, create a common sense of spirituality, promote confession and good works, and provide a rational and spiritual view of the world.70 To that end, these sermons kept things simple; Amos argued that preachers did not have high expectations for the laity in terms of their intellectual capacity or their knowledge of Christian theology and morals. The sermons were the laity’s religious education, at least in conjunction with what they picked up from the liturgy and sacraments. Common sermon techniques used threats of the coming Last Judgment and of hell as well as promises of the rewards to come in heaven to try to inspire lay loyalty and participation.71 Thus, their overall message focused on forming a common spiritual ideal centered

69 Amos, “The Origin and Nature,” 305.
on good works, divine grace, and eternal consequences. Amos concluded that sermons were circulated as an essential part of the Carolingian reform movement and were vital to educating pastors and giving them the resources and confidence to preach to the laity.

Despite Amos’ groundbreaking work, traditionally scholars have questioned the use of sermons under the Carolingians. Some have taken a minimalist approach and have argued that few if any of the written sermons would have been actually preached since the language barrier and educational divide would have been too great. Instead, Latin sermons were used for devotional purposes by the clergy. The maximalist approach, however, has been accepted in the most recent scholarship, especially in light of new theories on widespread literacy, as well as the close relationship between Latin and the developing vernaculars of the time. Many now believe that the “translation” from Latin to the vernacular could have been done by sight. Thus, even though the vast majority of Carolingian sermons were in Latin, they could have been read verbatim in the vernacular dialect. And this is supported by the fact that these sermons were clearly important to the reform movement since they were being created in abundance.

Another issue in the literature is that there is a confusion of genre terms in the early Middle Ages. Although the distinction between sermons and homilies becomes important in the late Middle Ages, in the early period, the terms were used interchangeably. The main distinction was

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between sermons that were intended for private devotion and the sermons that were intended for popular use. The latter could usually only be identified in the early Middle Ages by the content and style of the sermons: simple rhetoric, abridged length, moral focus or basic exegesis, and the explanation of a Bible story or the sacraments. This distinction can feel rather arbitrary but it is an important angle to explore since popular sermons are one of the rare texts that could have been directly read to the laity in the early Middle Ages.

Although sermons have slowly been getting more attention from scholars, the reality is that the majority of Carolingian sermons are anonymous works that were copied into miscellanies that cannot be dated or placed in a particular setting. Thus, most Carolingian sermons are hidden in larger collections, most cannot be associated with a *scriptorium* or preacher, most are predominantly based on copied late antique texts, and it is often impossible to prove which ones were actually preached and in what form. Although McKitterick has stressed their importance for the Carolingian reform movement, she has also argued that they have limited insights for the historian since these sermons were often copied from the past and even the original ones do not mention current events, were rarely used for royal propaganda, and contained little polemic or controversy. Undeterred by the potential pitfalls, however, scholars such as Maximilian Diesenberger and James McCune have continued to shed light on previously unstudied sermons and sermon collections since Amos’ study. Recently, Diesenberger and McCune have argued that, in contrast to McKitterick’s conclusions, sermons can be mined for references to historical events.

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77 McKitterick, *The Frankish Church*, 113.
and propaganda. James McCune has mostly focused on large sermonary collections; in particular he has been working on editing and analyzing previously unstudied texts from the Sermonary of Salzburg that contains 145 sermons. He has made the case that the Carolingians expressed a level of creativity and original thought in how they selected and abridged the copied texts that made up the majority of these sermons. Diesenberger and McCune have both expressed, however, that much more work needs to be done to both find and edit more Carolingian sermons as well as to analyze them for the specific information they contain in regard to the Carolingian reform movement.

Interestingly, McCune’s latest article has undertaken to study sermons in the context in which they were copied. In “The Sermon Collection in the Carolingian Clerical Handbook, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France lat. 1012,” McCune has focused on summarizing, analyzing and editing eight sermons that appear at the end of this compilation, which he has labeled an instruction reader. The bulk of his article is dedicated to summarizing the content of the sermons and editing

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them. He does have a section that takes into account the codicological context, which includes a baptismal instruction and treatise, one of Gregory the Great’s gospel sermons, the *Capitula Parisiensia*, the *Dominus vobiscum* mass exposition, a commentary on the Apostle’s Creed and on the Athanasian Creed as well as a number of Tironian notes. He calls this “an eclectic mix of texts of varying age and provenance” and notes a few ways the sermons are complemented by these other works, concluding that this compilation was probably created in a monastic or cathedral scriptorium for the use of a local priest or local priests in the region. Although McCune’s emphasis is predominantly focused on the sermons, his article exemplifies the benefits of studying sermons within their manuscript context. His analysis shows that these sermons were educational tools with varying degrees of usefulness for Carolingian reformers. They were providing resources for local priests to use in conjunction with other texts in the manual and they could be used directly by those priests for the education of the laity.

As shown, in an effort to move away from describing the ideal and closer to understanding the reality, scholars over the past few decades have been trying to look past Carolingian court legislation and to focus on alternative sources to try to shed light on the realities of the Carolingian reform movement. Their studies have been extremely useful for illuminating specific ways reform was being articulated and carried out, but these works were often analyzing Carolingian reform texts separately and out of their manuscript context. This has allowed scholars the opportunity to specialize their research and build a level of expertise on specific source types. While my approach in this dissertation is very much indebted to these works and their conclusions, I hope to contribute further insights into the Carolingian reform movement with my analysis of two case studies. My

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research goal is to present a detailed analysis of the texts contained in these two, carefully chosen exemplars and, at the same time, broadly analyze these two manuscripts as a whole and as a product of the Carolingian reform movement.

Both of my case studies are ninth-century miscellanies that, I will argue, were intentionally assembled and used for the education of ninth-century pastors and their flocks although in two different contexts. Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 was a teaching manual from the Laon cathedral school while Paris, BN lat. 2328, I will argue, was an instructional manual that was used by a rural pastor. Carolingian scribes were creating, copying, rearranging, and editing a large number of miscellanies in the late eighth and ninth centuries. These manuscripts contained a variety of seemingly disconnected texts. Many modern scholars have dismissed miscellanies, which were often anonymously compiled and circulated, and mainly consisted of copied late antique texts, as derivative. I will argue that this genre, especially those that contained sermons and other pastoral materials, was particularly valued by Carolingian reformers and teachers. The Carolingians were collectors and “specifiers” of information.83 Miscellanies allowed them to collate, classify and clarify bundles of information; they contained multi-faceted, pastoral and educational texts that were often subtly customized in terms of their content and points of emphasis. I will argue that these sources were used both inside and outside of Carolingian schools for learning, teaching and modeling pastoral care.

In general terms, my research in this dissertation aims to analyze each of these collections as a whole, paying attention to the details in how they were copied, edited and customized, but always in relation to their broader historical and manuscript context. I will be unpacking how these

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two compilations exemplify reform in action on the local level. This will allow me to add some nuance to the larger picture of Carolingian top-down reform but with a focus on trying to determine lived experiences of pastors and their laity. In these ways, although my research builds on the methodologies and observations expertly provided by other scholars in the field, I believe my dissertation demonstrates another way to analyze the realities of the Carolingian reform movement. In the following section, I will outline more precisely how I selected these manuscripts, my methodologies of analysis, and my chosen terminology.

Setting the Groundwork: Defining My Methodologies, Case Studies & Terminology

Many Carolingian miscellanies were anything but miscellaneous, at least in the sense of the word that implies a lack of order or purpose. I will argue that the included texts as well as the codicology of the manuscripts themselves, need to be analyzed in detail within the historical, literary, and manuscript context. We know the Carolingians were creating a large number of miscellany manuscripts, and I will argue that some of them were being made for multi-faceted educational and theological reform that could be diffused down to the local level. They are the intentional output of the Carolingian elite aimed towards whole-scale Christianization. In this section, I will first explain why I chose to focus on Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 and Paris, BN lat. 2328. I will also explain some of the contested terms I will use throughout this dissertation; in particular I will justify my use of the term “pastor” instead of the more traditional designation of “priest.” I will also explain what I mean by “Christianization.”

In this dissertation, I will be using a case study approach and will focus in detail on two, ninth-century, pastoral compilations that I believe were used for the education of local pastors
directly and for the laity indirectly. I chose these examples strategically, based on their codicology, manuscript history, and content. The first manuscript, which is described in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, is Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265. This collection of texts was written with a number of hands and can be divided into four parts. The first three have been dated and located by Bischoff as coming from the Saint-Amand region from the first third of the ninth century. The last section was created later, in the second third of the ninth century, and its location is not as specific but can be generally situated in northeastern France.\textsuperscript{84} It contains a broad range of texts including an apocryphal narrative, hagiography, heresiological treatises, capitularies on marriage and incest, commentaries, a partial mass exposition, a partial baptismal instruction and twelve sermons, some of which are unedited. The reason why I can study this seemingly piecemeal miscellany as an intentionally packaged instructional manual is because this collection was used as a school book at the cathedral school of Laon and opens with a table of contents written by one of the school’s prominent teachers, Martin Hiberniensis.

According to Contreni’s extensive research on the city and school of Laon, this fortified hill-top city was in a strategic location, especially during the times of trouble under Charles the Bald and the waves of Viking attacks. It became a refugee center for monks and intellectuals and had its own vibrant monastic community, with both male and female foundations; it was influential on the cities and schools around it, with a legacy that would outlive the school itself.\textsuperscript{85} Martin Hiberniensis was in the first generation of prominent scholars at Laon, a group that Contreni


\textsuperscript{85} John Contreni, \textit{The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its Manuscripts and Masters} (Munich: Bei der Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1978), 12–27.
referred to as the “Irish colony of Laon.” Martin was well-connected to the court of Charles the Bald and known for being an authority on Greek matters. In his position as magister of the Laon cathedral school, Martin would have been familiar with reform agendas and can be considered a mid-ninth century reformer. The fact that the manuscript starts with his table of contents, and its accurate outline of the surviving materials, shows that by the middle of the ninth century, Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 was being used in its extant form. In addition, Martin’s notes provide clues as to how its contents were categorized and used. Martin Hiberniensis may have supervised the combining of these collections of texts but even if he did not, his notes make clear that he at least thought of himself as an editor.

Thus, the first case study, the Laon codex, is a miscellany that can be connected to a Carolingian teacher and reformer and its ninth-century content can be verified. Even though we know that the Carolingians were prioritizing the establishment of schools and praising their value in the empire, as seen, for example, in the De litteris colendis, modern scholars do not really know many details regarding how pastors were taught in schools. I will closely analyze this Laon codex to try to better understand how these kinds of collections were being used in cathedral schools with pastors-in-training. Chapter 2 will focus on the longer, more rhetorical texts that were intended for personal study and reflection. I believe that these texts contained specialized knowledge for pastors; they were important theological, exegetical, liturgical and dialectical instructions and models for pastors-in-training. Chapters 3 and 4 will be devoted to the popular works in the Laon codex, which are mainly from the fourth segment of the manuscript that can be dated to the second third of the ninth century, possibly contemporary with Martin Hiberniensis’ post at Laon. These

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86 Contreni, The Cathedral School of Laon, 79.
87 Contreni, The Cathedral School of Laon, 102–109.
works, that include twelve sermons as well as an originally assembled dossier on marriage and incest, an instruction on emergency infant baptism, a hagiography that related to a current event, and the apocryphal *Evangelium Nicodemi*, can tell us what pastors were being provided with to teach the laity. Contreni has argued that Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 “was one of the books closest to Martin’s interests and teaching” and that it reveals that “Martin’s approach to Christian learning was traditional.” Its content covered the basic theology and practical knowledge needed to administer the mass and preach to the people. Even though this information is indirect, it was being taught to pastors to teach to their congregants in one form or another; these were sources that perhaps would have been read to the laity and they are thus valuable and rare tools for understanding the realities of the Carolingian reform movement. I will analyze what these popular works contain and how they packaged the information that pastors were to diffuse to their flocks.

My second case study will be the subject of Chapters 5, 6 and 7. In many ways, this collection has more uncertainty surrounding its purpose and use than the Laon text but I believe it may hold more potential value. This compilation cannot be traced to a particular user, school or church nor does it have a table of contents. It is an example of the kind of miscellanies that were produced in bulk by the Carolingians and typical of those which have been routinely ignored by modern scholars. It is, however, a valuable compilation because it contains a variety of texts on pastoral care, including popular sermons, some of which are unedited and original to this collection, and it is almost completely copied in the same ninth-century hand. This last point means that it was put together by one scribe in one location. Even if it contains a variety of texts, it is not a haphazard miscellany that was pieced together over time.

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88 Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, 130, 134.
This second case study is Paris, BN lat. 2328; Bischoff has dated it to the second quarter of the ninth century and located the scriptorium and single compiler broadly in southern France or perhaps southern Burgundy. Chapter 5 lays out an argument as to why I believe this miscellany should be viewed as an intentionally created collection of texts meant for the use and training of a local pastor. This is, I argue, an example of how education and Christianization could be diffused to local pastors to use in their congregations apart from the established cathedral and monastic schools. Chapter 6 will then focus on the instructions in the collection that I believe were specially included for the education of the pastor. Chapter 7 will focus on the instructions that I propose were to be used, either directly or indirectly, for the education and edification of the laity. They include ten sermons, some of which are original to this collection, a hagiography, Alcuin’s treatise on the virtues and vices, liturgical expositions on the mass and baptism, and a prayer, epitaph and chart related to the office of the dead and theology of the body-soul relationship. Whereas in the Laon manuscript, for the most part, the popular texts are clearly distinguishable, in terms of length and complexity as well as the break-down of the manuscript segments, the distinction is not as clear in the smaller and denser Paris codex. I will instead argue here that the included texts would have been viewed as multi-faceted educational tools, capable of teaching a teacher with materials he could then also use for teaching his flock. In these ways, it is a prime example of Carolingian creativity and ingenuity, even if many of its materials are significantly based on copied works.

Bernard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, vol. 3: Padua-Zwickau (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014), 70; Keefe, *Water and the Word*, 2.73; and Bullough, “Alcuin’s Cultural Influence: The Evidence of the Manuscripts,” 2–3. Bischoff notes that Paris, BN lat. 2328 was found in Saint-Martial Limoges but is from southern or southeastern France, perhaps Burgundy, and from the second quarter of the ninth century. Keefe’s information comes from a correspondence with Bischoff in April 1987. She says that the codex was in Limoges in the twelfth century but Bischoff did not think that is where it originated. Bullough, who also corresponded with Bischoff, said it was from an unknown scriptorium south of the Loire, perhaps in southern Burgundy.
In regard to my terminology of choice, throughout this study, in my search to understand the realities of Carolingian Christianization and pastoral care, I will use the term “pastor” rather than priest in an effort to consider the categorization of spiritual leaders in the ninth century broadly. Although this is not a perfectly neutral term, since it can sound anachronistically Protestant, I think it is a useful term that does not distinguish between clerics and monks. It was a term used by the Carolingians; for example, as I mentioned at the start of this chapter, Charlemagne uses the term *pastores* in his introduction to the *Admonitio generalis* in an effort to provide a general, opening address to all of the spiritual leaders he was entrusting with reform ideals.\(^90\) I will be arguing that the two manuscripts in this project were used to educate spiritual leaders in the ninth century who would have been in charge of preaching and administering the mass and would have been moral, theological, and intellectual leaders in their communities. In the Carolingian context it is not clear that these responsibilities were only for clerics for scholars have found that the evidence implies that many times the local spiritual leaders were monk-priests. Giles Constable, Susan Wood and M.M. Hildebrandt have argued that monasteries often overlapped with churches in terms of their practices and function in society in the early Middle Ages; many monasteries actually oversaw and operated churches and monks were especially entrusted with responsibilities for pastoral care because of their training.\(^91\) Thomas Amos argued that there was a strong tradition of monastic pastoral care in place under the Carolingians and that legislation that called for the cloistering of monks was speaking to an unrealistic and contested ideal. The scale of

\(^{90}\) *Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen*, MGH Fontes iuris 16:180.

reform that the Carolingians wanted to accomplish was simply not possible without the help of the monks, who were often educated and already serving as missionaries and well established in villages. Contreni notes that the capitularies restricting monks “flew in the face of tradition” and that it did not take long for the Carolingians to realize that excluding their best scholars and pastors, the monks, jeopardized the whole reform program. Although strongly worded, the capitularies limiting monks are outnumbered by legislation that implies or states the opposite. For example, the 847 Council of Mainz permitted monks to help serve in parish churches. In addition, it appears as if the number of ordained monk-priests continued to rise with the increase in private masses and liturgical ceremonies throughout the ninth century. Hildebrandt noted that dependent houses of major abbeys often had an educational and pastoral function and that monk-priests were teaching in schools for parish priests. She argued that the early reform councils emphasized the importance of education by any means, but monasteries were often mentioned specifically. The educational reforms were calling for all qualified teachers, which would have certainly qualified monks. John Nightingale found a high number of functioning monk-priests in his study of ninth-century Lotharingian abbeys. And Susan Keefe assumed that monks were educating priests or serving as pastors themselves in her study of Carolingian manuscripts containing baptismal records. Even the De litteris colendis that we started with in this chapter implies that monks were a vital part of

94 Amos, “Monks and Pastoral Care,” 173.
the reform movement. Charlemagne and his court were concerned at the monks’ lack of learning because they were afraid it would affect not only their prayers but could lead to errors in exegesis and in preaching; in this work, monks and clerics are both considered “soldiers of the Church.”

Therefore, if bishops and abbots, priests and monks were all being called to participate in this reform movement, and were all administering pastoral care in the Carolingian empire, and I am trying to determine the realities of how spiritual leaders were educated and equipped to that task, it only seems appropriate to use a neutral term. This is more important for my second case study with its anonymous recipient and early dating, since my first can be traced back to a mid-ninth-century cathedral school. As the ninth century continued, monasteries were being increasingly limited by stricter adherence to the Benedictine Rule. Even in the case of the Laon collection, though, there may have been monks in attendance or teaching. After all, there was a monastery in the city and, in the mid and late ninth century, Laon, being a fortified hill town, opened its gates to a number of monastic communities fleeing the attacks of the Northmen. There is no reason to assume that all of those monks were completely separated from the cathedral school. Regardless, I use the term “pastor” throughout, to be consistent and to stress that one must maintain broad designations for spiritual leaders in this era. In the future, to make this point even more strongly, I would like to add a third case study and focus on an educational manual such as St. Gall, SB Cod. Sang. 124, which contains the annals of St. Gall alongside pastoral materials including twelve unedited anonymous sermons, a baptismal tract, and works by Isidore, Augustine and some materials by Pseudo-Jerome on the gospels. The contents, which were copied in ninth-

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99 Karoli epistola de litteris colendis, 780-800, MGH Capit. 1:79: Optamus enim vis, sicut decet ecclesiae milites, et interius devotos et exterius doctos castosque bene vivendo et scholasticos bene loquendo....
100 Hildebrandt, External School, 134–136.
101 Contreni, The Cathedral School of Laon, 12–17.
century hands, would have been useful for monks as well as priests in charge of pastoral care, and this may be one of many examples of monk-priest educational manuals that need further study.

With my final note on terminology, I must also explain my consistent use of the phrase “diffusing Christianization” in this study. What were people being converted from and to? Many scholars are coming to a consensus that paganism was no longer an active threat throughout most parts of the empire by the ninth century. Previously, early medieval writers were taken seriously when they complained, sometimes in detail, about pagan threats to the church. According to Richard Sullivan, for example, the early Carolingian missionaries of the first half of the eighth century were in a constant battle against paganism and they sought to use sermons to stress the power and strength of the Christian God in order to counter people’s reliance on the pagan gods.102 Christian theology was to be taught after baptism, demonstrating that these missionaries were dealing with a pagan audience that needed to be slowly converted in stages, with the first phase focused on the appeal of Carolingian civilization, the example of the missionary’s conduct, dramatic miracle and saint tales and theology related to God’s power over creation.103

While Sullivan’s analysis of missionary sermons has been well-regarded in the field, Ian Wood’s more recent article on early medieval Christianization focused on the same era but he argued that the chief problem facing missionaries was not pagan gods or shrines as much as it was superstition and magic. These practices and beliefs were mixing with Christianity more than they were viewed as an alternative to Christianity for much of the laity, which is what made this threat

all the more insidious and difficult to uproot.104 Wood has also suggested that both Christianization and paganism have a spectrum of definitions. Christianization may include missions and paganism may refer to established cults but both sides would also have included the more organic process of cultural assimilation and the “seepage” of religion over time.105 It was this spectrum of beliefs that has made early medieval Christianization especially difficult to define. Lesley Abrams argues that “disentangling what was ‘religious’ in traditional practice from what was not must have been one of the missionaries’ most difficult tasks.”106 Based on the penitential evidence, some superstitious practices were deemed to be harmless and allowed, while others were strongly condemned and the distinction between the two seems to have been based on regional flexibility with room for interpretation, even while paganism was strongly condemned in the legislation.107 “The church did not always have the ability, especially in the countryside, to deliver sufficient pastoral instruction and supervision to impose its prohibitions.”108 Thus, although paganism was rarely associated with a defined pantheon, superstitious habits continued on in the early Carolingian period.109

For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I am primarily concerned with what Christianization looked like in the late eighth and ninth centuries, after these initial missionary efforts. In this context, references to paganism get more scattered and vague and yet they do continue to appear. Carine van Rhijn has argued that references to paganism in the Carolingian

sources were referring to bad Christians who stubbornly or ignorantly continued to dabble in pagan practices but were, like everyone else in the empire, baptized members of the church. James Palmer has questioned what the idea of paganism even meant to the Carolingians, arguing that it needs to be considered a “category of difference” in that “paganism” was a general characterization of Christianity’s perceived antitheses rather than a specific set of beliefs. Folk practices were often labeled as superstition but, rather than being feared, these behaviors were more often belittled as ignorant and a result of a poor religious education. When these actions were denounced as a form of paganism, the Carolingian authors were not interested in accurately or specifically describing paganism as much as they were interested in using the general concept of paganism as a foil for teaching orthodoxy. Julia Smith agrees with this idea, although she analyzed it from a different angle. She notes that the church put a lot of effort into providing alternatives to paganism and to defining orthodoxy in terms of prohibitions against paganism. This, as well as the threat of eternal damnation, was a method by which the Carolingian church impressed on people the importance of participating in church liturgy, rituals and penance.

In light of this research, I will use the term “Christianize” throughout this study to mean that Carolingian reformers wanted to change the mentalities, habits, and loyalties of the general

110 Carine van Rhijn, “Waren er heidenen in het Karolingische rijk?” Madoc 17, no. 1 (2003): 14–20. Kieckhefer envisioned a similar situation from a different angle, describing an early medieval world in which people from all groups (monks, clerics, doctors, midwives, diviners, and everyday laymen) were practicing magic. Although he focuses mostly on the later Middle Ages, he did cite evidence from Late Antiquity onwards. See Richard Kieckhefer, Magic in the Middle Ages (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 56–94.
population. In line with current scholarship, I do not think this was an effort against rampant paganism as much as it was against ignorance, apathy, and superstition. I do think that these issues, however, were taken seriously by Carolingian reformers who believed that negligence was one of the greatest enemies of the church. This kind of language was used in Carolingian treatises on the virtues and vices as well as in many sermons. It is in the language of De litteris colendis; “neglect of learning” is the culprit and the possible consequences are dire: misinterpretation of scripture, erroneous teaching, faulty singing and praying. Although the circular letter is specifically targeting the need for proper Latin learning in spiritual leaders, I will argue throughout this dissertation that the Carolingians were cognizant of the danger of ignorance and error on all levels of society. Carolingian Christianization was focused on imparting theological knowledge, inspiring participatory accord, and explaining sacramental significance. It was a top-down effort to get pastors and their flocks to participate in church rituals but also to stake their trust in the church’s power and community.

Over the next six chapters I will analyze these two miscellanies in detail with the overall intent to understand how Carolingian reformers supplied pastors with tools for Christianization. I will look at how information was packaged in a way that was accessible and practical for pastors on the front-lines of reform. I will also look at the content of the Christianization material. In what ways were these compilations providing an education for Carolingian pastors? In addition, with a particular emphasis on the popular works, and especially the sermons, I will also argue that these compilations can demonstrate what messages were being diffused to the laity. How far did the ideals of the legislation actually extend? My hypothesis is that these practical, customized, multi-
faceted, educational miscellanies hold the key to understanding how Carolingian reform was implemented on the local level in the ninth century.
Chapter 2: Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265

Introduction

Martin Hiberniensis was a scholar and teacher at the Laon cathedral school in the middle of the ninth century. Despite John Contreni’s extensive research, Martin Hiberniensis’ identity is shrouded in mystery, partially because he was often overshadowed by his more famous...
contemporary, John Scotus Eriugena. Martin Hiberniensis lived from 819-875, and seems to have served as *magister Laudunensis* during the pontificate of Pardulus between 848 and 856, until his death.¹ Martin is known for writing a commentary on *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* and a series of Greek notes known as *Scholica graecarum glossarum* and seems to have been regarded as an authority on Greek matters in the region. Although he used the title of *magister* he may have also been a monk.² Besides these bits of information, however, the rest of Martin’s legacy as an author and theologian has been lost. He did, however, in his day-to-day work and study leave behind tidbits of information hinting at his interests and strategies as a teacher. As I will argue, those hints are the secret to studying this miscellany, which I believe will provide a rare glimpse into the realities of Carolingian Christianization and education that is difficult to ascertain from other sources.

Martin Hiberniensis literally left his mark on one of the most prominent and well-connected cathedral schools in the ninth century.³ Thanks to John Contreni’s work in identifying Martin’s script, there are a number of Laon manuscripts that can be identified as part of Martin’s corpus because they are peppered with his notes.⁴ For the most part, his comments are not all that extensive or personal; he most often added in tables of contents, or summary titles in the margins, or signed his name. What is important about these notes, however, is that they reveal which books were actually used by a Carolingian teacher in a cathedral school in the middle of the ninth century. They also reveal how a Carolingian teacher chose to organize, label, and highlight his instructional

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² Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, 109–111.
³ Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, 95, 102–109; and Dermot Moran, *The Philosophy of John Scotus Eriugena: A Study of Idealism in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 19–20. Both have proposed that Laon may have been the site of Charles the Bald’s palace school in the ninth century.
⁴ Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, 95–102.
materials and the original order of the collections that were being used. In his research, Contreni chose to focus on the prior point, identifying and broadly describing the manuscripts that were being used by Martin Hiberniensis as well as some of the other Laon teachers. Contreni’s goal was to outline the manuscript evidence for the Carolingian-era Laon cathedral school over time. In my analysis of this manuscript, I am going to build on Contreni’s work and focus on the latter issue: how and what was Martin Hiberniensis teaching pastors-in-training at Laon? This compilation was filled with practical instructions on pastoral care, the mass and the sacraments and it contained devotional as well as popular texts, which would have worked together to provide a well-rounded education for a pastor. By concentrating on one manuscript compilation known to have been used by Martin Hiberniensis, in fact the one Contreni thought was “closest to Martin’s interests and teaching.” I will look at what it contained in order to analyze how pastors-in-training were being trained in the ninth-century era of Carolingian renaissance and reform.\(^5\)

The primary source in question is Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265. It will serve as my first case study and my analysis of it will be the focus of chapters 2, 3 and 4. It is a ninth-century miscellany, the texts of which are devoted to pastoral care instructions related to the administration of the mass and baptism, laws on incest and marriage, or sermon materials. There are also a number of scholarly works on orthodox theology, late antique heresies, and liberal arts disciplines. According to Bischoff and accepted by Susan Keefe, the collection can be divided into four parts. The first three sections were created in Saint-Amand from the first third of the ninth century. The last section, that contains most of the works that I will argue were meant to be used for popular purposes and presented to the laity, was put together in northeastern France a bit later, perhaps in

\(^5\) Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, 130.
the second third of the century.\textsuperscript{6} The compilation is made up of many different hands and clearly the Laon scriptorium was not responsible for its original creation. Thanks to Martin Hiberniensis’ penchant for organization, however, this collection has an important and rare feature that makes it a useful case study example: a table of contents.

On the first folio of Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 there is a complete table of contents in Martin Hiberniensis’ handwriting that lines up with the order of texts in the extant manuscript. This is an incredibly valuable find. In the Carolingian era, miscellanies were used extensively, based on the large number of them that are extant. They are difficult for modern scholars to study, however, since they were often put together by rearranging and merging different collections over time. In addition, most are anonymous with an unknown manuscript history and context; there is often no way to trace in what form they were used at a given time nor their intended or actual usage. Thanks to Martin’s simple organizational system, however, this Laon codex can be situated in a specific time and place, it can be connected to a user and a purpose, and its content can be studied with confidence.

In order to study the details of this collection of works to determine how it was being used to educate pastors, I will break the compilation down into a number of thematic units organized in two basic ways. In the first chapter I will discuss the units of texts that I believe would have been used by Martin Hiberniensis to teach pastors-in-training specialized knowledge and skills. After all, the Laon cathedral school, headed by Martin and often associated with John Scotus Eriugena, was home to a productive scriptorium and prominent cathedral. In close contact with the

Carolingian court, it would have been an exceptional educational facility.\(^7\) I will demonstrate that Carolingian pastors coming out of this school were trained in theology and the liberal arts, enabling them to be capable exegetes and rhetoricians as well as exceptional, moral, role models. Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 contains texts that prepare pastors for those roles; they are educational resources that were too lengthy or rhetorical to have been used for sermon material. Instead, they were meant for study and intended to deepen the spiritual expertise of these frontline reformers who were to go out from this school and function as the face of reform on the local level.

Chapters 3 and 4 will deal with the units of texts in the Laon codex that I believe were directed at popular audiences and the practical application of the gospel. These sources provided pastors-in-training with lessons and exemplars on how to diffuse reform in the lay context. Pastors may have been armed with specialized skills and knowledge but they also needed to know how to articulate and focus that information in such a way that lay audiences could understand and apply it. Thus, the following chapters will examine those practical units of texts that I will argue focused on the popular messages that pastors were to disseminate to lay audiences, both in the context of the mass and liturgy, as well as through pastoral care.

In my categorization of this compilation as a school text or instructional manual, I use but adjust Susan Keefe’s methods of categorization. In the first volume of her work on baptismal instructions, Water and the Word, Keefe suggests that scholars categorize educational miscellanies as one of four types: instruction-readers for priests (practical, modest collections that articulated clerical reform capitularies), bishops’ manuals (similar to an instruction-reader but they also

contained additional materials for study rather than application), bishops’ reference works (substantial collections of mostly full texts often containing multiple texts on the same subject), and schoolbooks (miscellaneous collections of mostly excerpts on a wide variety of topics). While I believe Keefe’s attempt at categorization is helpful, the reality is that these categories are very uncertain, which she herself admitted. Based on her definitions, Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 (which is not a part of Keefe’s catalogue in Water and the Word) could be considered both a bishop’s manual, an instruction-reader and a schoolbook. Like a bishop’s manual, it contains works useful for the instruction of pastors but also full text, non-essential works that could have been used for personal study. Yet, some of the texts are very short and excerpted and there is a mix of texts that align with the demands of the capitularies such as baptismal instructions and expositions on the mass, Creed, and Lord’s Prayer. Although I am indebted to Keefe’s work, I have chosen not to try to make my case studies fit into her exact parameters. I propose that Martin Hiberniensis used this Laon codex for his personal study and for the education of his students. In as much as he believed it was useful for his own sanctification, he would have believed it was useful for the edification of others. Thus, it was both a manual (although not for a bishop) and a schoolbook, both a reference tool and a teaching tool.

Throughout these three chapters I will use the Laon codex as a case study representing the realities of how Carolingian pastors were being trained to be pastors in the ninth-century in a cathedral school. While there was a great deal of Carolingian legislation devoted to outlining

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10 Keefe, Water and the Word, 1:26–7
expectations and ideals for Carolingian schools, it is difficult to reconstruct how these goals were approached and if they were actually realized in the schools themselves. I will argue over the next three chapters that Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 can give us a glimpse into Carolingian educational resources and strategies. Although only a few of the texts in this collection would have been original creations, and many of the scholarly texts examined in this chapter were actually copied from late antique exemplars in full, I believe their value can be found in the details. Carolingian reformers and scribes were strategic copiers and compilers; slight changes and additions were meant to create new points of emphasis and unite very different texts in order to form a new message with relevance for contemporaries. And in this Laon codex, Martin Hiberniensis’ table of contents and occasional notes provide additional clues as to how he organized and emphasized certain materials in his use of the collection. In these ways, this Laon codex represents the kind of educational compilation that was used in the cathedral school setting and thus serves to shed light on how Carolingian pastors were being educated through texts to serve as spiritual leaders in their communities.

Heresiology Manuals for Orthodox Instruction

Gennadius’ *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* and Isidore’s *De differentiis II*

Many of the theological materials contained in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 are focused on apologetics of the faith. There is a running concern throughout the compilation not only to provide information about the nature of Christ and the Trinity but to package that information in the form of a defense. While a number of texts in the Laon manuscript touch on these topics, there are two that appear to function as lengthy, theological manuals and thus build up the foundation of the codex’s educational plan. These works are Gennadius of Marseille’s *De
ecclesiasticis dogmatibus and Isidore’s De differentiis II. Although Gennadius’ text was well-known and circulated in the early Middle Ages, its presence in a cathedral school teaching manual primarily devoted to pastoral care texts and topics is curious. This is because Gennadius’ work was dedicated to recording, describing and refuting a long list of heresies that would not have been immediately relevant to a ninth-century Carolingian audience. In addition, although Isidore’s work, a theological grammar book, was perhaps a more obvious fit for a Carolingian teaching manual, I will argue that the compiler included it in this collection for a variety of complementary but not immediately obvious reasons.

Since they were the local faces of the reform movement, Martin Hiberniensis would have considered it imperative that the pastors under his tutelage go out from Laon with a high-level, reformer education: well versed in essential theology and prepared to articulate orthodox Christianity. I will argue that these two texts are a testament to an important way in which that training goal was achieved at Laon. Despite the seemingly outdated subject matter in Gennadius’ work, the copying of this text was in line with a Carolingian interest in amassing, classifying, and collating information in order to have a plurality of perspectives on a wide number of subjects and issues. Thomas Noble argues that the Carolingians had a “specifying” duty; while diversity was allowed in practice, the Carolingian clergy saw themselves as the defenders of truth and sought to establish theological *norma rectitudinis* in the empire by assembling orthodox information, and the inclusion of Gennadius and Isidore’s texts in this collection speak to this inclination. In addition, the Carolingians were interested in immersing themselves in the theology, worldview,

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and example of the Church Fathers. Even though heresies were rare in the early medieval west, they were rampant in the late antique church and many of the Church Fathers’ texts make reference to heresy, whether explicitly or implicitly.\(^{14}\) Thus, a crucial part of understanding the Church Fathers required that pastors-in-training understand the issues those theologians were addressing.

I will also propose that although the Carolingians were not encountering many heretics, they still had to be aware of the dissemination of incorrect and misleading information through the spread of forgeries and apocryphal works. Although some pseudonymous texts were recognized as such and still deemed useful, others were considered dangerous in a similar way to heresies. In fact, Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 has an example of each, as we will see! The presence of Isidore’s *De differentiis II* may help support this theory. In the late antique context but potentially in the Carolingian present, heresy was often a result of grammatical errors, an ignorance of important terminological distinctions on matters of definition. Isidore’s text addresses just this issue and seeks to remedy errors of ignorance by defining terms and nuances. I will argue that this grammatical theology manual should be read as a Carolingian heresiology of sorts, especially in light of Gennadius’ work. Overall, I believe the presence of these texts in the Laon teaching manual requires that we broaden the typical categorization of heresiology works in the early Middle Ages in order to understand them as Martin Hiberniensis did: as teaching tools with a historical framework that used heresy as a foil for orthodoxy and sought to stress the imperative of grammatical and rhetorical skills, the central disciplines of a liberal arts education at schools like Laon.

Gennadius of Marseille’s *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* on folios 36r-50v is the second text in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265. Its full title in the manuscript is *Incipit Liber Sancti Augustini ad Petrum Diaconum de Fide Sancta et Trinitatis et De Difinitioni* (sic) *Ecclesiasticorum Dogmatium*. In the table of contents, Martin Hiberniensis labeled the text: *Liber augustini de fide sanctae trinitatis [et] de definitionibus ecclesiasticis* (sic). This is a text that explains essential theology about the Trinity, nature of Christ, soul and flesh, resurrection of the body, origin of evil, pleasures of the flesh (marriage and food), importance of baptism and depths of sin and human depravity, as distinct from named, late antique, heretical views on these topics. In the Laon codex, this text is falsely attributed to Augustine, as was commonly the case for the work in the early Middle Ages. Cuthbert Turner, in his 1905 edition, noted that early copies as well as previous editions of the text have attributed the work to a number of authors including Augustine, the members of the Nicene Council, and Gennadius. Based on Turner’s findings, the Laon codex was one of thirty-four manuscripts from the late eighth to early tenth century that included this work. Out of those, it was one of nine that attributed it to Augustine, with the majority of them referring to it as an anonymous work.¹⁵ Thus, Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265’s attribution to Augustine was not unusual but it was also not uniformly accepted at the time.

Gennadius was a late fifth-century priest, theologian and writer; most of what is known about him is centered on what he revealed about himself in the last entry of his addition to Jerome’s *De viris illustribus*. He called himself a presbyter of Marseilles and claimed to have written eight

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books against all heretics, five against Nestorius, ten against Eutyches, three against Pelagius and
treatises On the Millennium, On the Apocalypse of Saint John, and an epistle On my Creed.\textsuperscript{16} Since
Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum is not mentioned in this list, it is commonly accepted that this
work was actually the latter part of Gennadius’ eight volume work against heretics and that the
previous volumes have since been lost.\textsuperscript{17} In this work, Gennadius relied on a wide range of early
church and late antique authorities and refuted heretics who wrote in both Greek and Latin
including: Marcellus, Eunomius Aetius and Macedonius, Didymus, Diodorus, Nestorius,
Eutyches, Apollinaris, Lactantius, Jovinian, Helvidius, Vigilantius, and the Luciferians. It is a
scholarly text that briefly but methodically laid out orthodox points of view alongside heretical
counterparts and expertly refuted the latter to promote the former. The “name dropping” of famous
heretics and theologians provides a historical survey of the major highs and lows of church history
and it is copied in full in this manuscript.

The importance of its message and genre is not only implied by the amount of space it takes
up in the codex but because it was not the only heresiology in the Laon codex. Although they use
a different methodology and focus on different issues, as will be addressed in more detail in the
following section, Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 also contains Fulgentius’ De fide ad
Donatum and De fide ad Petrum, and two excerpts from Jerome’s Commentariorum in Daniele.
All of these works also list heresies; Fulgentius’ is similarly focused on late antique heresies and

\textsuperscript{16} Gennadius of Marseilles, De viris illustribus, ed. E.C. Richardson, Texte und Untersuchungen 14 (Leipzig: J.C.
Hinrichs, 1896), 97.

\textsuperscript{17} C. Turner, “The Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum: Supplenda to J.T.S. vii 78–99,” Journal of Theological Studies
8 (1907): 103–114, 104. This observation was made by Rev. F.W. Puller through a letter in response to the 1905
edition that Turner quotes from on this page.
particularly Arianism, and Jerome’s proposes and counters theories on the ultimate heretic, the Antichrist. Thus, heresiological works make up a large part of this teaching collection.

Noting the number of late antique texts that mention heretics in the Laon manuscript is important because the manuscript context is an important factor when evaluating a text like Gennadius’. His heresiology takes on a different function when it is placed in a Carolingian teaching manual. In particular, the pairing of Fulgentius’ works with those of Gennadius is instructive. Fulgentius was a late fifth, early sixth-century, North African theologian, monk and later, bishop. He was living under Vandal, and thus Arian, rule and persecution. On the surface, his texts appear to work well with his contemporary Gennadius’ work. Both authors intentionally sought to provide an overview of information to help Christians remain orthodox in the face of heresy, although Gennadius put more of an emphasis on refuting heresies and Fulgentius put more of an emphasis on explaining orthodoxy. There are, however, historical and theological nuances to both works that could have made them incompatible in their original context, most obviously being the fact that Gennadius has traditionally been labeled a “Semi-Pelagian” while Fulgentius, a public defender of Augustine, extended Augustine’s predestinarianism perhaps to combat the so-called Semi-Pelagians.

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The “Semi-Pelagian” label is an early modern designation and a term that has been much debated by scholars; it refers to fifth and early sixth-century concerns with St. Augustine’s assertion that salvation was an undeserved gift that was unconnected to human merit and freely given by God to his elect. Augustine’s theology on this matter was partially in reaction to Pelagius’ heretical beliefs, but some late antique theologians believed Augustine had gone so far towards grace that his predestination theology nullified the importance of good works and self-discipline. Rebecca Weaver in her study of the controversy, embraced the use of the term “Semi-Pelagian,” with some caveats. She believed that it was a useful term for understanding that Augustine’s views on this issue were seen by some as threatening to the monastic way of life. Other scholars, however, have argued against the concept that there were ardent Semi-Pelagians in a consciously articulated theological feud. Whether or not these differences in theology were considered a divisive problem, the works of Gennadius and Fulgentius would have undoubtedly been recognized as coming from opposite points of view in the sixth century, as evidenced by the fact that a compromise regarding this issue had to be established at the 529 Council of Orange. The inclusion of both of these texts without comment in this Carolingian teaching compilation,

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21 Weaver, Divine Grace and Human Agency, 37–41.
23 Weaver, Divine Grace and Human Agency, 1–4.
however, implies that their differing theological perspectives were either not recognized or not bothersome to Martin Hiberniensis in the ninth century. In fact, Gennadius, the supposed Semi-Pelagian, is confused with Augustine in the Laon codex! This demonstrates why late antique texts need to be read in a new light when they are copied by the Carolingians, who were working in a much different ecclesiastical landscape. They were being taken out of their original historical context in order to be used for ninth-century purposes.

The next obvious question is to ask what are those ninth-century purposes, specifically in a cathedral school context? Averil Cameron, although focusing on the medieval Byzantine context, changed the trajectory of scholarship of this genre when she urged scholars back in 2003 to take a more nuanced and complex approach to reading heresiologies. The reality is that texts listing and describing heretics were being produced in Byzantium long after those heresies were no longer relevant. Historians used to categorize these works as derivative and narrow-minded but Cameron argued that they needed to be read as “part of Byzantine pedagogy and the Byzantine sociology of knowledge.”

It was a reflection on the fact that the Byzantine Empire had a culture of debate, they reasoned through disputes and saw a value in those conclusions. Cameron also noted that these texts could be viewed as historical records of the triumphs over heresy, an important “evolution of mankind through the centuries from barbarism to Christianity.” Heresiologies, therefore, were in a sense historical texts.

In line with Cameron’s observations, albeit in a different context, the heresies Gennadius listed and Fulgentius feared were no longer existent in any meaningful way in the ninth-century

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26 Cameron, “How to Read Heresiology,” 475–476.
west. I believe that both texts were being used by Martin Hiberniensis for their value as historical accounts and as a foil for teaching orthodoxy. First and foremost, the Carolingians were interested in collecting together authoritative texts from the past in general and these anthologies on heresies and their orthodox counterparts were packed with information that would have been important for Martin Hiberniensis to teach to pastors-in-training who were going to read and understand the Church Fathers. According to Ann Matter, “heresy and orthodoxy are defined in a dialectical exchange… that sense of exchange, even the sense that these debates, in important ways, were disputes between equals, is lost to subsequent generations.”

In other words, in the ninth century, Carolingian students would not have understood the historical details of late antique heresy debates and, as a result, they had a limited understanding of the creeds. I think that the presence of Gennadius’ text in this Laon codex provides evidence for Cameron’s and Matter’s assertions; identifying and understanding heresy was a learned skill, taught as a way to understand church history in cathedral schools like Laon, in a context in which heretical disputes rarely occurred. Part of a cathedral school education was to teach pastors-in-training about the heresies of the past as a tool for understanding the Church Fathers and early church councils.

Along those same lines, not only was understanding heresy an important prerequisite for comprehending the history of the church and the words of the Church Fathers, but heresies had traditionally been used to explain their opposite: orthodoxy. In the Laon codex, Gennadius and Fulgentius’ texts are complementary, with one focusing on the problems and the other one focusing on the solutions. Both sides needed to be explained to ninth-century pastors so that they could understand the writings of the Church Fathers in their reading but also so that they could appreciate

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the need for developing clear statements of orthodoxy in their sermons. For example, Gennadius opens with a long, repetitive explanation of the Trinity, being careful to explain that each member of the Trinity is equal but with different roles, and yet the bulk of his complicated definition is reserved for references to heretics and their opposing views. This strategy gives Gennadius’ seemingly pedantic attention to detail a purpose by showing how heretics have misunderstood these ideas in the past, which led them astray. The conclusions of foundational early church councils were carefully crafted statements of orthodoxy made in response to heretical attacks and errors. These statements of theology could only be appreciated if there was an understanding of what they were regulating; using heresy as a foil for understanding orthodoxy infused the conversation with a sense of urgency and imparted a level of responsibility to the recipient of the information.

Although in the ninth century the Carolingians were not battling these exact heresies, similar conversations were continuing in reform circles. It was common throughout the Middle Ages and especially under the Carolingians for new heresies to be compared to these original heresies. For example, Adoptionism, perhaps the most obvious heresy that the Carolingians chose to deal with, was at different times called Arianism, Euchianism, Nestorianism and Manicheanism; Adoptionists were even compared to Photius, a lesser known Semi-Arian from the fourth century! Haimo of Auxerre included warnings against long extinct heresies in his biblical commentaries. Matter argues that this was because “he tended to look at his contemporary theological scene through the lens of the ancient heresies in his reference works, and that this lens colored his view of the issues related to orthodoxy in his own century.”

28 Matter, “Orthodoxy and Deviance,” 513
29 Matter, “Orthodoxy and Deviance,” 515
immersed in the sayings of the Church Fathers, had trained themselves to see the world as they did and to categorize right and wrong in similar ways.\textsuperscript{30} This too, needed to be taught and it seems to have been part of Martin Hiberniensis’ curriculum. He wanted his students not just to memorize orthodoxy but to understand the long history behind these debates; he wanted them to appreciate the time, prayer, work, and deliberation that went into statements of faith and the creeds so that they could appreciate the distinctions. These pastors-in-training were not simply given guidelines to memorize, they were also provided a timeline of historical events and I contend they were being welcomed into a long line of spiritual leaders in the process. Perhaps this was a way that Carolingian reformers encouraged pastors-in-training to continue to hold the line, maintain the norma rectitudinis, as their predecessors had. Although they may not have had to combat heretical groups to the same extent, Carolingian pastors were being commissioned with the promotion of orthodoxy as part of a movement, headed by pastors, and charged to continue to keep heresy extinct in the empire.

The other text that seems to serve as a beginner’s level instruction manual is Isidore’s De differentiis \textit{II}. Folios 125v–148v contain Isidore’s \textit{De differentiis II}, a theological grammar book that was copied into the middle of a collection of gospel sermons towards the end of the compilation. Isidore lived and wrote in the late sixth and early seventh century and bequeathed a vast and important legacy to the Middle Ages through his writings.\textsuperscript{31} \textit{De differentiis II} appears to have been one of Isidore’s first works, and can be placed between 598 and 615.\textsuperscript{32} His texts were

\textsuperscript{30} Matter, “Orthodoxy and Deviance,” 511–513


being diffused across Europe even before his death. Some of them, including *De differentiis II*, were known in Ireland by the middle of the seventh century, which may have been why, as Contreni has observed, it was a text that many Irish masters such as Martin Hiberniensis knew well and favored.³³ María Adelaida Andrés Sanz based her critical edition of the second book of Isidore’s *De differentiis II* on twenty-six complete and seven fragmentary manuscript copies of the work that could be dated to before the eleventh century. The largest group was from the ninth century; Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 is one of twenty-one manuscripts Andrés Sanz was able to identify from the height of the Carolingian renaissance.³⁴ Thus, Isidore’s *De differentiis II* was not an unusual book to appear in Martin Hiberniensis’ pastoral training manual but was widely circulating at the time of its creation.

In *De differentiis II* Isidore discusses the meanings and differences between commonly confused or misunderstood words.³⁵ This work is part a study of etymology and grammar but is also part theological, since Isidore covers concepts such as the difference between *deus* and

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163. This wide window of composition is due to some of his internal references. María Adelaida Andrés Sanz, in her 2006 critical edition of the text, however, argues that it was written in the first half of that date range.


³⁵ María Adelaida Andrés Sanz, “Relación y transmisión manuscrita de los tres libros de Differentiae editados en P.L. 83 (Isidoro de Sevilla),” *Revue d'histoire des textes* 30 (2000): 239–262. In later circulation and in earlier modern editions, *De differentiis* consisted of two books, with the first devoted to an alphabetical description of synonyms or similarly sounding words. María Adelaida Andrés Sanz has proven, however, that the earliest copies, including Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, do not contain or reference that first book as being connected to the second. As a result she has argued that these two works were not originally written or circulated together. She suggests *De differentiis II* be called *Inter Deum* after the first words of the first chapter but recognizes it has been called *De differentiis II* for so long in the scholarship that both names still need to be used.
dominus, religio and fides, or animus and anima. Andrés Sanz argues that Isidore intentionally reached much broader than the grammar book genre in order to cover more branches of knowledge and inspire theological reflection. In addition, De differentiis II was influential on early medieval educational practices because of its section describing the liberal arts. The beginning separates out doctrinal matters that should be studied through scripture and the Church Fathers, and then the latter parts of the work are focused on worldly knowledge or philosophy that Isidore breaks down into three overarching categories of physics, logic, and ethics. His explanation was valued both for its clarity as well as its practicality. Isidore saw these disciplines as important to shaping a Christian worldview and leading towards good works. In the Carolingian era, major reformers such as Alcuin and Theodulf would continue to depend on this three-part schema (in contrast to Cassiodorus’ earlier two-part system).

In his opening remarks, Isidore explains that the reason why he is writing a work on definitions and synonyms is because, although the Church Fathers had explained these terms, many words had since been misused by secular poets who manipulated vocabulary to fit their meter. In

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37 Andrés Sanz, Isidori Hispalensis, CCSL 111A, 26*–27*, 41*–47*. She argued that the chapters fall into four major categories: (1) some, like the chapter on the difference between virum and hominem, are truly grammatical explanations; (2) some, like the chapter on Deum and Dominum, distinguish between synonyms that require a contextual as well as a grammatical explanation; (3) others, like Inter personam Patris et Filii et Spiritus, deal with words that are not synonymous in a grammatical sense but their meanings or significance can overlap or are often conflated; and (4) the final category covers those chapters, like Inter infantem et puerum, that include all these characteristics in their explanation.
38 Carmen Codoñer, “Influence isidorienne sur l’évolution des artes liberales,” in L’Europe hérétique de l’Espagne wisigothique, ed. Jacques Fontaine and Christine Pellistrandi, Collection de la Casa de Velázquez, vol. 35 (Madrid: Recontres de la Casa de Velázquez, 1992), 234–237. Isidore has a similarly themed section in his much later work, Etymologies, that although similar in subject matter reads much differently since De differentiis II’s discussion of the liberal arts was meant to be directly applicable, whereas the Etymologies description was abstract and conceptual.
the spirit of Cato, but with the concern of a pastor, Isidore wanted to educate his audience as to the exact meaning of important Latin words that were often misunderstood.\(^{40}\) Spain at this point was just beginning to go through a much needed educational and religious renaissance. Isidore was devoted to the process of educating priests and that education, as shown in *De differentiis II* and in his well-known *Etymologies*, was not just focused on theology and pastoral care. Isidore was a proponent of liberal arts education and believed that a well-rounded curriculum was the first step in training the mind to reason and in turning the mind towards contemplation.\(^{41}\) He was, however, working with a Spanish episcopate that had fallen into moral and intellectual decay under the Visigoths. He had to put a lot of effort into teaching a new generation of clerics the basics in terms of literacy, liturgy, morality, and theology.\(^{42}\)

As demonstrated by this lengthy copy of *De differentiis II* in a Laon teaching text, Carolingian church leaders apparently believed it could continue to be useful in their own developing educational system. On one level, perhaps Martin Hiberniensis needed this text to teach his pastors-in-training proper grammar and vocabulary terms. After all, as evidenced by Sedulius Scotus’ commentary on Donatus’ *Ars maior* and *Ars minor*, ninth-century Frankish pastors-in-training would probably have needed this instruction just as much as Isidore’s audience. Scotus’ commentary assumes his Carolingian readers were ignorant of even the most basic grammatical concepts. While local priests and many scribes, depending on the region, probably had modest capabilities, at the same time, Carolingian reforms were encouraging higher standards and a revival


Vivien Law has argued that Carolingian intellectuals were actually innovators in terms of grammar and dialectic. This was especially true in the ninth century; due to the successes of reform goals “there were now enough teachers and enough appropriate textbooks to release the energies of some individuals for more advanced studies.” Law does caution, however, that scholars need to have a nuanced understanding of grammar books and urges more historians of education, literacy, linguistics and manuscripts to analyze these works because they take on a different meaning and usage depending on the context they were copied into. They were not all simply for teaching better Latin. In that spirit, I will argue that De differentiis II had multiple purposes in the Laon codex. While it may have served as a grammatical and dialectical handbook, when analyzed as part of Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 as a whole, it may have also served as a heresiology in a similar manner to the role that Gennadius’ text had played in its original late antique context.

As Carolingian reformers championed orthodoxy and accuracy, a manual that explained the differences, both etymologically and theologically, between often used theological terms was valuable in the cathedral school of Laon. Both Gennadius and Isidore’s instruction manuals emphasized the importance of education, knowledge, and terminology and they used positive and negative examples to demonstrate the nuances behind the basic theology of the faith. The

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45 Law, Grammar and Grammarians, 155.

articulation of theology was an essential component to orthodoxy and it was especially vital that those in charge of diffusing reform were aware of the correct definitions and the essential “building blocks” of the faith. Isidore’s text assumes nothing and carefully defines the most foundational topics: the basic etymologies, definitions, and relationships between terms and concepts. In its original late antique context, Gennadius’ text would have served as a useful tool against dangerous heretics but, in a ninth-century, cathedral school book, I have argued instead that Gennadius’ text was important as a tool for understanding the writings of the Church Fathers and for participating in the reform rhetoric and world view. Thus, even though Gennadius’ heresiology included a long list of heretics, in this miscellany I think Isidore’s theological grammar book would have been considered the most practically relevant heresiology, of sorts, for the ninth-century context.

The Carolingians were not dealing with widespread heresies, but they were encountering issues with accuracy and orthodoxy when it came to circulated texts, particularly due to the creation and dissemination of forgeries, apocrypha and pseudonymous works. For example, in the Admonitio generalis, there is a warning against apocrypha that are “expressly contrary to the catholic faith.” In some cases, these works were labeled as such and yet still accepted. The Laon compilation actually opens with an apocryphal narrative, labeled the Gesta Salvatoris, and it contained a preface that warned readers that the text should not be considered authoritative since Pope Gelasius and seventy bishops had classified it as apocryphal. Despite this warning,

47 Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen, MGH Fontes iuris 16:228; and King, Charlemagne: Translated Sources, 218.
48 Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265. f. 2r: Hunc librum qui vocatur gesta salvatoris nullatenus recipimus quia nullum habet pondus auctoritatis, quia sanctus papa Gelasius cum lxx episcopis, viris erudissimis, inter apocryphas (?) deputavit scripturas.

Note: In my analysis of these two case studies I will be citing the Latin text from the manuscripts themselves, not the printed critical editions. I am not making an attempt to edit these texts. I use a question mark to note when the handwriting is unclear.
however, the text remains in the collection, copied in full and taking up thirty-three folios. In other cases, such as the apocryphal text on folio 122v, a warning statement was not enough. This text was labeled as being falsely attributed to Augustine and actually heretical in nature and, as a result, it was obliterated from the manuscript with a series of X’s over the page.\(^49\) This shows that even in a compilation used in a cathedral school, pastors needed to be on guard against problematic texts and I would argue, this may have been the most pressing “heresy” in the Carolingian context.

John Contreni has argued that “grammar and the explication of secular and religious literature were fundamental to Carolingian schools and literary culture.”\(^50\) Grammar was the first art, the foundation of a liberal arts education and an essential discipline for a pastor-in-training to master. Grammar went with dialectic, and focused on the ability to understand and manipulate language, leading to the art of rhetoric and the art of persuasion. These were essential skills needed to understand Scripture and the Church Fathers as well to preach and teach these matters to the laity.\(^51\) Isidore’s *De differentiis II* both describes and demonstrates grammatical and dialectical skills. Since it was included in the Laon manuscript in the midst of a number of popular sermons, it may have been originally copied into that section as an aid to sermon writing. When read in this manuscript context as a while, however, I think it takes on a second purpose as well.

Much of the first half of the Laon codex was dedicated to texts on heretics. Those heresies were long extinct in the west, which is why I have argued that the work by Gennadius, and to a lesser extent those by Fulgentius and Jerome, were used for other educational purposes. In addition

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\(^{49}\) Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265. f. 122v: *Non est hoc expositum sancti augustini ut hic falso per titulatum sed a quod heretico nimitis temerario igterrulo (?) ad inventum et ex sensu proprio novitus conscriptum, Incarnatio enim Christi magis fide debet credi qua argumentus verborum discutis (?)*


to providing information that would allow Carolingian pastors-in-training to better understand the writings of the Church Fathers, Gennadius’ work may have also encouraged these students to consider themselves a part of church history. They, like their predecessors, were in charge of passing on and protecting orthodoxy; Carolingian pastors were to accomplish this, maintain the norma rectitudinis, by correctly articulating the Christian faith. Isidore’s De differentiis II taught orthodox theological vocabulary to pastors most pressingly, in the ninth century, in order to teach them how to articulate the faith and recognize the “heresy” of their day: inaccurate, incorrect, or even deviant texts in circulation. Isidore’s work provided the terms and demonstrated the importance of nuance and careful distinctions. Gennadius work then showed how this kind of knowledge could be used to determine orthodoxy.

Although I have argued that Isidore’s grammatical, theological manual could be analyzed as a heresiology, the reality is that outspoken heretics were not lurking at every corner in the ninth century. I have taken up Averil Cameron’s challenge and redefined what a heresiology would have looked like in the ninth century. As articulated in the circular letter, De litteris colendis, educational issues were linked in the minds of the reformers to theological issues. Spiritual leaders who did not know their grammar or their Latin could not be trusted to be accurate prayer leaders, preachers, or exegetes. Gennadius and Isidore’s texts in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 used both negative and positive techniques to explain orthodoxy, and infuse a sense of urgency in ninth-century pastors who were removed from the significance of these particular heretics. Gennadius’ late antique heresiology became a history lesson for ninth century pastors but also reminded them that they were part of a long line of defenders of the truth. Isidore’s theological grammar book also

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52 Karoli epistola de litteris colendis, 780-800, MGH Capit. 1:79.
became a heresiology; Isidore’s explanation that a misunderstanding of grammar and vocabulary could lead to incorrect belief structures was a practical and pressing reality for Martin Hiberniensis.

Pastors were being trained in cathedral schools like Laon to be on the frontlines of a massive reform movement and, as such, they needed to be prepared to teach the truth. This effort required that they understand the Latin terminology and the history behind the debates so that they were not only memorizing orthodox teachings but they were invested in the process that had originally led to the creation of the creeds and commentaries they were studying. Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, however, does not only supply general, instructional manuals, but it also contains a number of works that focus on specific skills and information needed for conducting apologetical debates and articulating orthodoxy. The next section will show that Carolingian pastors were expected to use their knowledge of historical heresies and theological grammar in order to be proficient in the arts of dialectic, debate, exegesis and apologetics.

The Liberal Arts Curriculum: Teaching Orthodoxy, Exegesis & Dialectic through Heresies of the Past and Future

Fulgentius’ *De fide ad Donatum* and *De fide ad Petrum* and two excerpts from Jerome’s *Commentariorum in Danielem*

The inclusion of instructional manuals such as Gennadius’ *Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum* and Isidore’s *De differentiis II* is interesting since these texts demonstrate how Carolingian reformers and teachers were recycling theology manuals from the past in order to explain important church history, teach the logic of orthodox conclusions, and promote a liberal arts education with a focus on the importance and art of grammar. The Laon codex, however, also contains theological works that focus on more specific themes, highlight a handful of complex theological instructions, and emphasize the importance of dialectic, debate, exegesis and their
application. The topic of heresy continues to be a theme in these other works, which include two texts by Fulgentius, *De fide ad Donatum* and *De fide ad Petrum*, and two excerpts from Jerome’s *Commentariorum in Danielem*. They are from different quires but similarly compiled in Saint-Amand in the first third of the ninth century.\(^{53}\) These works appear to have a different tone than the instruction manuals analyzed in the previous section, especially when compared to their closest counterpart: Gennadius’ *Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum*. Gennadius’ text traced a long (even by the fifth century) history of heresies and yet he only provided a shallow treatment of each. His analysis was very matter-of-fact and even dry, reading more like a compendium of information rather than a passionate apologetical work. Gennadius’ heretics were not to be feared or followed; they were simply wrong. They had misinterpreted scripture and were often illogical in their statements. In this way, Gennadius’ text in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 used heretics as a foil for orthodox theology. His conclusions note where heretics have gone wrong, highlighting their incorrect word choice or perspective but, in order to cover a lot of ground, he lays all of this out in an encyclopedic fashion, tracing a timeline of true and false theological statements. The excerpted works dependent on Fulgentius and Jerome, however, go into a great deal of detail, using exegetical and logical proofs to demonstrate and teach dialectics in a way I will argue would have been useful for a Carolingian pastor-in-training.

John Contreni, in his brief analysis of this collection, mentioned the Fulgentius and Jerome texts, along with the opening apocryphal text on the trial of Christ, the *Evangelium Nicodemi*, as all demonstrating an interest in Christological theology and narratives. He attributed this emphasis to the eighth-century heresy of Adoptionism and the ninth-century dispute with Godescalc over

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his radical views on predestination and the soul. Even though Contreni could find no evidence that Martin Hiberniensis participated in these debates, he briefly concluded that Martin had a scholarly interest in issues of heresy and left it at that.\(^\text{54}\) Although Martin’s interests in clearly defining Trinitarian and Christological theology may have been augmented by reports of heresies, it was probably not the main reason he taught these texts. Widespread heresies were rare under the Carolingians; reports of heresies usually came from outside of the empire and were mainly intellectual debates amongst clerical elites. Thus, while these sources may have interested Martin personally, there are also so many practical and pastoral sources in the Laon text, it does not seem consistent that parts of the manuscript would have just been for Martin’s study. While these sections share similar content, I am going to focus here on their shared methodologies. I will argue that the Fulgentius and Jerome texts were studied primarily for their use of dialectic, their practical exegesis, their potential for application, and their sense of urgency.

There is an effort in the Fulgentius letters to Peter and to Donatus to walk the reader through a logical analysis of scripture and the Church Fathers and test the reader with plausible scenarios and questions. Then the Jerome commentary is made up of strategic excerpts from his complicated work in order to create a cross-section of Jerome’s exegetically-based debate over the identity and danger of the Antichrist. In as much as the Gennadius and Isidore texts could be used to teach the importance of grammar and word choice in regard to the articulation of orthodoxy, the Fulgentius and Jerome texts taught the importance of dialectic and encouraged the merging of exegesis and reasoning. As Vivien Law clarifies, “Where the grammarian was concerned with correct speech, the dialectician was anxious to use it accurately – to formulate precise definitions and logical

\(^\text{54}\) Contreni, \textit{The Cathedral School of Laon}, 132–133.
arguments."

Dermot Moran, in his analysis of John Scotus Eriugena’s use of philosophy and dialectic, explained that in the Carolingian understanding dialectic was, as put by Aristotle, “systematising arguments which are in conflict.” It was part of the larger Carolingian tendency to collect and classify information but, when paired with logic, dialectic became an art of discourse that sought to collate and interpret that information. In the Laon codex, the Gennadius and Isidore texts provided the definitions while the Fulgentius and Jerome texts provided the arguments. In this section I will analyze both the content and the methodologies used in the Laon codex’s version of Fulgentius’ De fide ad Donatum and De fide ad Petrum and Jerome’s Commentarium in Danielem in order to uncover another layer to Martin Hiberniensis’ use of dialectic and heresiological texts in a teaching manual for Carolingian pastors.

Fulgentius was a North African theologian who lived from 467-532/533 and was bishop of Ruspe, although often in abstentia while in exile, from 507 to his death. He lived a generation after St. Augustine and wrote to defend the teachings of his predecessor, especially against the Arians and Pelagians. Fulgentius, an aristocrat, monk, and bishop, was a prolific writer and renowned theologian, whom the Vandals considered the champion of Christian orthodoxy. And

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55 Law, Grammar and Grammarians, 138.
58 Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe, was not the same as Fabius Planciades Fulgentius or Fulgentius the Mythographer, whose works were also popular in the Middle Ages.
59 Gavigan, “Fulgentius of Ruspe on Baptism,” 313; Eno, Fulgentius, xv–xvi; Baus, et al., The Imperial Church, 605–608, 705–706; Gumerlock, Fulgentius of Ruspe on the Saving Will of God, 19–21; and Walter Pohl, “The Vandals: Fragments of a Narrative,” in Vandals, Romans and Berbers: New Perspectives on Late Antique North Africa, ed. A.H. Merrills (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 31–47. For a summary of the debates about Fulgentius’ dates, especially when he died (532, 533 or 527), see Gumerlock, Fulgentius, 22n61. For a summary of who the Vandals were and their legacy see Pohl, “The Vandals.”
60 Eno, Fulgentius, xvi; Susan T. Stevens, “The Circle of Bishop Fulgentius,” Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought, and Religion 38 (1982): 327–341, 330, 332–333; and Baus, et al., The Imperial Church, 607–608, 711, 716. Although many of his works have been lost, the ones that survive can be dated mostly to his second exile to Sardinia between 508/509 and 516/517.
yet, rather than create entirely new arguments of his own, Fulgentius’ works were important because they restated and explained the theology of his predecessors, especially that of Augustine. Fulgentius made patristic sources understandable and applicable for his sixth-century, North African context. While modern scholars have often called him derivative, Fulgentius was highly appreciated for his eloquence and learning, both in his context and throughout the Middle Ages. He was well-known by his allies and his enemies and often called upon to represent orthodox Christianity in Vandal-controlled North Africa, which was not an easy task. Fulgentius was particularly insistent on the correct understanding of the Trinity and incarnation since these were doctrines that he argued the Vandal Arians had warped, making them key topics for apologetics. Since he was often in exile, Fulgentius had to lead through the textual resources he was able to create from abroad for the remaining leaders, clerical, monastic and lay, of the African church.

The Laon codex includes two of Fulgentius’ works: De fide ad Donatum and De fide ad Petrum. According to the (possibly just rhetorical) introduction to the letter, Fulgentius wrote the letter to Donatus at his request in order to provide Donatus with a theological resource that he could use to refute the Arians in his area. Since Donatus was a popular African name, his identity is unknown and he may have been a pious layman, lower cleric, or monk who had escaped from Vandal persecution to Spain. This letter is believed to have been written at the end of Fulgentius’ life sometime between 523 and 532. It was meant to be circulated but has a more personal tone than his synodal letters.

63 Lapeyre, Saint Fulgence de Ruspe, 227–228; and Stevens, “The Circle of Bishop Fulgentius,” 333n18.
Although more work needs to be done to trace the origins and the early medieval manuscript history of Fulgentius’ *De fide ad Donatum*, the second letter, his treatise to Peter on the faith, has been studied in more detail and is known to have been a popular work throughout the Middle Ages. In the introduction, Fulgentius mentions a man named Peter, who was probably a pious laymen, who wanted to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land but was overwhelmed by the divisions in the Eastern Church following the divisive Council of Chalcedon. As a result, Peter had requested that Fulgentius create a summary work on orthodox doctrine that he could use as a theological guide. De *fide ad Petrum* has been dated to the latter period of Fulgentius’ life while he was living in Carthage, between 523 and 532. The text is copied in full in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 on folios 95r through 122r. As J. Fraipont pointed out in the introduction to the critical edition, there are at least eighty extant copies of *De fide ad Petrum* that can be dated from the sixth to the sixteenth centuries but they are almost all attributed to Augustine. Fraipont used six of the oldest manuscripts in his edition. He did not provide a listing of all of those manuscripts, however, so it is not clear exactly how popular the work was in the ninth century in terms of extant copies. It is clear, however, that Fulgentius was familiar to most of the prominent Carolingian writers in the ninth century. He is mentioned in some of Alcuin’s letters as well as in Claudius of Turin’s commentary on Matthew. He was also consulted for his apologetics and the clarity with which he addressed doctrinal issues and heretics, particularly concerning his views on

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67 Fraipont, *Sancti Fulgentii Episcopi*, CCSL 91, vii; Lapeyre, *Saint Fulgence de Ruspe*, 330; and Eno, *Fulgentius*, 59. Fulgentius is believed to have authored the entire work but some have argued he was not responsible for the second half that is a recapitulation of the first points.
single and double predestination, and this includes his *Liber de fide ad Petrum*.\textsuperscript{70} Surviving catalogues indicate that his works were often represented in Carolingian monasteries; as Gumerlock wrote, summarizing Fulgentius’ medieval legacy: “Fulgentius was considered throughout Western Christendom to be an important ecclesiastical author, and his writings were available in many monastic libraries. *De remissione peccatorum* was influential on the Benedictine Rule, Fulgentius’ Christology on Alcuin’s writing on the Trinity, his pneumatology and sacramentology on Ratramnus of Corbie, and his *De fide ad Petrum* served as a model for early scholasticism. On the subject of grace, Fulgentius’ writings were continually cited in the early Middle Ages as containing authority and Catholic orthodoxy.”\textsuperscript{71}

The letter to Donatus, which is copied in full on folios 83r-95r, is given a long, detailed title, all in capital letters: *DOMINO EXIMO ET IN CHRISTI CARITATE PLURIMUM DESIDERABILI FILIO DONATO FULGENTIUS SERVORUM CHRISTI FAMULUS IN DOMINO SALUTEM*. This elaborate title is especially notable since the second Fulgentius letter that follows, his *De fide ad Petrum*, only has an enlarged opening letter midway down folio 95r and a star in the margin. In addition, in the table of contents, the two letters are categorized by Martin Hiberniensis as a unit under the simple title: *Liber fulgentii de trinitate*. This demonstrates that the original scribe and Martin Hiberniensis knew this was a work by Fulgentius but perhaps did not recognize or care about the different circumstances and purposes of the two different letters. The title also implies that Martin Hiberniensis appreciated these works for their shared Trinitarian

\textsuperscript{70} Laistner, “Fulgentius in the Carolingian Age,” 213–215.
\textsuperscript{71} Gumerlock, *Fulgentius of Ruspe*, 134. Despite the breadth of his influence, however, his predestinarian views on grace, while not considered heretical, were not universally accepted in the Middle Ages.
theme and, as I will argue, specifically the methodology they both use to explain this essential theology.

In the letter to Donatus, all three members of the Trinity, their unity, roles, and character, are discussed. Fulgentius relies on scriptural statements from the New and Old Testament as his chief source and works to interpret these passages as well as contrast the orthodox understanding with that of different heretics. Fulgentius starts by praising Donatus for his firm faith and effort to overcome his own ignorance, obeying Paul’s command to always be ready to defend your faith. In this way, ignorance about theology is shown to be a sin. In the Carolingian context, the reformers similarly recognized the danger of ignorance since we know they worked hard to combat it, requiring that everyone in the empire memorize the Lord’s Prayer and the Creed. Thus, Fulgentius’ introduction may have resonated with Martin Hiberniensis and his students; they needed to study and learn the reasons for their faith and needed to teach those truths to others. Fulgentius’ conclusion reassured Donatus that this information would allow him to profitably read the Church Fathers and gain a fuller understanding of God. He also pointed out the eternal consequences of erroneous theology; quoting from Romans 1, Fulgentius assured Donatus that the wrath of God would be revealed against those who suppress the truth.

While Fulgentius’ second letter in this collection starts with a description of the Trinity, its subject matter was much broader, putting even more of an emphasis on Christological theology such as the incarnation, dual nature of Christ, importance of the Virgin Mary, and the explanation

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72 Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265. f. 95r: *Tanto magis autem poteris, deo adiuuante, proficere, quanto studiosius ceperis sanctorum patrum dicta requirere, Inuenta frequentius atque attentius recensere. Unde tibi, deo adiuuante, gratia scientiae plenioris accedat, qua possis non solum ueram retinere fidem, ueram etiam haereticorum mortiferam convincere falsitatem, Credens et firmiter retinens, unam naturam et tres personas in unigenito dei filio domino nostro iesu christo.*

73 Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265. f. 87r–87v.
of Christ’s role as a savior. After that, the letter continues to discuss an assortment of topics such as creation, spirits, angels, free will, original sin, the Last Judgment, resurrection of the flesh, marriage, baptism, penance and heresies. Although its subject range was broader, the letter to Peter, like the letter to Donatus, uses scriptural exegesis and logic to explain theology, reiterating the fact that scripture must be trusted and studied.

Since he was often in exile, Fulgentius had to use texts to teach his flock and the leaders he left behind that had looked to him for guidance; thus, his texts were detailed and easy to follow and yet dense with important theology and inspired by Augustine’s works. I believe Fulgentius’ methodologies made these letters, originally written to combat late antique heretics, especially valuable to Martin Hiberniensis. He was essentially providing pastoral training on theology but also on the art of dialectic and memorization. Unlike Gennadius’ intellectual summary of correct and incorrect theology, Fulgentius’ work is pointed and specific. In his original context Fulgentius was providing a pious Christian, possibly a pastor, with practical apologetics against very real heretical threats. In the Laon codex, I believe this text was providing apologetics that were in line with a proper liberal arts education and, as I will argue, directly applicable for pastoral care.

Both texts have lengthy concluding sections summarizing and applying their theological conclusions. Fulgentius uses the last few sections of the Donatus letter, folios 92r-95r, to imagine a series of scenarios in which understanding Trinitarian theology would be particularly useful. He has many phrases, such as “if you see anyone confessing,” “if you hear anyone speaking,” or “if anyone proclaims,” that allow him to explain the types of heretics that have misunderstood the Trinity over time. Using this methodology allowed Fulgentius to demonstrate dialectical skills in

that he proposed solutions to scenarios. Sometimes, he explained the slight differences between heresies and how nuanced distinctions create erroneous theology. He often employed the careful exegesis of Scripture; other times he laid out logically why the orthodox theology must be right. For example, if Christ is a savior, a mediator between God and sinful mankind, then he must be fully divine and fully human: fully divine to have standing with the Father and fully human so that he could represent mankind. In these ways, Fulgentius demonstrated that it was not enough for pious Christians to know theology, they had to be ready to explain it, defend it, and extrapolate from it. This letter was meant to build up the apologetical skills and confidence of his readers by showing how each heresy could be convincingly dismantled with dialectical skills. Fulgentius’ conclusion tells Donatus that he hopes this letter will create a “taste for instruction” and an “affection for a longer reading,” implying that as detailed and practical as this lesson was, a proper theological education required longer instruction.

The second half of the letter on faith to Peter, folios 115r-121v, uses a similar methodology. Rather than walk the reader through different scenarios, here Fulgentius summarizes the points he had just made in more concise sections that start with the phrase “Hold most firmly and never doubt” (“Firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites.”) By repeating this phrase, Fulgentius was highlighting the essential theology that could then be memorized. He is giving these statements a sense of urgency with his imperative commands. In addition, each section then laid out reasons why, based on scriptural exegesis and logic, each statement of orthodoxy was correct and

75 Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265. f. 93v.
76 Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265. f. 95r: Haec tibi, carissime fili, pro tuo sancto desiderio et delectatione transmisi, ex quibus tibi quidam praebeatur instructionis gustus, et ex hoc gusto crescat in te prolixioris lectionis affectus, Tanto magis autem poteris, deo adiuuante, proficere, quanto studiosius ceperis sanctorum patrum dicta requirere...
important. These sections then, presented as concise packets of information, encouraged the memorization of essential theology and corresponding scriptural supports. Fulgentius also, once again, used a dialectical approach, putting the presentation of orthodox theology into the form of an apologetic and a series of proofs. There is less of an emphasis on heretics and, once again, a broader range of topics in the Peter letter as compared to the Fulgentius letter, and yet the strategic methodologies are similar.

As has been pointed out by John Contreni and Vivien Law, there was a revival of rhetorical and dialectical discourse and study under the Carolingians.\textsuperscript{77} Alcuin was especially promoting the use of exegesis and logic. Contreni points out that in Alcuin's work devoted to the art of dialectic, appropriately titled \textit{De dialectica}, he had a broad definition of the term and believed it involved the explanation of theological terms that helped one understand God and the world.\textsuperscript{78} And those skills were not just for intellectual contemplation but were expected to make their way into pastoral care. As the \textit{Epistola de litteris colendis} states, rhetorical studies, a mastery of the letters, was essential; it allowed pastors to understand the grammar, metaphor, and allusions in the sacred writings. It also allowed pastors to be experts in theology and instructors of wisdom for the laity.\textsuperscript{79}


\textsuperscript{78} Contreni, “The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture,” 738.

\textsuperscript{79} Karoli epistola de litteris colendis, 780–800, MGH Capit. 1:79: \textit{Quamobrem hortamur vos litterarum studia non solum non negligere, verum etiam humillima et Deo placita intentione ad hoc certatim discere, ut facilius et rectius divinarum scripturarum mysteria valeatis penetrare. Cum autem in sacris paginis schemata, tropi et caetera his similia inserta inveniantur, nulli dubium est, quod ea unusquisque legens tanto citius spiritualiter intelligit, quanto prius in litterarum magisterio plenius instructus fuerit. Tales vero ad hoc opus viri eligantur, qui et voluntatem et possibilitatem discendi et desiderium habeant alias instruendi. Et hoc tantum ea intentione agatur, qua devotio a nobis praecipitur. Optamus enim vos, sicut decet ecclesiae milites, et interius devotos et exterius doctos castosque bene vivendo et scholasticos bene loquendo, ut, quicunque vos propter nomen Domini et sanctae conversationis nobilitatem ad videndum expetierung, sicut de aspectu vestro aedificatur visus, ita quoque de sapientia vestra, quam in legendo seu cantando perceperit, instructus omnipotenti Domino gratias agendo gaudens redeat. Huius itaque epistolae exemplaria ad omnes suffragantes tuosque coepiscopos et per universa monasteria dirigi non negligas, si gratiam nostram habere vis.}
While Gennadius’ text presented the facts about orthodoxy and heresy, and Isidore’s text presented theological definitions, Fulgentius’ works taught the mastery of letters and art of dialectic, showing how Isidore’s terms could be employed to articulate the reasons behind Gennadius’ orthodoxy and reasons against Gennadius’ heretics.

The other texts of dialectic in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 are two excerpts taken from Jerome’s Commentariorum in Danielem. Spanning folios 51r-57v, these two excerpts are from Jerome’s famous commentary on Daniel and are both unapologetically focused on his interpretation of the Antichrist. The excerpt that starts on folio 51r makes both the authorship and the theme clear with its title: “Explanatio sancti Hieronimi de Antichristo in Danihel Prophetam.” Martin Hiberniensis has a similar title in the table of contents that reads: Explanatio hieronimi de antichristo (Daniel). There are no significant additions to set up this first account, no introduction or conclusion to provide context, purpose or instructions for application. The second excerpt starts on folio 53v and is entitled Explanatio Sancti Hieronimi in Danihel Propheta in the compilation and Item est idem (Daniel de antichristo) in the table of contents. Neither excerpt is a straight copy of Jerome’s work. The compiler skips around his original text, sometimes leaving sections out completely, sometimes going back to them at a different point. In this way, the compiler seems to have been working to provide the crux of Jerome’s interpretation of the Antichrist as well as a cross-section of his apologetics and exegesis, without bogging the reader or students down with specifically pointed arguments against Jerome’s targeted (but in the ninth century, no longer relevant) heretical adversary: Porphyry.

I will argue that these texts were included in the Laon codex in order to provide pastors-in-training an example of close scriptural exegesis as part of an intellectual, apologetical debate
and centered on an increasingly popular early medieval theme: the Apocalypse. The aggressive editing, although present in some of the popular works towards the end of the manuscript, stands in contrast to the other references texts already discussed in this section that were copied in full. This is because I believe the compiler felt that this level of detail on a late antique heretic was not necessary or helpful. Whereas the other manuals included short references and concise interpretations of scripture, Jerome’s expert exegesis and pointed apologetics of a complicated text needed to be excerpted. The editing organizes Jerome’s thoughts, perhaps even better than he had originally, and streamlines the arguments of the opponent to provide a clear presentation of dialectical apologetics in action for the scholarly discipline of pastors-in-training.

Jerome’s commentary on Daniel was written in 407 AD but the earliest extant manuscript copies of the work are from the eighth century. Jerome produced his commentary on Daniel as part of his *Opus Prophetale* towards the end of his life; he borrowed from at least sixteen different Hebrew interpretations in his analysis of Daniel. He was mainly concerned with refuting Porphyry, a Neoplatonic critic of the Old Testament and of allegorical exegesis, who had written on Daniel in the third century. Porphyry had questioned its authorship and thought the “prophecies” could only be understood as relating to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes who ruled

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80 F. Glorie, ed., *Commentariorum in Danielem Libri II <IV>*, CCSL 75A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1964), 751–768. The edition is based on twelve manuscripts. Codex Sangallensis 189 (G) is the oldest and is from the eighth century and seven of the remaining eleven manuscripts can be dated to the eighth or the ninth century. For an additional analysis of this manuscript history and complexities with the original dating of the work, see Régis Courtray, “Nouvelles recherches sur la transmission du *De Antichristo de Jérôme*," *Sacris Erudiri* 43 (2004): 33–53.

over the Seleucid Empire in the middle of the second century BC. Jerome predominantly referred to the twelfth book of Porphyry’s *Contra Christianos*, which is no longer extant.82

Jerome was an especially valuable source for medieval biblical commentaries. His approach to biblical exegesis borrowed both from the literal, historical approach of the Antiochian school as well as the spiritual, symbolic approach of the Alexandrian school and he worked hard to strike a balance between them. In addition to this mixed method, Jerome was especially interested in Jewish traditions and interpretations and was skilled at reading Hebrew, having lived in Palestine for about thirty-five years.83 With his language skills, he could not only read the scriptures in their original language but he could read commentaries on them from all over the Mediterranean world. He had an excellent memory and was skilled at combining classical and Christian texts. He had created the renowned Latin translation of the Bible, the Vulgate, and was the only ancient writer who had written commentaries on all the major and minor prophets. Essential to his allegorical exegesis was the theory that God worked through images or types, that reoccurred throughout history and were meant to point to the work of Christ. Thus, in terms of interpreting Old Testament prophecy, Jerome typically believed that the prophecies were literally

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fulfilled in the past but spiritually going to be fulfilled in the future, in Christ’s work either on the cross or to come.\textsuperscript{84}

Gregory the Great and Bede both utilized Jerome’s commentary on Daniel and many Carolingian theologians referenced him extensively.\textsuperscript{85} Around the turn of the century, Peter of Pisa wrote a questionnaire on the commentary, in which he asked a series of questions about Daniel’s prophecies and relied on Jerome’s exegesis of the passages for his answers.\textsuperscript{86} After that, Rabanus Maurus wrote a lengthy commentary on the book of Daniel and was particularly dependent on Jerome, using long quotations from his work throughout. His work was an anthology of excerpts from great thinkers of the past, as consistent with the second generation of ninth-century Carolingian exegetes.\textsuperscript{87} He preferred Jerome’s spiritual interpretation, with about 75 percent of his work being an exact copy of Jerome’s words.\textsuperscript{88} Rabanus’ changes were meant to transform Jerome’s work into a text for spiritual edification, like a \textit{speculum}, and he dedicated it to Emperor Louis the Pious.\textsuperscript{89} As Zier summarizes it, “Porphyry had long since ceased to be a threat to Christian faith. For Raban, the enemies of the faith were ecclesiastical abuse, personal vice and

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{86} Courtray, “La réception du \textit{Commentaire sur Daniel},” 123–126. For a summary of the work that has been done on Peter of Pisa, which is not much, and the work that needs to be done, including an edition, see M. Gorman, “Peter of Pisa and the \textit{Quaestiones} Copied for Charlemagne in Brussels II 2572,” \textit{Revue Bénédictine} 110, No. 3–4 (2000): 238–260.
\bibitem{88} Shimahara, “Le \textit{Commentaire sur Daniel} de Raban Maur,” 277; and Courtray, “La réception du \textit{Commentaire sur Daniel},” 127–131. In typical Carolingian fashion, Hrabanus was content to spend most of his work using Jerome and supplementing his work with that of others, so much so that Shimahara estimates that he only wrote 15% of the treatise and Courtray estimates that only 38 out of the total 183 pages of his work were Hrabanus’ own words.
\end{thebibliography}
teutonic paganism." Haimo of Auxerre was also significantly influenced by Jerome’s commentary around the same time as Rabanus Maurus but his work showed a great deal of originality. Haimo selected from Jerome and then reformulated his analysis for his own purposes. This shows that Carolingian theologians were not only able to appreciate and understand Jerome’s dense commentary but they were confident enough to build on Jerome’s words to form their own conclusions.

For his unparalleled expertise in exegesis, Jerome’s Old Testament commentaries were highly valued throughout the Middle Ages. As a result, even some of his works that were viewed as controversial during his own time were regarded as authoritative in the early Middle Ages. His commentary on Daniel in particular became the main exemplar for all subsequent Latin commentaries on Daniel. Given the Carolingian scribes’ penchant for copying down great works from the past, the fact that Jerome’s commentary on Daniel was the most popular late antique source on the matter may explain its presence in a Carolingian teaching manual. It would have

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91 Courtray, “La réception du Commentaire sur Daniel,” 132–135. After this, Courtray goes on to describe Remi of Auxerre’s indebtedness to Jerome in the second half of the ninth century but since his works would have come after the compilation of Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, the details of his analysis are not important to note other than to observe that Jerome’s influence on Carolingian exegetes continued throughout this period.
supplied the students at Laon with a remarkable exegetical example from which to learn and imitate.

Beyond these general factors that would have made Jerome’s text, as a celebrated work of exegesis, valuable for Martin Hiberniensis, was there a specifically ninth-century interest in the Antichrist that would have explained why this particular section in the Daniel commentary was used? In the early medieval west, people were fascinated by end times prophecies but, as Ann Matter argues, there was a clear “distance between actual apocalyptic expectation and the Latin Apocalypse exegesis that had become standard” and most theologians focused on the Apocalypse as an allegory of the church.96 While James Palmer would agree that the Carolingians’ interest in the Apocalypse was more intellectual and rhetorical than actual, he did note, however, that the mid- and late-ninth century, which was when Martin Hiberniensis was teaching in Laon, was a time of agitation. He calls this period a “Golden Age in Danger” and notes that civil wars, Muslim and Viking attacks, a series of natural disasters, eclipses, comets, wolf attacks and locust infestations put Carolingians on edge.97 Students in Laon, a fortified hill town in the northern part of France, would have been well aware of these troubles; the city became a safe haven from Viking attacks in the latter half of the ninth-century, opening their doors to a number of displaced monastic groups.98 The general problems of the age were expressed by intellectuals in a constant stream of moral critiques and statements against those who were “other”.99 There was a particular backlash

98 Contreni, The Cathedral School of Laon, 12–17. As early as 851, the monks of Saint Bavo in Ghent were attacked by Northmen and they soon after brought their relics to Laon for safekeeping before moving to the city themselves a few decades later. Contreni lists a number of other monastic communities that sought safety within the walls of Laon in the second half of the ninth century.
against Jews, who were actually few in number and again, more of a rhetorical enemy than an actual one. Emerson goes on to explain that this definition and repudiation of those who were “other” was used to stress that there were only two groups of people, those who were for or against the church and there was no middle ground. In light of this evidence, perhaps Martin Hiberniensis valued this text because he felt it was particularly relevant for his age. In this way, he could have used the excerpts from Jerome’s commentary to serve as an exemplar of complicated exegesis, featuring a compelling subject matter for his audience.

Even if the Carolingians were interested in the motif of the Apocalypse (and that motif was especially powerful during a time of unrest), even more to the point there was an enduring interest in the identity and works of the Antichrist, who is described in Daniel 11. Similar to comparing current heretics to famous late antique heretics, Antichrist references were being used in the early Middle Ages as rhetoric against contemporary heretics. For example, Beatus, a Spanish monk who wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse, wrote a letter attacking Elipandus, the Archbishop of Toledo, at the end of the eighth century and called him an antichrist for preaching Adoptionism. Following Jerome, he argued that there were multiple types of Antichrist. In this way, the inclusion of Jerome’s excerpts in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 may have been useful in a way that was similar to the value in Gennadius’ heresiology. These passages could teach Carolingian pastors-in-training about the Antichrist so that they could better understand rhetorical references to him in light of history and scripture.

100 Kevin L. Hughes, *Constructing Antichrist: Paul, Biblical Commentary, and the Development of Doctrine in the Early Middle Ages* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005), 74, 78, 80. In this regard, Jerome’s commentary would have been particularly useful since he took an anti-Semitic tone throughout.
102 Emerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, 64–66.
Keeping in mind these observations about the relevance and importance of Jerome’s commentary on Daniel, and particularly his section on the Antichrist, we can now turn to analyze the specific structure and content of these excerpts in the Laon codex. The selection of Jerome’s commentary is split into two sections and covers Daniel 11:20-12:13 on the Antichrist. This exact excerpt was identified by Glorie, the modern editor of the text, as a section that is self-contained, and more detailed than the rest of the commentary, and thus may have been written by Jerome previously as a separate treatise or letter. In comparison to this section, the rest of the commentary is rather terse and concise and is focused mainly on the historical context and philology. For Daniel 11:20-12:13, however, Jerome goes through not only each line of the Biblical texts and their multiple meanings, but also painstakingly presents and refutes the post eventum interpretations postulated by Porphyry.

First, it is important to note what is included in the excerpts. The selection starts with a description of the Antichrist’s origins and plan of attack. He will come from the Jewish people, he will deceptively work his way into a position of political power, eventually ruling the whole world, and will convince people that he is a follower of God but will persecute the saints. The Antichrist will first attack Egypt, Libya and Ethiopia and then Israel and areas north and east but there will be a number of cities which will side with him and gain generous rewards for their loyalty. He will eventually settle near Judaea, in fulfillment of the prophecies, and go to the Mount of Olives, where Jesus ascended, and there the Lord will pour out his wrath on the Antichrist and defeat him.

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103 Glorie, Commentariorum in Danielem, CCSL 75A, 757; J.N.D. Kelly, Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), 298–299; and Zier, “The Medieval Latin Interpretation of Daniel,” 45. Kelly agrees with Glorie’s basic theory but does not agree that it may have circulated separately.
105 Glorie, Commentariorum in Danielem, CCSL 75A, 917; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 51r–51v.
106 Glorie, Commentariorum in Danielem, CCSL 75A, 929, 928, 930–931; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 51v.
Then Archangel Michael will lead the saints in victory, and those saints who had died will be raised from their graves to glory.107

There is then another title on f. 53v, *Explanatio Sancti Hieronimi in Danihel Propheta* that breaks up the excerpt; this folio title no longer indicates that this will be a discussion about the Antichrist, but Martin Hiberniensis’ table of contents title does mention the Antichrist and the text continues Jerome’s original commentary on this theme. Here the focus is on explaining the original theories of Porphyry, arguing that Daniel’s prophecies had already been fulfilled in Antiochus Epiphanes from the second century B.C. Jerome clarifies why this does not work, reasoning that the desolation of the temple and reign of Antiochus did not last long enough at three years instead of three and a half (according to Josephus and the Book of Maccabees) in imitation of Christ’s ministry on earth.108 The excerpt then ends with a tangent on this same passage in which Jerome uses the interpretation of Theodotion (a second-century Hellenistic, Jewish translator of Daniel into Greek) on how the learned saints will be exalted higher to “resemble the heavens,” whereas the believers who are unlearned will be slightly inferior since they are compared to the stars instead.109 It ends by saying that Porphyry’s heretical interpretation of the Antichrist fails to take

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107 Glorie, *Commentariorum in Danielem*, CCSL 75A, 933–934, 935–936; Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 52r–53v; Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1994), 75–78; and Hughes, *Constructing Antichrist*, 78. McGinn and Hughes here point out that while Jerome claimed that his conclusion about the Antichrist dying at the site of Christ’s ascension had been gleaned from church tradition, his commentary is the earliest known reference to this assertion. And yet, this was consistent with the trends in exegesis up to 500 AD, in that many did think the Antichrist was going to be an inverted Christ figure.


109 Glorie, *Commentariorum in Danielem*, CCSL 75A, 937, 944; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 57r. See Zier, “The Medieval Latin Interpretation of Daniel,” 45–46ff for an overview on the Greek translations Jerome used as supplements to his reading of the original Hebrew and the reasons why he and Origen commended Theodotion’s work.
into account the subsequent resurrection of the dead. Jerome closes by listing a number of other authorities on the subject who could be consulted for further proof.\textsuperscript{110}

Although it may seem odd that the second excerpt is so concerned with Porphyry’s interpretation, Jerome’s original commentary was initially full of references to this third-century commentator. The Laon codex, however, edits out many of them. After the opening description of the Antichrist and his movements, this carefully crafted version of the commentary skips over Porphyry’s interpretation of the wars and persecutions and idolatrous behavior of the Antichrist in Daniel 11:25–45 and the many reasons why he believed they matched up with Antiochus’ actions. In this edited section, Jerome was originally clear to point out, using historical authorities, the flaws in each of Porphyry’s points, and yet did concede that Antiochus was foreshadowing the Antichrist in his conquests and persecutions. Jerome at one point in this skipped section also said that Nero played a similar role as a type of Antichrist, and also noted that Vespasian and Titus were possible Antichrist types when they orchestrated the destruction of the temple.\textsuperscript{111} The excerpts included in the Laon manuscript omit many Porphyry quotes but importantly include most of Jerome’s conclusions or descriptions. The closing section on Michael and the exaltation of the saints goes into the first section on Daniel 12, a separate chapter in the Daniel commentary but here it is integrated into the Antichrist excerpt.\textsuperscript{112}

There are even more dramatic changes to the original commentary that were made to create the second Laon excerpt that starts on f. 53v. This section, which presents and then disproves Porphyry’s argument, comes from Daniel 12:7, thus pushing forward a few verses from where the

\textsuperscript{110} Glorie, \textit{Commentariorum in Danielem}, CCSL 75A, 944; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 57r–57v.

\textsuperscript{111} Glorie, \textit{Commentariorum in Danielem}, CCSL 75A, 917–933 (although sections within these pages are included); and Zier, “The Medieval Latin Interpretation of Daniel,” 47–48.

\textsuperscript{112} Glorie, \textit{Commentariorum in Danielem}, CCSL 75A, 935–936.
first excerpt left off. The rest of the passage, however, goes back and forth between Jerome’s commentary on Daniel 12:7-13 and the previously omitted passages from Daniel 11:41b, 45 and Daniel 12:1-3. While this section does include some of Porphyry’s arguments, it once again emphasizes Jerome’s conclusions that rest on his understanding of the promises and prophecies pointing to Christ.

As shown, unlike the other educational manuals for a pastor in the Laon codex, this one is not a close copy but is an abridged and rearranged series of excerpts. The next questions to explore then are why was it changed the way it was; what does the inclusion of these excerpts reveal about the education of Carolingian pastors, and how does it fit into the teaching compilation as a whole? I think the answer to these questions requires an examination of both the messages and methodologies created by the larger manuscript context and the aggressive editing.

In terms of how this section fits into the compilation as a whole, it is important to note that although the Jerome excerpts are the most lengthy and explicit sections on the Antichrist in the manuscript, the Antichrist is also mentioned briefly in the popular works contained in the codex. For one, there is an important Antichrist reference in the Evangelium Nicodemi, the first text in the compilation. This three-part story includes apocryphal accounts of Jesus’ trial, Joseph of Arimathea’s miraculous escape from the Jewish authorities, and Christ’s dramatic harrowing of hell. The reference to the Antichrist is featured at the end of the last story. When the saints are led out of hell by Christ they meet Enoch, who identifies himself and Elijah and then explains that they never tasted death but are destined to return to earth to fight the Antichrist. They will be slain by him and then, after three and a half days, will be taken up alive again on the clouds.¹¹³

¹¹³ Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 32r–32v: Ego sum enoch qui verbo domini translatus sum hic: Iste autem qui mecum est helias est therbites qui curru igneo adsuntus est hic et usque nunc non gustavimus mortem sed in
the *Evangelium Nicodemi* account, as well as in this rearranged excerpt from Jerome’s commentary, the Antichrist is understood as an inverted Christ and a villain in God’s larger story of redemption. Both texts tell a story that can be imagined, using familiar people, which ties up loose ends and which satisfies the curiosity.

The other reference is in a copy of one of Bede’s commentaries on the Prodigal Son parable. It appears in the Laon compilation in the middle of a series of popular sermons but is very lengthy and rhetorical, a form that implies it was used for devotional purposes or perhaps could have been used to create popular sermons. It is copied, almost exactly, from Bede’s Commentary on Luke, *In Lucea Evangelium Expositio*. Towards the end of the commentary on this passage, Bede hypothesizes that when the elder brother complains that he never got a goat from his father to feast on with his friends, this is an allegorical reference to the Jews who will long for the Antichrist rather than accept the actual Christ. The Gentiles are like the younger brother; they are sinners who have profaned the Sabbath and rebelled against God and yet are saved by grace and partake fully in the banquet the father has prepared. The Jews, instead, are the ones that are missing the banquet and because of that, are susceptible to looking elsewhere for salvation, namely to the Antichrist. This is a moral and theological lesson. While on the surface, that message is directed particularly towards the Jews, the larger message, that those who miss or reject the Heavenly Father’s feast will be in danger of trying to create their own and giving in to heretics or even *The Heretic*, is significant. Like the *Evangelium Nicodemi* and Jerome’s commentary, the Antichrist is a character in a story and is the alternate to and opposite of Christ. Unlike the other two depictions, however, there is much more of a moral emphasis here. That Antichrist is not brought up as part

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*adventum antichristi reservati sumus divinis signis et prodigus praeliari cum eo et ab eo occisi in hierusalem et post triduum et dimidium diei; Iterum vivi in nibibus (?) ad sumpturi.*
of a larger interest in the end times, he is rather meant to represent the other choice, meaning if one does not chose Christ, one choses a false Christ and will miss out on the banquet of heaven prepared for the children of God.

As shown in these examples, the Antichrist is a reoccurring character in the Laon codex, a teaching manual for ninth-century pastors. This compilation, however, is not overly apocalyptic in that the texts are not trying to pinpoint a date or a present-day heretical suspect. The appeal of referencing the Antichrist seems to be that he is an interesting, mysterious biblical character, who is important to understand in both the historical and actual as well as the rhetorical and metaphorical sense. He represents the ultimate heretic, a counter to Christ, and the evil alternative to Christianity and the church. He is used to spur on listeners to make sure they are not missing Christ and instead turning to their own antichrist. After all, there is no middle ground; those who do not recognize Christ, the lamb, as savior will start to crave a goat, the Antichrist, and will reap eternal consequences as a result.

The other way to analyze the editing strategies and significance of the Jerome commentary excerpts in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 is to look at the way the information was presented to Martin Hiberniensis and, through him, to his students. Even though the Antichrist theme in general was important in the codex, the methodologies that are highlighted in the Jerome excerpts also stand out as important. The rearrangements of the passages in the Laon teaching manual work to set up two distinct but progressive points of emphasis. The first excerpt stresses the key characteristics of the Antichrist as interpreted using allegorical scriptural exegesis; the second excerpt stresses the ways to use exegesis, reason, study, and dialectic for apologetics. By deemphasizing the particulars of Porphyry’s argument and only providing a sampling, the compiler
is using Porphyry as a straw man. His heretical view was no longer relevant at the time, and there was no need to go into detail, but the excerpts provide enough information to allow him to fill the role as an exemplar of bad theology and erroneous exegesis. It was important to show students that was a possibility, that close matches to prophecy are not valid unless they are exact.

There is also an emphasis on the positive. Those reading this abridged account could see the ways Jerome dismantled false claims through his learned understanding of scripture, the gospel, history, mathematics, logic and debate, essentially by making use of a liberal arts education. Perhaps only parts of his argument were included because sometimes Jerome’s arguments in the full commentary do fall flat. As Zier has argued, sometimes he tried to push the historical veracity of the prophecies too far, leaving him to search for weak arguments to back up his claims.\footnote{Zier, “The Medieval Latin Interpretation of Daniel,” 49.} What is included, however, works to demonstrate dialectic and apologetic skills based on a high level of allegorical exegesis. While Fulgentius works demonstrated dialectic and also relied on the interpretation of scripture, they compiled a variety of biblical references and theological concepts around a variety of themes for a variety of heretical enemies. In that way Fulgentius’ text, especially the one on faith and addressed to Peter, could cover a lot of theological ground but each topic was quite concise. Jerome’s dialectic and exegetical proficiencies represent another level of that kind of skill set and training. The focus here is on the particular meaning of one of the most complicated passages in the Bible. It is abridged, still making this instruction manageable, but it is complex and would have served as an excellent example of how to unpack the layers of scripture, and how to articulate those interpretations to build an argumentative case around a particular theme. The actual chronology of the Antichrist’s appearance is no more
important than the fact that the late antique heretics mentioned elsewhere are no longer a danger; these enemies of the church are part of church history and will be a part of the church’s future; they are referenced by the Church Fathers. Understanding heretics and The Heretic were essential to a cathedral school education because they were real and symbolic dangers of the church, no matter the era.

Once again, Martin Hiberniensis seems to have framed the education of pastors by delineating what kinds of theology had been routinely misinterpreted throughout church history, giving occasion for division. He taught from texts that provided an overview of the long history of heretical teachers, as well as texts that focused on specific apologetic strategies. He also had pastors study detailed commentaries on how misunderstandings about the gospel and essential theology allowed heretics to gain power, with the ultimate manifestation of that problem being the Antichrist, who will devastate the church and lead many astray before the Final Judgement. These lessons used heretics and The Heretic as foils; they showed why it was important to learn proper exegesis and theology and they infused pastoral training in the liberal arts with a sense of urgency. In an era in which heresies were few and far between, perhaps teaching manuals needed to emphasize the dangers even more than if they had been immediately relevant. Teachers were to remind their students of the danger of heresy and error in order to lend a sense of urgency and significance to their study of orthodoxy. More so than the reference manuals examined in the previous section, these works also demonstrated the liberal arts training of dialectic and apologetics. Carolingian pastors-in-training were being encouraged to gain a liberal arts education in order to explain the faith, Creed, and sacraments to their flocks. Martin Hiberniensis realized
that in order to appreciate and value orthodoxy, his students needed to understand the enemies of orthodoxy in the present as well as the past.

**Theology Leading to Morality: Behavioral Standards for Carolingian Pastors-in-Training**

Gennadius’ *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*, Jerome’s *Epistula 122 to Rusticus*, the Ps-Jerome Letter *Ad Oceanum de vita clericorum*, a popular sermon excerpted from Gregory the Great’s *Moralia*

The specialized lessons for pastors-in-training in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 extended beyond proper theological, grammatical, exegetical, and dialectical skills. Martin Hiberniensis was also expecting his students to be role models of moral behavior to the laity as well as to other clerics and for the good of their own souls. There are a few texts in the Laon codex that contain behavioral directives that are explicitly directed at pastors. I will argue that although these lessons are based on late antique sources, they were strategically selected in light of Carolingian reform goals. In addition, even though they take up much less space in this teaching manual than the previously analyzed works establishing theology, apologetics, and liberal arts skills, moral application of orthodoxy was an essential part of being a pastor. Dialectic and exegetical skills needed to be paired with moral behaviors for effective pastoral care.

This is a theme that comes up first in one of the more general teaching manuals. While Gennadius’ *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* is mostly about correct theology set against the foil of late antique heretics, he does have a section devoted specifically to clerical purity, explained through heresiological techniques. Here, towards the end of his work, Gennadius makes it a point to stress that virginity is preferable to marriage. In the late fourth and fifth centuries, when Gennadius was living and writing, messages on celibacy and ascetic discipline were especially influential on the Christian majority. This was a time when radical asceticism was beginning to
fade but before the institutionalism of a mandated celibate clergy was in place. As a result, ascetic elites “began to engage productively, and necessarily, with the realities of the majority.”

Gennadius here explains the balance that Christians are to maintain when contemplating marriage and chastity by using heretics and their beliefs as boundary markers: those who equate virginity and marriage, who see no value in abstaining from sex or from wine or meat, are heretics like Jovinian. And yet those who say marriage and food are evil, are saying that God created evil and they are heretics akin to the Manicheans and Encratites. In this section, Gennadius directly addresses clerics. He lists the many marriage-related issues that should prevent a man from becoming a cleric, which include: a man who has remarried after baptism, has had a concubine, has married a widow, divorced woman or harlot, or has mutilated himself. The list then continued to include more miscellaneous offenses that should disqualify a cleric from office: a man who has performed on stage, is doing penance for a moral sin, has lapsed into fits of insanity, is plagued by afflictions from the devil, or is ambitious for money.

The first list is odd and interesting. Here, Gennadius was making a point to direct his discussion about sexual sins to clerics. Although these instructions do limit a pastor’s marriage

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116 Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 46r–46v: XXX. Malas dicere nuptias, vel fornicationi comparandas ut stupro; cybos vero credere malos, vel mali causa creari percipientibus non est Christianorum, sed propri Inchrathitarum et manichaeorum. XXXI. Sacratea deo virginitati nuptias coequare, aut pro amore castigandi corporis abstinentibus a vino vel carnibus nihil credere meriti adscerere, nec hoc christiani, sed ioviniani est.

117 Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 46v–47r: Maritum duarum post baptismum matronarum clericum non ordinandum. Neque eum qui unam quidem, sed concubinam, non matronam habuit. Nec illum qui viduam, et repudiatam, vel meretricem In matrimonium sunspit. Neque eum qui semetipsum ab scisit quolibet corporis sui membro.

118 Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 47r: Indignatione aliqua vel iusto vel iniusto timore superatus truncaverit. neque illum qui usuras accepisse convincitur, aut in scena lusisse noscitur. Neque eum qui publica paenitentia mortalia crimina deflet, nec illum qui aliquando In furiam versus insanivit, vel afflictione diaboli vexatus est. Nec eum qui per ambitionem ad imitationem symonis magi pecuniam diffest.
options, they do not rule out marriage for clerics. In Gennadius’ time, this was a debated issue and clerical celibacy was not required, but, in the Carolingian ninth century, reformers were stressing that clerics were to remain pure and were not to marry. It was one of the behaviors, along with not carrying arms, which obviously distinguished clerics from the laity.\footnote{Rachel Stone, \textit{Morality and Masculinity in the Carolingian Empire} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 7–8, 247. See, \textit{Capitula de causis cum episcopis et abbatibus tractandis} 811, MGH Capit. 1:163 cc. 4.} On the one hand, it could be the case that in this lengthy copy, the compiler just included this section even though it was no longer the approved guideline for clerical behaviors. This section, however, had been read over carefully; there is a footnote correcting the line about mutilation, because a phrase had originally been left out. This correction implies that this passage was studied. And, as already pointed out, the scribe and Martin Hiberniensis had no qualms about leaving out sections of text or crossing out sections that were deemed to be incorrect elsewhere in the manuscript. Thus, the presence of this instruction to clerics may shed some light on the realities of pastoral care in the ninth century.

As shown in this passage, Martin Hiberniensis was in favor of putting many restrictions on clerics, especially in regard to their sexual relationships and experiences before taking vows. At the same time, he may have encountered the reality that some pastors, especially in rural locations, were going to be married. Heeding the advice of Gennadius and not wanting to fall into heresy on either the Manichean or the Jovinian extremes, perhaps the compiler and then later the user, Martin, were convinced that this even-handed guideline made sense given the gaps between the ideals of the reform agenda and the realities of the ninth century context.

The oddities of this passage continue in that these regulations on marriage appear in a longer list of miscellaneous sins and disorders that were not only concerned with sexual sins. If potential pastors had committed a serious, mortal sin in the past or if they were known for a
habitual sin that made them prone to corruption, such as greed, they were disqualified. Although the specification of the sin of greed may sound odd, avarice does appear in a number of Carolingian legislative documents and seems to have been viewed as an especially egregious vice. In the *Admonitio generalis*, for example, immediately following an instruction on preaching in chapter thirty-two, that pastors are to teach the Trinity, incarnation, passion, resurrection and ascension, is a prohibition in chapter thirty-three against greed and avarice.\(^{120}\) The *Admonitio generalis* was citing the Council of Carthage but, in placing these side-by-side, the Carolingian court changed the original order; in the canons from Carthage the instructions on preaching are in Canon 2, whereas the warning against avarice is in Canon 5. The same pattern can be seen in the Synod of Frankfurt from 794; right after instructions that the Trinity, Lord’s Prayer and Creed should be preached and explained to all is a line indicating the dangers of avarice and greed.\(^{121}\) Carine van Rhijn in her work on Carolingian priests noted that, despite the rhetorical labels, proportionally there seems to have been fewer impoverished priests than examples of greedy bishops and priests, who manipulated the system of church lands and tithes to gain personal wealth.\(^{122}\) Gennadius’ emphasis on the dangers of greed in relation to clerical behaviors then was very much in line with Carolingian restrictions and with Carolingian problems in the ninth century.\(^{123}\)


\(^{121}\) *Synodus Franconofurtensis, 794*, MGH Capit. 1:77: 33. *Ut fides catholica sanctae trinitatis et oratio dominica atque symbolum fidei omnibus praedicetur et tradatur. 34. De avaricia et cupiditate calcanda.*


\(^{123}\) For some information about how the problem of greed and avarice were emphasized in the legislation and speculum, see Stone, *Morality and Masculinity in the Carolingian Empire*, 215–221; Newhauser *Early History of Greed*, 116–124.
The final parts of Gennadius’ list of moral disqualifiers for the clerical office are interesting and include a warning against performing on stage and a regulation against those who are troubled, mentally or spiritually, and under attack from the devil.\textsuperscript{124} The similar factor in this varied list of regulations for clerical moral standards was that these sins and behaviors would have been observable. The list weeds out those with flashy hobbies, public sins, and character flaws that would set a bad example or interfere with their ability to minister to others. The list stresses that clerics had a higher calling and needed to have a public persona that reflected that. These moral lessons for pastors in a late antique heresiology appearing in a ninth-century pastoral handbook focused on the fact that pastors needed to demonstrate orthodoxy and avoid heresy in the example of their lives.\textsuperscript{125}

Gennadius’ text is not the only one with a section on clerical purity and morality; the codex contains similarly pointed messages in excerpts from Jerome’s \textit{Epistula} 122 to Rusticus, the Ps-Jerome Letter \textit{Ad Oceanum de vita clericorum} and part of a popular sermon excerpted from Gregory the Great’s \textit{Moralia}. Although these sources are all very different in terms of their original era and genre, they directly address clerics and provide them with specific lessons on moral behavior.

Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 contains excerpts from two letters attributed to Jerome: his \textit{Epistula} 122 to Rusticus and a Ps-Jerome letter known as \textit{Ad Oceanum de vita clericorum}. Their presence in this manuscript is not unusual since Jerome’s actual letters and

\textsuperscript{124} Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 47r: \textit{neque illum qui usuras accepisse convincitur, aut in scena lusisse noscitur… nec illum qui aliquando in furiam versus insanivit, vel afflictione diaboli vexatus est.}

\textsuperscript{125} This emphasis on the public is very common in Carolinginan texts. For an example, see Mayke de Jong, “What Was Public about Public Penance? \textit{Paenitentia publica} and Justice in the Carolingian World,” in \textit{La giustizia nell’alto medioevo (secolo ix-xi)}, Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo 44 (Spoleto: Presso la sede del Centro, 1997), 863–904.
letters attributed to him had a long history beyond their late antique circulation. What is unusual in the Laon codex is how these two very different letters seem to be united in the compilation by Martin Hiberniensis. This connection works to change the emphasis of the works and, I will argue, focuses their instruction on clerical morality and behavior.

Jerome’s letters in particular had a long legacy. He had left behind a large collection of letters after his death, having written to many of his friends and ascetic followers from whom he was otherwise cut off due to his exile to the Holy Land throughout the latter part of his life.\textsuperscript{126} Even though he wrote to particular people, Jerome clearly meant for his letters to be circulated, even publishing some of them on his own.\textsuperscript{127} Many of them read like short treatises, providing deep but concise theological teachings. They were also considered rhetorical models for letter writing and apologetic debate. Andrew Cain, in his study of Jerome’s letter circulation in the extant sources, found that the earliest surviving collections are in six sixth-century manuscripts that contain a few letters and fragments of letters.\textsuperscript{128} Their circulation expands exponentially by the ninth century, so much that Laistner concluded that “by the beginning of the ninth century, if not before, large libraries, like those in the abbeys of St. Gall or Lorsch, appear to have owned complete or nearly complete sets of the letters.”\textsuperscript{129}

The first Jerome letter in the Laon codex was \textit{Epistula} 122, addressed to Rusticus, on folios 72r-81v. In the manuscript it has no title and is just distinguishable by an enlarged opening letter.

\textsuperscript{126} Kelly, \textit{Jerome}, 1, 21–58.
\textsuperscript{127} Andrew Cain, \textit{The Letters of Jerome: Asceticism, Biblical Exegesis, and the Construction of Christian Authority in Late Antiquity} (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 227–228. Unlike some of his colleagues, however, Jerome never compiled a complete collection for circulation and some of his correspondence may have been destroyed when his monastery was attacked a few years before his death.
\textsuperscript{128} Cain, \textit{The Letters of Jerome}, 225–227.
Martin Hiberniensis’ table of contents, however, recognizes its authorship and theme with the label: *Iheromimi de penitentia*. It is an extensive inventory of scriptural passages that deal with repentance interspersed occasionally with mini Jerome commentaries on scriptural cross-references and stories.\(^{130}\) Its length and the rhetorical complexity with which it switches between stories and brief references to passages and examples assumes too much information and moves too quickly to have been appropriate for popular use. Cain, in his analysis of Jerome’s letters, categorizes it as an “Exhorting Letter” and it, like the other twenty extant letters in the same category, is interested in prodding his recipient to a life of self-renunciation and pilgrimage.\(^{131}\)

The excerpt in the Laon codex starts and stops abruptly since the compiler cut out Jerome’s original address and conclusion. These changes removed Jerome’s references to his original recipient and to the original sin and, as I will argue later, help to connect this authentic Jerome letter to the one attributed to Jerome that follows. *Epistula* 122 on penance was written in 407/408 and was addressed to Rusticus, a Christian in Gaul, to urge him to follow his wife Artemia to the holy land in a pilgrimage of penance for forsaking their vow of marital chastity.\(^{132}\) Jerome does not specifically mention clerical morality and there is no indication that Rusticus was a cleric, and yet Jerome was holding him to a very high moral standard. In addition, with the deletions in the beginning and conclusion of the letter, the version Martin Hiberniensis had did not mention vows of marital chastity at all, perhaps because that was not a moral ideal or objective of the reform

\(^{130}\) Cain, *The Letters of Jerome*, 188n89.


movement in the ninth century. Jerome’s heavy emphasis on the importance of penance and confession, without reference to the original circumstances, stress the severity of sin and importance of repentance in general. This letter may have been used by Martin Hiberniensis to encourage moral excellence in his students because they were to be the mediators of penance and moral accountability. After all, this letter was far too rhetorical and dense for popular consumption and thus would have been used for the specialized schooling of a learned audience, such as pastors-in-training, or perhaps used for devotional study. The main reason I think this letter could have been used to instruct pastors-in-training in particular on proper moral living, however, is based on how Martin Hiberniensis connected this letter with the excerpt that follows.

The subsequent Pseudo-Jerome letter contains a message on morality that is specifically focused on clerics. Even though little is known about the real author of this falsely attributed letter, it was created in the spirit of Jerome, at least Jerome later in life. For most of his career, Jerome was quick to be critical of clerical behavior and instead encouraged ascetic disciplines for all pious believers. Clerics had a job but the responsibilities of their office inherently put them in the path of temptation and sin. The rank or office itself was not holy, men had to act the part to be considered worthy of it. Jerome softened on these points over time, as seen in his letter to Nepotian in 393 that stated that it was possible for clerics to maintain a disciplined lifestyle. He strongly implied throughout, however, that in reality, that was quite a rare feat and spends most of the letter issuing warnings against common priestly sins. Jerome valued knowledge of scripture

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133 For more information about how Carolingians were seeking to recruit lay, especially aristocratic, converts to the reform movement and how that included the promotion of a more positive view on marriage, see Stone, Morality and Masculinity in the Carolingian Empire, 247–274.


135 Hunter, Marriage, Celibacy, and Heresy, 237–242; and Rousseau, Ascetics, Authority, and the Church, 125–126. Similar criticisms are also laced throughout Jerome’s Adversus Jovinianum, with his emphasis being on the many
more than any other learning and believed that all clerics needed to be well-versed in its contents and meaning. Thus, Jerome believed, as he makes clear in his actual Letter 69 to Oceanus on clerics, that priests needed to be preaching the gospel through their virtuous behavior as well as through their words. In the end, as observed by Philip Rousseau, Jerome was a pragmatist who realized that the combination of ascetic principles with clerical responsibilities was often going to be an impossibility and yet that did not stop him from propagating the ideal, even if he realized it was not going to be attainable in all circumstances.

The Ps-Jerome letter 42 excerpt included in the Laon codex is really just a fragment. Known as Ad Oceanum de vita clericorum, it has a direct, albeit truncated, lesson for clerics. In the codex it is not named on either the folio or in the table of contents. The excerpt is only one folio long, appearing on folio 82r. It takes over the whole side of the folio but immediately follows Jerome’s letter on penance. In the table of contents, Martin Hiberniensis labels them as one work, allowing the Iheromimi de penitentia designation to stand for both letters. Thus, to understand the second letter’s direct address, one must take into account how the previous letter on a similar message sets it up. The Rusticus letter ends with Jerome noting that if Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the prophets and apostles all sinned, no one else should claim to do otherwise. And yet, the inevitability of sin does not excuse the sinner, for a day of judgment is coming and those who will be exalted the highest by God will be those who devoted their lives to repentance.

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136 Rousseau, Ascetics, Authority, and the Church, 128.
137 Rousseau, Ascetics, Authority, and the Church, 128–129.
138 I. Hillberg, ed., Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistula 121-154, CSEL 56 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1910), 69; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 81r–81v: Si abraham, isaac et iacob prophetae
This ending then leads into the fragment of the Ps. Jerome letter addressed to clerics which, after a brief greeting by Jerome, discusses the high calling of the priesthood. In the edition of this letter, I Timothy 3:1 and its list of qualifications for a bishop are listed. In the Laon codex, this passage begins by saying “If anyone desires to be a priest, he desires good work,” but then the list is omitted and the rest of this short excerpt is a general but emphatic exhortation urging clerics to aim for moral living. Clerics teach through the example of their lives. While this implies that they teach their lay congregants this way, it focuses on the example that priests set for junior spiritual leaders. Priests teach themselves, priests teach the laity and, as specified here, priests teach other priests through their moral example. “Priests ought to display themselves as examples to be imitated so that others of more junior, humble grade will follow their life.” In this way, this letter pairing attributed to Jerome highlights the dangers of sin and the importance of living a morally upright life.

Even though these instructions, holding clergy to a high moral standard, encouraging priests to have a good influence on each other, and the emphasis on penance and repentance, are here coming from actual and apocryphal Jerome letters, these were major Carolingian concerns as well. A large part of the Carolingian reform movement was focused on elevating the calling of the priesthood and setting clerics apart by requiring a high bar of morality. After all, these spiritual


139 Ps. Hieronymus, Epistola 42, PL 30: col. 288D; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 82r: Ceteri clericorum condiscant quomodo debeant vivere In hac vita mortali se ipsos imitabilis debent proponere sacerdotes ut alii iuniores gradus humiles consecuti vita...
leaders were responsible for the souls of their congregants and would be judged accordingly by God. Carine van Rhijn has envisioned a context in which local Carolingian priests knew each other and even collaborated to some extent. In some cases, they had attended school together; practically speaking priests needed to combine resources and were (ideally) in communication with each other for yearly synods.\textsuperscript{140} Carolingian legislation indicates that reformers wanted to use priestly connections to encourage and regulate high moral and theological standards. In the \textit{Admonitio generalis}, the responsibility of enforcing these standards was placed within the ecclesiastical community. Bishops were told to examine the priests in their region regularly, making sure they were correct in their doctrinal beliefs and in their administration and understanding of baptism, the mass, prayers, psalms, and the Lord’s Prayer.\textsuperscript{141} In the \textit{Capitulare Missorum Generale}, a similar guideline is mandated, although without the rank specification. In this capitulary, priests were to carefully supervise other priests around them to make sure they were living in accordance with the rule of the canons.\textsuperscript{142} These regulations continued into the middle of the ninth century, with a wave of episcopal statutes particularly in West Francia in response to the reform capitularies that Charles

\textsuperscript{140} van Rhijn, “Priests and the Carolingian Reforms,” 221–223, 235–236; Carine van Rhijn, \textit{Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period} (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 139–142; and Janet Nelson, \textit{Charles the Bald} (London: Routledge, 1992), 65–66. Nelson and van Rhijn make the point that there is an especially high proliferation of episcopal statutes and communication between dioceses in the western kingdom of Charles the Bald in the middle of the ninth century because the provincial churches were well organized and connected. So, interactions and even collaborations between regional clerics may have been a reality for Martin Hibemienis in Laon, even though yearly synods were more often just an ideal.

\textsuperscript{141} \textit{Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen}, MGH Fontes iuris 16:220: 68. Sacerdotibus. Ut episcopi diligenter discutiant per suas parrochias presbiteros, eorum fidem, baptisma et missarum celebrationes, ut fidem rectam teneant et baptisma catholicum observent et missarum preces bene intellegant. Et ut psalmi digne secundum divisiones versuum modulentur et dominicam orationem ipsi intellegant et omnibus praedicto intellegendum, ut quisque sciat, quid petat a deo. Et ut “Gloria Patri” cum omni honore apud omnes cantetur, et ipse sacerdos cum sanctis angelis et populo dei communi voce “Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus” decantet. Et omnimodis dicendum est presbiteris et diaconibus, ut arma non portent, sed magis se confident in defensione dei quam in armis.

\textsuperscript{142} \textit{Capitulare Missorum Generale}, 802, MGH Capit. I: 96: Presbiteri clerros quos secum habent sollicite praevideant, ut canonice vivant: non inanis lusibus vel conviviis secularibus vel canticiis vel luxoriosis usum habeant; sed caste et salubre vivant.
the Bald instituted after the 843 Treaty of Verdun. For example, in Hincmar of Rheims’ *capitula* of 852 he required that teachers and deacons (*magistris et decanis*) check the parishes in their region every year and report back to the bishop as to how each priest was overseeing his church and his pastoral and moral responsibilities. Hincmar goes on to list at length the wide variety of topics that were open to investigation, from book inventories, to the precise nature of priestly clothes, to the storage of the chalices, and the procedure observed for the anointment of the sick.\textsuperscript{143}

Thus, with a few tweaks and a merger of two letters, the compiler provided Martin Hiberniensis with a text that stressed the importance of moral behavior, the horrors of sin, the importance of repentance, and the essential role of clerical community and accountability. Pastors were to be held to a higher standard than most and yet were inevitably going to sin. The letter to Rusticus stressed that even the heroes of the Bible sinned. All will sin but repentance and accountability can save spiritual leaders from the damning effects of that sin. In these ways, these works use the words of a Church Father to add a sense of urgency and importance to already established Carolingian reform goals related to the morality and community of pastors.

The final and most detailed explanation of clerical morality and teaching through example is, surprisingly, in a popular sermon in the Laon codex: an excerpt from Gregory the Great’s *Moralia*. This excerpt is on folios 65v–72r and will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter when this sermon is put in its context, since it is codicologically and thematically linked to the

\textsuperscript{143} Hinkmar von Reims, Zweites Kapitular, MGH Capit. episc. 2:45–70; Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), 63; and van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, 140–141, 151–152. McKitterick here compares mid-ninth-century deacons to imperial *missi* but on a smaller scale, showing how Carolingian regulations on priestly standards had evolved at this point. Van Rhijn makes the point that Hincmar’s works do not rely on early statutes but his subject matter is rather traditional, with ten admonishments to priests and seven prohibitions spread out over long, detailed chapters.
sermons on morality that precede it. It is important to mention here, however, since it frames a popular lesson on the vices around the importance of clerical morality and foresight.

The sermon is excerpted from chapter 45 in Gregory’s *Moralia*, which was famously devoted to the capital sins. Gregory’s discussion of sins was originally created for a monastic audience and for spiritual leaders, but as the text’s popularity grew in the Middle Ages, so did the concept that all believers, not just ascetics, needed to avoid and combat vices.¹⁴⁴ Not only were Gregory’s lessons on virtues and vices copied extensively, they also influenced Alcuin and Rabanus Maurus, who both created their own works on the virtues and vices.¹⁴⁵

While this sermon contained a message that was universally applicable, it was most especially establishing leaders as the chief teachers and exemplifiers of the virtues as well as the most likely victims of the vices. In the opening sections, negligence and arrogance are mentioned as the gateways to vices. Even the pursuit of the virtues can be dangerous when one is unaware of lurking sins such as pride. As a result, like the horse in battle, Gregory’s excerpted commentary turned sermon calls on pastors to be watchmen for themselves and for others.¹⁴⁶


goes back to addressing the leaders who are called to pay attention to the encroachment of sin, both for their own benefit and for the benefit of those who look to them for guidance.\footnote{Adriaen, \textit{Gregorius Magnus Moralia in Iob}, CCSL 143B, 1612; and \textit{Laon, Bibliothèque municipale}, 265, f. 72r: \textit{Haec est ducum exhortatio, quae dum incaute ad secretum cordis amittitur, familiaris iniqua persuadet, quia videlicet exercitus ululans sequitur, quia infelix anima semel principalibus vitis capta, dum multipliicatis iniquitatibus in insaniam vertitur, ferali iam immantitate vastatur. Sed miles dei, qui solerter praevindicere vitiorum certamina nititur, bellum odoratur, quam mala praeventia, quid mente persuadere valeant, cogitatione sollicita respicit, Exhortationem dum cum naris sagacitate agitate reprehendit. Et quia longe praesciendo subsequenitum iniquitatum confusio nem conspicit, quasi ululatum exercitus odorando cognoscit.}}

Once again, it appears as if the compiler of this Laon codex was using the words of the Church Fathers to infuse meaning and importance to longstanding Carolingian reform goals. The spirit of Gregory’s instruction, calling on spiritual leaders to be like the war horse or like a watchman constantly on the lookout for sin and temptation, is reflected in Charlemagne’s late eighth century \textit{De litteris colendis} letter promoting the importance of learning. In this letter, Charlemagne urges spiritual leaders to devote themselves to the study of letters so that they might better understand Scripture and theology. This training is meant to prepare pastors to be “soldiers of the church” who are devout, learned, chaste, and eloquent. Through these means they can both recruit and instruct the laity.\footnote{\textit{Karoli epistola de litteris colendis}, 780–800, \textit{MGH Capit.} 1:79: \textit{Optamus enim vis, sicut decet ecclesiae milites, et interius devotos et exterius doctos castosque bene vivendo et scholasticos bene loquendo...}} In both the \textit{Moralia} excerpt and in Carolingian legislation, pastors were encouraged to be knowledgeable, vigilant, and active leaders in their communities. Pastors were not free of sin or temptation, but Martin Hiberniensis could use these sources to stress that pastors were expected to deal with their sin and the perils of temptation.

As shown, there are a number of texts in the Laon codex that directly address clerics and call on them to be morally upright, patient and alert leaders, both for the sake of their own souls and for the souls that look to them for guidance. In the Gennadius passage, pastors were to avoid certain behaviors in order to exemplify orthodoxy. In the Jerome letters, pastors were to take action...
through repentance and accountability and were to be instructive exemplars for other priests to emulate. In the *Moralia* sermon pastors were to take action through study and attentiveness and were to be alert watchman against sin for themselves and their flocks. Thus, the hierarchy of impressionable witnesses is broad; clerics were to be devoted to virtuous living in order to be good examples for their congregants but also for other clerics and for the good of their own souls. The realities of Carolingian reform relied on pastors teaching, encouraging, and exemplifying Christian living and orthodoxy to each other in word and deed. Large-scale reform required that pastors use all means available to encourage orthodoxy and build the community of the faithful. They needed to gain an education in theology and morality so that they could aid in the education and mentorship of other spiritual leaders as well as their lay congregants. Thus, Carolingian pastors were not only being encouraged by reformers to maintain high moral standards but reformers were relying on them to fulfill multifaceted teaching expectations.

**Conclusion**

The texts examined in this section were scholarly works, intended for the study and contemplation of pastors-in-training at the cathedral school of Laon. I have analyzed the content of these works to reveal a number of things about Martin Hiberniensis’ expectations and requirements for ninth-century students. I have also looked at the ways in which that information was packaged in order to see how these texts, all based on copies of late antique works from the past, were used. Thanks to Martin Hiberniensis’ opening table of contents and the pastoral material in the collection, we can be confident that this was a teaching manual, used in a cathedral school, in its extant form. Thus this collection is a valuable case study that can shed light on the realities
of Carolingian Christianization and reform. While Carolingian legislation makes clear what pastors were supposed to know and teach in theory, Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 provides us with a slice of one school’s actual curriculum. By analyzing the manuscript history, adaptations, labels and content of these works, I believe we can get a sense of how the Carolingians were recycling works they deemed to be authoritative from the past to aid in their present actualization of reform.

Martin Hiberniensis had high standards for students at his school. Martin was using this compilation with its lengthy treatises and commentaries to provide his students with many different layers of education and the first layer was a history lesson. Gennadius of Marseille’s *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* and large parts of Fulgentius’ letters were focused on late antique heresies that were no longer in existence in the ninth-century west. These heresies, however, were very relevant to the Church Fathers and were often referenced in their works. While the Carolingians saw the importance of copying early church texts, reading and studying them was a challenging undertaking for pastors-in-training. In some cases, the rhetoric was too complex or the theological concepts too convoluted. When these were the issues, Carolingian reformers would often excerpt and abridge these works and add comments and glosses.¹⁴⁹ This was not the case in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265. All of the late antique texts were copied nearly in full, showing that Martin was not worried about his students getting bogged down in the details or the

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¹⁴⁹ For example, the sister and daughter of Charlemagne, Gisela and Rotruda, both learned nuns, wrote to Alcuin and asked him to create a new commentary on John because Augustine’s exposition was too obscure and complex. Alcuin complied but still depended on Augustine’s work, although he streamlined the presentation. See, *Gislae Calensis abbatisse et Rodtrudae Caroli filiae epistola ad Alcuinum*, MGH Epp. 4:324. For more information on Alcuin’s simplification strategies, see Donald A. Bullough, “Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven,” in *Carolingian Essays: Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in Early Christian Studies*, ed. Uta-Renate Blumenthal (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1983), 16, 60–62; and John J. Contreni, “Carolingian Biblical Studies,” in *Carolingian Essays*, ed. Uta-Renate Blumenthal (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1983), 90–92.
rhetoric. Instead, Martin Hiberniensis was most concerned with the historical and contextual gap his students needed to overcome. Rather than read these texts as a statement of Martin Hiberniensis’ fear of a resurgence of late antique heresies, I think they are an indication of what kind of education he thought would be most useful for pastors-in-training who were learning from the Church Fathers in an era that was largely devoid of the heresies those Church Fathers saw everywhere.\(^{150}\) They needed to be aware of church history in order to understand the late antique councils and creeds and the works of the Church Fathers. I believe they were also supposed to glean a sense of their own vocational calling from a survey of the past. Martin Hiberniensis was equipping pastors-in-training with orthodoxy so that they would hold the line, maintain the *norma rectitudinis*, in line with those who preceded them.\(^ {151}\) Reminding them of the church’s past encounters with heretical enemies may have been just the history lesson Martin thought they needed in order to gain a sense of the responsibilities incorporated in the pastoral office.\(^ {152}\)

These texts, however, were not just recounting historical knowledge, they were also used by Martin Hiberniensis as a foil for teaching orthodoxy. Most of the early church councils and statements of faith were formed with very specific terms and explanations in order to combat heretical views. Understanding heresy would give ninth-century pastors-in-training more of an appreciation for statements of orthodoxy. It also infused the conversation with a level of importance and urgency: misunderstanding or even just misrepresenting orthodoxy could lead to

\(^{150}\) Matter, “Orthodoxy and Deviance,” 511–513
\(^{151}\) Noble, “Carolingian Religion,” 295–300.
heresy. This was an especially valuable lesson to impart to students who were being invested with the responsibility of preaching orthodoxy to the laity.

This method of reading the heresiologies also makes sense in light of the inclusion of Isidore’s *De differentiis II*, a theological grammar book. Whereas the Gennadius text, and to some degree the Fulgentius letters, laid out orthodox and heretical points of view, Isidore’s work demonstrated the importance of the grammatical building blocks of discourse and reasoning that would give pastors the skill set to distinguish between the two. In some cases, heresy could arise from an error in terms. In fact, I argued that in the ninth-century west, the most likely “heretical” culprits would probably have been apocryphal or pseudonymous texts with slight errors in terminology, grammar, or reasoning that could lead readers to error. Apocryphal works were everywhere, two even appear in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265! Although not all were deemed to be heretical, spiritual leaders needed to be able to decipher the difference. The dialectic methodologies that were showcased in Fulgentius’ letters and Jerome’s commentary on the Antichrist would have built on Isidore’s grammar lessons in order to show pastors-in-training how to make those kinds of distinctions as well as how to build a case for orthodoxy. The dialectical discipline was promoted by the Carolingians as one of the most important components of a liberal arts education. The Fulgentius and Jerome texts showed dialectical skills in action by using exegesis, reasoning, theology, grammar, mathematics and rhetoric to confound heretics and promote orthodoxy. They demonstrated multiple techniques in the art of debate and persuasion that would have been useful for spiritual leaders in general and in particular for future preachers to learn.
I ended this chapter by analyzing texts in the Laon codex that were dedicated to the moral requirements of pastors. Here I focused on a section in Gennadius’ texts as well as Jerome’s *Epistula* 122 to Rusticus, a fragment from the Ps-Jerome Letter *Ad Oceanum de vita clericorum*, and a section in a popular sermon based on Gregory the Great’s *Moralia*. When taken together with the previous sections in this chapter, the overarching message is that the clerical calling is a difficult vocation. Carolingian pastors were expected to be learned rhetoricians as well as theological experts and yet, part of the vocation was the moral example they set for others. In this practical, pastoral, Laon codex, the emphasis is on establishing orthodoxy and giving pastors the terminology, history, grammar and liberal arts skills to understand and apply it. These instructions are taught through positive lessons on theology and scripture, as well as through negative examples and foils, such as the presentation of past heretical movements. The overt moral exhortations studied in the last section, comparatively, take up much less space in the teaching manual. As shown, however, the instructions on clerical behavioral standards were tied to important Carolingian reform goals that were in turn very much bonded to theological and exegetical expectations. As stated in Charlemagne’s *De litteris colendis* letter, “it is better to do what is good than to know it, yet knowing comes before doing.”153 Although the Laon codex contains a strong foundation of lengthy texts devoted to building up a historically-minded, liberal arts education, those lessons were useless if they did not result in action. The shorter texts on clerical morality and purity also contained essential information. Pastors could only teach and lead others if they exemplified the gospel and Christian morality. Thus, all of the sections in this chapter combined

153 P.D. King, trans., *Charlemagne: Translated Sources* (Lancaster: University of Lancaster Central Print Unit, 1987), 232; and *Karoli epistola de litteris colendis*, 780-800, MGH Capit. 1:79: *Quamvis enim melius sit bene facere quam nosse, prius tamen est nosse quam facere.*
to teach pastors how to pastor in order to produce conscientious, learned, and attentive soldiers of Christ for the Carolingian empire in an era of reform. This case study of the manuscript from a prominent, Carolingian cathedral school gives us a glimpse into how pastors-in-training were being prepared to diffuse the reform agenda on the local level.
Teachers like Martin Hiberniensis at the Laon cathedral school were interested not only in training ninth-century pastors to be capable theologians, exegetes and role models but, as I will
demonstrate in this chapter and the next, they were also interested in teaching their students how to diffuse the reform agenda to the laity. Over this chapter and the next, I will look at an apocryphal narrative and a passion tale, a series of texts on marriage, incest, and emergency infant baptism, a collection of instructions and three sermons related to the administration of the Eucharistic mass, a sermon on the resurrection of the dead, two sermons related to virtues and vices, and a collection of six Gospel sermons. I will study how these works were used by Martin Hiberniensis as a defined series of textual units that, in some cases, are codicologically linked through shared titles or a lack of spacing breaks in the manuscript. In other cases their relationship is defined by Martin Hiberniensis himself through his table of contents. He grouped some texts together because of a common author; other times he listed works with the same author individually, implying there was a method to his choices. He also changed some titles in order to highlight a particular theme; at one point he changed the titles of three sermons so that they would all start with the same phrase, linking them as a set. His table of contents is a rare and valuable guide to the interpretation of this manuscript because it provides a glimpse into the reading, studying, and teaching habits of a Carolingian cathedral school master. This was a practical teaching manual; Contreni argued that it was a favorite of Martin’s and that it was a carefully assembled work that served as a “convenient reference tool for teaching.”1 Martin’s table of contents was meant to direct himself and any readers to certain materials for particular purposes. As a result, my analysis will necessarily pay attention to Martin’s organizational structure and what it reveals about the ways he was training his students.

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In this chapter, I will analyze the content that was devoted to liturgical rites and moral guidelines that were clearly intended to be for the administration of pastoral care to a lay flock. I will analyze these texts for what they reveal about liturgical teaching and administration, as well as disciplinary and management skills. In this miscellany, the texts that fall into that category discuss: teaching the theology of the Creed and *Pater noster*, preparing the laity for the Eucharist, presenting the Eucharist, ruling on issues of incest, remarriage, adultery and abuse, guiding married couples away from sexual sins, and baptizing sick infants. These are practical texts meant to equip pastors-in-training with the knowledge, skills, and theology needed to carry out their pastoral duties, even in the face of limited resources and complicated scenarios.

In the following chapter, I will identify a different kind of pastoral instruction: works that I believe were created to be digested orally by a mixed audience and thus, can be differentiated by factors such as length, complexity, rhetoric, and subject matter. The manuscript starts and ends with stories. One is an apocryphal narrative providing a larger backstory to the gospel events detailed in the Creed; the other is a hagiographical narrative referencing an early church martyr-pope whose bones would have been recently discovered in the middle of the ninth century. The following chapter will also discuss two different sets of sermons that, I will argue, intentionally represent a number of different preaching strategies and methodologies while still providing pastors-in-training with coherent sermon messages and exemplars.

All of these practical, pastoral texts, except for the opening apocryphal story, were copied together at the end of the manuscript collection. According to Bischoff and Keefe’s assessment of the codicological arrangement of Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, folios 123-191, in which

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these texts appear, were created separately from the rest of the codex. Folios 1-122 are in different hands but were all composed at Saint-Amand and can be dated to the first third of the ninth century. The last section, however, was put together in northeastern France in the second third of the century.\(^3\) This lengthy section of the manuscript, focused on the administration of pastoral care, contains different hands; Bischoff suggests it was contemporary with Martin Hiberniensis’ tenure as magister at Laon and created in the wider Laon region. This may mean that Martin was able to oversee directly this part of the collection. Even if he did not have a hand in the creation of these works, however, Martin Hiberniensis did label and organize the texts soon after their construction and he did use the compilation to teach pastors how to pastor. Thus, although his particular role in the creation of the compilation cannot be definitively determined, what does become clear is that Martin Hiberniensis not only used Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 but he also took ownership of its structure and message.

Throughout my analysis, I will use this chapter to show how pastoral students in a cathedral school were being prepared to Christianize lay congregants. This requires a two-pronged analysis. In each thematic section, I will analyze the manuscript itself, specifically how the texts were put together by the original compiler but also how the texts were labeled and used by Martin Hiberniensis. This strategy of analysis will provide insights into the way scribes, reformers, and teachers packaged Christian reform. I will ask how Carolingian reformers used pastoral compilations such as the Laon codex to aid in the practical education of pastors-in-training. How original were these works that were, for the most part, unapologetically but creatively borrowing

from texts from the past? In this vein, I will also trace the early medieval manuscript history of these works. Was this compiler relying on uncommon and unusual texts or was he gathering together, and often changing, well-known works and why? The second way I will analyze these pastoral texts is by looking at their content and points of emphasis. What kind of presence were pastors to have in their communities? What were the day-to-day duties of a local spiritual leader? What kind of theology was to be taught to the laity and how were they to be taught? What moral and behavioral standards were being taught to lay listeners and in what amount of detail? How were pastors directed to enforce or regulate these rules? Over the next two chapters I will argue that this case study provides answers to these questions. Through a detailed analysis of this Laon codex, I will try to recreate the way Martin Hiberniensis used this collection to teach pastoral care. In this effort, I will thus try to analyze the most ambitious part of the Carolingian reform movement. The Carolingian court, through reform legislation like the Admonitio generalis, stated that they wanted reform taught to the laity. I will demonstrate that manuscripts like the Laon codex, which were created to teach pastors to lead, instruct, regulate, inspire, entertain, impress, and guide the laity, provide a glimpse into how pastors were being equipped to realize legislative ideals related to the Christianization of the lay majority.

A Manuscript Excursus: Disentangling Martin’s Manual

Before moving on to analyze the texts devoted to the administration of pastoral care, I need to discuss the complicated structure of the last part of the compilation. The end of Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, folios 162r-183v, is an interesting mix of short texts that seems to form two collections of materials related either to (1) the Eucharistic mass or (2) to the pastoral
care of families, regulating sex, marriage, incest and infant baptism. On the one hand, the texts in this section are a fascinating blend of strategic extractions from other sources; on the other hand, this section is interesting because it appears to have been incorrectly sewn together. The original order of the manuscript has a Carolingian-era sermon on the Old and New Testament story of salvation and moral teachings, a Carolingian-era sermon or commentary on the Pater noster, a Pseudo-Augustine sermon explaining the Creed, and excerpts from Isidore’s De ecclesiasticis on the benediction and Eucharist. This original order was agreed upon by Bischoff and John Contreni, followed by Mordek and Keefe, and supported by codicological clues, but the extant order of the last group of texts in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 is quite different. The current manuscript, which is in the same form that was used by Martin Hiberniensis according to his table of contents, has the mass texts mixed in with canons and capitularies on marriage and incest and splits up the Pseudo-Augustine sermon. The differences between the two orders is outlined below:

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There are reasons for believing the proposed reconstructed order was the originally intended layout of the manuscript, even if that was not the layout in which Martin Hiberniensis used it.\(^5\) The current, extant order splits the Pseudo-Augustine sermon on the Creed into two parts and puts the latter part earlier than the first part. It also separates thematically similar texts. The Councils of Epaone and Tours, excerpts from the *Epitome Aegidi*, Councils of Verberie and Compiègne, and the excerpts from the *Paenitentiale Theodori* all deal with marriage and incest. Furthermore the texts that are bolded in the chart above, although seemingly different, all have to do with the mass and with preaching the gospel to the laity. In addition, according to paleographic clues, Bischoff ascribed this section to a later date and a different location than the rest of the collection.\(^6\) Thus, this section was originally created as an independent unit with two clear themes.

\(^{5}\) Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta*, 200–201. Mordek identified three quires in this section: folios 162–167 (originally 8 folios with two cut out after 167), 168–175 and 176–183. Only a small sliver of a page remains before folio 168. It is not included in the folio pagination and may be the missing “*De elisabeth et zacharia*” mentioned in Martin Hiberniensis’ table of contents.

but there is a problem with simply rearranging these texts for analysis. Martin Hiberniensis’ table of contents on the first page of the Laon codex refers to the works in the extant order. The bottom of the folio is hard to read, since parts of it are faded, but it seems to list the works in the following order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Martin Hiberniensis' Table of Contents</th>
<th>Possible Reference / Extant Manuscript Layout</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>De coniugiis</em></td>
<td>ff. 162r-164v: Council of Verberie (756) &amp; Council of Compègne (757)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ff. 164v-167r: Excerpt from <em>Paenitentiale Theodori Discipulus Umbriensis</em> (Book 2:12 in full)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>De elisabeth et zacharia</em></td>
<td>f. 167v: Empty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ff. 168r-168v: Second half of Ps.-Augustine Sermon 242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>De benedictione sacerdotis</em></td>
<td>ff. 168v-171v: Three excerpts from Isidore's <em>De ecclesiasticis officiis</em> on the Benediction and Sacrifice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>De sacrificio offerendo</em></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>De sacrificio pro defunctis offerendo</em></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>De ??estis coniugiis</em></td>
<td>ff. 171v-174v: Council of Epaone (517) (Canon 30) &amp; Council of Tours (567) (Canon 22 [21])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>De ??adibus propinquitatatis</em></td>
<td>ff. 174v-175v: Excerpt from <em>Epitome Aegidii</em> based on the <em>Lex Romana Visigothorum</em> (IV, 10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>De baptisterio</em></td>
<td>f. 175v: Emergency Baptism <em>Concilia Galliae</em> excerpt (754)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>De creatione generis humani</em></td>
<td>ff. 176r-180v: Sermon on progress of redemption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>De baptismo Christi. De cruce ei. De ascensione ei</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>De oratione dominica. De symbolo</em></td>
<td>ff. 180v-182r: Sermon on Pater noster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ff. 182r-183v: First half of Ps.-Augustine Sermon 242</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

This indicates that when these groupings were placed into Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 they were rearranged, perhaps accidently, and Martin Hiberniensis used them in that haphazard order. There are no notes in the margins or in the table of contents noting the rearrangement. The randomly placed second half of the Pseudo-Augustine sermon on the symbol is not mentioned in the opening table. It appears as if Martin was content to look up the related texts using his table of contents and that he depended on his familiarity with the collection. This was an undecorated
collection made out of texts copied by many different hands; it was a utilitarian book whose deficits were most easily mended with a workable table of contents.\footnote{See Sven Meeder, “Defining Doctrine in the Carolingian Period: The Contents and Context of Cambridge Pembroke College, MS 108,” \textit{Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society} 13, no. 2 (2005): 133–151 for his case study of a similar Carolingian florilegium. On page 140 he describes the appearance of his unadorned, misordered, utilitarian manual.}

For the purposes of analyzing these short but significant texts, I will study the relationships between them by following the originally intended layout of the manuscript in this chapter and the next to best analyze how they fit together conceptually. In the first section, I will analyze the materials referring to the preaching of the gospel and administration of the Eucharist during the mass. In the second section, I will focus on the texts related to the pastoral care of families, which include regulations on marriage, sex and incest as well as an excerpt on emergency infant baptism.

\textbf{A Crafted Collection on Celebrating the Eucharistic Mass}

Sermon on Redemption, Sermon on the \textit{Pater noster}, Ps.-Augustine Sermon 242, Excerpts from Isidore’s \textit{De ecclesiasticis officiis}

A Carolingian sermon on folios 176r to 180v opens the collection of mass materials. In the original layout of the Laon codex, however, this anonymous sermon would have appeared in the beginning of a series of texts that were created for a pastor to learn from and use in the Eucharistic mass. It would have been immediately followed by sermons explaining the \textit{Pater noster} and the Creed, two elements of the mass that were to be memorized by baptized believers and explained by pastors in order to prepare them for communion.\footnote{For example, \textit{Concilium Foroiulensiense}, 796-797, MGH Conc. 2:1:189; \textit{Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen}, MGH Fontes iuris 16:220, cc. 68; and \textit{Capitulare missorum} 802-813, MGH Capit. 1:147, cc. 2.} These sermons are followed by selections from Isidore’s \textit{De officiis ecclesiasticis} which explain the benediction the priest was to give the people and the significance and parameters of the Eucharistic meal itself. Thus, in the original
layout these texts form a unit of instructions, with popular relevance, centered on outlining how to preach the gospel to a lay audience in preparation for the Eucharistic meal.

The first sermon in the Laon codex is a close copy of a work that is often referred to as the “Karolingische Musterpredigt.” It was edited most recently by Klaus Gambler in 1964, who attributed it to Nicetas of Remesiana, a late fourth, early fifth century missionary and bishop from Dacia.9 Gambler seemed unaware, however, that W. Scherer first edited the sermon in 1865 and convincingly identified it as a Carolingian creation from the time of Charlemagne.10 This sermon has been found in five manuscripts; there are two from around 800 and two from the first quarter of the ninth century, making Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 the last extant copy of the work.11 While the first part, roughly sixty percent of the Musterpredigt, is a Carolingian original work, the second part is a close copy of the Pseudo-Boniface Sermon 6 on the capital sins and paganism. This Sermon 6 is from a collection of fifteen sermons attributed to St. Boniface from an unknown date; Rob Meens, however, has argued Sermon 6 was one of the oldest, existing by the year 800

11 Scherer, “Eine lateinische Musterpredigt,” 436; Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta*, 201–202; Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, 133–134n54, 178, no. 194; Michael Glatthaar, *Bonifatius und das Sakrileg. Zur politischen Dimension eines Rechtsbegriffs, Freiburger Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte, Bd. 17* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 2004), 603; and Rob Meens, “Christianization and the Spoken Word: The Sermons Attributed to St. Boniface,” in *Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift: Hagiographie und Historiographie im Spannungsfeld von Kompendienüberlieferung und Editionstechnik*, eds. R. Corradini, M. Diesenberger and M. Niederkom-Bruck (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), 214. Scherer used Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 6330 (IX ¼, folios 66r–70r) as well as Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 515 (around 800, folios 6r–8v) for his edition, whereas Gambler just used the Vienna codex in his. Since then, the sermon has also been discovered in this Laon codex as well as in Paris, BN lat. 14986 (IX ¼, folios 11r–13v). I was able to access all three other manuscripts and note that the Laon codex is very similar to Munich Clm 6330’s and Paris BN lat. 14986’s versions of the sermon. The Vienna ÖNB, Cod. Lat. 515 manuscript that Gambler used for his edition is similar for the first half but skips a few lines in the middle and leaves off the last few lines. The Paris, BN lat. 14986 version is the only one that is titled, it is called *Praedication ad populum in ecclesia det*, thus identifying it as a popular sermon for use in the mass, and that is exactly the role it seems to have played in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265. The relevant folios in Kassel, Landesbibliothek, Theol. 40 24 (IX/4) are not identified by any of these sources and I was not able to view this copy.
at the latest and it may have been inspired by Boniface’s actual sermons and created and used by Anglo-Saxon missionaries in the middle of the eighth century. Either way, the end of this sermon reflects the anti-paganism rhetoric and clear-cut moral instructions of the eighth-century missionary field.

This *Karolingische Musterpredigt*, taken as a whole, deserves more attention. John Contreni, in his short description of the Laon codex, noted the sermon’s interesting content and aptly described that it outlines “a rapid sketch of sacred history and warns against idolatry and other pagan practices.” The major focal points in the Old through New Testament progress of redemption (creation, fall, Noah and the flood, Isaiah’s prophecies, the annunciation, incarnation, Christ’s baptism, ministry, death, burial, descent, resurrection, ascension, Great Commission and promised return) monopolize the opening section, taking up over half of the sermon with many biblical references and summaries. Scherer and Meens note that the topics covered in this part of the sermon follow the themes discussed in the Carolingian reform legislation on preaching since they provide simple, creed-like explanations of basic theology and biblical knowledge, and address nearly all the major topics mentioned specifically in chapter eighty of the *Admonitio generalis*.

This sermon’s placement in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 appears to further support that

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14 Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, 133.
argument since it is followed up with sermons on the *Pater noster* and the Creed that would have also been used for pastoral care and lay edification.

Despite the interesting, Carolingian-made opening and the message of the sermon as a whole, it is the last part of the *Karolingische Musterpredigt*, and its connection with the Pseudo-Boniface Sermon 6, entitled *De capitalibus peccatis et praecipuis Dei praeceptis*, that has occupied scholars.\(^\text{16}\) Here, the emphasis is on behavioral application and it has particularly fascinated modern historians due to its potential significance for understanding early medieval paganism. This section starts with a list of pagan practices: idolatry, enchantments, gravesite sacrifices, augury, rites of Mercury or Jupiter, the worship of trees and springs, and celebration of pagan holidays.\(^\text{17}\) The sermon goes on to list a number of the most heinous capital sins that lead to hell: murder, adultery, fornication, theft, robbery, false witness, perjury, slander, greed, pride, envy, vainglory, and drunkenness.\(^\text{18}\) Here, the *Karolingische Musterpredigt* stops borrowing from

\(^\text{16}\) PL 89: cols. 855b–856c. The *Karolingische Musterpredigt* does, however, skip Boniface’s original introduction (cols. 855b), which reads: “Listen and understand, dearly beloved, to the word of faith which we preach, that we believe in God the Father, the Almighty, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, and believe in the Spirit of the Almighty Lord for the unity of the Holy Spirit, one and Trinity, three in person and in name and one in divinity, majesty, and power. This is the word of faith that we preach, so that we may discern between good and evil, between the pious and the wicked, between justice and iniquity, that is, between the capital and the most important among the capital sins, and to the precepts and commandments of God. For these are capital offenses…”

“Audite et intelligite, charissimi, hoc est verbum fidei quod praedicamus, ut credamus in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum filium ejus unicum Dominum nostrum, et credamus in Spiritum sanctum unum Deum omnipotentem in unitate et Trinitate, trinum in personis et nominibus, et unum in deitate majestatis et potestatis. Hoc est verbum fidei quod praedicamus, ut discernamus inter bonum et malum, inter pium et impium, inter justitiam et iniquitatem, id est, inter capitalia peccata et inter capitalia et principalia praecepta et mandata Dei. Haec enim sunt capitalia peccata.”

\(^\text{17}\) Scherer, “Eine lateinische Musterpredigt,” 439; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 178v–179r: *sacrilegium quod dicitur cultura idolorum: Omnia autem sacrificia et auguria paganorum sacrilegia sunt, et omnia illa observacio que paganiae vocatur, quem ad modum sacrificia mortuorum circa defuncta corpora vel super sepulcra illorum sive auguria sive filateria sive que immolant super petras sive ad fontes sive ad arbores iove vel mercurio vel alia paganorum, quae omnia daemonia sunt, quod eis fieratos dies servant, Sive incantationes et multa alia quae enumerare longum est: quae universa iuxta iudicium sanctorum patrum sacrilegia sunt, a christianis vitanda et detestanda...*

\(^\text{18}\) Scherer, “Eine lateinische Musterpredigt,” 339; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 179r: *et capitalia peccata esse dinoscutur, homicidium, adulterium, fornicatio, furta et rapina, falsum testimonium, periirium,
Pseudo-Boniface to instruct listeners to turn from these sins and instead work towards justice.\textsuperscript{19} The following description of hell copies Pseudo-Boniface’s words but adds in an original exhortation to forgive others and seek forgiveness through penance.\textsuperscript{20} The end of the sermon then copies Pseudo-Boniface’s positive commands on good works, which combine fruits of the spirit with the lessons from Matthew 25 regarding helping the hungry, thirsty, naked, sick, and imprisoned. The list continues: receive guests, bury the dead, judge justly, praise the righteous, denounce iniquity, help widows and orphans, support pilgrims, give alms, help the afflicted, pray, remain chaste, fast, live, in thankfulness and peace.\textsuperscript{21} Interestingly, the Karolingische Musterpredigt sermon leaves out only one item from Pseudo-Boniface’s list: to pay an annual tithe.\textsuperscript{22} The sermon then closes, by continuing to copy Sermon 6, with a description of the heaven that awaits the pious.

\textsuperscript{19} Scherer, “Eine lateinische Musterpredigt,” 440; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 179r–179v: \textit{et idcirco studeamus declinare ab his viciis et convertere ad iusticiam, ne in iudicio cum reprobis positi a sinistris terribilem illamaudians voscem domini dicentem, Item maledicti, in ignem aeternum, qui preparatus est diabulo et angelis eius ubi iuxta evangeli dictum erit fletus et stridor dentium, et ignis eorum non extinguetur;}

\textsuperscript{20} Scherer, “Eine lateinische Musterpredigt,” 440; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 179v: \textit{Bonum autem quod psalmista facere praecoepit, dum dicit Deverte a malo fac bonum. Idcirco, fratres dilectissimi, dimittamus vicia et credamus remissionem peccatorum nostrorum. si per penitentiae laments fructum iustitiae digna deo querimus, adprehendamus ea que ducant ad vitam. See Meens, “Aspekte der Christianisierung des Volkes,” 212–229. Even though this is an original insertion, it is a theme that Rob Meens has argued runs throughout the so-called Pseudo-Boniface sermons and is consistent with Boniface’s letters and councils.}


\textsuperscript{22} PL 89: col. 856B. The omitted phrase is “decimas annis singulis reddere” and in the PL version of the Pseudo-Boniface sermon it appears between the command to help the afflicted and to pray always. This phrase is not included.
The Musterpredigt turns to focus on what people are to do with this information: one can either turn towards idolatry, live in sin and end up in hell, or one can believe in God and live in pursuit of the virtues and the fruits of the spirit and be welcomed into heaven. Rather than study this progression as a whole, some scholars have focused on the references to sacrilege, idolatry and pagan practices because the reality of pagan survivals in the Carolingian era is very difficult to determine from the extant sources. How common were pagan cults? Was paganism really still an issue in what other sources imply was a fully Christianized empire? Scholars such as Carine van Rhijn and James Palmer have proposed that this was more of a Carolingian “category of difference” directed towards erring Christians rather than towards a threatening religion with its own set of beliefs. Taking a different approach, Bernadette Filotas has trusted early medieval references to pagan beliefs and has relied on the Karolingische Musterpredigt, using the copy in the Laon codex, and the Pseudo-Boniface Sermon 6 as two of her key sources. She has pointed out that many early medieval penitentials and church councils were concerned with incantations and forbid their use, but these practices were rarely described and the differences between incantations in the editions of the Karolingische Musterpredigt so this deletion is not unique to the Laon codex’s version of the sermon.


24 Carine van Rhijn, “Waren er heidenen in het Karolingische rijk?” Madoc 17, no. 1 (2003): 16–20; and James Palmer, “Defining Paganism in the Carolingian World,” Early Medieval Europe 15, no. 4 (2007): 402–425, 403. Richard Kieckhefer envisioned a similar situation, that these accusations are directed towards church-goers, but from a different angle, describing an early medieval world in which people from all groups (monks, clerics, doctors, midwives, diviners, and everyday laymen) were practicing magic. Although he focuses mostly on the later Middle Ages, he did cite evidence from Late Antiquity onwards. See his Magic in the Middle Ages (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 56–94. For a longer discussion of this debate about early medieval paganism, refer to my introduction, pages 38-41.
and prayers may not have been clear to many local priests. The *Musterpredigt* fits this description, in that it lists incantations as an act of sacrilege, even though this was not in the Pseudo-Boniface list, and yet it provides no further information as to how a pagan incantation was to be defined. There were some specific points, however, that were emphasized in the Laon and Pseudo-Boniface sermon, and Filotas especially focused on the references to Jupiter and Mercury as well as the allusion to sacrifices done over stones, and argues these were real, pagan practices under the Carolingians. In essence, however, Filotas has used this sermon at face value and out of its manuscript context. I will argue, by analyzing how the *Musterpredigt* was framed in the Laon codex, that this small section of the sermon on paganism was not a point of emphasis in the cathedral school as overseen by Martin Hiberniensis.

The manuscript context and, in particular, Martin’s table of contents, must be taken into account. The fact that this source fits into a collection of practical, pastoral texts used to prepare the laity for the Eucharist demonstrates that it contained messages meant for a lay, church-attending audience. Martin gives us more specific clues as to this sermon’s purpose and significance in his table of contents. Martin labeled this sermon with a series of phrases: *De creatione generis humani, De baptismo Christi, De cruce ei, De ascensione ei*. In doing this, he divided this rather lengthy sermon into four parts and only emphasized sections raised in the opening section of the sermon. Martin did not provide a comprehensive summary; most notably

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26 Filotas, *Pagan Survivals, Superstitions and Popular Culture*, 70–73. Filotas argued that there were still Jupiter cults and superstitions that persisted in the early Middle Ages and that Pseudo-Boniface Sermon 6 and the Laon codex’s copy of the *Karolingische Musterpredigt* show that Jupiter’s popularity continued into the ninth century. The two gods are linked in the *Indiculus superstitionum* from the mid-eighth century and both the Pseudo-Boniface Sermon 6 and *Musterpredigt* mention Jupiter and Mercury as a unit. The evidence, however, is scattered, the similarities between the Laon and Pseudo-Boniface sermons really make them just one example, and neither seem to imply that Jupiter cults were all that publicly active. See *Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum*, MGH Capit. 1:223.
his description did not cite the final section on paganism that has fascinated modern historians. Martin’s phrases also did not break the sermon down into equally spaced sections, since the creation account is much lengthier than the few lines on Christ’s baptism, death and ascension. In the manuscript text itself, there are hooked, S-like, marginal marks that appear to draw attention to some of the topic breaks throughout the sermon. There is a mark to start the description of the fall into sin (f. 176v), the messianic prophecies of Isaiah (f. 177r), the annunciation (f. 177r), the baptism of Christ (f. 177v), the death of Christ (f. 178r), and the ascension (f. 178v), the sacrilegious and capital sins that lead to hell (f. 178v), and the good works and fruits of the spirit that lead to heaven (f. 179v). These codicological clues imply that in the Laon cathedral school context this was not a sermon about paganism; those sections must be read in light of the sermon as a whole. Martin Hiberniensis’ title for the sermon and the marginal subdivisions imply that it was primarily to be used to explain the narrative of salvation; moral behaviors were to stem out of an appreciation for biblical theology. This implies that, while the Carolingians, and here Martin Hiberniensis, may have appreciated missionary activities against paganism in an earlier era (in which the realities of the existence of paganism have equally been contested by scholars), Laon-educated pastors needed a new starting point and emphasis.

Thus, Martin’s description of this sermon in the table of contents was not meant to be a comprehensive list of subjects but was to draw attention to the multi-faceted theological usefulness of this work that covered such a broad swath of the redemption story. He did not emphasize (as modern scholars have) the passage listing paganism, sins and virtues. At least in the context of teaching pastors how to prepare their baptized congregants for the Eucharistic mass, Martin Hiberniensis wanted the emphasis to be on the story of salvation. Good works and turning away
from paganism and sin were important, but those behaviors would only be effective if the laity were fully indebted to Christ’s work of salvation and the message of the gospel. Perhaps this sermon was a Carolingian attempt to build on the missionary sermons of the past, which were generally focused on labeling and undermining paganism and then emphasizing the power and benefits of God and the church.  

The *Karolingische Musterpredigt* as a whole provided Martin with a proper sermon to address a lay audience long converted from pagan religion to Christianity and now in need of a broader theological foundation. The sermon includes explanations of complicated theology such as original sin, the nature of the Trinity, the prophecies foretelling Christ, the incarnation and role of Mary, and the Lord’s second coming. Thus this hybrid sermon, copied in full in the Laon codex, emphasized the power of God, but through descriptions of his character and plan of redemption, more so than of his miracles, creation of the universe and supremacy over pagans.

The next sermon in this grouping of liturgical documents is a *Pater noster* sermon. Mordek and Contreni have both identified this work as a Carolingian creation, although it is not original to this Laon manuscript collection. It was written into the Laon codex in the same quire as the

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29 Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manucripta*, 202; and Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, 133–134nn53–54, 187, no. 396. Mordek noted that the sermon also appears in Cod. Karlsruhe Aug 18, Vatican Reg. Lat. 849, Wolfenbuttel Heimst. 496a, and Wolfenbuttel Weissenburger, 91. Contreni also identified the Karlsruhe manuscript and additionally mentioned St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 133 and Paris BN lat. 14986, thanking Étaix for the references. I was able to examine St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 133 (late 8th/9th century, folios 192–195), Wolfenbuttel Weissenburger, 91 (9th century, folios 150v–151v), Wolfenbüttel Herzog August Bibliothek Cod. Guelf. 496a Helmst (8th/9th century, folios 25v–27r) and Paris BN lat 14986 (10th c., folios 39v–40v) in more detail but I was not able to consult the Cod. Karlsruhe Aug 18 and Vatican Reg. Lat. 849 manuscripts. I found that all four of the other manuscripts were from the early Middle Ages and they all contain a nearly exact copy of this *Pater noster*. The St. Gall manuscript, however, does not include the last part. It stops part of the way through, analyzing the line “give us today our daily bread” at the end of folio 195. Folio 196 is blank or extremely faded but would have had enough room for the compiler to finish the text so perhaps it was included in full but has since been damaged or erased.
sermon on the progress of redemption and the beginning of the Pseudo-Augustine sermon on the Creed. It was then clearly meant to go with the Isidore excerpts on the benediction and Eucharist because the second half of the Pseudo-Augustine sermon was in the same gathering as the Isidore De ecclesiasticis officiis selections. Thus, even though Martin Hiberniensis seems to have used the manuscript with these last texts out of order, the relationship between these works would have been as codicologically clear then as it is now.

The relationship between the Paternoster sermon and the works around it on pastoral care and the Eucharistic mass was also clear thematically. The selections from Isidore were an explanation of how to give a benediction and then how to serve the Eucharist. Under the Carolingians, the Lord’s Prayer held a special status because it was believed to have been composed by Christ himself, and because it succinctly summarized the gospel message.\(^\text{30}\) In this way, it was often used to prepare catechumens for baptism and then, on a regular basis, to prepare baptized believers for the Lord’s Supper.\(^\text{31}\) In fact, it was one of the specific, educational goals outlined in chapter sixty-eight in the Admonitio generalis: it was deemed essential that pastors were to be taught the Creed, how to administer the mass, and how to explain baptism and the Lord’s Prayer.\(^\text{32}\) Later legislation went so far as to say that the laity needed to memorize the Lord’s Prayer and the Creed in order to counter paganism and sin.\(^\text{33}\) In this way, as a counter to pagan


\(^{32}\) Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen, MGH Fontes iuris 16:220.

\(^{33}\) Capitulare missorum 802-813, MGH Capit. 1:147; Rosamond McKitrick, The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), 120–121; and Susan A. Keefe, “Creed
incantations, the *Pater noster* may have been thought of by the laity as a sort of Christian incantation of its own.\(^{34}\) Thus, a sermon on the Lord’s Prayer would have been expected and useful in a Carolingian teaching manual and would have had direct popular purpose in that it was taught to pastors so that they could teach it to the laity.

For all of these reasons, Carolingian reformers required that the Lord’s Prayer be taught and memorized by the laity, and they used it to create a sense of inclusion in the church. It touched on important theological concepts but also a certain way of life and world view.\(^{35}\) It was something that the laity could recite together as a community and participate in as pious supplicants.\(^ {36}\) And yet the Carolingians also used the prayer to encourage inclusion of some by excluding others; the Lord’s Prayer was not to be prayed by the unbaptized. Thus it was only recited publically in the Eucharist mass, which was for baptized believers, and was used to prepare congregants for communion.\(^ {37}\) In all of these respects then, the *Pater noster* was, as Roy Hammerling put it, “the centerpiece of Christian education” in the early medieval west and the promotion of this prayer was an especially important element to the Carolingian reform movement.\(^ {38}\)

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36 Evelyn Birge Vitz, “Liturgy as Education in the Middle Ages,” in *Medieval Education*, eds. Ronald B. Begley and Joseph W. Koterski, S.J. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2005), 20–34. Although Donald Bullough has observed that there are some texts that imply that the liturgy, chants and prayers were sometimes incorrect or out of tune, the fact that some congregants complained about that shows that the laity was participating in these ways and that they valued that participation. See, Donald Bullough, “The Carolingian Liturgical Experience,” in *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship: Papers Read at the 1997 Summer Meeting and the 1998 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1999), 34–38, 51–52.
In the Laon codex, this Carolingian sermon on the *Pater noster* is rather short, running from the middle of folio 180v to the top few lines of folio 182r. The sermon is not titled but the opening letter “P” in “*Pater noster*” is enlarged and bolded as well as the opening letter of the first statement “*O quam magna est*…” The ending of the sermon is marked by a series of dots to finish out the line. The sermon glosses each phrase of the prayer, offering a symbolic interpretation and theological explanation. In this way, the sermon uses the Lord’s Prayer to explain the gospel, which was exactly what the Carolingians intended with their promotion of the prayer in the Eucharistic mass. The opening focuses on the greatness of God; he is an omnipresent and holy king who is also magnanimously merciful. Christians are to pray that this king, and not the devil, will reign in them spiritually and will return to earth to reign physically soon. Before that day, Christians, like the angels, are to live lives of obedience on earth. We can petition God daily to sustain us, but we should ask for living bread for we need spiritual food just as much as carnal food. We can ask for forgiveness but also must forgive those who have sinned against us. And finally we can ask for protection against suffering and temptation but that does not mean that God will not allow us to be tempted. The sermon ends by asking God to protect the supplicant from the work of the devil and by calling the prayer a seal for the faithful that declares the truths that God has promised.39

The sermon is significant in this manuscript context because it shows how Carolingian legislation was being worked out: pastors *were* being taught in cathedral schools like Laon not simply to recite the Lord’s Prayer but to understand what it meant and be able to teach it.40 The tone of this particular sermon is interesting because it is one of careful exhortation. Christians are

39 Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 182r: *[Signaculum est dominicae orationis hoc est vere vel fideliter quia omnia vera sunt quae promittit deus.]*

encouraged to petition the Lord and are consistently reminded of his power and goodness but subtly warned that this prayer would not save them from all hardship. And yet, the ending phrase, calling the prayer a seal for the faithful, is a deeply resonant and powerful assurance. Thus, the sermon accomplishes a number of purposes. Baptized believers were to feel the privilege and power of having a prayer, crafted by Christ, that they could use to petition God himself. They were a select group, under a seal on earth, ruled by the God of the universe and bound for glory in heaven. In these ways, the *Pater noster* may have had a similar appeal of a superstitious incantation, since it gave supplicants direct access to the benefits of a powerful God. But, while this prayer noted the power of God and his seal over those in the Christian church and community, this was not a magical incantation for prosperity. Saying the *Pater noster* did not ward off all trials of life, but it did remind Christians that they were going to reap an eternal reward in heaven.

This sort of *Pater noster* sermon would not have been popular a few generations prior. According to Richard Sullivan’s observations about early Carolingian missionaries, Christianization had entailed replacing paganism with Christian alternatives. In the seventh and early eighth centuries, pastors had to break the hold of paganism and that was difficult to accomplish since people believed that gods who inhabited the world around them needed to be placated and petitioned to ward off disaster. As a result, Carolingian missionaries needed to stress the omnipotence, mercy and goodness of the Christian God to prove that he was a more powerful alternative.\(^\text{41}\) While in some respects, this later Carolingian sermon does emphasize God’s power, it is not presented as an exact pagan counterpart; it is not a magical tool that could gain a supplicant carnal food and immunity from suffering. Instead, the ninth-century *Pater noster* sermon was to

educate Carolingian Christians: to encourage them in obedience and forgiveness, to give them a way to participate in the church and to commune with God, and to remind them of God’s sovereignty and power. This was not a sermon directed to pagans, this was a sermon for those in the church, who had already memorized this prayer and had been convinced, at least in theory, of Christianity. Here we see that Martin Hiberniensis wanted his pastors to remind congregants that there are only two sides, God’s and the devil’s, and that they were on the side that is guaranteed the ultimate victory and eternal rewards.

Following the sermon on the progress of redemption and the sermon on the *Pater noster*, there is another sermon, which is a gloss of the Apostle’s Creed. It is split in half in the extant layout of the Laon codex, with the beginning appearing on folios 182r-183v and the second half appearing earlier on folios 168r-168v. The first half is labeled by Martin Hiberniensis in the table of contents on the same line as, and thus linked with, the *Pater noster* sermon: “*De oratione dominica. De symbolo.*” This sermon is not, however, titled in the text but is simply set apart by an enlarged opening letter and a marginal “S” mark. Contreni and Mordek, as well as Susan Keefe, in her study of Carolingian manuscripts containing Creedal texts, identified this as a copy of the Pseudo-Augustine Sermon 242 but with a modified conclusion. It was probably written at the end of the fifth century and may have been delivered orally by Faustus of Riez and then recorded. By the time Pseudo-Augustine Sermon 242 was copied into this Laon codex, it had been circulating since the seventh century in liturgical books and, for a time, was collected with the sermons of Caesarius of Arles.42

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Keefe was able to locate eight other Carolingian manuscripts containing parts of Pseudo-Augustine Sermon 242 on the Creed but without the original last few lines that form a new conclusion in the Laon codex’s version of the work. The sermon begins by urging listeners to pay close attention to the explanation of the Creed since it can illuminate the soul through its teachings on the Trinity, creator, and redeemer as well as the forgiveness of sinners. Although it is short in words, and thus easy to memorize, the Creed is deep in meaning. The Laon codex then skips the end of this explanation from the Pseudo-Augustine sermon in order to recite the Apostle’s Creed in full and then goes back to the omitted section to emphasize that this Creed was prefigured by the patriarchs, conveyed in the scriptures, preached by the apostles, and instilled in believers by God, which is why it must be memorized.

After this slightly re-worked introduction, the sermon skips over the exhortation to repeat the Creed three times and instead launches into a verse by verse explanation of the Creed. Christians are to believe through faith, not reason, in the omnipotent, creator God as well as in his son, who is equal to the Father in majesty and honor. Christ was sent to earth filled with the Holy Spirit.


43 Keefe, A Catalogue of Works, 148–149, 190–191; Machielsen, CCPM IA, 595; E. Dekkers and A. Gaar, CPL, 3rd ed., 284, no. 212; and S. Poque, ed., Augustin d’Hippone, Sermons pour la Pâque, Sources Chrétiennes, vol. 116 (Paris: Éd. du Cerf, 1966), 174–184. The Vat. Pal. lat. 493 (first half of the 8th century, folios 14r–18v) copy has some slight changes and is incomplete due to missing folios. Karlsruhe, BLB, Aug. perg. 229 (first third of 9th century, folios 55r–57r) contains a fragment of the sermon that skips the beginning, which introduces the importance of the Creed, and skips the end, stopping at the explanation of the holy catholic church. Paris BN lat. 2123 (ca. 814–816, folios 17r–21v) and Paris BN lat. 3848B (8th/9th century, folios 37v–43r) add in excerpts from Isidore and attribute each verse of the Creed to an Apostle. Keefe also noted that the Pseudo-Augustine Sermon 242 was sometimes combined with the end of an actual sermon of Augustine, his Sermon 212 explaining the Creed to recent converts. This is not the case in the Laon codex but it is the case for Karlsruhe, BLB, Aug. perg. 18 (first third of 9th century, folios 28r–29r), München, BSB, Clm 6298 (late 8th century, folios 61r–63v) and Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Helmst. 496a (ca. 800, folios 15r–21v). Keefe was aware that the sermon was mentioned in the Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Helmst. 496a manuscript but was not able to view it. After analyzing the manuscript I was able to categorize it in this list accordingly.
Spirit, as the anointed savior, born to the Virgin Mary during the historical period associated with Pontius Pilate. He truly died; his spirit went triumphant to hell; then he resurrected in three days. He ascended to the right hand of God but will come back for the final judgment in the same body in which he ascended. It then concludes with the list of imperatives: believe in the holy spirit, who completes the Trinity; believe in the holy catholic church, meaning the church that exists around the world and serves as the house of God; believe in the communion of saints, with whom we will be reunited once again; believe in the remission of sins, meaning the cleansing power of baptism; believe in the resurrection of the flesh, meaning our souls will be united with our flesh and reason for eternity. The Laon codex sermon then ends with an original line urging listeners not to doubt these things and concludes in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit and haec enim est apostolici symboli recta ac vera interpretatio.44

Besides the fact that this particular sermon was, in its base form, being copied elsewhere at the time, sermons on the Creed in general were commonly copied under the Carolingians. The Creed, like the Pater noster, was an essential component in the Carolingian reform movement. It was mandated in legislation, like the Admonitio generalis, and was valued as a memorable, accessible, and historical tool for the conversion of the laity and promotion of orthodoxy.45 The Creed, whether in the Apostle’s, Nicene, or Athanasian form, packaged the most essential theology on the Trinity, life, death and resurrection of Christ, Final Judgment, and the church. As a result, it was to be integrated into the mass and was to be an essential component in preparing congregants for Easter and for baptism.46

44 Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 168v.
45 Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen, MGH Fontes iuris 16:220.
Susan Keefe’s extensive work on Carolingian Creed commentaries has shown that the Carolingians were very creative in how they put together explanations of the Creed; compilers were selecting and copying from all different eras and genres and with a high level of originality. Keefe catalogued hundreds of works that the Carolingians used to explain the Creed and she concluded that these “are evidence of the richness of the tradition of interpretation of the faith” that was “put to creative use not only among a few high-brow theologians in court and monastic circles, but much more broadly among teachers and pastors, anonymous individuals whose compilations touched the lives and shaped the thought of the common people.”47 As a result, sermons on the Creed, like those on the Pater noster, were intended for popular use, to be heard and reflected upon by lay congregants.

In the Laon codex, the Creed sermon is linked codicologically and in the user’s table of contents with a Pater noster gloss, showing Martin Hiberniensis’ efforts to make sure his priests not only memorized but understood these two essential teaching tools. There is no attribution to Augustine here, so it was not necessarily included because of its (false) namesake; therefore, perhaps the compiler deemed that it was an especially useful explanation of the Apostle’s Creed based on its content. It is simple and direct, with most of the space dedicated to explaining God’s role as sole creator and Christ’s life, death and resurrection. It is additional proof for the popular

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47 Keefe, “Creed Commentary Collections in Carolingian Manuscripts,” 204. For her large-scale catalogue of Creedal works, see Keefe, A Catalogue of Works.
nature of Martin Hiberniensis’ teaching portfolio and the practical nature of the sermons he provided. The unique lines at the end, however give this simple teaching an exhortative tone and underscore its importance. This is the right and true interpretation of the Creed (*recta ac vera interpretatio*) implying that others may be false and that both preacher and audience need to be aware of the differences.\textsuperscript{48} It also ends by forbidding that any of these truths be doubted.

Finally, the popular material in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, used to prepare the laity for the Eucharistic mass, ends with three excerpts from Isidore’s *De ecclesiasticis officiis* on folios 168v-171v. In the original layout, these liturgical instructions were placed after the popular sermons and right before the dossier on marriage, sex, and incest, but in the extant ordering, they are in between the Pippinid capitularies and Merovingian councils on incest. All of these excerpts from Isidore are in the same quire as the second half of the Pseudo-Augustine sermon.

The excerpts in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 are from Book 1 of Isidore’s *De ecclesiasticis officiis* on the Eucharistic mass and specifically explain the “Benediction for the People” and the “Sacrifice,” with the latter topic broken into two different sections in the manuscript.\textsuperscript{49} Their placement in the compilation, following a sermon on the Lord’s Prayer and the Creed, mimics Isidore’s previous chapters from *De ecclesiasticis officiis* on “The Mass and the Prayers” and “The Nicene Symbol.” This demonstrates the thematic link and popular purposes of this section in the Laon codex.\textsuperscript{50} Rather than simply copy all of Isidore’s instructions on the

\textsuperscript{48}Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 168v.

\textsuperscript{49}Christopher M. Lawson, ed., *Sancti Isidori Episcopi Hispalensis De ecclesiasticis officiis*, CCSL 113 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1989), 34*-107*. The excerpts in the Laon codex copy the two chapters on the benediction and the eucharist (Book 1, chapters 17 and 18) in full but contain a number of minor spelling changes or phrase rearrangements. In Lawson’s detailed study of the early extant manuscripts of *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, especially the archetype graph on page 107*, I was able to trace most of the changes to manuscripts Lawson or his father identified but there is no obvious common source.

\textsuperscript{50}Lawson, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, CCSL 113, 16–18.
administration of the mass, the scribe replaced some of the theoretical instructions with practical sermon material that could be used directly for the laity.

Isidore’s excerpts are labeled as *De benedictione sacerdotis, De sacrificio offerendo*, and *De sacrificio pro defunctis offerendo* in Martin Hiberniensis’ table of contents, but none of the sections are titled at all in the manuscript text. The first section on the benediction is on the bottom of folio 168v and follows the end of the Pseudo-Augustine sermon immediately after the closing, and slightly decorated “amen.” The second section starts on the bottom of folio 168v and is only subtly set apart with a bolded and enlarged opening letter “S.” It continues on to cover folio 169r and 169v and the last line pushes to the bottom of the page, below the typical bottom margin line, and ends with a series of designs that look like semi-colons. The last excerpt starts on the top of folio 170r with no decoration or enlarged letter. It runs through folio 171v and ends with two semi-colon designs and shares the page with excerpts from two Merovingian church councils to start a section on marriage and incest.

The benediction is simply explained as having originated from Moses, who was commanded by the Lord to bless the Israelites with the words of Numbers 6:23-26: “The Lord bless you and keep you; the Lord make his face to shine upon you and be gracious to you, the Lord lift up his countenance upon you and give you peace.” Isidore, however, goes into much more detail in his following explanation of the sacrifice, or the Eucharist, from his Book 1, chapter 18. The Laon collection follows most of Isidore’s explanation but breaks this lengthy chapter into two parts which Martin labeled: “On offering the sacrifice” and “On offering the sacrifice for the dead.” The first part goes over the historical significance of the Eucharist, which was foreshadowed in the Old Testament by Melchizedek’s sacrifice, and should be preceded by a fast. It ends with an
explanation of the symbolic meaning of bread and wine, as well as water mixed with wine, using scripture and the words of Cyprian, copying sections 1-4 of Isidore’s chapter on the Eucharist.\footnote{Lawson, \textit{De ecclesiasticis officiis}, CCSL 113, 19–20; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 168v–169v.}

The last excerpt, \textit{De sacrificio pro defuncti offerendo}, starts at the beginning of section 5 in chapter 18, which is still explaining why water needs to be mixed with wine to symbolize the church’s union with Christ. This lengthy explanation continues into section 6 but is cut short in the Laon codex.\footnote{Lawson, \textit{De ecclesiasticis officiis}, CCSL 113, 20–21; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 170r.} The next three sections copy Isidore in full and discuss the importance of doing penance for mortal sins before taking the Eucharist, but Christians are urged to do so quickly, since it is dangerous to spend too much time separated from the body of Christ. In addition, married couples were to abstain and spend time in prayer days before they partook of the sacrifice, relying on I Samuel 21:4-6 as proof.\footnote{Lawson, \textit{De ecclesiasticis officiis}, CCSL 113, 21–22; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 170r–171r.} The Laon codex copies Isidore’s explanation of the mass for the dead but it adds in the subtitle \textit{“De missa defunctorum”} perhaps to particularly emphasize this section, which is also highlighted by the Laon codex’s overall title for this chapter. It then copies Isidore saying that the whole church is to offer the sacrifice for the faithful who have died, as was passed down from the apostles. Referencing Matthew 12:32 and Augustine, Isidore says that deceased believers can be purified of remaining sins though a certain kind of cleansing, purgatorial fire (\textit{quodam purgatorio igne purganda}). Votive masses devoted to masses for the dead were particularly popular under the Carolingians. It was believed that these masses and prayers could aid the dead and prayers of this nature have been found in the majority of ninth century Gregorian sacramentaries.\footnote{Arnold Angenendt, Thomas Braucks, Rolf Busch, and Hubertus Lutterbach, “Counting Piety in the Early and High Middle Ages,” in \textit{Ordering Medieval Society: Perspectives on Intellectual and Practical Modes of Shaping Social Relations}, eds. Bernhard Jussen, trans. Pamela Selwyn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 38–42; Eric Palazzo, \textit{A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century}, trans. Madeleine}
sacrifice, as well as alms, offered in the name of the dead who had led good lives, would gain them either the full remission of sins or a more lenient purgatorial sentence.55

The use of Isidore’s explanation of the administration and theology behind the mass was significant. Isidore was an important church leader and educator in late sixth and early seventh century Spain. His teachings circulated widely after his death and impacted Carolingian educational reforms two hundred years later. Isidore was also involved in liturgical reforms and, to that end, his De ecclesiasticis officiis was extremely influential. In the first volume of this work, from which the Laon codex is borrowing, Isidore explained the key liturgical elements in the Visigothic, Eucharistic liturgy at the time.56 As Thomas Knoebel has pointed out, these instructions on the liturgy and clerical orders were an important component of Isidore’s vision of educational reform with an end goal of purifying the church and stabilizing society after two centuries of decentralized Visigothic control and heretical Arian leadership. Isidore argued that the key to change would be carried out by pastors. “A clergy that was well educated and morally upright would help ensure the liturgical, moral, and political stability.”57 In this way, then, De ecclesiasticis officiis sought to define, organize, and educate church leaders and explain the


55 Lawson, De ecclesiasticis officiis, CCSL 113, 22–23; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 171r–171v: Nam pro ualde bonis graciarum actiones sunt; pro non ualde malis propitiationes sunt; pro ualde malis, etiam si nulla sunt adiumenta moriendum, quales carorum vel quales cumque suorum consolationes sunt; quibus autem prosunt, aut ad hoc prosunt ut sit plena remissio aut certe ut tollerabilior fiat ipsa damnatio;


theological and practical elements of the mass as a part of a larger agenda aimed at societal stability and ecclesiastical purity. Excerpts from this work, therefore, would have fit right in to a Carolingian educational manual like Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265.

In fact, Isidore’s work was apparently interesting and relevant to many Carolingians, based on its manuscript history. Christopher Lawson, completing the research of his late father, was able to identify thirty-three manuscripts from the late eighth through the ninth century that contained full copies or significant selections from Isidore’s De ecclesiasticis officiis; Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 was not included.58 Lawson argued that around 700, Isidore’s De ecclesiasticis officiis was known in Gaul and northern Italy and that is continued to spread across Europe from there.59 Lawson observed that De ecclesiasticis officiis was copied more in the ninth century, in particular the first half of the ninth century, than in any other medieval century.60

Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265’s inclusion of Isidore’s work demonstrates that the diversity of liturgical traditions under the Carolingians was a pattern that extended to cathedral schools, even a strategic cathedral school like Laon that was run by prominent reformers. In the late antique, European west, apart from the Roman liturgy and a plethora of local variations, there were four different Latin liturgies; these were the Old Spanish or the Hispano-Mozarabic, the Gallican, the Celtic, and the Milanese.61 In De ecclesiasticis officiis, Isidore explained the major components of the mass based on the Hispano-Mozarabic rite. This liturgical rite had formed in

58 Lawson, De ecclesiasticis officiis, CCSL 113, 137–141. Lawson mentions the number may be higher but that he did not include texts that he could not personally verify, as explained on pages 141–143.
59 Lawson, De ecclesiasticis officiis, CCSL 113, 131*. Lawson presumed that it was actually in England quite early, by 700, but admits he does not have proof from the extant manuscripts until a bit later.
60 Lawson, De ecclesiasticis officiis, CCSL 113, 132*.
61 Josef A. Jungmann, The Early Liturgy to the Time of Gregory the Great, trans. Francis A. Brunner (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959), 227–233. Note that there were many local divergences as to the details of the mass but these were the four main liturgical styles.
Spain throughout the sixth century and was used there until the Muslim invasions in 711. At that
time, many clerics began to flee and took with them their liturgical books, which then began to
circulate throughout the continent. Thus, the Hispano-Mozarabic rite was familiar to the
Carolingians but it was one of many liturgical traditions that were circulating in the eighth and
ninth centuries. The Carolingians did have the Roman liturgy through the *Gregorian Hadrianum*
sacramentary that Pope Hadrian sent to Charlemagne around 790. However, it was incomplete and
some aspects were only suited for large cathedral settings. The Roman rite, therefore, was adapted
by the Carolingians, most notably by St. Benedict of Aniane from 810-815, who added in some
new elements such as votive masses and private prayers, as well as new points of emphasis, such
as penance, the All Saints feast, and devotion to the Trinity, cross, and angels. On top of that, the
eighth-century Gelasian and old Gelasian, from the seventh century and perhaps the oldest
Romanized, Frankish liturgy, were used. Appreciated for their practicality and completeness, they
mixed Gallican and Roman materials. In the Carolingian era, regional differences in liturgical
traditions were common throughout the empire and the occasional Carolingian effort to evoke

Liturgical History*, trans. Gordon W. Lathrop (1976; repr., New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1985), 92–93. Two liturgical traditions based on the Hispano-Mozarabic rite developed: Tradition A, the majority in the extant sources and popular in northern and southeastern Spain and sometimes (incorrectly) associated with Leander, and Tradition B, used mostly in northeastern, eastern and central Spain and sometimes (incorrectly) associated with Isidore. Pinell has noted that the main differences between the two are located in the explanations of Holy Week and in the structure of the Mass and Office and the biblical readings.


Roman standards was complicated and not an enforced reform agenda.\textsuperscript{66} The presence of Isidore’s explanation of the Hispano-Mozarabic rite does not mean Laon was promoting that liturgy over others but it does demonstrate that diverse liturgical strategies were being taught in prominent, reformer-run, cathedral schools. In fact, Isidore’s emphasis on the mass for the dead, which is particularly highlighted in this manuscript, is a topic that the Carolingians thought was lacking in the Roman tradition.\textsuperscript{67} Thus, this case study supports the current scholarship’s emphasis on the diversity of liturgical forms under the Carolingians, and shows that those differences were not just the haphazard result of local traditions. It appears as if Martin Hiberniensis was primarily interested in practical, orthodox material that promoted Carolingian reform goals and would have been useful for his pastors-in-training. Liturgical diversity was in line with typical Carolingian efforts to mine sources from the past for their present-day reform movement.

This section of the Laon codex prepared the laity for the Eucharistic mass. It contains a collection of three sermons, all with unique elements that work to explain the gospel message, proper Christian living, and the \textit{Pater noster} and Apostle’s Creed. These sermons were popular in form and in content; they were short, accessible, and practical. They emphasized that pastors need to be able to explain theology in order to set up teachings on morality. On the one hand, these materials are traditional and expected. While all three of the sermons were created by Carolingians, they were not original to this manuscript and borrowed from works from the past. They were in line with the Carolingian reform agenda, teaching pastors about the Lord’s Prayer and Creed as


\textsuperscript{67} Paxton, \textit{Christianizing Death}, 199–209.
well as basic theology. Although they do contain some missionary-like strategies, such as an emphasis on the power of God and warnings against specific kinds of paganism, when read in light of their table of contents designations and their manuscript context, however, it becomes clear the sermons were written for baptized members of the church and primarily focused on the religious education of the laity. The instructions were nuanced; pastors were to warn their congregants that all are prone to idolatry, due to the effects of original sin, and that, despite God’s omnipotence, he would not necessarily grant respite from the difficulties of life. Martin Hiberniensis wanted his pastors-in-training to inspire their congregants to moral living and faithfulness out of an awareness of the salvation story, and with the realization that their rewards would be gained in the future, in the next life.

The sermons were meant to prepare congregants for the Eucharist, which Martin explained to his students using the words of Isidore and his *De ecclesiasticis officiis*. While this sacrament was meant to bond and empower the living faithful, who are urged to be moral and pure so that they can participate in this powerful ritual, the Eucharist was also a way for the living to intercede for the dead. In Martin Hiberniensis’ table of contents he clearly points out this part of the passage, separating it from the rest of the explanation of the sacrifice by labeling it *De sacrificio pro defuncti offerendo*. The living are to take the sacrifice for themselves as well as offer it for the Christian dead. Isidore and the compiler who copied him, however, are careful to point out that even the Eucharist cannot aid those who were unfaithful in life. The saving power of the ritual that can ease their passage through purgatorial fires is only for the “not very bad” (*pro non ualde malis*). In this way, then, these sources work together to promote community and cooperation between the

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68 Lawson, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, CCSL 113, 23; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 171v.
faithful, the living and the dead, and yet there is also an emphasis on the importance of individualistic merit and culpability. Penance and forgiveness are encouraged; vices and paganism are highlighted and vilified; Christians in this life and the next are welcomed to the Eucharistic meal and the power it holds, but only if they come in faith and are mindful of the teachings of the church, having memorized and understood the essentials through the *Pater noster* and Creed. Put together, this is the message of Carolingian reform that Martin Hiberniensis wanted to disseminate to the laity through sermons, the Lord’s Prayer, the Creed, and the Eucharist.

A Dossier on Pastoral Family Care: Part 1: Marriage, Sex & Incest

Canons and Capitularies on Incest + *Épitome Aegidii* excerpt from the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* + *Paenitentiale Theodori Discipulus Umbriensis*

According to the Laon codex, part of pastoral care to the laity entailed the regulation of marriage and, in particular, a wide variety of marriage and sex deviations under the umbrella term of incest. In the early Middle Ages imperial as well as ecclesiastical circles were concerned to rigorously define and regulate incest. As David Herlihy puts it, “the Frankish councils of the eighth and ninth centuries were particularly active in elaborating the new understanding of incest.”

New definitions were originally established through church councils and later through penitentials. “Incest” became an umbrella term that included a wide range of inappropriate relationships and sexual abuse and the Carolingian regulation based itself only loosely on Mosaic and Roman law.

In the Laon codex, folios 162r-167r and 171v-175v contain a combination of excerpts from

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capitularies, an excerpt of a Visigothic law code, as well as a piece from a Northumbrian penitential, all centering around the theme of incest. Here, the compiler has created a unique and practical collection of marriage and incest regulations that are complemented by an instruction on emergency infant baptisms. I am analyzing these sections together because they appear together in the manuscript’s original layout. I am arguing that these resources are aimed at preparing Carolingian pastors-in-training for pastoral family care that stretched from and through the marriage bond to the raising of children under the guidance of the church.

While it is clear that rulings on incest were important to the Carolingians, how these regulations were taught to local pastors and the laity, and how these standards were enforced is not obvious in this period. I will attempt to shed some light on this topic through a detailed analysis of this original dossier of materials. The compiler, perhaps under the direction of Martin Hiberniensis, was not just placing copies of related texts side-by-side, but he also selected and merged excerpts from texts that spanned a number of genres and era. Although he never broadcast these efforts to create a seamless collection, I will argue that his methodology in itself articulates an important message. In addition, I will analyze the resulting custom reference tool arguing that it was intentionally made for the popular use of pastors-in-training studying in Laon, extending beyond the confessional context.

Carolingian regulation on proper marriages was complicated and had a long history. According to Karl Ubl, in his now standard study on early medieval kinship and incest, *Inzestverbot und Gesetzebung: Die Konstruktion eines Verbrechens (300-1100)*, there was an especially concentrated flurry of strict, anti-incest legislation under Pippin from 754 to 757, but there was still much confusion over the particular definition of incest and problems with the
enforcement of incest regulations.\textsuperscript{71} While Charlemagne continued and added to his father’s policies on this matter, he was more interested in requiring the administration of incest rules in the name of \textit{correctio} than he was in narrowing down one specific standard.\textsuperscript{72} To this end, he recruited the help of the bishops and their priests to allow couples only to marry if their bloodlines were investigated and they received the blessing of the church.\textsuperscript{73} There is evidence in the ninth-century legislation and in the manuscripts, like Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, however, that incest continued to be an important issue after Charlemagne’s reign. Major Carolingian reformers in the early and mid-ninth century, such as Hrabanus Maurus and Hincmar, differed in their interpretation of the laws of consanguinity.\textsuperscript{74} Louis the Pious tried to push for church unification and to enforce


\textsuperscript{72} Ubl, \textit{Inzestverbot und Gesetzebung}, 270–271, 376–377; Stone, \textit{Morality and Masculinity}, 257–259; de Jong, “An Unsolved Riddle,” 107, 109–110; and McNamara and Wemple, “Marriage and Divorce in the Frankish Kingdom,” 102–104, 118n66. A recurring problem was discrepancies in the counting system that was used to determine degrees of consanguinity. The Roman method counted up to the common ancestor and then back down, which was different from the canonical method or the Germanic method that just counted back to the common ancestor, causing much confusion when the laws simply indicated the number of degrees of separation. Charlemagne did not standardize the counting method, in fact the empire divided on the matter, but he did continue to make sure that incest in general became an important church issue in the late eighth and early ninth centuries. Earlier, Pippin treated incest cases as a matter of secular law and did not give local bishops jurisdiction over these matters.

\textsuperscript{73} Ubl, \textit{Inzestverbot und Gesetzebung}, 282–286, 291, 377–378; Patrick Corbet, \textit{Autour de Burchard de Worms: L’Eglise allemande et les interdits de parenté, IXème-XIème siècle}, Ius commune 142 (Frankfurt am Main, Vittorio Klostermann, 2001), 21–49; Stone, \textit{Morality and Masculinity}, 256–257; and Philip Lyndon Reynolds, \textit{Marriage in the Western Church: The Christianization of Marriage during the Patristic and Early Medieval Periods} (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 401–403. Corbet and Ubl observe that there were differences between how bishops in the western part and the eastern part of the empire interpreted and enforced the rules against incest. For example, the eastern half had larger dioceses and the bishops personally supervised the inquisitions, whereas in the west, the bishops delegated those responsibilities and put more of the responsibility on the local priests. Corbet saw more enforcement attempts in east Francia than west. Stone references the \textit{Concilium Foroiuliense} 796/7, the \textit{Capitulare missorum generale} 802 and the \textit{Capitula cum Italae episcopis deliberata} as evidence for these investigations.

strict rules on the matter and yet, on the local level standardization failed to be fully achieved. In the end Ubl concluded that, although the Carolingians wanted incest to be recognized, penalized, and avoided in the empire, the parameters of this sin remained open to interpretation throughout the period. This is the context for the Laon codex and its dossier of marriage and incest restrictions.

There were many possible reasons why the Carolingians, both ecclesiastical and lay, were so interested in regulating incest and thus the canons concerning this issue would have had a multifaceted significance. Previous scholars have argued that the Carolingian fixation on incest restrictions was an attempt on the part of the church to micromanage its control over the laity, for better or worse. Philip Reynolds observed that the Carolingians were promoting the importance of situating marriage rituals in the church and, in doing so, were developing a sacramental character to marriage that the early Christian world did not share. The forged decretals of the so-called Benedictus Levita, as well as some of the works of Hincmar, insisted on elaborate church rituals and the seal of the benediction on marriages, but it appears as if marriage ceremonies, especially among the nobility, continued to be predominantly secular. The policing of incest, therefore, may have been part of this larger reform impulse to make marriages public and church

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77 Georges Duby, “Le mariage dans la société du haut moyen âge,” in *Il Matrimonio nella società altomedievale*, 22-28 aprile 1976 (Spoleto: Presso la sede del Centro, 1977), 1:15–39; Jack Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 34–102; Herlihy, “Making Sense of Incest,” 104–109; de Jong, “To the Limits of Kinship,” 41–54; and de Jong, “An Unsolved Riddle,” 116–120. Duby and Goody argued that the church was discouraging family bonding to encourage bequests to the church; David Herlihy argued that the church was stabilizing communities and preventing feuds; Marke de Jong argued that the church was attempting to provide guidance for pastors and laity alike who were concerned with the avoidance of “pollution.” In all of these theories, the church is the institution that is the most concerned with incest regulations.
approved. Rachel Stone more recently has argued that the regulation of incest may not only have benefited the church alone but may have been used and embraced by laymen as well, who were often called on to act as “elders” and could approve or disapprove of proposed marriages. In a context in which there were few written genealogies, manipulating family lineage and restricting certain marriage alliances may have been the agenda of laymen just as much, if not more, than clerics. According to Ubl, the main reason behind Charlemagne’s enforcement of incest legislation may have actually been predominantly political in nature; he wanted the nobles to intermarry and thus disperse rather than hoard their influence and power. While Karl Ubl’s theory took the primary impetus behind the laws out of the hands of the church, he did note that the prosecution of incest crimes in the Carolingian empire “hung by the thread of episcopal initiative.” While modern scholars have proposed a number of reasons why the Carolingians were interested in incest regulations, what is not clear from the sources is how these laws were prioritized or enforced on the local level. Since there was a wide variety of conflicting canons and interpretations in the ninth century, looking at how this information was articulated and presented to pastors in cathedral school manuals such as Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 is very important.

79 Stone, Morality and Masculinity, 262–265.
80 Ubl, Inzestverbot und Gesetzgebung, 378–381; and d’Avray, “Review article: Kinship and religion,” 203.
81 Ubl, Inzestverbot und Gesetzgebung, 377–378. “Das Strafverfahren bei Vergehen gegen das Inzestverbot hing sowohl im Westen als auch im Osten des Frankenreichs am seidenen Faden der bischöflichen Initiative.” He later points out that in fact, the cases in which the laws were purposefully moderated is actually evidence of the fact that incest prohibitions were known enough to be manipulated.  
82 Ubl, Inzestverbot und Gesetzgebung, 377–378. Ubl noted there were many complaints about existing consanguineous marriages or questions about how best the laws should be enforced, demonstrating that the early legislation of Pippin and Charlemagne had succeeded in creating a consciousness in society regarding the issue, although not in creating standardization or clarity.
In the Laon codex, folios 162r-167r, 171v-175v contain selected and combined canons from Merovingian and Pippinid era capitularies, a chapter from the Northumbrian *Paenitentiale Theodori* collected by the *Discipulus Umbriensis*, and a section from the *Epitome Aegidii*, which was an abridgement of the Visigothic law code, *Lex Romana Visigothorum*. In the extant manuscript form, the included texts are reordered, perhaps accidentally, with the later capitularies listed first (separated by half a sermon), followed by excerpts from Isidore *De ecclesiasticis officiis*. As previously stated, however, the original order would have rearranged these quires as illustrated in the following chart, with the texts related to incest, sex, marriage and infant baptism. These all fall under the category of pastoral family care and are bolded in the following chart.\(^{83}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extant Manuscript Layout</th>
<th>Original Manuscript Layout</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ff. 162r-164v: Council of Verberie (756) &amp; Council of Compiègne (757)</td>
<td>ff. 176r-180v: Sermon on progress of redemption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ff. 164v-167r: Excerpt from <em>Paenitentiale Theodori Discipulus Umbriensis</em> (Book 2:12 in full)</td>
<td>ff. 180v-182r: Sermon on Pater noster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 167v: Empty</td>
<td>ff. 182r-183v: First half of Ps.-Augustine Sermon 242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ff. 168r-168v: Second half of Ps.-Augustine Sermon 242</td>
<td>ff. 168r-168v: Second half of Ps.-Augustine Sermon 242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ff. 168v-171v: Three excerpts from Isidore's <em>De ecclesiasticis officiis</em></td>
<td>ff. 168v-171v: Three excerpts from Isidore's <em>De ecclesiasticis officiis</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ff. 171v-174v: Council of Epaone (517) (Canon 30) &amp; Council of Tours (567) (Canon 22 [21])</td>
<td>ff. 171v-174v: Council of Epaone (517) (Canon 30) &amp; Council of Tours (567) (Canon 22 [21])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ff. 174v-175v: Excerpt from <em>Epitome Aegidii</em> based on the <em>Lex Romana Visigothorum</em> (IV, 10)</td>
<td>ff. 174v-175v: Excerpt from <em>Epitome Aegidii</em> based on the <em>Lex Romana Visigothorum</em> (IV, 10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 175v: Emergency Baptism <em>Concilia Galliae</em> excerpt (754)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ff. 182r-183v: First half of Ps.-Augustine Sermon 242</td>
<td>f. 167v: Empty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This original order puts the related texts on incest, sex and marriage together, separated only by an instructional on emergency infant baptism, which I will argue was also related. All of these

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sections are in the same hand. They do not start with any noteworthy decoration or title other than an enlarged opening letter “I” on the line immediately following the end of the Isidore excerpts. Folio 167r, the original ending page to this section, does stop halfway down the page with the last half left empty and a number of dots after the last word, indicating a break in material that is further supported by the blank back of the page. For the analysis of this section I will follow the original pagination and, with the cultural and manuscript context established, I will now look more carefully into the incest rules, how they were arranged, and what points were emphasized.84

The Laon codex’s collection of incest-themed instructions and rulings started with two of the most influential and detailed Merovingian church council canons on the subject. Pontal notes that the sixth- and seventh-century Merovingian church was very concerned with regulations against incestuous relationships. She observed that this topic is covered in fifteen canons over fourteen different councils in the Merovingian period.85 The Council of Epaone (517) was one of those councils and selections from it begin the collection of incest regulation excerpts in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265. The Council of Epaone was a Burgundian meeting that would become one of the most influential council models for later Frankish decrees.86 The forty decrees to come out of this council built on the 511 Council of Orléans and focused on social and moral

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84 Mordek did note that he found similar collections in Paris BN lat. 2796 and Versoul, Bibliothèque Municipale, 79 (73). The Paris manuscript was created between 813-815 but the Versoul manuscript was dated to the eleventh century and was not a Carolingian creation. In both cases, the similarities Mordek refers to only apply to a small fraction of the legal segment included in the Laon manuscript. Paris BN lat. 2796 and Versoul, Bibliothèque Municipale, 79 (73) contain chapters 1–4 from Decretum Compiègne, and then go on to copy chapters 1 and 2 from Verberie. They make the same changes to the second half of section 2 as the Laon version. In the Paris and Versoul manuscript, the collection ends there, whereas the scribe who created the Laon codex continues intertextuing the two capitularies at length. So, perhaps the opening segment was not originally combined but the majority of this dossier contained in the Laon codex appears to be unique. See Mordek, Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta, 430–432, 894–897.
86 Gregory I. Halfond, Archaeology of Frankish Church Councils, AD 511-768 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 70, 186, 224–225. For an overview on the site and timing see, Pontal, Die Synoden im Merowingerreich, 34–39.
issues as well as some liturgical elements and regulations against Arianism.\textsuperscript{87} Canon 30, which is included in full in the Laon codex, contains a detailed list of definitions of incest (although they are categorized here as adultery) that included relationships with a brother’s widow, deceased wife’s sister, mother-in-law, cousin or child of a cousin, uncle’s widow and step-daughter.\textsuperscript{88} As Ian Wood has observed, while incest was discussed at the earlier Council of Orléans, the teachings there were very concise and only mentioned that one should not marry a brother’s widow or dead wife’s sister.\textsuperscript{89} In Canon 30, the Burgundian bishops moved far beyond that previous council to outline many more incest-related scenarios with the effect that, although the Burgundian kingdom would fall soon after this council, the canons of Epaone, and Canon 30 in particular, would continue to be valued by the Carolingians for its specificity.\textsuperscript{90}

Immediately following Epaone’s Canon 30 in the Laon codex, there is a selection from the second Council of Tours, which was a Merovingian council, convoked by Charibert and attended by nine bishops from Tours, Sens and Rouen in 567.\textsuperscript{91} While many Merovingian canons tended to be terse and direct, the Second Council of Tours is rather verbose and couches its discussion of marriage and incest in terms of preserving peace and encouraging purity.\textsuperscript{92} In canon 22 (21) it covers prohibitions against incest mainly by compiling excerpts from a number of authoritative

\textsuperscript{87} Pontal, \textit{Die Synoden im Merowingerreich}, 40–43.
\textsuperscript{89} Ian Wood, “Incest, Law and the Bible in Sixth-Century Gaul,” \textit{Early Medieval Europe} 7, no. 3 (1998): 291–303, 296–297. Wood hypothesizes that this may have been the attempt by the Burgundian bishops to trump the Frankish bishops.
\textsuperscript{91} Pontal, \textit{Die Synoden im Merowingerreich}, 128–129; and Halfond, \textit{Archaeology of Frankish Church Councils}, 230.
\textsuperscript{92} Wood, “Incest, Law and the Bible in Sixth-Century Gaul,” 294.
sources, including: the Councils of Orléans IV (541), Orléans I (511), Epaone (517) and Clermont (535) as well as long passages from Deuteronomy 27:15-20, 22-24 and Leviticus 18:5-18, 20. The Laon codex mentioned the councils by name, and the Epaone selection actually recopies all of Canon 30. In this way, the compiler was not concerned with being economical; rather than letting the Tours’ canon, with its copy of the Epaone canon stand alone, he takes the time and space to open with the Epaone canon perhaps to demonstrate a chronology and order to this dossier. It is as if the compiler was taking a historical approach, which is in line with the opening passage in the canon from Tours that the scribe copies. It states that historical canons should be repeated because priests are often negligent about knowing them. This supports the observation of Gregory Halfond who noted that the compilers of canons and council decrees had many accounts to choose from and the early “national” synods in the first decades of the sixth century, like the Council of Epaone, were copied the most frequently. Although at later points in this collection, the Laon codex compiler intentionally streamlines two capitularies into one seamless and abridged message, here he finds the repetition useful to his collection and historical interests and worth the space.

The selected canons from the Council of Tours go on not only to describe the kinds of relationships that fall under incest, but they explain that sexual immorality is a dire sin and call on Christians to be imitators of Christ. To this end the canon includes citations from I Corinthians and

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93 This is a pattern that is consistent throughout the compilation. The compiler also showed an interest in history in the reference texts, particularly those devoted to heresy, discussed in the previous chapter.
94 Charles de Clercq, ed., Concilia Galliae A. 511-A.695, CCSL 148A (Tournhout: Brepols, 1963), 188; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 171v–172r. De incestos vero censuimus statuta cannonum vetera non inrupti satis enim facimus si in hac parte statuta priscua servemus sed propredae fuit iterare necessarium quae dicunt plures quasi quod praecessorum negligencia sacerdotum illis non fuisset apertum, sed reuera mentiuntur, cum sciamus tales et tantos uiros nullatenus haec negligentiae subiacuisse...
95 Halfond, Archaeology of Frankish Church Councils, 164–166, 173–174.
reminders to readers of the reward of eternal life for those under the seal of baptism.\textsuperscript{96} Those caught in incestuous relationships are not to be forgiven until they separate, and this is not divorce because they had never married.\textsuperscript{97} Thus, while the Epaone canons helpfully outlined a number of specific incestuous relationships, the Tours canons literally subsumed and further developed those guidelines, providing further context for those restrictions. Scripture was invoked to establish the theological basis for these laws, and the excerpt concluded with the incentive, highlighting the eternal rewards for obedience in this matter.

As shown then, the Laon codex originally started with the oldest and most detailed Gallic canons on the topic from the early Merovingian period. Immediately following these church council canons is an excerpt from the \textit{Epitome Aegidii}, which was a shortened form of the \textit{Lex Romana Visigothorum} that originated in the eighth century in southern France.\textsuperscript{98} More specifically, Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 copies from book four, chapter ten entitled \textit{De gradibus}.\textsuperscript{99} The \textit{Epitome Aegidii} and \textit{Lex Romana Visigothorum} are very similar, but a close comparison of the two, which are edited side-by-side by Haenel, reveals that the text on folios 174v-175v actually shares some of the wording from both sources and thus the compiler may have had access to and used both in his creation of this section.\textsuperscript{100}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
    \item \textsuperscript{96} de Clercq, \textit{Concilia Galliae}, CCSL 148, 190–191; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 174r–174v.
    \item \textsuperscript{97} de Clercq, \textit{Concilia Galliae}, CCSL 148, 190; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 173v.
    \item \textsuperscript{98} Gustavus Haenel, ed., \textit{Lex Romana Visigothorum} (Leipzig: Sumptibus et typis B.G. Teubneri, 1848), xiii–xl; Max Conrat, \textit{Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des römischen Rechts in früheren Mittelalter}, vol. 1 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1891), 222–252, 286–292; and Jean Gaudemet, “Le Bréviaire d’Alaric et les Epitome,” in \textit{La formation du droit canonique médiévale} (1965; repr., London: Variorum Reprints, 1980), 42–43. The \textit{Epitome Aegidii} is believed to have been the oldest epitome. The major differences between it and the \textit{Lex Romana Visigothorum} are mainly found in the interpretations sections, although it reduces and summarizes the texts in general throughout.
    \item \textsuperscript{99} Mordek, \textit{Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta}, 202.
    \item \textsuperscript{100} Haenel, \textit{Lex Romana Visigothorum}, 408. Like the \textit{Epitome Aegidii}, the text in the Laon codex does not separate the “Interpretations” section. The second half of section 5 is more similar to the \textit{Lex Romana Visigothorum} but the second half of section 6 is more like the \textit{Epitome Aegidii}. The last phrase in section 7 follows the \textit{Epitome Aegidii} more closely, although it also appears in the \textit{Lex Romana Visigothorum} but in its interpretation section further down the chapter. Finally, the \textit{Lex Romana Visigothorum} has one more ending statement that is not included in the Laon
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
The *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, also known as the Breviary of Alaric, was a law code that was enacted in 506 under Alaric II (484-507) but known by the Carolingians through later transmissions. It was mainly concerned with private life issues, with parameters for marriage being of special importance. It was commonly circulated in the medieval west, although in an amended and expanded form. Thus, the Laon codex was once again referencing older legislation. The excerpt included in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 copies the *De gradibus* chapter nearly in full and it defines how familial relationships are defined by degrees of separation. As straightforward as this sounds, the text has some limitations. It only covers family relations; step-parents or step-siblings are not mentioned. It also contains some errors. The first degree includes, like both of the original sources, the father, mother and siblings. The Laon codex, however, moves the following relatives from the second degree and adds them to the first degree: paternal and maternal grandparents, paternal uncle (that is the brother and sister of the father), the paternal aunt, maternal uncle, maternal aunt, the brother and sister of the mother. In the *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, this section, with some changes, was part of the interpretation of degree two. In the *Epitome Aegidii* it was just put at the end of the list of second degree relatives. In the Laon codex, however, it is put with the “Primo” section, making the category labeled “II” seem redundant since it lists almost the same group: the grandfather and grandmother, both from the father and from the mother, granddaughter, both from the son and daughter, the brother, sister both

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of the father and the mother. This may have just been a mistake since the rest of the degrees do not rearrange or add to the order. The occasional, minor deletions were just qualifiers to the list, not essential information. In the end, perhaps the text was not corrected because it did not really matter; marriages between first and second degree relatives were always forbidden, no matter the counting system or particular ruling under the Carolingians. In all, seven degrees of relation are listed but with these limitations.

This excerpt would not have been all that useful for pastors in training if it stood alone; its list is incomplete and it did not contain an explanation as to how these degrees of relation were to be understood or implemented. In the Laon codex, however, it does not stand alone but is combined with the church council canons from Epaone and Tours that were dedicated to explaining the concept of incest and degrees of separation along with the scriptural and historical support for incest regulations. The three texts, then, work together to provide both the big picture and specific instructions on incest and marriage parameters and more supporting works follow.

After a brief instructional on emergency baptism, the incest related material continues in the original layout on folios 162r-164v. This section consists of intertwined excerpts from the councils of Verberie (756) and Compiègne (757), both of which are Pippinid capitularies and more recent than Epaone and Tours. In many respects, however, the Pippinid capitularies were not all that different than the Merovingian councils: they were overseen by a royal power, some had laymen present, they were ruling on similar issues, and previous council decrees were being read and used regardless of the era. In addition, the Verberie and Compiègne capitularies in particular

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were cited often in the Carolingian era. Halfond attributes their popular legacy to the fact that, “these two councils broke from legislative tradition to a far greater extent than the initial Pippinid councils by their overwhelming focus on socio-religious (as opposed to merely ecclesiastical) issues.” Mordek’s research on Carolingian manuscripts containing capitularies proves that Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 was not the only early medieval manuscript that referenced Pippin’s capitularies on incest generations later; in fact the Verberie and Compiègne capitularies were quoted alongside each other in manuscripts throughout the early Middle Ages. As shown, it was not unusual for Carolingian councils to cite these two capitularies, and yet, the compiler of Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 showed a high degree of creativity and originality in how he copied from these capitularies. As shown in the chart below, the Laon codex’s version was creatively and expertly assembled with a seamless mix of selections from each council, concluding with selections from a Northumbrian penitential.

103 Halfond, *Archaeology of Frankish Church Councils*, 198–211. Halfond sees a change in “conciliar eras” with Charlemagne (and even that periodization should not be overstated) more so than with the changing of the guard between the Merovingians and Carolingians. In addition, his observation about the popularity of the Verberie and Compiègne capitularies could help explain Mordek’s observation about how these two were combined, in a much more limited way, in other manuscripts besides the Laon codex. See note 84 above.

104 Halfond, *Archaeology of Frankish Church Councils*, 173, 152n96, 243–244; and Hartman, *Die Synoden*, 73–79.

105 Mordek located and described the following manuscripts (in addition to the Laon codex) that contain selections from both capitularies:

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 582 (9th/10th c, Mordek pgs. 780–782); [Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 9654 (10/11th c, Mordek pgs. 562–563)]; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 3853 (10th c, Mordek pgs. 287, 297); [Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, 217 (10th c, Mordek pgs. 158, 165–166)]; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 6245 (10th c, Mordek pgs. 325–326); Cod. Wien 2198 (10th c, Mordek pgs. 325–326); Bamberg Can. 9 (11th c, Mordek, pgs. 325–326); Versoul, Bibliothèque Municipale, 79 (73) (11th c, Mordek pgs. 894–897). For more details on the two that are the closest comparison, see note 84 above.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folio + Original Source</th>
<th>Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f. 162r Compiègne: MGH pg. 37, #15, chap. 1-4</td>
<td>Si in quarta generatione reperti fuerint coniuncti non separamur eos; In tercia vero si inventi fuerint separamus; Et eos qui unus in quarto alias in tercio loco sibi pertinent et coniuncti inveniuntur separamus eos; IIII Si duo in tercio loco sibi pertinent sia eius sive femina aut unus in tercio aut alter in quarto uno mortuo non licet alterum accipere uxorem eius et si inventi fuerint coniuncti separamus eos, una lex est de viris et de feminis;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 162r Verberie: MGH pg. 40, #16, chap. 1-2a</td>
<td>In tercio genuculo separantur post penitentiam actam sina voluerint liceat alias se coniungere. In quarto si inventi fuerint non separatur et si factum non fuerit licentiam non damus; Si quis cum fillastra sua manet nec filliam nec matram habeat nec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 162r Original Text</td>
<td>ullam uxorem nec illa filiastra virum; Illa autem mulier mater illius filiastrem si voluerit se continere faciat si non potest agat quod vult tamen praedicanda est;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 162v Compiègne: MGH pg. 38, #15, chap. 7-8</td>
<td>Si fransus homo acceperit muliere et sperat quod ingenua sit et postea invent quod non es ingenua dimitat eam si vult accipiat aliam similiter et femina ingenua; Si femina ingenua accept servum et sciens quod servus esset habeat eum una lex est et viro et feminae;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 162v Original Text</td>
<td>Si quis vis acciperit mulier proingenua et postea in servita fuerit si e placet potest illum dimittere si ante hoc nescivit tamen praedicandus est. Simulier voluerit cui tala contingerit et ingenua fuerit antea similiter potest facere;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 162v Verberie: MGH pg. 41, #16, chap. 13</td>
<td>Qui scit uxorem suam ancillam esse et accipit eam voluntariae postea semper permaneat cum ea;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 162v Verberie: MGH pg. 40-41, #16, chap. 7-8</td>
<td>Si servus suam ancillam concurrin habuerit sita placet potest illum dimissam comparem suam ancillam domini sui accipere sed melius est suam tenere. (cc. 8 nearly in full) Si servus liberta (?) a domino suo accepta postea cum ancilla domini sui adulterium perpetraverit si dominus ei; vult vellit nolit ipsum habeat quod si ipsum dimiserit et aliam duxerit cogatur omnino ut postierior dimitat et ipsum cum qua prias adulteratus est accipiat aut illa viventae nullam aliam habetur,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 162v Original Text</td>
<td>Postest servus honoratus si dominus eis voluerit ei dare ancillam ad concinam habere postea aliam accipere si domino placet?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 163r Verberie: MGH pg. 41, #16, chap. 9</td>
<td>Si quis necessitatum inevitabile cogentae in alium ducatum vel provinciam fugerit aut seniore cui fide dimittere non potuerit et uxores cum valet et potest amore parentum aut rebus suis eum sequi noluerit ipsa omni tempore quamdum vir eis vivit inuitta permaneat. Nam ille vir qui necessitatem cogentae in alium locum fugit si se abstinere non potest aliam uxorem cum penitentiam potest accipere;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 163r Compiègne: MGH pg. 38, #15, chap. 9</td>
<td>Homo fransus accipit beneficium de seniore suo et duxit secum suum vasalum et postea fuit in morius ipse senior et dimisit ibi ipsum suum vasalum et post eum accipit alius homo ipsum beneficium et pro hoc quod melius potuisse habere ipsum vasalum dedit ei muliere se ipsum beneficium et ipsa vasalum habuit ipsam mulierem aliquanto tempore et dimisit eam reversus est ad parentes seniores sui de fundi accept iuxtem et habet eam definitum est quod ipsum quam apotea accept ipsam habeant;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 163r-163v Compiègne: MGH pg. 38, #15, chap. 11</td>
<td>Si quis homo habet mularem legitimam frater eius adulteraverit cum ea ille frater vel illa femina qui adulterium qui adulterium perpetraverit interum quod vivant numquam habeant a(m)plius coniugium ille cuius</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The manuscript dossier on marriage starts with the later Compiègne capitulary to establish that marriages between people related to the fourth degree should not be separated. Anything less than fourth degree must be separated. Thus, the next incest text after the *Epitome Aegidii*...
immediately works to interpret the seven relational grades. The scribe then intertwines the Verberie-Compiègne capitularies to describe the many situations that qualify as incest. Interestingly, the topics covered do not just deal with consanguineous relations, thus going beyond the coverage of the previous texts on incest, they also cover matters of sexual abuse (such as if a woman is given in marriage against her will) or of deceit (such as if a man marries a servant who was masquerading as an aristocrat). It appears as if with this particular arrangement, the compiler was working to organize the instructions into categories. Although they are not labeled as separate sections, the topics, which are explained by using both capitularies interchangeably, cover degrees allowed for in marriage; incest with a stepdaughter; a woman being married against her will; noble-servant deceit issues; cases of capture or abandonment; vassal-lord relationships; consanguineous relationships (brother, mother, sister, father of the bride, stepmother, niece, wife’s sister, stepdaughter); if a wife plans a husband’s murder; how long to wait to remarry if a woman leaves her husband, is captured, or dies; and separation allowed for religious purposes.

The Laon codex’s reliance on Pippin’s capitularies, although not unusual in itself, was unusual here due to the skill with which they were selected and intertwined. This section shows a remarkable amount of creativity on the part of the compiler, who did not simply include excerpts but combined similar messages from each capitulary into groups to order and simplify the synthesis.\textsuperscript{106} He sought to address a wide spectrum of sexual sins under the umbrella term of “incest” and thus prepared pastors-in-training for a large number of infractions. Pastors were to be on guard against consanguineous relationships, and were supplied with information on how to define the degrees of separation and justifications for so doing. These capitularies specified which

\textsuperscript{106} See note 84 for a discussion of the originality of the dossier.
unions had to be prevented or ended, which ones were allowed under certain circumstances, and who qualified for future remarriage. In general, the regulations were rather lenient. Pippin in his capitularies had ignored the previous papal ban of restricting relationships up to the seventh degree. Although incestuous relationships needed to be ended, in some cases, remarriage was allowed, especially for the victimized party. But, as detailed in this collection, pastors were also to be on guard against sexual abuses and to protect victimized parties. The resulting dossier on marriage may have been an effort to provide clear as well as realistic parameters for incest in a ninth-century context. This was a collection that directed all of the previously explained rules on incest and marriage to pastoral care application.

This section of the text is also important because of the level of expertise and intentionality that was required for its assembly. The compiler was not simply presenting side-by-side copies of these well-known capitularies, he was synthesizing and organizing them to create something new. It does not appear as if space was the issue, after all, in the earlier section he had copied out a canon from the Council of Epaone and then recopied it as part of the Council of Tours. If he was simply streamlining to save parchment space that would have been an obvious place to do so. In addition he leaves blank space at the end! It also does not appear as if he was significantly altering the meaning or intentions of the original capitularies, since he is copying the selections almost verbatim and, although he skips around, he includes most of the relevant sections. Instead, I believe the compiler was acting as an authoritative expert over the historical rulings of the church and

107 Fowler, “The Development of Incest Regulations in the Early Middle Ages,” 108–109; and Stone, Morality and Masculinity, 259–260. Stone here mentions that the Decretum Vermeriense has such distinctions. In the second half of the ninth century the canons became more strict on this matter but the continued copying of the early canons may have negated their effect. For more information on the late ninth century canons she cites Corbet, Autour de Burchard de Worms, 27; and Hartman, Die Synoden, 73–74
systematizing these two accounts. The extent of Martin Hiberniensis’ involvement in the creation of the compilation is not known, but this part of the manuscript was created in northwestern France around the time of Martin’s tenure at Laon. Thus, the scribe may have been under the direction of Martin Hiberniensis. Either way, Martin used this collection in his cathedral school, which was a center for education and an important Carolingian scriptorium under Charles the Bald. The teachers and scribes of Laon were providing a superior education and custom-made compilations like this collection are a product of such an environment. The compiler earlier demonstrated the chronology of two church councils that built on each other. Here, the compiler intertwines two similar Carolingian capitularies in order to demonstrate how these varied messages can be assimilated. Pastors-in-training at Laon were being taught by expertly “copied” resources.

This trend towards pastoral care with regard to incest also characterized the text entitled *De Questionibus Coniugiorum*, which is an excerpt taken from an early, eighth-century, Northumbrian penitential: the *Paenitentiale Theodori Discipulus Umbriensis*. The “Theodore” in the title was Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury (602–690). He was born in Tarsus and was educated in Greek and Latin as well as in Antiochene exegesis before later moving to Rome. He was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury by Pope Vitalian in 668 and served as such for the last twenty-two years of his long life. Theodore was an effective administrator; he filled vacant bishoprics, summoned a national synod, issued canons on orthodox beliefs and moral standards,

108 Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, 187; and Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta*, 204. This is Contreni’s “Item 393” which he labels as an unidentified work but Mordek identified it in his description of part of Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265.
110 Lapidge, “The Career of Archbishop Theodore,” 1, 26–29. These details, as well as Bede’s high esteem for Theodore, are preserved in the *Historia ecclesiastica*. 
and created glossaries, treatises, and commentaries to aid in the education of English clerics. During his lifetime Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury was a popular spiritual authority in England and he was praised as such by Bede. By the mid eighth century his teachings were quoted in two different canonical collections: the *Collectio canonum hibernensis* and the *Collectio vetus gallica*. By the end of the eighth century his work was used in continental penitentials regularly. Despite the popularity and dissemination of his teachings, Theodore did not write down anything himself but presented his teachings orally, which were then later recorded by his followers. Recension U of his penitential, which is quoted in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, was an eighth-century, edited collection of Theodore’s instructions; it was created by an editor, the Discipulus Umbrensis or Northumbrian disciple, a few decades after Theodore’s death in 690 and before 749 when the U version was being cited in other sources.

The *Paenitentiale Theodori Discipulus Umbriensis* has been divided into two parts by all modern editors because it circulated in the early Middle Ages in both half and full form. The second book, which is quoted in the Laon codex, was an administrative law book of canons; as such, it does not contain penalties to correct wrong-doing like a normal penitential would.

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Carolingians seemed to appreciate this work since it was copied often in the eighth and ninth centuries: it was transmitted in five textual traditions and was associated with a wide variety of other texts. Rob Meens has noted that Theodore’s penitential was especially valued in the Carolingian era and that its appeal may have been that Theodore not only discussed a large number of sins but he covered related topics dealing with the reconciliation of sinners, rules concerning ordination, the responsibilities of spiritual leaders, the proper age that a child could consent to monastic vows, and detailed descriptions of degrees of consanguinity. In addition, Mordek demonstrated it was regularly cited in capitulary manuscripts in the early Middle Ages, which may show that this versatile text was deemed useful for outlining correct conduct in general, not just that associated with sentences of penance. Thus, Martin Hiberniensis was working with a popular text that was often used for popular, penitential-like purposes and associated with capitularies, just as it is in the Laon codex. What is interesting, however, is how the scribe included this work.

The section of the Paenitentiale Theodori (U) copied in Laon 265 is Book 2, chapter twelve and titled in the penitential as well as in the manuscript: De Questionibus Coniugiorum, or

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Francis de Zulueta, “Review: Die Canones Thodori Cantuariensis und ihre Überlieferungsfornen by Paul Willem Finsterwalder,” The English Historical Review 45, no.180 (October, 1930): 645–647. It survives in more extant manuscripts on its own than the first book, which seems to have been added in later and reads more like a penitential. The full version is also rare and was circulated with many discrepancies between the manuscripts. Many scholars now think that these collections would not have been viewed as two separate books but instead the longer one was an updated collection.

115 Pierre J. Payer, Sex and the Penitentials: The Development of a Sexual Code, 550-1150 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 34; Mordek, Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscript, 883–888; Rob Meens, “Religious Instruction in the Frankish Kingdoms,” Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context, ed. E. Cohen and M.B. de Jong, Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 55–57; and Meens, Penance in Medieval Europe, 91–93, 226–228. Mordek located and described six early medieval capitulary manuscripts (in addition to the Laon codex) that contain selections from Paenitentiale Thedori (U). Rob Meens was able to identify twenty-five medieval manuscripts and did not include the Laon codex and its brief reference to the work. Between Mordek and Meens’ lists, they identified nineteen manuscripts that contained large sections of the Paenitentiale Thedori (U) from the eighth or ninth centuries, not including this Laon codex.
Questions on Marriage. A small part of it, sections 20-22 and 10, add to the Council of Verberie’s discussion on remarriage. Then in the last section, the entire chapter is copied and discusses periods of abstinence for couples; remarriage after adultery or death of a wife; separation for the monastery; remarriage after death (but not adultery) of a husband; reconciliation; cleansing power of baptism; remarriage after abandonment or captivity; allowance of marriage in the fifth degree and no separation of the fourth degree; washing before entering the church; consent required for marriage arrangements; and the lawful age of independence. Like the Pippin capitularies, in general these prescriptions are rather lenient. The Disciple uses the generous ruling of Basil regarding remarriage. The Bible states that a man can remarry if his wife committed fornication. Basil also allowed a man to remarry if his wife abandoned him or was stolen from him.116 In England, as seen in the rulings at the Council of Hertford in 673, generally the more rigorous interpretation of only allowing remarriage in case of adultery was upheld. Thus, Theodore’s penitential, by copying Basil, was encouraging a more lenient understanding of remarriage in a context that was generally opposed to remarriage.117

This section using the Paenitentiale Theodori (U) is also significant because it contains many positive teachings about marriage and remarriage. Although there are still certain infractions that required separation, many of the sections covered in this excerpt are dedicated to pastoral care for couples allowed to marry. Married couples are given guidelines on when they should abstain from sex, specifically forty days before Easter and forty days after the wife gives birth to a child.

116 Finsterwalder, Canones Theodori Cantuariensis, 326–327; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 165r: Si cuius uxor fornicata fuerit, licet dimittere eam et aliam accipere. Hoc est si uir dimiserit uxorem suam propter fornicationem, si prima fuerit, licitum est ut aliam accipiat uxor; Illa uero si voluerit penitere sua peccata post duos annos alium accipiat uirum. Mulieri non licet uirum dimittere licet sit fornicator, nisi forte pro monasterio basilius hoc iudicavit.

(no matter the sex). They are also given some guidelines on how they are to have sex: specifically they are to refrain from seeing each other naked and must wash before entering the church. In addition, although the church was working to restrict and protect many from inappropriate or abusive relationships, it was also providing many avenues for remarriage as long as those marriages followed the prescribed waiting periods and were conducted under the blessing of the church. This perspective thus rounds out the Laon codex’s dossier on incest and marriage and, with a few restrictions and rules, shows that there were ways that pious laymen could be married and have sex and remain fully connected to the church. In the Carolingian context, this was an important message; they wanted wholesale reform, which meant they needed a realistic reform agenda for laymen as well as clerics.\footnote{Rachel Stone has looked at the Carolingians’ positive treatment of marriage and their clear but lenient rules on sex as a way to recruit lay leaders to the reform movement, see Stone, \textit{Morality and Masculinity}, 247–310.}

In all, the Laon codex compiler borrowed from two different Merovingian canons, which represented some of the earliest regulations on incest: a Visigothic law code, which listed the seven degrees of relations with some (confusing and perhaps erroneous) alterations; two different Pippinid capitularies, commonly copied capitularies that defined incest violations; and an Anglo-Saxon penitential collection, which was commonly copied and associated with the well-known Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury.\footnote{This methodology, which consisted of collecting excerpts from different sources and combining them, was a common practice in the early Middle Ages. For an example of the work being done on a large Carolingian penitential collection that borrowed from the original \textit{Paenitentiale Theodori} see Carine van Rhijn and Marjolijn Saan, “Correcting Sinners, Correcting Texts: A Context for the \textit{Paenitentiale pseudo-Theodori},” \textit{Early Medieval Europe} 14, no.1 (2006): 23–40.} This section of Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 thus contains a carefully crafted collection of excerpted intertwined texts centered on the theme of
incest and marriage rules from different regions and eras. It is, as Halfond would categorize it, a Carolingian-made, “user-friendly” collection.\footnote{Halfond, \textit{Archaeology of Frankish Church Councils}, 176–177.}

The Laon codex’s combination of penitential and capitulary materials is reminiscent of the earlier, eighth-century \textit{Excarpsus Cummeani}, a handbook that borrowed and combined selections from the penitentials of Theodore, Cummean and a Frankish work with council excerpts. According to Meens, this work was used to assist “priests in dealing with their communities by informing them about important ecclesiastical decrees as well as by establishing guidelines to deal with penance and confession. Thus, it combined the function of a penitential handbook with that of the later episcopal statutes, which were developed from the late eighth century onwards.”\footnote{Meens, \textit{Penance in Medieval Europe}, 110.} The \textit{Excarpsus Cummeani} was very popular under the Carolingians; the combination of genres and authoritative materials on a topic may have been deemed an especially valuable way to package moral reform instructions. In fact, Meens and others have identified a number of similarly crafted penitential handbooks from northern France and the Salzburg region at the end of the eighth century that were composed with this model in mind.\footnote{Meens, \textit{Penance in Medieval Europe}, 112–113.} The Laon codex’s section on marriage and incest, although not an independent handbook and not on a variety of penitential themes, should still be read in light of these predecessors since it was clearly created in a similar spirit. This demonstrates the flexibility and pragmatism of the Laon codex scribe. It also shows that these complicated assimilations were not just a feature of penitential handbooks but that Carolingians were packaging information in this way on a smaller scale in pastoral miscellanies as well.
As shown, then, the compiler of the Laon codex and Martin Hiberniensis, were creating and using well-known reform tools (capitularies and penitentials) on a popular theme (incest and marriage) but in a customized form that was both creative, comprehensive and educational. The question then becomes what does this collection of materials reveal about the realities of Carolingian education and Christianization? In the first half of the ninth century, the value of penitentials was being contested by Carolingian reformers due to the wide variability in their guidelines, their periodic inconsistency with church canons, and their possible (unintentional) encouragement to sin.\textsuperscript{123} The 813 Council of Chalon was particularly critical of them and the topic was raised again at the council of Paris in 829.\textsuperscript{124} This was especially true in northern and eastern parts of the empire where Irish and English monks had had the strongest impact. These areas tended to be the most concerned with identifying authoritative and standardized penitential messages and were most influenced by insular traditions, whereas other areas in the empire simply stopped relying on penitentials altogether.\textsuperscript{125} This issue was still a problem in the middle of the ninth century when Hrabanus Maurus attempted to create two different penitentials, one for Otgar and one for Heribald, and was careful only to select scripture and the most authoritative canons.\textsuperscript{126}

The Laon codex’s penitential excerpt from the \textit{Paenitentiale Theodori} (U) had been intertwined with capitulary laws and did not contain penance prescriptions. This may have been a way to include useful instructions from a penitential, which the Irish masters at Laon would have appreciated, while disguising its genre origins. Even though the instructions on incest are not packaged as confessional scripts or penance remedies, they are nonetheless personal and applicable

\textsuperscript{123} Meens, \textit{Penance in Medieval Europe}, 115–118, 130–131.
\textsuperscript{124} Concilium Cabillonense (813), MGH Conc. 2:1:281; and Concilium Parisiense (829), MGH Conc. 2:2:633.
\textsuperscript{125} Meens, \textit{Penance in Medieval Europe}, 115–118, 130.
\textsuperscript{126} Meens, \textit{Penance in Medieval Europe}, 133–134.
and can shed light on Martin Hiberniensis’ expectations for both his pastors-in-training and for their future congregants. As Meens has pointed out in regard to Theodore’s work, the restrictions on sexual practices would have required pastors to have intimate knowledge of their congregants. While specific and strict restrictions on sexual sins had been addressed in penitentials previously, they were often monastic or clerical standards; these instructions “would presuppose knowledge of intimate acts between a husband and wife by a confessor,” which may indicate that in Theodore’s original Anglo-Saxon context, lay people were taking confession seriously.127 When read in this miscellany manuscript context, it appears as if Martin Hiberniensis was encouraging pastors to get involved in their congregants’ lives more broadly than in the confessional context, to make pastoral care personal. A few of the instructions were devoted to intimate topics and may have been useful for private penance discussions. In general, however, by intertwining penitential guidelines with capitularies, these instructions took on a legal and administrative purpose. Their tone, content and construction imply that local Carolingian pastors were to be advocates for the vulnerable, voices of justice, agents of reconciliation, and regulators of orthodoxy and morality. Even though the Carolingians were struggling to enforce the idea that marriages be sanctioned by the church, perhaps pastors were being approached by the laity to deal with injustices associated with marriage.128 This dossier provides pastors with rules about marriage, theological and spiritual grounding for those rules, and outlines specific scenarios with proposed solutions.

In general, the regulations on sex and marriage included in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 were clear and matter-of-fact, a series of dry rules on proper and improper marriages and

127 Meens, Penance in Medieval Europe, 95.
relationships interspersed with comments on theology and practical advice on application. Compared to the most rigorous teachings on incest, which would continue to gain traction in the middle of the ninth century, the guidelines in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 were reasonable. Marriages between relatives only four degrees removed were not to be torn apart and remarriage was permitted, in many cases after a waiting period with the blessing of the church. This created collection of legislative and penitential canons on incest, marriage, adultery, and sex, was thus a multi-faceted resource. 

As has been pointed out by Rosamond McKitterick, many Carolingian manuscripts contained secular and church legislation alongside pastoral texts, implying that both were important for clerics to have at their disposal. 

With this collection of highly respected and complementary texts, Martin Hiberniensis could teach his students using a clear, detailed, and organized, custom-made dossier. He could provide pastors-in-training with an overview of important capitularies and penitential directions from a variety of eras but all in one fluid, expertly-crafted synthesis. In this way, the Carolingian penchant for amassing information was satisfied in a way that created a clear and unified collection.

Even though this particular collection was not circulated, it is important for understanding the actualization of Carolingian reform because it sheds light on the types of tools that were used by cathedral schools. The Carolingians may have been copiers but they were creative and strategic copiers, who were customizing resources for their spiritual leaders. Carolingian reformers and teachers did not just want pastors to know the rules on marriage and incest regulations, they wanted

129 As noted by Rachel Stone, however, there was no strict differentiation between moral and legal views on marriage or sex so my distinction here is for clarity, to distinguish between Pippin’s capitularies and Theodore’s penitential, but it is somewhat anachronistic. For Stone’s argument on this point, see Stone, Morality and Masculinity, 248–249.

them to know the history of the debates, the scriptural support, the exceptions allowed for grace, and the human element involved in the enforcement of the rules. Pastors were being encouraged to get to know their congregants, to get involved in their communities, and to protect the vulnerable and abused. Perhaps they were called on to serve as judges and arbiters. We know that bishops were being told to investigate couples’ genealogies and impose penance on incest offenders. Perhaps that was becoming a responsibility of even local pastors and perhaps the regulation of sex sins was supposed to be understood even more broadly, with attention being paid to the victims of incest sins not just the perpetrators. This dossier on marriage and incest was a manual for the pastoral care that was to be extended to Carolingian families, a fact that is further supported by the last text in the middle of this collection that will be analyzed in the following section.

A Dossier on Pastoral Family Care: Part 2: Infant Baptism
Excerpt from *Concilia Galliae* on Emergency Baptism

Folio 175v in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 contains an excerpt on baptism that harkens back to the early Carolingian period. It is taken from one of the six epistles, extant as a series of canons, written by Pope Stephen II, who was bishop of Rome from 752-757. This letter was part of Stephen’s response to Pippin in 754 answering his questions on a series of contentious issues. The entire letter contains nineteen chapters with these two chapters on baptism placed in the middle. The first sections are on sex and marriage and the last sections focus on moral standards and penitential sanctions for sinful priests, lower clergy and monks.

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The ruling excerpted for the Laon codex is on the logistics of administering emergency infant baptism. The excerpt is concise, taking up only fourteen lines. In the extant codex, it was copied in following the Merovingian and Visigothic rulings on incest with which it shares a quire, and immediately before the series of sermons on salvation, the *Pater noster* and the Creed. The original order, however, places it right in the middle of the incest legislation. Martin Hiberniensis simply labels the text *De baptisterio* in the table of contents. This placement, in both the original and extant order, may have indicated that, following Pope Stephen II’s original letter, matters of sex, marriage, incest and infant baptism were contentious issues for pastors and this text is clearly directed to the administrators of baptism.

In order to understand why a pastor-in-training would have needed to know about the logistics of emergency infant baptism and why it may have been placed in this section, one must first understand the changes the Carolingians were implementing with regard to baptism. The baptismal procedure, based on the Roman rite, was highly ritualized and regulated, at least in theory. It had long been established that catechumens should only be baptized on Easter and Pentecost unless they were in danger of death. The 585 Council of Mâcon and the *Ordo Romanus* XV from the mid-eighth century noted that this restriction was rarely being enforced. As a result, Louis the Pious implemented a number of canons, particularly through the Frankish councils and capitularies of 818-829, and promoted the guidelines of the *Dionysio-Hadriana*, which sought to firmly establish this precedent.  

By limiting baptism to these major holidays, the Carolingians were trying to tie baptism to the oversight of an experienced bishop, who would be presiding over

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the mass in the major regional church. In addition, the catechumens or their sponsors would be able to benefit from the teachings on the faith during the Lenten season. The sacredness of these seasons was deemed to be the most appropriate setting for such a holy sacrament.  

The middle of the ninth century in which the Laon codex was compiled and used, however, was a time in which the logistics of baptism were shifting. Earlier in the century there was an increased anxiety to baptize infants as quickly as possible after birth. For healthy babies that meant the first Easter or Pentecost after their birth; for sickly infants, off-season baptisms were allowed. In addition to the awareness of original sin and fear of high infant mortality rates, timely infant baptisms were being encouraged as a tool for conquest under the Carolingians; newly added peoples were encouraged to baptize their children immediately as a display of their loyalty. Baptism was not only an initiation into the church but it represented a turn from pagan alliances to Christian fidelity and Charlemagne took advantage of this language to use forced baptisms as a mark of fidelity to the king, the protector of the church. This had roused a new rhetoric among Carolingian reformers, especially when dealing with the Avars, with Alcuin leading the charge. They emphasized that those seeking baptism needed to be educated in the faith and needed willingly to confess their beliefs beforehand. This stipulation regarding catechesis was one of the concerns in Charlemagne’s questionnaire on baptism that was circulated in 812 and

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134 Fischer, Christian Initiation, 48–49, 57–58, 69–77. The official legislation requiring baptisms take place on Easter and Pentecost were not lifted, however, until the twelfth century. See, Fischer, Christian Initiation, 109–119.  
135 Fischer, Christian Initiation, 69, 109; Cramer, Baptism and Change, 137–138; Keefe, Water and the Word, 1:156–158; and Phelan, The Formation of Christian Europe, 117–118, 159–163. Cramer cites, for example, the 517 Council of Girona in Catalonia that stated that sickly children should be baptized immediately, even on the same day they were born.  
required that instruction and scrutiny precede baptism. In these ways, the Carolingian theological stance on baptism was mixed: infants were stained by original sin and needed prompt baptisms to ensure their salvation, and yet baptism was to be a voluntary and informed act of faith, ideally administered by a bishop on Easter or Pentecost.

The reality was that the demand far exceeded the supply and it was becoming increasingly clear that the bishops could not make it out to the corners of the countryside either to educate, scrutinize and baptize catechumens on Easter and Pentecost or in time for emergency baptisms for the sick and dying. As a result, more and more baptisms were being administered by local priests, who had been informally in charge of baptisms in the earlier Merovingian era. The difference in the late eighth and ninth centuries, however, was that the Carolingians still tried to regulate the sacrament. They specified which churches, in addition to the bishop’s church, were baptismal churches. They demanded those priests be educated in protocol and theology in adherence with the Roman rite and, as a check, still required that bishops be in charge of the final confirmation of the sacrament, which was often delayed. The importance of maintaining the sacredness of church rituals and symbols was specified in the Admonitio generalis in chapter sixty-nine. Here, priests are admonished to venerate the altars, consecrate the vessels to God, store them with honor so that “those who come to the solemnities of the mass have their minds intent upon God.”


139 Fischer, Christian Initiation, 52–53, 63–67, 72–74; Cramer, Baptism and Change, 179–184; and Keefe, Water and the Word, 1:5–6, 22–38. This would continue to develop throughout the Middle Ages causing the act of confirmation to become a separate rite and independent sacrament.

140 Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen, MGH Fontes iuris 16:222; and P.D. King, trans., Charlemagne: Translated Sources (Lancaster: University of Lancaster Central Print Unit, 1987), 216–217.
Although this passage implies that the focus is on the administration of the mass and Eucharist it remains intentionally broad, stressing that maintaining the sacredness of the church was a duty of the priests.

Thus maintaining the sacred nature of the sacraments was essential and yet, infant baptism had to look different from adult baptism. The Carolingian emphasis on catechesis and scrutinies had to be altered. The form of the baptism rite was reduced, since baptisms were increasingly administered over infants, who had to be spoken for rather than trained and scrutinized in their faith.\footnote{There is extensive scholarship on sponsorship led by scholars such as Arnold Angenendt, Joseph H. Lynch and Bernard Jussen.} The *Hadrianum* supplements actually made baptism something that was done for or over the child, rather than a sacrament in which the recipient participated in the ritual.\footnote{Cramer, *Baptism and Change*, 138–144; and Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship*, 293–294.} To that end, the dominant aspects of Carolingian baptism tended to be exorcism and purification in which the focus was shifted from the piety of the catechumen to the responsibility of the family, sponsor, and congregation.\footnote{Cramer, *Baptism and Change*, 143–144.} It became a reminder of the importance of the church and sacraments in the battle against sin and the quest for eternal life. By allowing catechumens to be passive recipients of the sacrament rather than tested participants, and by making sin and the schemes of the devil external enemies that could be symbolized and exorcised, the whole process took on a kind of mystical aura, importantly in the midst of a supportive congregation.\footnote{Cramer, *Baptism and Change*, 145–158; and Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe*, 69–73.} In this context, in the Carolingian period, baptisms were performative, symbolically saturated rituals that involved and taught the entire community.\footnote{Cramer, *Baptism and Change*, 155–158; and Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe*, 43–45, 228–234. Phelan also talks about how this concern became evident in ninth-century advice manuals, like those of Jonas and Dhuoda, who were concerned with the spirituality and education of mentors and godparents.}
In as much as ninth-century baptism was expected to be a formalized, orthodox, and powerful ritual, there was a large degree of local divergence in the details.\textsuperscript{146} This is the context for the baptism text included in the Laon manuscript, which was not a general lesson on the theology or logistics of administering a prescribed, infant baptism ceremony on Easter or Pentecost. Instead, this excerpt provides a theological and logistical framework for the baptism exception. As previously explained, off-season baptism was allowed for sickly infants who appeared to be near death. In these cases, as is made clear in this excerpt, the Carolingians wanted to be lenient in the baptism requirements to ensure the rite could take place and yet, in order to protect the sacredness of the sacrament and obey scripture, a framework of guidelines was required. In Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 the two most basic elements for baptism, the use of water and immersion, are addressed. Both of these staple baptism requirements are actually deemed to be non-essentials in emergency situations. If the priest cannot access water, he was allowed to use wine; if the infant was too weak for immersion, the priest could use his hands or a conch shell to pour the water over the infant’s head.\textsuperscript{147} The text makes clear that these exceptions are only for emergency situations, going so far as to say that if the priest uses wine when there is water available he is to be excommunicated and required to do penance.\textsuperscript{148} The only Carolingian-
approved, essential component to baptism, which would allow the infant to be brought into the kingdom of God, is that the priest invoke the name of the holy trinity.\textsuperscript{149}

How unusual was this teaching? Due to the significance of the ritual itself, the mode in which baptism was administered was extremely important, and the major proliferation of original baptismal instructions demonstrate that the Carolingians were very concerned to circulate instructions on the theology and logistics of baptism to the clerics administering it.\textsuperscript{150} Keefe points out that the Carolingians often summarized this notion by quoting from Augustine’s commentary on John, “What is baptism? The bath of water with the word. Take away the water, it is not baptism. Take away the word, it is not baptism.”\textsuperscript{151} That is not to say that the Carolingians standardized a liturgical order for baptism; in fact, Keefe’s research has proven just the opposite. The Carolingians were content to allow for regional differences, and freely merged and adapted Roman and Gallican rites but they did produce legislation that was meant to provide broad guidelines and requirements for the baptismal rite. Relevance was more important than standardization; the Carolingian reform worked so well because texts were customized for the education and implementation of local pastors. Reformers sought orthodoxy within the existing framework of Christian tradition and customs on the local level.\textsuperscript{152} In these ways then, Carolingian baptismal liturgy was both adaptable and customizable, but that flexibility could also make baptismal instructions appear confusingly piecemeal and contradictory.\textsuperscript{153}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[149] Mansi, \textit{Sacrorum conciliorum}, 12:561; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265. f. 175v: \textit{et sic baptizare hoc baptismo si in nomine sancta est trinitatis hoc per actum fuerit firmiter permanebit praesertim cum et necessitas exposcit ut ille qui in egitudine detentus est hoc modo renatur particeps regni dei efficiatur.}
\item[151] Keefe, \textit{Baptism and the Word}, 1.
\end{footnotes}
The presence of this text in the Laon teaching provides a peek into the realities of Carolingian Christianization. There are other texts in this manuscript that discuss the theological importance of baptism, but those messages are packaged as parts of larger manuals on orthodox theology. In this dossier of works devoted to the pastoral care of families, the only instruction on the administration of baptism is this one, on emergency infant baptism. Perhaps this indicates that Martin Hiberniensis recognized that pastors were dealing with limited resources and high infant mortality rates and yet he felt it was important that they be competent, vigilant and quick-thinking leaders, who were able to safeguard the sacred ritual of baptism even without the time or infrastructure around them to present it in its most ideal form. By distinguishing between the essentials and non-essentials of the baptism ritual, this excerpt presented a framework; it provided a balance between urgency and orthodoxy and this simple guideline was expected to be sufficient for application. This demonstrates how Carolingian reformers and teachers, such as Martin Hiberniensis, used texts for the education of local pastors and the diffusion of reform. This instruction was practical and specific where needed but it was also buttressed by supporting materials to create a broader perspective on pastoral care. A pastor’s ability to correctly and resourcefully administer emergency baptisms was an important part of his pastoral care ministry to the laity on par with and (here, literally) connected to understanding marriage restrictions. Pastors were to be informed supervisors of divinely approved marriages and attentive protectors of the children those marriages produced, all with the goal of securing souls for the kingdom of God.

In Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, not only does this excerpt, clearly intended for a local pastor, further affirm the popular and practical purposes of this compilation, it demonstrates
how baptism was explained and categorized in the Carolingian process of diffusing reform. As evidenced by its placement in this collection, knowing how to administer an emergency infant baptism was deemed to be an essential component in a pastor’s repertoire of pastoral care. The laity needed pastors who could guide them away from incest, provide directives on proper marriage practices, protect women and children from inappropriate or unwanted marriage alliances, defend deceived marriage victims, counsel the abused or forsaken on remarriage, and, apparently, be ready and informed executors of emergency baptisms.

Conclusion

The Carolingian court, through legislation like the *Admonitio generalis*, stated that they wanted reform taught to the laity. In some ways that goal was to be achieved through preaching, which is a subject that was addressed in particular detail in the last chapter of the *Admonitio generalis* and its actualization in the Laon codex will be the focus of the following chapter. In this chapter, however, I have argued that local Carolingian pastors were being trained in cathedral schools, like Laon, in a variety of skills, rituals, rules, and theology that showed that their interactions with the laity were expected to extend throughout and beyond the mass sermon.

This miscellany grouped instructions for pastoral care training into units. These collections of information were in many ways typically Carolingian, showing an interest in “specifying,” amassing and collating information.\(^\text{154}\) Scholars have often studied this Carolingian trend by looking at independent handbook collections. The Laon codex demonstrates that the Carolingians were interested in packaging information in these ways on a small scale as well. In terms of the

general patterns behind the collection, I have also identified a compilation-wide interest in promoting historical evidence and patterns. I observed the compiler’s penchant for history in the previous chapter when analyzing the miscellany’s lengthy heresiology texts. In the pastoral care texts analyzed in this chapter, the compiler’s appreciation for emphasizing historical precedents and patterns is especially evident in the dossier on marriage, sex, and incest. In fact, this collection at one point names and then copies capitulary rulings from the past, along with scriptural passages, in order to lay out historical and biblical support for prescribed marriage guidelines. Thus, although miscellanies have often been labeled as just that, miscellaneous, this case study demonstrates that was not always the case.

Despite the clear thematic units on pastoral care in the latter section of Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, however, Martin’s version of the compilation was sewn together out of order. Thanks to Martin Hiberniensis’ table of contents, we know the extant order is the same as Martin’s order and yet, there are a number of codicological and content clues that indicate that the texts were combined incorrectly, with one of the sermons even being split in half. I have analyzed these units of information according to the original order, assuming that Martin Hiberniensis used his table of contents to navigate the collection, even if he had to flip between folios in order to access the related texts.

In addition to analyzing the layout of the Laon codex, however, I was also able to draw some conclusions about Martin Hiberniensis’ expectations for the kind of pastoral care he wanted his pastors-in-training to administer to their future lay flocks. The collection of mass teachings starts with a close copy of the Karolingische Musterpredigt, which was a sermon that combined a Carolingian-made introduction with part of Pseudo-Boniface’s Sermon 6. Its placement in the
Laon compilation and Martin Hiberniensis’ label in the table of contents, however, demonstrate that it was not valued by Martin because of those references. He emphasized the sermon’s opening half which is devoted to explaining complicated theology to the laity, including information about original sin, the nature of the Trinity, the prophecies foretelling Christ, the incarnation and role of Mary, and the Lord’s second coming. This focus on explaining theology to the laity continued into the following *Pater noster* and Creed sermons. These works were connected by Martin in his table of contents and were often connected in Carolingian legislation as mandatory requirements for Christianization. Both sermons contain explanations regarding the symbolic and theological meaning behind the prayer and Creed; they were used to build community, referencing the power of God and the communion of his saints in this life and the next. These texts would have all been used or preached in the mass leading up to the administration of the Eucharist, which was explained using excerpts from Isidore’s *De ecclesiasticis officiis*. His explanation of the Eucharist depended on the Hispano-Mozarabic liturgy and emphasized the mass for the dead, a topic that was popular under the Carolingians and not addressed in the Roman liturgy. I argued that this excerpt demonstrated that in as much as liturgical diversity was common under the Carolingians, this text shows that this diversity was present even in the center of the educational system; variation was not solely the haphazard result of the survival of local traditions but it was a feature of realized Carolingian reform.

The Laon codex also contained a dossier on incest, sex and marriage made up of a mix of materials that ranged from providing broad guidelines to clarifying specific scenarios and variations of scenarios. These instructions were customized, made from selected excerpts taken from capitularies, a law code and a penitential from a variety of eras. The mix of genres, I argued,
may indicate that Carolingian pastors were expected to weigh-in on a wide variety of sexual abuses and injustices beyond the confessional context. While their messages were generally lenient, showing that Carolingian reformers were making a place for church-approved marriages in their efforts for whole-scale Christianization, this dossier of instructional texts also contained harsh penalties meant to prohibit incest sins and sexual exploitation. Pastors, I argued, were to insert themselves into their communities, serving as authority figures; they were to protect the weak and rule on confusing issues and, by doing that, build up the community around them under the protection and jurisdiction of the church.

Then finally the emergency baptism text highlights the sacredness of the sacrament of baptism while still making practical concessions regarding the mode and materials required for the ceremony to be legitimate. I argued that this document demonstrated that the Carolingian reformers had a realistic recognition of the scarcity of resources a local pastor would have at his disposal. And yet, the emergency baptism text also demonstrates that despite their limited resources, the pastors that were being trained at cathedral schools like Laon were expected to know their theology and take seriously the responsibilities of their office. They needed to maintain the sacredness of the baptism ritual and its theological meaning and salvific significance, even while substituting the elements when under duress.

These high expectations for local pastors in the ninth century would continue with the rest of the popular works. The sermons are particularly insightful because they also indicate the reformers’ goals for the laity. What messages were they expected to understand? What kind of exegesis could they comprehend? What moral standards were the laity to maintain? The following chapter will look to answer these questions with an analysis of two groups of sermons.
Chapter 4: Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265
Teaching Preaching in a Cathedral School

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Introduction

Preaching was the primary avenue through which Carolingian reformers wanted the laity to be educated in Christianity. This plan was made clear in legislation like the Admonitio generalis
and resulted in the proliferation of copied and composed sermon texts in the ninth century. These popular works provide a valuable glimpse into how reformers and scribes were packaging Christianization for the lay majority. In what ways did they use texts from the past? In what ways were those texts changed and adapted and for what purpose? What kind of theology did the reformers expect the laity to understand? What moral standards did the reformers expect the laity to follow? Popular works, and sermons in particular, are modern scholars’ link to the lay majority, who are not represented in many of the extant sources from the early Middle Ages. Popular, pastoral texts, meant to be read out loud to lay listeners are our closest connection to the Christian educational experience of the laity under the Carolingians and yet, many of these texts from the ninth century remain understudied. Most popular works, especially sermons, were heavily based on the works of the Church Fathers or other valued authors such as Bede and Caesarius; the Carolingians were not prioritizing originality as much as they were promoting orthodoxy and functionality. In addition, many popular works were copied into miscellanies and are hard to place in a particular context. These factors have caused many modern scholars to shy away from these texts. In this chapter, I will analyze in detail the works in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 that I believe were created to be digested orally by a mixed audience, analyzing them in terms of their codicological clues, manuscript context, manuscript history and content.

In what follows, I rely on Thomas Amos’ theories of what makes a pastoral text “popular.” Amos, who identified over 970 popular Carolingian sermons, argued that they had to be short, generally taking between ten and thirty minutes to read, and had to contain simple messages on moral lessons and the basic tenets of the faith. Carolingian popular sermons were written in Latin by bishops, abbots, monks and scribes as useful tools for local priests. To facilitate memorization
the authors combined Scripture and *exempla*, often using images or stories to illustrate their points.\(^1\) Martin Hiberniensis’ table of contents does not make the distinction between devotional or reference texts and popular works, so I will look at the contents of the works in the Laon codex and use Amos’ strategies to identify which of these texts were providing pastors-in-training with practical lessons on caring for and preaching to their future lay audiences. In the previous chapter, I already identified three different sermons and analyzed them in terms of their usage: the preparation of the laity for taking the Eucharist. In this chapter, I will study two different sets of sermons, which I will argue were copied into this Laon codex to serve as models and examples of sermons for the use of pastors-in-training. One unit is a series of three sermons that are based on homilies and commentaries originally written by Gregory the Great. The other set of sermons are all on Gospel passages and based, in varying degrees, on works by Gregory the Great and Bede.

Although the bulk of Amos’ study on ninth century popular works was on Carolingian sermons, he often noted that stories of the saints were also used as popular texts in the ninth century. “Developing a strong popular piety which would lead the populace to seek religious salvation was one of the main goals of the Carolingian reformers.”\(^2\) He argued that the cult of the saints was used in tandem with sermons to achieve this goal. Saints’ lives, relics, and feast days were used to promote the church and the sense of community and connection to supernatural power.

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1 Thomas L. Amos, “The Origin and Nature of the Carolingian Sermon” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1983), 196–199; and Thomas L. Amos, “Early Medieval Sermons and their Audience,” in *De l’homélie au sermon: histoire de la prédication médiévale*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse and Xavier Hermand (Louvain-La-Neuve: De L’Institut D’Études Médiévales, 1993), 7–13. In the first few pages of this article, Amos relies partially on the results derived from modern day anthropology and cognitive psychology on the “oral-literate dichotomy” to make sense of how non-literate peoples have processed oral presentations of information over time. Although the idea of a strict oral/literate divide is no longer accepted, I believe Amos’ conclusions are still relevant. The Carolingian sermon writers would have realized that they needed to implement strategies of articulation in order to make oral sermons accessible to generally illiterate lay audiences and a close analysis of popular sermons should seek to uncover some of these strategies as a part of understanding Carolingian reform.

that the church offered. Saints were also used as moral exemplars and, even in cases when their moral model was impossible to achieve, they were referenced as examples of what it meant to persevere in the faith and through the suffering of this life in exchange for an eternal reward. In this chapter, I will study a three-part apocryphal narrative on Christ’s trial, death, harrowing of hell, and resurrection, which was filled with stories and examples of biblical characters and saints. I will also look at a hagiographical narrative about St. Clement, an early church martyr-pope whose bones would have been recently discovered in the middle of the ninth century. These two stories on saints begin and end the compilation and, I will argue, served as popular text examples, meant to be familiar and inspirational to listeners. The latter story in particular also demonstrates that this Laon codex was custom-made for the needs and interests of the times, based on the fact that the discovery and translation of St. Clement’s bones from the Byzantine east to Rome would have been a significant current event story at the time.

In these ways, I will use this chapter to try to identify the ways Carolingian pastors were being taught in the cathedral school of Laon to articulate Christianity to their lay flocks. Pastoral care, as described in the previous chapter, required that pastors get involved in their communities. They needed to be arbiters, protectors, and advocates for their congregants, steering them away from sinful behaviors and decisions and safeguarding those vulnerable to abuse. They were also administrators of the sacraments, who had to think on their feet and deal with limited resources while still maintaining the sacredness of their duties. In this chapter, rather than focus on the actions they took to exemplify and enforce Christianization, I will focus on the words pastors used to explain and instill Christianization in the hearts and minds of their flocks.

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Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 begins and ends with miracle stories following the lives of Christ and Old Testament as well as early church saints. The manuscript starts with the full, three-part apocryphal narrative commonly referred to by modern scholars as the Evangelium Nicodemi but labeled by Martin Hiberniensis in the table of contents as the Gesta salvatoris. The stories expound Christ’s trial, execution, harrowing of hell, and resurrection by developing extra-biblical narratives focused on the ramifications of his miracles and referencing some of the biblical characters mentioned in passing in the New Testament accounts. The Laon manuscript ends with a vita labeled by Martin as De sancto clemente, which tells the story of St. Clement, the third pope of Rome. This narrative deals with Clement’s ministry in Rome, exile to the Black Sea region and his subsequent martyrdom under Emperor Trajan. I believe these two works served a complementary purpose in the Laon collection for pastors in training. They are not linked by Martin but they are both narrative works that serve as the bookends of the compilation, and thus are connected in terms of the overall plan of the collection (whether it was planned in advance or not) as well as their general content and modeled methodologies.

Although copied in many different forms, in the Middle Ages, the complete Evangelium Nicodemi included three thematic parts: the passion, resurrection and ascension of Christ; the story of Joseph of Arimathea; and Christ’s descent to hell. They are sometimes divided into two parts: first, the Gesta Pilati including Christ’s trial and passion, as well as the Joseph of Arimathea story,

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5 Technically, the compilation ends with a short fragment of a sermon on Matthew 11:2–10 but it does not appear in Martin Hiberniensis’ table of contents for the collection. Thus, the compilation according to Martin begins and ends with miracle stories.

and second, the *Descensus Christi ad inferos* focused on Christ’s harrowing of hell. Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 contains all three of these themes in one, long, undivided section of the manuscript. In the table of contents, Martin Hiberniensis entitles it *Gesta Salvatoris*, which was the standard early medieval title. In the text, however, it has the much longer title of *In nomine sanctae Trinitatis incipit gesta Salvatoris Domini (nostri Iesus) Christi, quae invenit Theodosius in praetorio Pontii Pilati*. The lengthy story extends over folios 2r-35r.

The first two parts of the series, the *Gesta Pilati*, seem to have taken shape in the late second century, with the earliest Greek composition being dated to the fourth century. It starts by recounting the trial of Christ before Pilate, complete with eye-witness accounts of Christ’s extra-Biblical miracles that proved to many of his pagan accusers and to Nicodemus, a prominent Jewish leader, that he was the Son of God. Minor New Testament characters also make an appearance to testify to Jesus’ miracles. The *Gesta Pilati* concluded with the story of Joseph of Arimathea, who was arrested by the Jews for burying Christ and then miraculously disappeared from house arrest. He later testified to Christ’s supernatural resurrection. This story was translated into many other languages throughout Late Antiquity with a Latin translation developing in the fifth century, as evidenced by the Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS. 563 palimpsest. Following the

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7 Izydorczyk, “Introduction,” 2.
8 Izydorczyk, “Introduction,” 2.
Vienna manuscript, the earliest texts with any significant copied sections of the *Gesta Pilati* came from the ninth century, making Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 an early Latin extant copy.\(^1\) This Laon codex’s version, in fact, is often cited as the representative exemplar of what would become the most popular Latin recension of the story entitled LatA.\(^2\) It then appears as if the story was mainly circulated in Latin in the west while it nearly disappeared in the Greek east only to reappear in the tenth century as a Greek translation of the Latin work.\(^3\) It survives in over 500 manuscripts and 424 of them are Latin manuscripts.\(^4\)

The last section, the *Descensus Christi ad inferos*, in its entirety did not appear until the ninth century in the West and thus this Laon manuscript is a very early copy.\(^5\) It recounts the story, told (separately and identically) by the (temporarily) resurrected sons of Simeon the high priest, of Christ’s descent to hell, victory over a personified Hell and Satan, and the procession of the saints into heaven. It seems to have been created from other similar accounts of Christ’s descent

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2–3; Rémi Gounelle and Zbigniew Izydorczyk, *L’Évangile de Nicodème ou les actes faits sous Ponce Pilate (recension latine A) suivie de la lettre de Pilate à l’empereur Claude* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 89–95, 99; Izydorczyk, “Nicodemus’ Gospel Before and Beyond the Medieval West,” 26–27, 29–30; and Zbigniew Izydorczyk, “The Evangelium Nicodemi in the Latin Middle Ages,” in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus: Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts in Western Europe*, ed. Zbigniew Izydorczyk (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1997), 44–45. Izydorczyk and Dubois point out that Gregory of Tours’ *Decem libris historiarum* from the sixth century reflects his knowledge of the *Gesta Pilati* but he does not reference Christ’s descent into hell. Izydorczyk in “The Evangelium Nicodemi in the Latin Middle Ages” describes the earliest manuscript, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS. 563, which may be from the fifth century. It contains many references and quotes from the *Gesta Pilati* but does not name the source and nor does it contain the *Descensus Christi ad inferos*.

11 Izydorczyk, “The Evangelium Nicodemi in the Latin Middle Ages,” 46–54; and Zbigniew Izydorczyk, “The Unfamiliar Evangelium Nicodemi,” *Manuscripta* 33 (1989): 169–191. In both places he summarizes the three main textual recensions, which have been labeled as A, B, and C, with the most popular seems to be A.

12 Zbigniew Izydorczyk, “On the Evangelium Nicodemi Before Print: Towards a New Edition,” *Apocrypha* 23 (2012): 99–114. Izydorczyk has recently noted, however, that there was also a second strain of the LatA text that developed around the same time but he concluded that “although both families provided the substrate for later medieval rewritings, it was the Laon type that inspired a number of vernacular translations.”


15 Izydorczyk, “Nicodemus’ Gospel Before and Beyond the Medieval West,” 40.
to hell, perhaps most notably a Pseudo-Augustinian sermon entitled “De pascha II” that shows close thematic and verbal parallels.\textsuperscript{16} In trying to trace the evidence of Irish knowledge of the \textit{Evangelium Nicodemi}, Anne Dooley has observed that two of the earliest ninth-century complete texts of this narrative have connections to the Irish. Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 falls into this category since it was used by Martin Hiberniensis, who was of Irish origins.\textsuperscript{17} Thus, according to this manuscript history, the Laon compilation that Martin Hiberniensis was using to train pastors was introduced by an increasingly popular medieval text that was in its first wave of Latin dissemination, a wave that would be especially dependent on this very copy!

There is no critical edition of the \textit{Evangelium Nicodemi}, partially because of the enormity of the task; because it became so popular in the Middle Ages, the number of extant sources is staggering. There are also many different versions of this multi-part story, since medieval “copiers” of the text were not obligated to transmit exact copies and took many creative liberties.\textsuperscript{18} Also, the \textit{Evangelium Nicodemi} was rarely disseminated on its own but was often a subtle, sometimes not even titled, part of composite collections, many of which are not clearly labeled in modern library catalogues.\textsuperscript{19} J.C. Thilo’s edition in 1832 published a Greek and Latin version of the text alongside still relevant commentary notes. Tischendorf’s 1876 (2\textsuperscript{nd}) edition, however, used the widest range of sources and is the most commonly referenced edition today.\textsuperscript{20} None of the

\textsuperscript{16} Izydorczyk, “The \textit{Evangelium Nicodemi} in the Latin Middle Ages,” 49–50; Pseudo-Augustine, \textit{Sermo clx, De pascha}, PL 39: cols. 2059–61. For additional theories on the Greek source or sources that may have influenced the development of the \textit{Descensus} part of the story, and for the second-century literary history of the story, see Poirier, “Gnostic Sources,” 75–79.


\textsuperscript{19} Izydorczyk, \textit{Manuscripts of the \textit{Evangelium Nicodemi}}, 1–4.

\textsuperscript{20} Izydorczyk, \textit{Manuscripts of the \textit{Evangelium Nicodemi}}, 1; Johann Carl Thilo, \textit{Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti}, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Sumptibus Frid. Christ. Guilhelmi Vogel, 1832); and Constantius de Tischendorf, \textit{Evangelia
currently published editions have used Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, despite its superior quality and early dating.\(^{21}\) There is a forthcoming critical edition through the *Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum*, which will be edited by the current expert on this text, Zbigniew Izydorczyk.\(^{22}\) In his work on the manuscript history of the narrative, Izydorczyk found that out of the 424 Latin extant sources, twelve of them could be placed in the ninth or early tenth century context.\(^{23}\) These dozen codices, the Laon codex included, are the earliest manuscripts that contained the full text following the fifth century Vienna text.\(^{24}\) Thus, as shown, while parts of the

\(^{21}\) Izydorczyk, *Manuscripts of the 'Evangelium Nicodemi,'* 1. For other editions see H.C. Kim, *The Gospel of Nicodemus: Gesta Salvatoris* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1973); David J. Lewis, “A Short Latin Gospel of Nicodemus Written in Ireland,” *Peritia* 5 (1986): 262–275; and Guy Philippart, “Les Fragments palimpsestes de l’Évangile de Nicodème dans le Vindobonensis 563 (V\(^{e}\) siècle?),” *Analecta Bollandiana* 107 (1989): 171–188. Kim’s edition only covers the first half, so, it contains nothing on Christ’s decent to hell, and it only uses the tenth century Codex Einsidelensis (Einsiedeln Stiftsbibliothek, MS 326), identified by Thilo and Tischendorf as one of the oldest and most authoritative texts. Lewis’ edition is based on London British Library, Royal 13.A.14, which was written in Ireland around 1300 and is the only extant manuscript of an abridged version that shortened the Joseph and harrowing of hell sections and skipped most of the speeches of the saints. Guy Philippart edited the oldest manuscript copy of the *Evangelium Nicodemi*, fifth century Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS. 563.

\(^{22}\) See Izydorczyk, *Manuscripts of the 'Evangelium Nicodemi,'* Here, Izydorczyk identifies, locates, and characterizes all 424 extant sources, and twelve recently lost sources, that contain full and partial copies of the *Evangelium Nicodemi*, all of which were created before 1500 AD.

\(^{23}\) Izydorczyk, *Manuscripts of the 'Evangelium Nicodemi,'* 234–235. The ninth- or perhaps in some cases tenth-century manuscripts that include the *Evangelium Nicodemi* are: Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel, 20 ms. theol. 271, no. 112; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 29275, no. 207; Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 202, no. 334; München, Universitätshibliothek, 201 Cod. ms. 87a, no. 208; Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Ripoll 106, no. 12; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Theol. lat. oct. 157 no. 23; Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 582, no. 25; London, British Library, Royal 5 E. XIII, no.158; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, N.A.lat. 1605, no. 288; Kobenhaven, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. kgl. A. 1335, 40, no. 119; and Orleans, Bibliothèque, 341 (289), no. 215. For a more detailed analysis of Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 202, no. 334, which was written on the continent in Caroline miniscule and then sent to England in the eleventh century to become the basis for the Old English translations of the source, see J.E. Cross, ed. *Two Old English Apocrypha and their Manuscript Source: The Gospel of Nicodemos and The Avenging of the Saviour*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 19 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

\(^{24}\) See Izydorczyk, *Manuscripts of the 'Evangelium Nicodemi,'* 192, no. 563.
Evangelium Nicodemi had earlier roots, the Laon codex contains one of the earliest Latin collections of the entire three-part narrative and yet this manuscript’s copy of the account has been under-utilized by modern scholars.

Martin Hiberniensis was using, and perhaps had commissioned, a pastoral teaching manual that opened with a second-century, apocryphal narrative with a newly attached and dramatic apocalyptic ending. Since the stories were extending the gospel account, the characters would have been recognizable to listeners.\(^{25}\) The Evangelium Nicodemi references characters who played minor roles in the gospels, such as the healed lame man, the blind man, the leper, Veronica, Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathea, Simeon and his sons, and the two crucified thieves. In the last segment when Christ descends to conquer hell, the narrative describes a litany of Old Testament saints, making reference to their lives, personalities and skills to humanize and contextualize their reactions to Christ’s long-awaited victory over death. In this way, the Evangelium Nicodemi, like many other apocryphal works, as Hans-Joseph Klauck has put it, “creates a narrative world with which the readers will feel easily familiar.”\(^{26}\) These extra-biblical details serve to flesh out the story to satisfy the curiosity of interested listeners. They also end up adding in theological points, such as the miracles proving Christ’s divinity, the culpability of the Jews, the resurrection of the saints, and the logistics of the harrowing of hell.\(^{27}\)

The narrative genre and familiarity of the characters are, I argue, important characteristics to this opening story in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265. It shows that Martin Hiberniensis utilized the power of story-telling to educate his pastors. Perhaps he found it useful to start with a


\(^{26}\) Klauck, *Apocryphal Gospels*, 97.

widely known story so that his students could learn from something familiar and build confidence in their abilities. He may have used stories like this one to keep the attention of his students, to draw them in to understanding important theology related to the divinity of Christ and the resurrection of Christ and the saints. In this way, the opening text speaks to the realities of cathedral schools like Laon; perhaps students needed to be induced to learn and needed to start on an elementary level. Moreover, Martin may have recognized that in as much as that is true for pastors-in-training, so too is it true for their congregants. Stories like the *Evangelium Nicodemi* used familiar characters to teach important theological truths about the power of Christ, his death and resurrection. These engaging stories could be used to draw in, motivate, and interest students, who could in turn use them to teach to their future congregations.

Another element that is important to consider when deciphering the utility of this opening text is the marginal note above the title. Although the *Evangelium Nicodemi* was included in full in the Laon codex, it was introduced with a caveat. In the early Middle Ages, apocrypha were sometimes difficult to categorize because the scriptures were rarely being copied out in full form and many were heavily glossed, making it sometimes difficult for laymen and even local pastors to know what was scriptural and what was commentary or apocrypha (which was also contested).28 Manuscript marginalia, decorations or titles were sometimes used to make important distinctions and this is the case in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265. In order to safeguard the reader against any such confusion, on the top of folio 2r a comment is added above the title of the text that reads, “We by no means accept this book, which is called Acts of the Savior, because it has no weight of

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authority since holy pope Gelasius together with seventy bishops, most learned men, classes it among apocryphal scriptures.” 29 Izydorczyk cites this note and points out that it is not unusual since there are other early and late medieval manuscripts that similarly specify that this text is apocryphal. 30 The reference to Pope Gelasius is puzzling though, since the Evangelium Nicodemi was not mentioned in the list of the Decretum pseudo-Gelasianum so perhaps the scribe working on this Laon manuscript had a now lost source, or was perhaps referencing this authority simply to lend more credence to his warning. 31

Regardless, this marginal note, written in an unknown hand, shows that this narrative was deemed to be useful but not canonical. Although it could also indicate that Martin was conflicted about this narrative’s utility, this does not seem to be the case since the text itself was not ripped out or crossed out at all. This is especially noteworthy because elsewhere in this collection, those steps were taken for a different work! Folio 122v is a page that is covered in X’s meant to obliterate the original text. Contreni calls this an unidentified work and indeed, what is left is so faint and defaced that it is difficult to tell what it contained. What is not crossed out, however, is a short, compressed note written into the top margin. It appears to say that the blotted out and removed text is not to be included here because it was falsely attributed to Augustine and is actually heretical.

29 Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 2r; and Izydorczyk, “The Evangelium Nicodemi in the Latin Middle Ages,” 76. Hunc librum qui vocatur gesta salvatoris nullatenus recipimus quia nullum habet pondus auctoritatis, quia sanctus papa Gelasius cum lxx episcopis, viris erudissimis, inter apocriphas deputavit scripturas. See Izydorczyk, “The Evangelium Nicodemi in the Latin Middle Ages,” 76–77n95 for a list of other medieval manuscripts with similar notes.
31 Izydorczyk, “The Evangelium Nicodemi in the Latin Middle Ages,” 76.
in its rash opinion since the incarnation of Christ ought to be believed by faith more than discussed with the argument of words.\textsuperscript{32}

Why is this note and the crossing out of a text in the Laon collection significant? First, it shows that presumably Martin Hiberniensis or others at Laon may have had to correct this collection after receiving it from the scribe. The work, however, does not appear in the table of contents so perhaps the change was made before Martin received it or he intentionally left it out of his table of contents after reviewing the material. This manuscript change demonstrates that the process of identifying and handling forgeries and apocrypha was a difficult and a subjective one. The apocryphal tale, labeled the \textit{Gesta Salvatoris}, was included in full, all 33 folios of it, but prefaced with a statement warning readers that the text should by no means be treated as containing the authority of scripture; whereas the apocryphal text on folio 122v was prefaced with a warning statement and then actually removed and defaced for being heretical. This demonstrates that in some cases, it was enough to label and categorize a text as apocryphal. Its non-canonical origins did not immediately disqualify a falsely attributed text for teaching purposes. Heretical works, however, would not be tolerated, as was discussed in chapter 2. In the Laon collection in particular, I have argued that the inclusion of Isidore’s \textit{De differentiis II}, was a Carolingian heresiology as well as a theological grammar book. It would have provided clear definitions of important theological terms and concepts in order to train pastors to be able to distinguish between heretical and orthodox works. Seeing that the falsely attributed Augustine work was originally copied into a cathedral school collection may indicate that sometimes heretical texts went unnoticed for a time;

\textsuperscript{32} Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265. f. 122v: \textit{Non est hoc expositum sancti augustinii ut hic false per titulatum sed a quod heretico nimis temerario igterrulo (?) ad inventum et ex sensu proprio novitus conscriptum, Incarnatio enim Christi magis fide debet credi qua argumentus verborum discutis (?) This is an odd claim and in need of further study.
or perhaps its inclusion in a teaching manual caused this work to undergo closer scrutiny, which may have led to its defacement.

In this case, its non-canonical status does not seem to have made this account erroneous or dangerous. In fact, apocrypha were valued for their devotional appeal in the Middle Ages in general, similar to martyr tales and saints’ vitae.33 Since Pilate’s role in the trial and Christ’s descent to hell are specifically mentioned in the Creed, the Evangelium Nicodemi story could have been especially interesting to lay audiences.34 In addition, this story may have been originally created as a proof of Jesus’s divine power for both pagans and Jews.35 After all, the author is careful to lay out a number of testimonies that affirm Christ’s public miracles, supernatural identity and bodily resurrection. Miracles are doubted and tested, accounts are written down and compared, witnesses are named, historical figures are quoted, reason is appealed to, all in an attempt to show on many levels that Christ was divine. This may have been one of the reasons why the apocryphal text was originally created: to serve as a counter-text to pagan “gospels” and as a theological polemic against detractors of the early and late antique church.36 Its placement in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, however, shows that although pastors were not dealing with the same heresies, it was still important in this context for pastors to be able to use reason as a tool and proof for Christianization, especially when those techniques were taught as part of a good story.

While Martin Hiberniensis’ teaching manual started with a narrative, it also ended with a story that is similar in nature, although very different in the details. Other than an untitled fragment

34 Izydorczyk, “Introduction,” 16–18. It does appear that the section on the descent to hell was the most popular, partially because the content was so sensational that it was prime material for late medieval romance and drama.
of a sermon, Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 ends on folios 184r-190v with the full text of the martyrdom of St. Clement, who was (perhaps) the third pope of Rome who was martyred in 101 AD under Emperor Trajan.\textsuperscript{37} The Laon codex copies this \textit{vita} closely, with only a few minor changes throughout. It records Clement’s virtuous life and his influence in Rome, particularly emphasizing the conversion of Theodora and later her husband, Sisinius, a high Roman official and friend to the previous emperor, Domitian. Sisinius’ conversion was brought about after a series of miracles, the most famous being when Sisinius sentenced Clement to death and, when tasked with dragging him away, the servants were supernaturally caused to bind a stone column instead. Sisinius’ conversion led to the baptism of many other high ranking officials, which incited Emperor Trajan to exile Clement to the Black Sea. Upon his arrival, Clement performed a miracle that brought fresh water to the work camp there and over five hundred people were baptized; within a year, seventy-five churches were established in the region.\textsuperscript{38} Three years later, perhaps around 101 AD, Roman officials, suspicious of Clement’s growing group of converts, tied an anchor around his neck and drowned him in the Black Sea. His disciples prayed that they could see his resting place and the waters receded. To this day on the anniversary of his death, his \textit{vita} explains, the waters recede again to allow people to visit his shrine and to bring praise to God.\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{37} Patrick Geary, “‘Pull You Sons of Whores!’ Linguistic Register and Reform in the Legend of St. Clement,” in \textit{Promoting the Saints: Cults and Their Contexts from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period: Essays in Honor of Gábor Klaniczay for his 60th Birthday}, eds. Ottó Gecser, József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, Marcell Sebők, Katalin Szende (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011), 42–43. The standard edition of this text, which included the Latin and Greek text, was completed by Funk and Diekamp in \textit{Patres apostolici} in 1913.

\textsuperscript{38} Antonija Zaradija Kiš, “St. Clement of Rome: The Romanic-Slavic Symbiosis of the Cult and its Tradition in the Croatian Lands,” in \textit{Topodynamics of Arrival: Essays on Self and Pilgrimage}, ed. Gert Hofmann and Snježana Zorić, Spatial Practices 14 (Amsterdam: Brill, 2012), 76. As Kiš points out, this thus established a parallel that will later be fulfilled: Clement inspires conversion through water motifs; he provides water and is later drowned in water.

\textsuperscript{39} Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 190r: \textit{Revelatum est autem discipulis eius ut non inde tollerent corpus. Quibus etiam hoc intimatum est quod omni anno die passionis eius recedat mare per septem dies advenientibus et siccum iter praebat.}
Clement’s legend was definitively recorded by Leo of Ostia, a late eleventh-century monk of Monte Cassino, in a work dedicated to Pope Paschal II. It was also around this point that the St. Clement basilica, which had been built and dedicated to Clement by Pope Siricius in the late fourth century and mentioned both in the Liber Pontificalis and Jerome’s De viris illustribus, was rebuilt, decorated with frescos, and used as a central location for the Gregorian reform movement. Before its eleventh-century facelift, the other high point in this Roman basilica’s early medieval fame was in the ninth century when Constantine and Methodius brought the long-lost relics of St. Clement to Rome. They arrived at the basilica around 867/868, soon after Pope Nicholas I had died. This moment was one in a series of recent successes for the papacy and for the Carolingian monarchs who supported the western church. Earlier that decade, Pope Nicholas I had reached an agreement with Boris, the Bulgarian Khan, which aligned the Bulgarian Church with the papacy rather than the Byzantine patriarch. Boris would rescind this decision in 870 and return to the Byzantine church but in 867, the pope and the west were reveling in their successes as the missionaries from the east approached Rome, not Constantinople, with Clement’s priceless relics.

This momentous event in the late 860s may account for the presence of St. Clement’s vita in Martin Hiberniensis’ teaching manuscript. According to his extensive study of the library at Laon and the manuscripts that Martin owned and commented on, John Contreni suggested that Martin Hiberniensis arrived in Laon during the pontificate of Pardulus, thus between 848-856, and

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was teaching and writing between the mid 860s through the mid 870s.\textsuperscript{42} The translation of Clement’s relics around 867/868 falls comfortably into that range. This dating estimate would, however, stretch Bernard Bischoff’s date range by a year or two, given the fact that he placed this section of the Laon codex into the second third of the ninth century.\textsuperscript{43} However, even with my dating theory, most of the collection still may have been assembled in the second third of the century. The St. Clement hagiography is at the end of the compilation, perhaps indicating that this collection had been mostly created previously and, upon hearing the news of the relic translation in Rome, the scribe added this story into it at the end. The exact assemblage of this part of the Laon codex is unknown but the close congruence between the assembly range of the manuscript and St. Clement’s relic translation in Rome makes it conceivable that the Life of St. Clement was copied into this collection because of its relevance. And yet, even if this insertion was coincidental and took place a few years before the discovery and translation of St. Clement’s relics, it is still important to note that Martin Hiberniensis was using an instructional manual with not just any hagiographical story; he was reading and teaching about an early church martyr who, in the late 860s, would have become much more popular and well-known in the west.

Of course, the situation was much more complicated than this summary implies. By the 860s, the Carolingian empire had been divided up between Charlemagne’s descendants, and the different regions were engaged in off-and-on civil war and disputes, during which the papacy frequently switched between sides. Expressions of papal supremacy and prestige were few and far between; in fact, as Thomas Noble points out, in many ways Rome was significant more as a

\textsuperscript{42} John Contreni, \textit{The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its Manuscripts and Masters} (Munich: Bei der Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1978), 100–101.

symbol than as an institution and “it was the Carolingians as much or more than the popes who set the papacy at the very heart of western Christianity.” The Carolingians still had an interest in Rome, particularly in the west under Charles the Bald. Thus, while Rome’s acquisition of St. Clement’s relics at the expense of the Byzantine Empire was probably an important current event should not suggest that the Carolingian west was a united entity with an uncomplicated link to Rome.

In terms of the purposes and popularity of Roman relics, martyrs and saints, the scenario becomes even more complicated. Once the popes had secured Carolingian protection under Charlemagne, they became even stingier with Rome’s relics. Whereas at times in the eighth century, the popes had made gifts of many valuable relics north of the Alps to curry favor with the Carolingians, with the pontificate of Hadrian I ca. 779/780 the policy reverted. Hadrian indicated that he had been told in a vision not to remove any more saints from Rome. This was unfortunate for the Carolingians, who were at the same time endorsing the cult of the saints, especially in contrast to the iconoclasm of the east. By the early ninth century, relics were being used as statements of power; objects that set the west apart from the east and objects that could be hoarded, even from allies. Caroline Goodson and Julia M.H. Smith have both observed, however, that as the ninth century continued the policies banning the translation of saints out of Rome was not always observed, as shown with the translation to Freising in 834 of the relics of Alexander, an early second-century pope. In the 860s, with tumultuous Italian politics and the struggle for

Lotharingia, the popes in Rome had actually become eager once again to exchange relic gifts for political alliances.\textsuperscript{47}

Thus, Rome had a complicated relationship with the Carolingians in the ninth century that was shifting in the 860s, the setting of this compilation, with the renewed exchange of gift relics across the Alps. These observations indicate that perhaps Martin Hiberniensis was teaching about St. Clement because he was an exemplary figure who was being discussed at the time. Although this in and of itself would be interesting, there are other hints from the scriptorium of Laon that indicate that perhaps the inclusion of this particular saint’s life indicated an interest in papal affairs as well. In the first half of the ninth century, previous to Martin Hiberniensis’ tenure there, Laon scribes produced three copies of the \textit{Liber pontificalis}, perhaps based on an exemplar sent by Pope Leo III to Charlemagne but with Carolingian-specific additions.\textsuperscript{48} These are some of the earliest known copies of Text B of the \textit{Liber pontificalis}, which may demonstrate that there was a particular interest at Laon in the history of the papacy and the popes’ influence on Rome.

With this background in mind, the presence of this martyr-pope’s tale in a well-used teaching manual at the Laon cathedral school in the mid-ninth century may be significant for a number of reasons. Pope Clement I’s relics had just been miraculously discovered in the east and had been brought to Rome. On the surface this shows that the Laon compilation was not a haphazard collection of texts copied from the past. Nor was it presenting information just for its historical value. The compiler of this work, possibly under the oversight of Martin Hiberniensis,


was selecting material that had contemporary relevance for pastors-in-training. In terms of the significance of noting this particular current event, it appears as if the activities of the popes were of interest in Laon, given the number of *Liber pontificalis* manuscripts that were copied in their scriptorium. Clement I was an early pope who performed a series of miracles and inspired thousands of conversions due to his bold testimony and moral purity. His story could have been useful to teach pastors-in-training how to be bold leaders and evangelists, but when read in light of the recent relic translation, this story also emphasized the power of relics and of the church in the west, both in the past and in the Carolingian present. Although Carolingian pastors and their flocks did not need to fear political persecution, and although the Carolingians’ relationship with the pope was a complicated one, this story highlighted the spiritual legacy of the papacy, the head of the western church, and the power granted to saints who honored God with their lives and sacrifice, and to those who venerated them through their relics.

In addition, when read in light of the manuscript as a whole, it may show the value Martin Hiberniensis placed on story-telling as a tool for education. Perhaps St. Clement’s *vita* was familiar due to the relic discovery and Martin Hiberniensis wanted his students to relay the popular story, explain its moral message, and use it to remind congregants that Rome’s inheritance was the western church’s inheritance. Thus, the inclusion of this *vita* in the Laon teaching codex may have informed Martin’s students of the significance of a relevant current event; it may also have served to describe a moral and authoritative role model, St. Clement, specifically or the rich history and authority of the pope, the head of the western church, generally; and it may have provided material for sermons to place them in a contemporary framework.
As shown, Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 was opened and closed with narrative bookends. I have argued that this formation was intentional; perhaps Martin used this framework in order to teach it to his students. Perhaps he understood that theology, pastoral care, liturgical symbols, virtues and vices, and moral lessons were most effectively taught when they were placed in a tangible and relatable context. Perhaps he wanted to teach pastors to teach Christian behavior with an eye on heroic saints infused with supernatural power as evidence of how God has been and is working in the world. Beyond that, both of these stories provided apologetic proofs of God’s work through miracles and saints. In the Evangelium Nicodemi, miracles and Christ’s divinity were tested, often skeptically by unbelievers, and consistently discovered to be true. St. Clement’s story also provided witnesses and historical facts that corroborated the miraculous events. Even more powerfully, while Martin was teaching through this vita, Clement’s relics had induced miracles recently and in the West in Rome! In both cases, these were, as Roy Jeal has put it, “head nodding” type of stories; Martin was teaching or reminding pastors of stories filled with familiar characters.49

The Evangelium Nicodemi’s reference to recognizable, biblical characters referenced in the gospels and Creed as well as in Old Testament stories, and the detailed descriptions of the scenes, characters and geography as well as the use of direct dialogue all created images in the audience’s mind and captured their attention and imagination.50 As shown above, the vita of St. Clement would have also induced “head nodding” since the recent discovery of St. Clement’s relics, their internment in Rome (not in Constantinople) and their miraculous power would have been an important event at the time. Thus, both of these stories would have been prime examples of ways

Carolingian Creative Compiling: Gregory the Great’s Old Testament Sermons without the Old Testament References

Two Sermons of Gregory the Great from *Homiliae in Hierochiilem Prophetam*, Excerpt from Gregory the Great’s *Moralia*

While in chapter 2 I discussed the sermons contained in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 that were tied in with the Eucharistic mass, the miscellany also contains two collections of popular sermons. They are grouped codicologically as well as thematically and, for the most part, rely on the sermons of Gregory the Great or Bede. The first collection contains three popular sermons that were based on excerpts from Gregory the Great’s *Homiliae in Hierochiilem Prophetam* and *Moralia*. In this section I will focus on how the sermons were aggressively edited by a Carolingian compiler in order to address specific topics, avoid complicated metaphoric exegesis, and fit seamlessly together, even sharing an extended metaphor. Despite the shared elements that clearly bind these sermons as a unit, I will also address how the texts differed significantly in terms of tone and perspective. I will argue that this collection demonstrates that Martin Hiberniensis was training pastors to be able to give accessible and simple individual sermons that, when presented side-by-side over time, provided lay listeners with a nuanced and sophisticated overview of Christian theology and moral living.

I will then deal with the second grouping of sermons, which seems to challenge standard categorization. Although the sermons in the second collection are all gospel-book sermons, based on the original homilies or commentaries of Gregory the Great or Bede, they are a mix of popular sermons and longer, rhetorical sermons that appear to be better suited for devotional purposes. In
that section, I will continue to look for moral and theological themes and messages but I will also comment on the varied structure of the sermons and the possible reasons for this grouping.

Pope Gregory I had an important impact on Carolingian reformers, evidenced by the fact that in the late ninth century he was named “the Great,” an epithet that has been applied to him ever since. He is often considered a bridge figure between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. A Roman, having been at one point a monk and at another point a prefect, he relied on classical concepts and philosophy, and was devoted to traditional exegetical practices. His overt concern for morality was, as John Moorhead put it, a sort of “‘pendulum swing’ in philosophical thought which saw a move back towards the concerns of earlier periods.” Notwithstanding, Gregory’s focused work on the Bible and the way he grounded all of his works on scripture was very characteristic of medieval scholarship. As the educational systems around him began to decline, Gregory emphasized the basics, focusing his energy on the one work that mattered the most: the scriptures. He directed many of his teachings to the audience that needed it the most: the laity.

Gregory’s corpus of writings reflected his two-pronged interests and strategies. He wrote a number of works that were popular in nature, such as his Dialogues, and the homilies on the gospels. These were concise, clear, practical, and entertaining. He created a manual to instruct priests on pastoral care called Pastoral Rule but he also lived it out, writing over 850 letters to

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51 John Moorhead, Gregory the Great, The Early Church Fathers (London: Routledge, 2005), 1. Despite Gregory the Great’s immense impact on the Middle Ages due to his writings, his program of Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons, and his historical importance, there has been little scholarship devoted to tracing his legacy in the early Middle Ages. The collection of essays titled Rome and the North: The Early Reception of Gregory the Great in Germanic Europe, worked to fill in this gap in 2001, although with particular emphasis on the Anglo-Saxons and the translation of his work into different vernaculars. See Rolf H. Bremmer Jr., Kees Dekker, and David F. Johnson, “Introduction,” Rome and the North: The Early Reception of Gregory the Great in Germanic Europe, eds. Rolf H. Bremmer Jr., Kees Dekker, and David F. Johnson (Sterling, VA: Peeters, 2001), ix–xvi, for an overview of the works included in the collection.

52 Moorhead, Gregory the Great, 18.

53 Moorhead, Gregory the Great, 18–19.
laymen, clerics, and monks, answering questions and providing feedback, instruction, and support.\textsuperscript{54} As Carole Straw has pointed out, despite the chaotic, sixth-century context in which Gregory struggled to lead, and his own attachment to monastic retreat, “Gregory provided an intellectual framework to integrate all aspects of life with Christianity… While wishing for withdrawal and purity, he presented a model of returning to life amid sinful and unsettling circumstances.”\textsuperscript{55} Some of Gregory the Great’s works, however, were complex, rhetorical, and lengthy. They were primarily addressed to monastic audiences and were meant to be studied with the intent of inspiring contemplation on the word of God.\textsuperscript{56} Both his homilies on Ezekiel and his commentary on Job fall into this category and these are the texts that are excerpted side-by-side in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265. Interestingly though, the sections were so dramatically excerpted by the compiler that they have very little to do with the exegesis of these two, dense Old Testament books. As a result, the scribe’s strategic copying of two of Gregory’s most complex commentaries actually worked to create three short, practical sermons focused on Christian living and the virtues and vices. The question then becomes, what messages did these essentially new sermons emphasize and what was the purpose of this strategic recycling project?

The first two sermons in this collection of Gregory’s sermons are taken from two different homilies on Ezekiel. Gregory wrote this collection of twenty-two homilies between 593 and 601.\textsuperscript{57}


\textsuperscript{55} Straw, \textit{Gregory the Great}, 22.

\textsuperscript{56} Straw, \textit{Gregory the Great}, 6.

In his analysis he was attracted to the most obscure visions, the ones that made the least amount of literal sense and were thus rich in allegorical meaning. Gregory believed that the study of scripture should lead to contemplation, and this lent a mystical sense to his conclusions that often emphasized the allegorical meaning. As Markus puts it, however, if inspiration leading to contemplation was Gregory’s driving exegetical concern, most of the content of his exegesis was bent towards revealing the moral lessons scripture provides. In writing his twenty-two homilies on Ezekiel, Conrad Leyser has argued that Gregory saw himself in the place of the prophet: he too was being called to teach the revelation of God in a time of crisis and in the face of danger and pain. He was to be a watchman in word and in deed and the weight of that responsibility, in light of his own sense of unworthiness, led Gregory to humble introspection throughout the work.

Marcus Adriaen’s critical edition of Gregory’s *Homilies on Ezekiel* is based on eight manuscripts from the seventh and eighth centuries. Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, however, is listed in the introduction as one of 268 manuscripts from the eighth to fifteenth centuries that contain portions of this homily series. This large number of codices throughout the

preached between 591 and 592. Eight years of further editing and writing then puts the dissemination of these works around 599. Meyvaert also comments on Gregory’s audience, hypothesizing that those sermons from Book II that were read *coram populo* may not have been in a formal liturgical setting. After all, Gregory’s health was not good at this point in his life and instead Meyvaert envisions that Gregory may have delivered these lessons in an open church, perhaps mostly to a small monastic audience although pious laymen may have also attended.

Middle Ages is mainly due to Carolingian appreciation of the work, as evidenced by the fact that many of them were included in Paul the Deacon’s homiliary collection that was patronized by Charlemagne. Although Adriaen’s work on the manuscript history of this collection is extremely helpful, more research could be done on identifying what material was most commonly excerpted from these sermons. After all, most of these manuscripts, including the Laon codex, contain only selections from Gregory’s homilies on Ezekiel. Adriaen himself admits that there are probably many more hidden away in compilations yet to be identified.

The excerpts included in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 are especially interesting since the compiler, through extreme abridgment, used Gregory’s words to address theological and moral lessons that had no connection to the book of Ezekiel. Instead, the scribe formed two popular sermons by strategically copying only the material that pertained to the themes that interested him. With these changes, the compiler was able to side-step some of Gregory’s mystical and allegorical interpretations as well as Ezekiel’s rather complex vision narratives. He instead mined the series for Gregory’s practical messages, copied those sections practically verbatim, and then changed the titles so that with a few alterations these “copies” transformed into two new sermons directed towards a popular, lay audience. They are prime examples of the creative compiling strategies

63 Adriaen, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem Prophetam*, CCSL 142, xiv–xxi; Bruno Judic, “Homélies sur l’Evangile de Grégoire le Grand et leur influence sur le haut Moyen Age,” Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France (2001): 106–109; and Rosamond McKitterick, “Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany: Reflections on the Manuscript Evidence,” Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society 9, no. 4 (1989): 291–329, 312. Between Adriaen’s list and the additional works identified by McKitterick there are thirty-seven manuscripts from the seventh through ninth centuries that contained significant copies of some of Gregory the Great’s sermons on Ezekiel. Nine of those, including the Laon codex, can be definitively dated to the ninth century, five others may be ninth century or late eighth century and one other may be from the late ninth or early tenth century.

64 For example, McKitterick notes that works by Gregory, often his sermons on Ezekiel, show up consistently in the extant Frankish library catalogues. See McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, 169–171, 174–175, 188–189.
employed by Carolingian scholars who were able to produce custom-made teaching tools and sermon resources by copying from the past.

The first sermon, labeled *De carnis resurrectione* on folio 57v and titled *Omelia gregorii de carnis resurrectione* in Martin Hiberniensis’ table of contents, skips the first five sections and last twelve sections (according to Adriaen’s divisions) of Gregory the Great’s original sermon based on Ezekiel 40:27-38. In this chapter, Ezekiel records the blueprint for the new temple based on the step-by-step instructions he had been given by an angel. In the opening sections of the sermon that Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 omits, Gregory explains the symbolic meaning of the measurements and appearance of the outer and inner court, gates, steps and windows of the temple.

The Laon portion of the sermon is named *De carnis resurrectione* because it keeps with Gregory’s explanation of the resurrection of the flesh. In fact, the entire sermon follows this tangential theme with no mention of Ezekiel’s vision or the particulars of the temple layout. Gregory challenges those in the church who have the example of Christ’s resurrection but do not believe in their own future, bodily resurrection. Quoting from numerous Old and New Testament passages, he shows the many ways God has revealed that he will resurrect the bodies of the elect. Gregory appeals to logic; after all, scripture and nature are full of God’s miraculous demonstrations of power. The cognizant listener must realize that everyone believes in things, even natural phenomenon, that they cannot understand. For who completely understands the poles of the earth,

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65 Adriaen, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem Prophetam*, CCSL 142, 205; and Leyser, “Vulnerability and Authority,” 2:171. These ten homilies make up the second book of Gregory’s homilies on Ezekiel and were originally addressed to his fratres carissimi.

66 This varied use of scripture that quotes from passages besides the book in question was a standard part of Gregory the Great’s exegesis, which he called “testimonies.” For more information see Zinn, Jr., “Exegesis and Spirituality,” 173–176.
depths of the oceans, or how the earth hangs in the universe? There are also many miracles in the scriptures such as how the Red Sea was parted, how water came out of the rock, how Aaron’s rod bloomed, how a virgin conceived, how Lazarus was raised from the dead, and how Jesus arose to life in the flesh. Thus, faith and reason work together to demonstrate that the resurrection of the flesh is possible and, Gregory concludes that it is only logical that Christians believe in all of the scriptural miracles and mysteries or believe in none of them.67

By cutting out the introduction to Gregory’s sermon, the compiler of Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 was able to create a compact popular sermon that benefited from Gregory’s allegorical interpretation but left out the complicated path he took to get to those conclusions. In the new introduction Gregory directly addresses the laity. He says this exhortation is directed to those who “stand in the church and doubt the resurrection of the flesh”; these people “hold the pledge and have not the faith. They fill the Church but because they doubt concerning their own resurrection they stand with empty minds.”68 As the opening lines, these words serve to identify the sermon as a popular work directed towards church goers with doubts. The rest of the sermon is then filled with examples, miracles and natural marvels. Gregory describes a number of scenarios, such as if a body is eaten by a wolf and then the wolf is eaten by a lion, to provide examples of concerns congregants had in regard to the resurrection of the flesh. Gregory would respond to scenarios with a scenario of his own. For example, he asked who understands how a

67 Adriaen, *Homiliae in Hieriechiilem Prophetam*, CCSL 142, 342–344; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 60v–63r.
baby forms in the womb; how the liquid seed of the man merges with the frothed blood of the woman and hardens to form bones with marrow, then grows nerves, flesh, skin, hair, nails and a face? In the same way that God could form a variety of features out of one seed, can that same God not distinguish the flesh of a man from the beasts? In these ways, Gregory grounds an elusive, mysterious concept, such as the future resurrection of the dead, in imaginable examples. He clarifies that Christians cannot pick and choose what miracles they will believe in. The hope of future glorification and resurrection is presented in this sermon as essential theology and lay audiences are urged to fill their empty minds with church teachings.

Martin Hiberniensis was using an excerpt-turned-popular sermon, taken from a complex exegetical sermon from Gregory the Great. It was directly addressed to congregants, focused on one theme, and used a mix of scripture, logic, and narrative elements to explain that theme. The following sermons in the Laon codex continue that strategy. Thus these sermons may be revealing some of the preaching strategies that Martin Hiberniensis was encouraging at the cathedral school of Laon. These two sermons also call on laymen to live out their faith but, rather than address essential theology, they tackle behavior, namely: explaining the virtues and vices.

The second sermon of Gregory in the collection runs from folio 63r-65v and is entitled De caritate in the text and Eiusdem de caritate in the table of contents. It is a near exact copy of the middle of Gregory the Great’s sermon on Ezekiel 1:24-2:1. While the previous sermon came from Ezekiel’s final vision, this is a portion of Ezekiel’s first vision, taken from Gregory’s twelve sermons, based on chapters one through four. The original collection of homilies was dedicated to

69 Gray, The Homilies of St. Gregory the Great, 250; Adriaen, Homiliae in Hiezechihelem Prophetam, CCSL 142, 342–343; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 61r–61v.
Marinianus, a monk at St. Andrews in Rome who was later named the bishop of Ravenna, and it was delivered coram populo.\textsuperscript{70}

Here, Ezekiel receives a vision of God in his glory on his throne, which is surrounded by four winged creatures and a complicated system of spinning wheels and mighty sounds. The sermon originally began with an interpretation of the symbolic meaning of the noise, arguing that it referred to the fact that the Lord works through the saints as his spiritual army on earth. Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, however, omits this introduction. Instead, the excerpt starts with the statement that love or charity is essential for the success of the army of saints, for its opposite, discord, creates gaps in the ranks through which the enemy can penetrate and destroy.\textsuperscript{71} It goes on to say that the devil can undermine virtues like chastity and abstinence if those virtues are not bolstered by love. Nothing pleases God without love and those who fail to love, must repent of their sins to God and to their brothers. The sermon ends on a positive note, however, saying that when the saints are united in love, they will naturally praise their Author and the sound of their approach will cause the evil spirits to fear.\textsuperscript{72} Once again, because of the aggressive editing, this sermon has no direct connection to Ezekiel and yet the parts it does include are a near exact copy of Gregory the Great’s words.

The meaning and significance of this sermon is best understood in light of its relationship with the last popular sermon in this collection, which was taken from Gregory’s \textit{Moralia in Job}. Gregory originally worked through the book of Job when he was living in Constantinople as a


\textsuperscript{71} Adriaen, \textit{Homiliae in Hiezechihelem Prophetam}, CCSL 142, 105; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 63r–63v.

\textsuperscript{72} Adriaen, \textit{Homiliae in Hiezechihelem Prophetam}, CCSL 142, 105; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 63v–65v.
papal ambassador. He gave exegetical talks on it before a group of monks who had traveled with him from Rome. Per their request, he emphasized the moral lessons that could be gleaned from an allegorical reading of the book. Originally, this commentary was only meant to be read by clerics and monks, and Gregory actually reprimanded the bishop of Ravenna for reading it publically. *Moralia,* however, was widely copied and especially important in the Middle Ages. Gregory’s exegetical style, his use of allegorical interpretation to lead into practical, moral teachings, would be extremely influential on medieval exegetes.

Many passages in the *Moralia* are dedicated to defining virtues and vices but these discussions are scattered throughout the commentary as recurring themes. It is in Book 31, however, where Gregory focuses on ordering and describing the principle vices and the daughter sins that spring from them. The *Moralia* excerpt included in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 is a near exact copy of part of Gregory’s interpretation of Job 39:25 found in *Moralia,* Book 31, sections 84-91a. This passage comes near the end of a two-chapter list in which God is pointing out to Job all of the ways he creates and provides for mankind and uses animals as a demonstration. This excerpt follows the section on the horse that is equipped for battle. It is appropriately titled *Sanctus gregorius de equo dei dicit* in the text and *Eiusdem de equo de dei* in the table of contents. It starts on folio 65v ending on 72r and thus is rather long for a popular sermon. As with the other two excerpted sermons in this section, there is no new introduction or conclusion, the excerpt

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73 Moorhead, *Gregory the Great,* 11. As of 595, he sent a copy to Leander of only the second of the four parts since he was still working on the rest.
74 Moorhead, *Gregory the Great,* 11.
77 Baasten, *Pride According to Gregory the Great,* 78–81.
simply lifts the segment straight from Gregory’s text with only a few minor phrase subtractions and spelling changes.

Job 39:25 (ESV) reads: “When the trumpet sounds, he says ‘Aha!’ He smells the battle from afar, the thunder of the captains, and the shouting.” Gregory the Great interprets this verse to indicate that pious Christians, especially holy men (sancti viri), need to be constantly aware of their own infirmity and the power of temptation lest they grow too comfortable in the virtues they have attained and fall into pride, which is the root of all the other principle vices. He then goes into a lengthy interpretation of each of the vices. They are listed in the order in which they tend to spread: pride, vainglory, envy, anger, melancholy, avarice, gluttony, and lust. The first five are spiritual and the last two are carnal and they tend to stir up each other like a chain reaction. These vices corrupt reason and lead to a multitude of related sins. Gregory directs these teachings predominately to leaders (haec est ducum exhortatio) and closes by urging leaders to be like the horse who smells the battle, or the contests of vices (vitiorum certamina), before the temptation strikes.

These sermon extracts reflect on the compiler’s skill and knowledge base and Martin Hiberniensis’ teaching style and his vision for the dissemination of Christianization to the laity.

First of all, perhaps under the direction of Martin Hiberniensis, these three sermons were created

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79 Adriaen, Moralia in Iob, CCSL 143B, 1610–1612; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 68r–71v; and Baasten, Pride According to Gregory the Great, 77–78.
80 Adriaen, Moralia in Iob, CCSL 143B, 1612; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 71v–72r: Haec est ducum exhortatio, quae dum incaute ad secretum cordis amittitur, familiaris iniqua persuadet, quia videlicet exercitus ululans sequitur, quia infelix anima semel a principalibus vitiis capta, dum multiplicatis iniquitatibus in insaniam vertitur, ferali iam immanitate vastatur. Sed miles dei, qui solerter praevideat vitiorum certamina nititur, bellum odoratur, quam mala praeeuntia, quid mente persuadere valeant, cogitatione sollicita respicit, Exhortationem dum cum naris sagacitate agitate comprehendit. Et quia longe praesciendo subsequentium iniquitatum confusionem conspicit, quasi ululatum exercitus odorando cognoscit.
by a compiler with a sophisticated knowledge of Gregory the Great's works. While the first two sermons are abridged from the same series, the third sermon is from a completely different work. Nonetheless, sermons 2 and 3 share a number of features. An extended metaphor of battle extends over the last two sermons. Just like the vices are likened to conniving captains under the general of pride, the virtues are compared first in the Laon compilation to defensive army ranks, which love unites. In fact, the second sermon, De caritate, ends by saying that when bonded by charity, the elect praise their Author, striking fear into evil spirits and are likened to a loud army.\textsuperscript{81} Then the third sermon, De equo dei dicit, starts by saying that the enemy strikes the careless holy men who are not paying attention.\textsuperscript{82} The connections continue in that the second half of the sermon on love deals with the same concept as the Moralia excerpt: the danger of spiritual pride, but from the other angle. In the process of encouraging Christians to be united in love, Gregory cautions that virtues that are acquired at the expense of others, in comparison to others, or for one's own glory become a snare of sin (\textit{laqueus culpae}).\textsuperscript{83} By pairing the abridged Ezekiel sermon with the excerpts from Moralia, the Laon compiler creates a multi-faceted and useful overview on moral living with warring virtues and vices and with love and pride as arch rivals. In this way, although the sermons are titled so they are distinguishable and do not flow together codicologically, they could have been preached back-to-back in order to show the two sides to the Christian life. This demonstrates that the compiler knew Gregory the Great's works well, or had access to a collection that had aided him in putting together this collection. It also shows a logic to this collection of

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\textsuperscript{81} Adriaen, \textit{Homiliae in Hiezechihelem Prophetam}, CCSL 142, 105; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 63v–64r.
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\textsuperscript{82} Adriaen, \textit{Moralia in Iob}, CCSL 143B, 1608; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 65v.
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\textsuperscript{83} Adriaen, \textit{Homiliae in Hiezechihelem Prophetam}, CCSL 142, 105; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 64r–64v.
\end{flushleft}
popular texts. Martin Hiberniensis was not just teaching from a hodgepodge of ideas, but he was using a compilation that demonstrated to his students how they could educate the laity in a systematic way and present them with nuanced interpretations of theology and moral behaviors.

In a similar way, these sermons demonstrate another Christianization strategy when analyzed as a whole unit. The first of the three sermons was addressed to skeptical congregants with empty minds but the last two sermons speak about the church’s power and emphasize the bond of community. The second sermon on love uses first person plural conjugations so that the pastor giving the sermon includes himself in the address. It refers to the audience as the faithful \(\textit{fidelibus}\) on f. 64v or the elect \(\textit{electi}\) on f. 65v and explains that when the church is united in love, it is a powerful force against evil. Based on this evidence, it appears as if Martin Hiberniensis was teaching pastors that they were to use different tones in their sermons. Sometimes the laity needed to be chastised for their unbelief and shown they were being illogical. Other times, pastors needed to encourage their flock, remind them that they were God’s elect and that they formed a powerful community, of which the pastor was a part.

As briefly mentioned in Chapter 2, the most direct address in the sermon excerpted from the \textit{Moralia} was to leaders. While all members of the church should pursue virtues and be on the lookout for vices, it was the \textit{sancti viri} (f. 65v), \textit{duces} (f. 70v and 72r), and \textit{miles dei} (f. 72r) who were the chief exemplars of the virtues as well as the most likely victims of the vices. Negligence and arrogance are mentioned frequently as the gateways to vices. Even the pursuit of the virtues

\footnotesize{84 Adriaen, \textit{Homiliae in Hiezechihelem Prophetam}, CCSL 142, 105; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 63v, 65v.}

\footnotesize{85 Baasten, \textit{Pride According to Gregory the Great}, 33–34. Gregory was particularly concerned throughout the \textit{Moralia} with advising leaders; he had been a leader himself in many different capacities and paradoxically mourned the damaging effects of his active life in a position of power.}
can be dangerous when one is unaware of lurking sins such as pride. As a result, like the horse in battle, the last sermon calls on leaders to be watchmen for themselves and for others. Yet, who are these leaders? While the opening address to sancti viri and miles dei appears to be directed to spiritual leaders, the references to duces was a broad designation. So, perhaps Martin used this sermon to teach pastors about their responsibilities, but also to show them that they needed to preach this message to their congregation. This sermon may have served as a tool with which pastors could outline their responsibilities over their flocks to their flocks. Perhaps, in this way, it served a similar purpose to the speculum genre but in sermon form. While pastors were responsible for their congregations, they were also to use sermons to educate and encourage other leaders to serve and support the church. As Thomas Noble has pointed out, the higher call of secular sanctity was particularly attractive to the aristocracy, since it gave them a way to secure their salvation. It confirmed their status and even added to it, giving them a sacral authority. Noble noted that the reformers promoted this ideal broadly, using written sources, as Rosamond McKitterick and Rachel Stone have argued similarly, but he also relied on popular sermons. In addition, Stone has noted that pride, which is particularly highlighted in this third sermon, was considered by Carolingian moralists to be the worst of the sins and the vice that most often plagued the elite, both the secular as well as the spiritual elite. This sermon was a bit longer and more rhetorically complex than the others but perhaps that was the point; it was not meant to be broadly accessible because the nuanced messages were directed at the duces rather than those with mente vacua from

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87 Stone, Morality and Masculinity, 123–129.
the first sermon. This may indicate that the compiler wanted to prepare pastors-in-training to preach to a range of congregants, perhaps occasionally giving specific instructions to the listening elite.

Thus, these sermons can tell us something about the sophisticated copying strategies of Carolingian compilers, as well as how Martin Hiberniensis was teaching his students to preach to their congregants. And yet why did someone go through all of this work to abridge and then connect these three different works by Gregory the Great? First of all, since all three are identified as works of Gregory in the table of contents, the authority associated with his name was clearly important to Martin, which may have been why he either had a compiler use Gregory’s works or why he chose to use this collection containing them. The compiler may have determined that Gregory said it best. This may have been especially true with the last two sermons. The language of capital sins and their contrary virtues was not common in many early medieval sermons, since most of them were copying from patristic homilies that did not use these terms. In this regard then, the compiler of Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 edited Gregory’s works to create sermons that were relevant to the times; he also streamlined Gregory’s complicated, allegorical exegesis in order to focus on moral application. The first two sermons in particular were separated from their original context, with no mention of the book of Ezekiel in either. In Carolingian Christianization, the compilers and the teachers were pragmatic and selective. Students going through the Laon cathedral school would learn how to preach like Gregory the Great, but they would be given selected and focused messages that were meant to make Gregory accessible to a wide variety of audiences. The Carolingian reformers were interested in providing nuanced lessons.

about theology and sin but, as demonstrated in this collection, those messages had to be measured out in small doses over a series of sermons. Pastors were being taught how to teach orthodox messages, based on the church fathers, but those instructions needed to be concise, focused, and consistent over time to effect lasting change.

Teaching Preaching: Gospel Insights into Essential Theology and Christian Morality
Six Gospel sermons based on Gregory the Great and Bede sermons and commentaries, Isidore’s De differentiis II

The second collection of sermons in the Laon codex with popular intentions (understood broadly, as will be discussed) occurs on folios 123r-161v and is focused on gospel stories and lessons. Gospel readings were consistently a part of the mass and, unlike the Old Testament readings, were always supposed to be followed up with an explanation.89 Thus the last section of popular works in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 is a series of sermons always in high demand in this period. The collection includes gospel sermons useful for their everyday value as well as their role in some of the most important church days of the year. They are related to each other both by their original authors (all are at least partially based on works of Gregory the Great or Bede, although mostly unattributed) and their themes (they are all based on gospel parables or stories). They are all part of the later section in the Laon codex and therefore were, like the other popular works studied in this chapter, compiled in the second third of the century in the area around Laon. They are a mix of short, popular sermons and longer, more complicated sermons meant perhaps for contemplation or only for select, educated audiences. I will use this last section to

summarize and analyze these sermon creations and I will highlight the possible design behind their combination.

The following chart summarizes the sermons that make up this collection.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folio + Original Source</th>
<th>Table of Contents Title</th>
<th>Folio Title</th>
<th>Gospel Story</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) f. 123r.-124r.</td>
<td>Gregory’s Homiliae in evangelia Loose Copy</td>
<td>IN ILLO TEMPORE RECUMBENTIBUS</td>
<td>Mark 16:14-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) f. 124r.-125v.</td>
<td>Bede’s In Lucae Evangelium Expositio Loose Copy</td>
<td>IN ILLO TEMPORE DIXIT HIS</td>
<td>Luke 11:5-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 125v.-148v.</td>
<td>Isidore’s De differentis rerum, liber secundus</td>
<td>Liber de differentiis [diversis sententis]</td>
<td>INCIPIUNT DIFFERENTIS II ISIDORE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) f. 149r.-156v.</td>
<td>Bede’s In Lucae Evangelium Expositio Close Copy</td>
<td>De filio prodigo</td>
<td>Luke 15:11-32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) f. 157r.-158v.</td>
<td>Bede’s Homiliarum Evangelii Loose Copy</td>
<td>De evangelio in principio erat verbum</td>
<td>Omelia de natali domini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 159r. - Empty</td>
<td>De evangelio duxus est Iesus in desertum</td>
<td>Ductus est his in deserto et caetera</td>
<td>Matthew 4:1-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) f. 159v.-160v.</td>
<td>Original Introduction + Gregory’s Homiliae in evangelia Loose Copy</td>
<td>De evangelio duo homines sunt</td>
<td>Luke 18:10-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) f. 160v.-161v.</td>
<td>Bede’s In Lucae Evangelium Expositio Close Copy</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on the titles in the table of contents and in the manuscript itself, it appears as if Sermon 1 and Sermon 2 were considered a unit both by the original scribe and by Martin; Sermon 3 on the prodigal son is in a different hand and appears to stand on its own, based not only on its independent title but also its length and rhetorical style; the last three sermons were all copied in the same hand and their titles in the table of contents seem to link them as a unit, although their folio titles do not.

The pairing of Gregory the Great and Bede-inspired sermons may have been intentional given the fact that the Carolingians greatly admired both theologians. Moreover, Gregory and Bede
shared a similar pastoral and exegetical style and an Anglo-Saxon connection.\(^90\) In as much as Gregory the Great was popularized in the Carolingian period, Bede was similarly admired on the continent in the ninth century and beyond. Bede was a prolific writer, who left behind forty-eight works.\(^91\) Despite the fact that he lived in Northumbria his entire life, Bede’s writings were widely circulated throughout the Middle Ages, coming to the continent through the eighth-century Anglo-Saxon missionaries, and then later to Charlemagne’s court through his recruitment of Anglo-Saxon scholars. Extant letters show the demand missionaries, such as Boniface and Lull, made for copies of Bede’s works and it is known that Alcuin in particular treasured his works.\(^92\) Bede appears prominently in the homiliaries of Paul the Deacon and Smaragdus of St. Mihiel and he is venerated and credited as an authority and source by Hrabanus Maurus and Claudius of Turin.\(^93\) Five reforming councils in the first half of the ninth century cite Bede and, under the Carolingians, he was labeled a Father of the Church at the Council of Aachen in 836.\(^94\) In fact, the Carolingians are the reason why his works were preserved and popularized.\(^95\) As Joshua A. Westgard puts it, “It was among the Carolingians that Bede’s reputation as an authority figure was firmly and

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\(^90\) This connection, however, is never explicitly noted in the miscellany. In fact, Bede’s name is not linked to any of the titles. This may be because the scribe and Martin Hiberniensis were more interested in the flow, organization and content of the works than their original attribution.


permanently established, and ultimately it was in Carolingian scriptoria and libraries that his works were carefully copied and preserved.\textsuperscript{96}

Although Bede was familiar with the works of all the Church Fathers, he was especially indebted to the writings of Gregory the Great, whom he credited with Christianizing England a century earlier.\textsuperscript{97} They were both monks first and foremost. Like Gregory, Bede believed that the Bible, especially the New Testament, needed to be read for its historical, moral and mystical meanings.\textsuperscript{98} Both believed that all preaching needed to be based on scripture, and that preachers needed to be morally upright. They also needed to be educated, both in the scriptures and theology, as well as in rhetoric and in the popular vernacular.\textsuperscript{99} They were both pastoral in this way, interested in illuminating the meaning of scripture to lead themselves and others towards a moral life. Although Bede needed to carefully select from Gregory’s allegorical works in order to be understood by his audience, he did so often and, as DeGregorio puts it, “In nearly every Bedan commentary… some trace of the \textit{Moralia in Job}, the homilies on the Gospels or those on Ezekiel, and the \textit{Regula pastoralis} may be consistently found.”\textsuperscript{100} Thus, Bede and Gregory’s works were often complementary and similarly minded, traits that the sermon writers and the compiler of Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 must have appreciated.

\textsuperscript{96} Westgard, “Bede and the Continent in the Carolingian Age,” 201–202.
\textsuperscript{100} Degregorio, “The Venerable Bede and Gregory the Great,” 45–46.
The first two sermons are different in terms of original authorship and themes. They may have been grouped together by Martin Hiberniensis, perhaps erroneously, because of the similarities in style between Gregory and Bede. The first sermon on folios 123r-124r lacks a title but is set apart by a capitalized first phrase: “IN ILLO TEMPORE RECUBENT-tibus.” This sermon loosely copies, often summarizing with different words, Gregory the Great’s Homily 29 on Mark 16:14-20 from his Homilies on the Gospels collection. Gregory’s Homilies on the Gospels were originally delivered between 590 and 592; they were collected into two books to be sent out for circulation in 593 or 594. These homilies, alongside Gregory’s Dialogues, represented Gregory’s pastoral care in action. As Jeffrey Richards has written, they “epitomize the new folk-preaching that was influential in the Middle Ages… simple, straightforward and accessible to ordinary people, a pastoral, allegorical, inspirational form of culture.” The number of medieval manuscripts containing copies or fragments of one or more of Gregory the Great’s Homilies on the Gospels is astounding. Étaix hypothesizes that, other than scripture, these gospel homilies were the most often copied sources during the Middle Ages. In many cases, they were transmitted without significant changes because the sermons were created to be easily understood. Étaix was able to identify 427 manuscripts that contained nearly complete or complete copies of at least


one of Gregory’s sermons on the gospels and a number of others that contained significant fragments. Only a dozen manuscripts with complete texts could be identified from around 800 or earlier but production seems to have picked up significantly in the ninth century since there are twenty-four extant sources from the height of the Carolingian age. Paul the Deacon, when commissioned by Charlemagne to write a homiliary, included thirty-two out of Gregory’s forty gospel homilies. As Thomas Hall puts it, “By the ninth century, these were the best known and most influential collection of exegetical homilies in the Latin West, abundantly represented in the inventories of monastic libraries, and often named in Carolingian capitularies, conciliar decrees, and episcopal statutes which specify that priests should own a set of Gregory’s Gospel homilies.” James McCune also emphasized how often Gregory’s Gospel homilies were recommended in Carolingian legislation, calling the collection a “set text” that inventories demonstrate was often owned by local pastors and churches. The fact that Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 borrows from Gregory’s homilies, then, is not at all unusual and is a testament to the popular and practical nature of this sermon collection.

Sermon 1 is a loose copy of Gregory’s sermon on Mark 16:14–20, the Great Commission. Large sections of the original sermon are deleted and those sections that are included are rearranged. I believe that the compiler was intentionally summarizing Gregory’s sermon in an attempt to make it more concise. The wording differs extensively but the themes covered are the

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104 Étaix, “Répertoire des manuscrits des homélies sur l’Évangile,” 144–145. Étaix warns, however, that this may be more of a preservation pattern than a production pattern. This is especially true when dealing with sources that had a popular usage and may have been circulated in heavily used, practical compilations that wore out over time.


107 Although these Gregory sermons in the Laon codex did escape the notice of Étaix; neither Sermon 1 or Sermon 5 appear in his extensive list of manuscripts.
same. The sermon is on Christ’s ascension into heaven and Jesus’s command to the disciples to go out into the world and preach the gospel and baptize believers. The sermon, generally following Gregory, explains that preaching to “all” means preaching to humans since they, unlike stones, trees and animals, have a soul and a rational mind.\textsuperscript{108} It also explains that belief in God must be followed up by obedience in action. Sermon 1 goes on to recount the many miracles that took place in the early church and then it compares and contrasts the ascension of Christ to that of Elijah and Enoch, with a line summarizing that while Elijah postponed death, “our redeemer did not postpone it, he conquered it.”\textsuperscript{109} The sermon ends with an observation, here copying directly from Gregory, that Christ ascended in white but was not born in white, since he came in all humility and ascended in glory.\textsuperscript{110}

By summarizing rather than copying much of Gregory’s content, the sermon writer was able to impart Gregory’s exegesis but in an abridged and direct way. He chose not to include an extended description of baptism; the compiler also has less of an emphasis on the importance of love and obedience, and less detail on the ascensions of Elijah and Enoch. With these subtle changes, the sermon is abridged; with Old and New Testament references it emphasizes evangelism and obedience and the uniqueness of Christ’s incarnation and ascension succinctly.

Like the first, the second sermon starts on folio 124r and does not name the original author; it is titled by capitalizing the first phrase, which is similar to the opening of Sermon 1: “IN ILLO TEMPORE DIXIT IESUS.” This sermon is based on a section from Bede’s \textit{Commentary on the

\textsuperscript{108} Raymond Étaix, ed., \textit{Gregorius Magnus Homiliae in Evangelia}, CCSL 141, 245–246; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 123r.

\textsuperscript{109} Étaix, \textit{Homiliae in Evangelia}, CCSL 141, 249; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 123v: \textit{Redemptor vero noster quia non distulit, propterea superavit}.

\textsuperscript{110} Étaix, \textit{Homiliae in Evangelia}, CCSL 141, 252; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 124r.
Gospel of Luke, which covers Luke 11:5-13 on the Parable of the Persistent Friend. Bede wrote this commentary between 709 and 715 and noted that it was meant to explain the book of Luke to uneducated laymen who would not understand the rhetorical and complicated commentaries of the Church Fathers. The messages were streamlined but it was still a highly rhetorical and complex work, meant to be challenging and inspirational to a variety of listeners. Although Bede wrote a series of homilies on the Gospels, his commentaries, especially those on Mark and Luke, were often mined and excerpted to create “new” sermons throughout the Middle Ages. Westgard has estimated that Bede’s Commentary on the Gospel of Luke was the most popular Bedan work under the Carolingians, since there are forty-one extant copies. Thus, this sermon collection starts with two sermons that were made to be preached to the laity and were commonly copied under the Carolingians.

The excerpt in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 on folios 124r-125v includes selections from book 3 of Bede’s commentary on Luke 11:5-13. Much like the previous sermon, the original work is mainly summarized rather than copied. In Sermon 2, it is explained that the friend

111 D. Hurst, ed., Bedae Venerabilis Opera Exegetica, CCSL 120 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1960), 5; Eric Jay Del Giacco, “Exegesis and Sermon: A Comparison of Bede’s Commentary and Homilies on Luke,” Medieval Sermon Studies 50 (2006): 9–29, 9–10, 16, 22–28; and Alan Thacker, “Monks, Preaching and Pastoral Care in Early Anglo-Saxon England,” in Pastoral Care before the Parish, eds. John Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1992). 140–152. Bede included some direct excerpts from the Church Fathers requiring his audience to struggle through some of their interpretations; he also cited his sources in the margins, notes that were often preserved by later copyists but are not preserved in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265. Eric Jay Del Giacco’s observations on the commentary, as well as Alan Thacker’s scholarship on Bede’s mixed audience at Wearmouth-Jarrow, demonstrate that Bede’s commentary on Luke was probably written for a heterogeneous audience of monks, priests, and laymen from differing educational and spiritual levels.

112 Brown, Bede the Venerable, 62–63.

113 Westgard, “Bede and the Continent in the Carolingian Age,” 207, 214. He based this count on the work of Bischoff, Laistner and King, but did not list the manuscripts in question. He did say this count included manuscripts that only contained excerpts. Since the commentaries were often excerpted in small fragments for use in homilies and sermons, as they are in this Laon manuscript, these numbers are just a rough estimate.

114 Del Giacco, “Exegesis and Sermon,” 11. Bede wrote a homily that covered the second half, Luke 11:9–13, which is the section exhorting believers to ask, seek and knock in reference to how God is a good and generous father. In addition to the different coverage, this is also one of the homilies that Del Giacco observed has no wording similarities with the corresponding commentary.
from whom you ask for bread to give to a visitor is the Lord, and the visitor is the soul. The friend, or the Lord, may say no to the request at first, since he is with his children, who are the apostles and doctors of the church. If the soul is persistent though, the friend will give the soul bread. When the scriptures urge Christians to ask, seek and knock, it means they are to pray, read the Bible, and do good works. For God is a good father who will give bread, which is love, or fish, which is faith, or an egg, which is hope. These gifts are in contrast to what the devil offers: a stone, or hardness of heart, a serpent, or treachery, or a scorpion, which is the poison of fear.115 Although this abridged copy of Bede’s commentary skips details along the way, the only significant change is at the end, since it cuts out Bede’s conclusion that explains how God creates and controls the entire world and is a loving father. Thus, the second sermon uses the same methodology of summarizing the original sermon as the first.

According to the table of contents created by Martin Hiberniensis, both of these sermons are attributed to Gregory the Great and the key themes are faith and the trinity. There is also a note that specifies these sermons are meant to demonstrate how we are to be raised up: Liber gregorii de fide sanctae trinitatis [et] qualiter resurgemus. In addition, this section was apparently important to Martin since he put an X surrounded by dots next to it in the left margin.116 Even though the second sermon was not Gregory’s, they do appear to be linked in the manuscript, since both start with the same opening phrase in all caps: IN ILLO TEMPORE. More puzzling than the erroneously attributed second sermon is that Martin’s table of contents label does not seem to be describing either sermon’s content. Sermon 1 is on the ascension, the importance of preaching,

115 Hurst, ed., Bedae Venerabilis Opera Exegetica, CCSL 120, 228–230; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 124r–125r.
116 Although Contreni does not mention this mark in particular, he does argue that other similar marginalia throughout were done by Martin to emphasize passages or texts. See Contreni, The Cathedral School of Laon, 130–134.
baptism and obedience; Sermon 2 is on exegesis, God as the good father and the power of prayer. Perhaps the second part of Martin’s title, “qualiter resurgemus,” may have been intended to relate to the first sermon on the ascension. Martin may not have been exactly sure where these sermons came from and thus gave them this broad title. Gregory the Great does not have a book with a title that resembles this description, so maybe Martin Hiberniensis was summarizing his collection of sermons that often touched on these ideas. This may demonstrate that Martin did not directly oversee the assembly of this collection and thus he may not have been familiar with all of the original sources used. The origin of the texts must have also been confusing since both Sermons 1 and 2 were changed significantly, summarized and shortened for popular use.

What do these first two sermons in this collection of Gospel sermons tell us about Carolingian Christianization and the education of pastors? I think the most important conclusion is that Martin Hiberniensis was teaching that gospel sermons can and should take on many different forms. Events and exhortations were to be interpreted differently than parables. These sermons were meant to function with two goals in mind. They could have been used to preach to the laity. They were also models, meant to present different preaching methodologies. Sermon writing was a learned skill, and one that was important to the Carolingian reform movement. In the *Admonitio generalis*, chapter eighty famously goes into the greatest detail about the mandate to preach, but chapter sixty is important as well because it clarifies that preaching is the first commandment of God in the law, and then quotes from Deuteronomy 6:4-5: “Hear, O Israel, that the Lord your God is one.”

Sermon 1 is all about the importance of preaching and, rather than focus on the first command of the Bible, it focuses on the last command of Christ to that end. Sermon 2 then further

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explains a bit about God and his character. Thus, the first two gospel sermons in the Laon codex model sermon types and set an important tone that was in line with Carolingian reform agenda.

The collection of popular sermons is divided by two texts that had popular application, but would not have been read or taught to a popular audience; this section includes a long selection from Isidore’s *De differentiis II* and then a long, commentary by Bede on the Prodigal Son. I have classified Isidore’s text as an important reference tool and Carolingian heresiology in chapter 2. It is important, however, to also think about this text’s particular usefulness in the context of a series of sermons. Having access to this text that was devoted to elucidating the meanings of theological terms and concepts would have been very useful for pastors-in-training. These students were not only learning theology, but in some cases were still in the process of mastering Latin and may be confused by the nuances of the terms. Although Isidore had written this two hundred years previously, his impulse towards clarification as an essential foundation for education and pastoral training was a vital part of the Carolingian reform agenda. Word choice was important in terms of clarity but also orthodoxy. In the *Admonitio generalis* bishops were commissioned to examine the priests in their region to make sure they were correctly observing and articulating the prayers, songs, baptism and the mass and that they were preaching in a way that could be understood.\(^{118}\) The *Epistola de litteris colendis* is full of references to the importance of education and learning “so that those who seek to please God by right living may not neglect to please him also by right speaking.”\(^{119}\) Correct learning keeps the tongue from running into “stumbling-blocks of falsehood” (*mendaciorum offenculis*) and Charlemagne and his court, as a result, urged spiritual leaders in

\(^{118}\) *Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen*, MGH Fontes iuris 16:220.

\(^{119}\) P.D. King, trans., *Charlemagne: Translated Sources* (Lancaster: University of Lancaster Central Print Unit, 1987), 232; and *Karoli epistola de litteris colendis*, 780-800, MGH Capit. 1:79: *...qui Deo placere appetunt recte vivendo, ei etiam placere non negligent recte loquendo.*
the kingdom to devote themselves to the learning of reading and writing but also to the study of scripture. Generally though, this section is a reminder to pastors, in charge of educating their flocks through sermons, that they needed to invest in their own education first and foremost. Sermons could only be given and crafted if pastors were drawing from a repertoire of information, and that base knowledge was expected to be broad.

This concept can help us study the third sermon on the Prodigal Son that appears immediately after Isidore’s work. Sermon 3 is a nearly exact copy of Bede’s *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke*, focusing on Luke 15:11-32. The sermon, like the previous two before Isidore’s work, is not titled in the manuscript and is only set apart by a slightly enlarged opening letter. In the table of contents, Martin labels it simply “De filio prodigo” and is thus never associated with Bede in the compilation. The sermon starts by explaining who the characters represent: the father is God, the older son represents religious people, and the younger son represents those who have abandoned God for idols. The younger son went out and wasted his inheritance, or the gifts of nature, and ended up feeding swine, or giving in to his foul desires. He humbly returns to his father, hoping for undeserved grace, which Bede and Sermon 6 contrasted to Pelagians who think they deserve God’s favor. The father’s generous welcome to his previously wayward son symbolizes God’s willingness to forgive and to accept the contrite, which Bede explains in greater detail through an allegorical interpretation of the robe, ring, shoes, and fattened calf that are given to the returned son. The sermon then concludes by comparing the older son now specifically to the Jews, who, although loyal to the father, have grown too comfortable with the law and have missed

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120 King, *Charlemagne: Translated Sources*, 232–233; and Karoli epistola de litteris colendis, 780–800, MGH Capit. 1:79.
the beauty of God’s gift of salvation for all people, even the Gentiles. Sermon 6 even includes Bede’s conflicted theories about how the goat the older brother desires may or may not symbolize the Antichrist. The sermon ends by arguing that these sons can represent different kinds of Christians, or they can represent Jews and Christians, both interpretations are valid and both emphasize the importance of repentance and the assurance of God’s grace and forgiveness.  

By closely copying rather than just summarizing Bede’s commentary, this sermon is much lengthier than any of the others. It also touches on some rather confusing allegorical interpretations and, in some cases, opposing theories. In some ways it follows the basic pattern of Sermon 2, in that it methodically defines the theological and moral meaning behind every component in a parable story. Sermon 2, however, chose one interpretation in an abridged form, while the sermon writer’s presentation of many differing interpretations in Sermon 3 may not have been accessible to a lay audience. Thus, Sermon 3 does not appear to have been copied to serve as a popular sermon. It may have been included in this collection for pastoral training because it demonstrated a rhetorical and allegorical exegetical style. Perhaps Martin Hiberniensis used this sermon to show that biblical passages could be interpreted through a variety of different lenses. Appearing right after Isidore’s De differentiis II, Sermon 3 may have served as an example of what kinds of exegesis pastors were expected to be able to accomplish once they had been provided a liberal arts education. Thus, with Isidore’s De differentiis II and the Prodigal Son sermon, this last collection of mainly Gospel sermons takes a break from presenting popular sermons in order to provide supplemental texts for further education related to sermon writing.

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122 Hurst, Bedae Venerabilis Opera Exegetica, CCSL 120, 292–295; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 153v–156v.
I think that the variety in this mix of texts is a hint as to how sermons in teaching compilations were to be used and considered. Sermons were teaching tools, meant to demonstrate the different ways pastors could preach. The first two sermons may have been considered important for that task; after all they were associated by Martin with Gregory the Great whose works were greatly admired. Their opening lines mirrored each other so that even if the original sermons were written by two different authors, in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, they were a unit and their lessons on the ascension, baptism, and character of God were important issues of faith. They were also useful introductions that outlined the importance of preaching and the methods of parable exegesis. As the collection continues, however, Martin would have had access to Isidore’s work, qualifying different terminology and theological nuance, as well as a rhetorically and allegorically rich commentary on a parable story that would have been familiar to his students but also served as an example of advanced study and detailed analysis. These texts were meant to provide students with teaching models, exegetical examples, and theological lessons. They built on the premise of the first two works, further elucidating the kinds of information and skills pastors-in-training needed to know. Based on the table of contents labels, however, the last three sermons, which were copied in the same hand and similarly titled by Martin Hiberniensis, would have been considered popular sermons and considered a unit.

The last three sermons in this collection continue to look at gospel passages but each in their own distinct way. Sermon 4 is a short, loose copy of one of Bede’s gospel sermons on John 1, Jesus as the Word made flesh. Sermon 5 has an original introduction, perhaps inspired by Hrabanus Maurus, which is combined with a passage from Gregory the Great’s homily on Jesus’
temptation in the desert. And finally, Sermon 6 is a close copy of Bede’s commentary on Luke (like Sermon 3) and is on the parable that contrasts the praying Pharisee and tax collector.

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<th>Folio + Original Source</th>
<th>Table of Contents Title</th>
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<th>Gospel Story</th>
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<td>(4) f. 157r.-158v.</td>
<td><em>De evangelio in principio erat verbum</em></td>
<td><em>Omelia de natali domini</em></td>
<td>John 1:1-14</td>
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<td>(5) f. 159v.-160v.</td>
<td><em>De evangelio ductus est Iesus in desertum</em></td>
<td><em>Ductus est his in deserto et caetera</em></td>
<td>Matthew 4:1-11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Original Introduction + Gregory's <em>Homiliae in evangelia</em> Loose Copy</td>
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<td>Bede's <em>In Lucae Evangelium Expositio</em> Close Copy</td>
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These last three sermons, copied in the same hand, appear to be popular in nature, due to their length and simplicity. Despite these similarities, they cover different themes and use different methodologies and base texts. Martin Hiberniensis, however, linked them in the table of contents, as all started with the phrase “*De evangelio*” indicating their shared connection as gospel sermons.

As a unit, these sermons need to be analyzed in terms of the originality of their composition and the wide variety in their subject matter. These two methods of analysis will be used to shed light on how popular sermons were created and used at the cathedral school of Laon, in particular, and perhaps during the ninth century reform movement in general. First of all, it is important to note that there was not just one way to create a popular, gospel sermon, as demonstrated by the fact that each of these gospel sermons was created by borrowing from different collections and using different methodologies. Sermon 4 is on folios 157r-158v and entitled *Omelia de natali domini* in the top margin, identifying it as a Christmas sermon, but Martin labeled it *De evangelio in principio erat verbum* in the table of contents. This sermon borrows from Bede’s *Homilies on*
the Gospels rather than his Commentary on the Gospel of Luke. It was sometime in the 720s when Bede collected together fifty of his gospel homilies for circulation. Since the homilies were focused on short passages, Bede could go into greater detail than he had in his abridged commentary, and yet he used devices and structures to make these texts effective for oral presentation. Bede’s Homilies on the Gospels were popular under the Carolingians, partially because Paul the Deacon included thirty-four selections from Bede’s homilies, and twenty-three from his commentaries in his homiliary, which became the standard set of readings for the night office originally and then increasingly for the church as a whole throughout the Middle Ages.

Sermon 4 covers an interpretation of John 1:1-14 that, for the most part, summarizes the general ideas proposed by Bede in the order he went through them, and only copies some of the scriptural passages verbatim. There are also some new concepts that are introduced in Sermon 4 that Bede did not cover. The most significant is the middle section, which branches off from Bede’s discussion of creation to talk about how God alone created everything to be good, even the devil and the first man. Although this was not a new concept, and a similar passage can be found

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126 Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 157v: Omnis igitur creatura a deo suo bona perfecta creata sed persuum vicium effecta mala sicut antiquus hostis qui diabulus bonus creatur sed per suum vicium et voluntarie factus est malus.
in Augustine’s Sermon 301, it is not a point made by Bede in his original homily. This may demonstrate the ways in which the responsible scribe was taking ownership of this sermon collection. He was not beholden to the text and may have added in this message, seeing that it was topically relevant and clarified his previous point about the world being darkened by sin. The world may be dark and fallen but this was not inherently true about creation, a heretical point of view espoused by the Manicheans and other dualists. The Trinity was fully and solely responsible for the creation of the world and the Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 scribe wanted to make clear that the Godhead had not created anything flawed.

Sermon 5 follows a blank folio 159r and runs from f. 159v-160v. It is titled *Ductus est iesus in deserto et cetera* in the top margin and *De evangelio ductus est iesus in desertum* by Martin in the table of contents. The sermon is on Jesus’ temptation in the desert, most closely following the Matthew 4:1-11 account. Rather than summarize a previous work, Sermon 5 appears to borrow, quite loosely, from two different works to create something unique. The first part of Sermon 5 has some similarities to Hrabanus Maurus’ commentary on Matthew, which would have been written just a few decades earlier between 821 and 822. In terms of exegetical style and methodology, Hrabanus was especially influenced by Bede and the two were similarly concerned with making

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128 Hrabani (Mauri) abbatis Fuldensis et archiepiscopi Mogontiacensis epistolae, MGH Epp. 5:388; Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, vols. 1-2; and Raymund Kottje, “Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Bibelkommentare des Hrabanus Maurus,” in *Raban Maur et son temps*, eds. Philippe Depreux, Stéphane Lebecq, Michel J.-L. Perrin and Olivier Szerwiniack, Collection Haut Moyen Âge 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 264–266. Kottje used Bischoff’s research and summarized his findings on Hrabanus’ Commentary on Matthew specifically. Bernard Bischoff was able to locate a number of ninth-century copies of Hrabanus’ commentary on Matthew: three from Fulda, one from Würzburg, two from Salzburg, and one from Tours specifically, but also found two from the southwestern region of Germany and one from western Francia.
commentaries accessible to a wide audience. In these ways then, although the beginning of Sermon 5 is not based on a Bedan work, it may have been based on a work that was very much influenced by Bede and thus it fits in with the tone of this collection. In the end, though, it is hard to tell if this introduction actually does borrow from Hrabanus specifically, since the overlaps are conceptual rather than verbatim and are similar to other commentaries on the topic. The second part of Sermon 5 is also a very loose summary, although these ideas are a bit more distinctive and can be confidently traced to Gregory’s Homily 16 in his Homilies on the Gospels series. In Gregory’s exegesis of Matthew 4:1-11, he pauses to address his audience and the liturgical calendar, commenting on the symbolism of the fact that the Lenten season calls for 36 days of fasting, or ten percent of the year’s days. Sermon 5 in the Laon codex touches on this idea, mentioning the calculations but without referencing Lent. It also adds in some additional instructions about tithing to broaden Gregory’s original instructions. The result is that Sermon 5 is a creative, original work that was inspired by theologians of the past (and perhaps the near present) but yet fits into this collection in terms of its subject and authorship.


130 There is, in fact, a Pseudo-Bede commentary on Matthew that shares many similarities with Sermon 5. That is because the Pseudo-Bede commentary depended on and partially copied Hrabanus Maurus’ commentary so there are many overlaps. More of the details in Sermon 5 align with Hrabanus’ commentary and, although there are a few ninth century copies of the Pseudo-Bede commentary, they were rather rare. That is all to say that not only was Hrabanus Maurus an obvious Bedan scholar and admirer, the style and content of his work must have read like Bede’s so much so that slightly changed copies of Hrabanus Maurus’ works were later attributed to Bede. For more information on the Pseudo-Bede Commentary on Matthew see Michael Gorman, “The Oldest Epitome of Augustine’s Tractatus in Evangelium Ioannis and Commentaries on the Gospel of John in the Early Middle Ages,” Revue des Études Augustiniennes 43 (1997): 63–103, 79–80n65; Michael Gorman, “The Canon of Bede’s Works and the World of Ps. Bede,” Revue Bénédictine 111 (2001): 399–445; and Brigitta Stoll, “Drei karolingische Matthäus-Kommentare (Claudius von Turin, Hrabanus Maurus, Ps. Beda) und ihre Quellen zur Bergpredigt,” Mittelelterisches Jahrbuch 26 (1991-1992): 36–55, 40–49.

131 Étaix, Homiliae in Evangelia, CCSL 141, 114; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 160r.
Finally, Sermon 6 ends this collection of gospel sermons and is, like the earlier sermons, inspired by Bede. It starts in the middle of folio 160v and runs to 161v and, unlike the other sermons in this quire, it is not titled but is set apart with an enlarged opening letter. Like the two sermons before it, it is titled in the table of contents and starts with the same opening designation: *De evangelio duo homines sunt*. Sermon 6 is a very close copy of Bede’s *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke*. It copies Bede’s explanation of Luke 18:10-14, which is the story of the tax collector and the Pharisee who go to the temple. Although Bede’s *Commentary on Luke* was commonly copied in the Middle Ages, this passage was especially popular in the ninth century, as it was circulated through the homilies of Smaragdus and Hrabanus Maurus in this very same form.\(^{132}\) The scribe may have copied it verbatim since it was being circulated at the time in full by others, and perhaps since it was already rather short and direct in its original form.

Thus as shown, these three sermons, although linked as gospel sermons and labeled similarly by Martin Hiberniensis, all had varied origins. Not only were they each dependent on texts from different works and sometimes different authors, the methodologies used for each changed. Sermon 4 summarized a Bede homily, following Bede’s structure and themes, but with few direct quotes. Sermon 5 has an original introduction, which may have been loosely based on Hrabanus Maurus’ commentary on Matthew 4, and then seems to borrow ideas from a Gregory the Great gospel homily, although with new additions and no details about the Lenten context. In both parts, the compiler seems to have been inspired by these other authors and yet confident enough to freely abridge and supplement the original texts with new exhortations and conclusions, demonstrating a great deal of compiling creativity. The last sermon demonstrates yet another

\(^{132}\) Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, 178, no. 195.
methodology in that it directly copies from Bede’s commentary on a gospel passage, with no significant changes or additions. This section thus indicates that there was not one way to create a popular sermon in the ninth century. Although inspired by the works of the great theologians of the past and Carolingian present, Carolingian sermon writers were free to pick and choose the material they wanted to include and were not beholden to one methodology. Martin Hiberniensis was not concerned with these differences and in fact, as evidenced by the table of contents, was more focused on using these sermons as a unit.

This gospel sermon collection, however, also should be analyzed in terms of the content of these works. Sermon 4 is mainly a theological and allegorical exegesis on John 1:1-14. It explains John’s special gift of divine revelation, and the appropriateness of his comparison with an eagle, known for its excellent and penetrating vision. It emphasizes the equality of the Trinity, Christ’s designation as the Word, and the role each member of the Trinity had in creation. Following Bede, the sermon notes that Christ was the light sent to a world dark with sin and that John (unlike the Jews) recognized the light but he was not the light himself. It ends with a distinction that Jesus was made flesh, but did not lose his divinity and is still full of glory.133 As shown then, Sermon 4 is theological in nature. It focused on explaining the Trinity and Christ’s identity as savior and his divine nature throughout his incarnation. It is thus a popular sermon with no obvious moral conclusion. On Christmas, the focus is on God made flesh, and Carolingian pastors were expected to teach that theology to their congregants succinctly and correctly.

Sermon 5 is a mix of exegesis and theology, as well as instruction on moral behavioral standards. This passage was often preached on the first Sunday of Lent, although that occasion is

133 Hurst, *Beda Venerabilis Opera homiletica*, CCSL 122, 55–56; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 158r.
not mentioned in either the manuscript or table of contents’ titles nor in the sermon itself. The text begins by trying to understand the significance of why Christ was led into the desert by the spirit and why Christ allowed the devil to try to tempt him. The compiler likens this to the fact that Christ allowed others to crucify him, and noted that Christians should sacrifice more than ten percent in tithe in order to be better than the Jews and more like Christ. The sermon then, as mentioned above, refers to Gregory’s calculations, that the thirty-six days of Lenten fasts are significant since that is about ten percent of the year. Sermon 5, however, does not include any explicit reference to Lent, but begins directly by saying that there are 365 days in the year, and when one fasts for thirty-six days, there are 329 days remaining. Christians should devote their bodies to fasting and should spend time in prayer for those thirty-six days in order to avoid discord with their neighbors.\textsuperscript{134} This shows that the compiler wants the laity both to give monetarily and to express their gratitude to God by participating in the church traditions and rituals, including the Lenten fast. And yet, because of the way this section was excerpted, the lack of reference to Lent confuses the message. The sermon then circles back to the temptation account, saying that Christ was tempted as a parallel to the temptation of Adam in the garden and that the main tools of the devil are gluttony, vainglory and avarice. Christ rejected all three and thus saves us from the snares of the devil. In this way, Sermon 5 is a mix of theology, exegesis and exhortation to action. Christ is a savior and an example; he overcame the devil in a way that man failed to do, and yet he can be imitated in the sense that he demonstrates the importance of self-sacrifice, the spirit of the commandment to tithe.

Finally, the collections ends with a primarily moral sermon. Sermon 6 focuses on the four kinds of arrogance displayed by the ostentatious Pharisee and contrasts him with the tax collector,

\textsuperscript{134} Étaix, \textit{Homiliae in Evangelia}, CCSL 141, 114; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 160r.
who showed true confession and humility through his tears. Bede and Sermon 6, which are basically the same, go on to conclude that the Pharisee is a type for the Jews, who seek justification through the law, and the tax collector represents the Gentiles, who were not originally given the law, but are dependent on humble confession. The sermon warns that those who are puffed up with their own virtues will become like the Pharisee and cautions all to be humble supplicants, dependent on grace. In this way, this collection of sermons ends with an exegetical, popular sermon with a moral theme: do not succumb to pride, and realize that pride can come from an excess of virtues.

When looking at the combined content of the three sermons, it appears as if there is a development in thought. Sermon 4 is devoted to theological concepts, Sermon 5 is a mix of exegetical study and practical exhortations, and Sermon 6 ends the collection with a straightforward moralizing instruction on humility. These are all popular works and this analysis demonstrates that pastors were expected to present their congregants with a wide variety of information. In the cathedral schools like Laon, pastors-in-training were being taught how to teach from the gospels both for the theological concepts they contained about Christ’s divine nature and role in the Trinity as well as the moral lessons they contained about fasting, tithing, repentance and humility.

Tying It Together

In looking over this collection of sermons as a whole, a few patterns and interesting divergences stand out. Sermons 2, 3 and 6 are all based on sections from Bede’s Commentary on the Gospel of Luke, and yet they were all created using different methodologies. Sermon 2 was an

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135 Hurst, Bedae Venerabilis Opera Exegetica, CCSL 120, 324–325; and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, f. 160v–161v.
abridged and summarized copy, whereas Sermon 3 was a lengthy exact copy. Sermon 6 used only a small portion of the original sermon but copied that section verbatim. There are many possible reasons for this discrepancy. All three of the sermons are in different hands so perhaps two of the scribes had access to Bede’s work and the other was working from notes, or a similarly abridged text. Summarizing one Bedan commentary excerpt and preserving the others in total may have also been intentional. Perhaps the different scribes had differing philosophies on how best to transmit Bede’s works. The problem with that theory is that the two other sermons in the quire with Sermon 6 were very loose copies of two of Bede’s other works, which implies that the same scribe had no qualms about summarizing works in his own words. That makes it more than likely that the scribes involved in providing these sermons were using their own creativity and discernment. They were comfortable with copying texts verbatim but were equally willing to abridge and re-write homilies at their own discretion.

In addition, the sermons skip between different Gospel books and different parables and events which would have been used for different occasions. They are not organized in chronological order either in terms of their liturgical purpose or their biblical occurrence. Three out of the six sermons were commonly affixed to major holidays: Sermon 1, on the ascension, would have been preached on Ascension day; Sermon 4, on Jesus as the Word, would have been preached on Christmas day and it is labeled accordingly in the manuscript text, although not in the table of contents; Sermon 5, on Jesus’s temptation in the desert, would have been preached on the First Sunday of Lent. This collection then includes gospel sermons that would have been important because of their everyday value, as well as their role in some of the most important church days of the year. Other than Sermon 4, however, they were not labeled in terms of their liturgical purpose,
perhaps indicating that their use was obvious or would have been taught directly by Martin Hiberniensis. Perhaps they were important as moral sermons more than they were meant to directly relate to preaching to the laity.

Another interesting aspect to this collection is that in as much as there seems to be a significant difference under the Carolingians between the construction and use of popular sermons and devotional or instructional sermons, in the cathedral school of Laon, Martin Hiberniensis seems to have used a mix of the two. Sermon 3 on the Prodigal Son is rather lengthy and thus was probably not being used as an exemplar for popular preaching as much as it was depicting multifaceted allegorical interpretations of gospel parables. The sermons surrounding Sermon 3, however, were short and adapted to center on a few key themes. Sermon 3 may have been included with Isidore’s *De differentiis II* in order to serve as an educational and exegetical resource. This commentary-turned-sermon demonstrates the many layers of meaning that can be extracted from parables through the use of allegorical exegesis. The table of contents also signals differences between the sermons. Sermons 1 and 2 are a unit, labeled as works of Gregory the Great in the table of contents; the common “*De illo tempore*” phrase unites them in the manuscript. Then, Sermons 4, 5, and 6 are a unit, with their titles all starting with the phrase “*De evangelio*” in the table of contents. Sermon 3 is simply labeled *De filio prodigo*, a title that is informative as to the content but does not link the sermon to any other. As a result, although this collection contains a sermon that would not have been appropriate for popular audiences, it appears to set it apart as other, further proving that there was a distinct difference in how these sermons were taught in ninth century cathedral schools.
The theology that is addressed in all of the sermons focuses on the unity of the Trinity, the divine nature of Christ, God as a good and forgiving father, creation as fallen but not inherently evil, and Christ as the new and perfect Adam. These theological concepts are paired with moral instructions. The sermons teach that Christians should value preaching, evangelize, pray, repent (through tears), and tithe generously (with more than money). As a whole, it appears as if the compiler, perhaps with Martin Hiberniensis’ oversight, was providing a diverse cross-section of gospel sermon exemplars. Each had varying degrees of rhetorical style and switch between explanations of parables and theology to commands and miracles. Together they would have provided pastors-in-training with a variety of sermons. Perhaps they even show Martin Hiberniensis’ preference for sermons that tended towards allegorical interpretation and moral application, the tendency of both Gregory the Great and Bede, the compiler’s Church Fathers of choice.

Conclusion

My close analysis of the popular texts in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, both in this chapter and the previous chapter, reveals a number of things about the realities of the educational system at the cathedral school of Laon and may reflect on the application of the reform agenda in the ninth century in general. First is that teaching manuals had to cover a broad range of topics and theology as well as encapsulate a broad range of methodologies in order to teach preaching and how to administer pastoral care. As evidenced by the works that opened and closed the collection, the *Gesta Salvatoris* and the *Passio St. Clementis*, stories were an effective medium through which pastors could teach theology and morality. Martin Hiberniensis may have used these apocryphal
and hagiographical stories to draw in his students with head nodding, familiar characters and
storylines. He may have also taught this way in order to model how pastors could use stories to do
the same for their lay listeners. In addition, the message of these stories demonstrated God’s power
through the ages and provided proof of that power through the testimony of witnesses and use of
logic. In this way, the Laon codex explained to pastors-in-training that the God they served was a
God that made his presence known, that honored his saints, and used saints to do mighty works in
this world.

There was also a diversity of methodologies and exegetical approaches in this compilation,
which was especially evident in the sermons. In some ways, the sermons in Laon, Bibliothèque
municipale, 265 were very different. It contained sermons on Old and New Testament passages,
some were centered on theological points while others were centered on moral application. Length
and subject matter varied, and some were related to important holidays in the liturgical calendar
while others were not connected to a holy day at all. In these ways, Martin Hiberniensis may have
been intentionally introducing his students to a diversity of sermon types in order to present them
with a range of examples. The sermons did, however, share the same basic point of view. Most of
the sermons were based on or influenced by either the works of Gregory the Great or Bede, who
shared a similar exegetical style and were devoted to using allegorical interpretation of scripture
in order to teach moral and practical lessons for a variety of audiences. In this way, the last section
of the Laon codex, presented a variety of perspectives and topics but with a unified exegetical
vision.

If the most important characteristic of the Laon compilation was to provide unified variety,
a diversity of perspectives and genres with a singular vision of orthodoxy, then the next most
important characteristic of these popular works was that they were accessible and relatable. The *Gesta Salvatoris* referenced well-known characters from the Bible in order to explain complex and mystical theology such as Christ’s resurrection and harrowing of hell, as well as the glorification of the saints. The hagiography of St. Clement was an early church story that, in the late 860s, would have also been a current event, due to the recent discovery and translation of his relics to the west. This is also true with the popular texts discussed in chapter 2. The dossier on incest, sex and marriage did not just provide broad guidelines, but it also covered specific scenarios and variations of scenarios in an attempt to provide pastors-in-training with clear instructions. The emergency baptism text highlights the sacredness of the sacrament and then makes practical concessions regarding the mode and materials required for the ceremony to be legitimate, demonstrating a realistic recognition of the scarcity of resources a local pastor would have at his disposal. And yet, the emergency baptism text also demonstrates that despite their limited resources, these pastors that were being trained at Laon were to know their theology and take seriously the responsibilities of their office. They needed to maintain the sacredness of the baptism ritual and its theological meaning and salvific significance, even while substituting the elements when under duress.

The popular sermons in this collection were also made to be practical resources that could teach pastors how to administer pastoral care and relate to the real concerns of their congregants. For example, the Laon codex’s copy of Gregory the Great’s *De carnis resurrectione* goes through a number of scenarios in which a deceased body may be dismembered or scattered in order to prove that the resurrection of the body is not impossible, no matter the situation. Due to aggressive editing, even the sermons on some of the complicated books of the Old Testament, such as Ezekiel
and Job, were made accessible by narrowing the focus of the original commentary or sermon, and avoiding passages that delved into complicated exegesis. The sermon on the progress of redemption walks through all the major components of the gospel story, taking no knowledge for granted and thus serving as a practical resource that could be taught to all kinds of audiences as a supplement to the Apostle’s Creed. Finally, the last collection practically included sermons for important holidays as well as everyday sermons that could be used for a variety of occasions. In all of these ways and more, Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265’s popular works proved to be pragmatic and accessible. They would have been easy to teach and to apply.

As shown then, the popular works in this Laon codex provided a unified message using a diversity of genres and methodologies; they also often contained familiar stories or referenced imaginable scenarios. A third important feature to these popular works was that their content, which was to be diffused to the laity, discussed moral instructions as well as, at times rather complicated, theology. Although the more lengthy and complex instruction manuals included in this compilation, as discussed in chapter 2, were used to build the theological background knowledge of the pastors themselves, a study of the popular texts that were used to teach pastors to pastor demonstrate that theological instructions were not just for clergymen. Some of the sermons and stories do make use of strategies that modern scholars have associated with early Carolingian missionary sermons. They emphasize the power of God, the miracles associated with the gospel and saints, and specific warnings against pagan behaviors, as especially evidenced by the Gesta Salvatoris, Passio s. Clementis, the original Carolingian sermon on the progress of redemption, the Pater noster sermon and the Isidore De ecclesiasticis officiis material. Why is this significant? The imagined lay audience in the Laon codex was not pagan but were a part of the
church, reciting the Lord’s Prayer and taking the Eucharist. Perhaps the missionary elements in some of the included popular texts are evidence of the fact that local pastors needed to treat their congregants as if they needed constant Christianization. Even baptized churchgoers could be enticed by their old traditions or confused by Christian rituals. There was a strategy with which Christianity was supposed to be marketed, as evidence by the Pater noster sermon. With this sermon, pastors were to explain that Christians should petition the Lord with their needs for he is good and faithful and yet they should still expect that hardships will come. Believers should be more concerned with spiritual matters than physical needs. With these texts, pastors were being taught how to transform the expectations of the laity in regard to their views on God and the supernatural. God was not a deity that simply needed to be appeased and petitioned; perhaps this was the main legacy of the mainly eradicated paganism in the Carolingian empire. Instead, God’s plan exceeded this world, his expectations went beyond the physical and concerned matters of the heart and soul.

In that vein, the majority of the popular sermons in the Laon codex were focused on diffusing complex theology to lay listeners. Martin Hiberniensis expected his pastors to instruct the Carolingian laity in complicated theological concepts such as the resurrection of the dead, the harrowing of hell, the divine nature of the incarnated Christ, the unity of the Trinity, and the fallen, but not inherently evil, nature of creation. The sermon based on Gregory the Great’s De carnis resurrectione reproaches those who fill the church (ecclesias replent) but do not understand important theology, such as the resurrection of the dead, and says these people are present but have a mente vacua. These topics raised in the popular sermons in the Laon codex were not randomly chosen by the compiler. They were important themes in the idealized reform agenda of the
Admonitio generalis. Preachers are instructed in chapter eighty to preach on the unity of the Trinity, the power and goodness of God as creator, the dual nature of Christ and his birth, death, resurrection and ascension, the Day of Judgment, heaven and hell, the resurrection of the dead, vices and virtues and moral behaviors. In this way, we can see that efforts were being made in cathedral schools like Laon to fulfill the Carolingian reform agenda. By the mid-ninth century, the empire had changed significantly since Charlemagne’s 789 reform blueprint, but this Laon compilation is proof that the ideals were being taught and that they were being diffused to the laity even eighty years later!

Pastors, however, needed to do more than preach about these topics, as evidenced by the fact that the popular texts in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 were not just devoted to teaching pastors the right words but also the right actions. Pastors needed to be like the war horse, constantly on the watch against temptations and vices that threatened the ranks of the church, as expressed in the sermon based on Gregory’s Moralia. As especially demonstrated in chapter 2, pastors needed to be advocates for justice, especially on behalf of the helpless. They also needed to be involved in the lives of their congregants, asking personal questions and available for advice, as demonstrated in many of the incest regulations against abuse. They needed to be present in times of crisis and be both creative with the resources at hand but protective of the sacred rituals of the church, as expressed in the emergency baptism text. Constant Christianization required confident, capable and invested leaders, and that is the pastoral ideal image that was being expressed through these works. It was a pastoral ideal that was being passed down to local pastors to implement.

136 Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen, MGH Fontes iuris 16:
Pastors-in-training at the Laon cathedral school were being held to high standards and, according to these popular texts, they were to do the same for the laity. The liturgical texts, incest and marriage regulations, narratives and sermons in this collection required that congregants understand theology and the gospel, that they trust their pastors with issues related to sex, marriage and their sick children, that they be able to follow (abridged) allegorical exegesis of scripture, that they prayed correctly, and that they be able to reason through their doubts. Apathy, vices, disbelief, incest, adultery and abuse needed to be addressed and corrected. The laity were to be encouraged to pursue the virtues, with a clear emphasis on community bound by charity. The foundation of the Christian message expressed in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 was based on the diffusion of orthodox, accessible theology. Pastors were to inspire their lay flocks to commit to moral behaviors out of an appreciation for the gospel and an awareness of God’s power and goodness.
Introduction

Despite the fact that Paris, BN lat. 2328, especially compared to Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, is a compilation that is cloaked in mystery, it has much to teach us about actual Carolingian reform and the reformers’ strategies for education, and Christianization on the local level. Paris, BN lat. 2328 is an anonymously compiled collection from an unknown scriptorium for an unknown recipient; it contains a number of texts that appear to be derivative copies and is not illuminated beyond some simple decorative elements. These frustrating characteristics are shared by the majority of medieval miscellanies and are the reason why scholars often pass them

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1 This first folio is barely legible and is in a late tenth or early eleventh century hand. It contains a fragment from a roll of the dead, the end of a letter entitled Ad Massonam and part of Canon 19 from the Council of Ancyra. Since the text is so difficult to read and this was not a part of Martin Hibernensis’ compilation, it will not be discussed here. For more information, see Léopold Delisle, Rouleaux des morts du IXe au XVe siècle (Paris: Chez Mme V. Jules Renouard, 1866), 33-34; and Pierre Cazier, ed., Sententiae, CCSL 111 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), lxx-1xxi.
by. Paris, BN lat. 2328, however, also has a number of helpful features that, I will argue, require that this compilation be treated as an intentionally created resource and mined for insights into Carolingian strategies for reform. Unlike the previous Laon codex case study, this collection does not have a table of contents that helps explain its order and purpose and it cannot be placed in a specific cathedral school context. As a result, I will use this chapter to demonstrate the more subtle evidence that indicates this codex was created to be an educational resource for a Carolingian pastor.

This Paris codex was almost entirely written in the same, trained, Caroline miniscule. Based on the handwriting, it has been dated to the second quarter of the ninth century and its provenance located in southern France and perhaps southern Burgundy. The manuscript is 24x30 cm, 124 folios with two columns of texts with about 32-34 lines on each page, making this a dense compilation with every surface used to its fullest capacity. It is not cramped or messy, however, and appears to have been modestly and yet carefully produced, with occasional corrections and marginal notes to ensure optimal accuracy. Paris, BN lat. 2328 consists of texts from a variety of genres; some of the texts are full or partial copies of late antique works, and others are either circulated, Carolingian creations or original works to this manuscript. The compilation is not

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2 Bernard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wistgotischen)*, vol 3: Padua-Zwickau (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014), 70; Susan A. Keefe, *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), 2:73; and Donald Bullough, “Alcuin’s Cultural Influence: The Evidence of the Manuscripts,” in *Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court: Proceedings of the Third Germania Latina Conference Held at the University of Groningen, May 1995*, eds. L.A.J.R. Houwen and A.A. MacDonald (Groningen: Forsten Pub., 1998), 2–3. Bischoff records a brief description and notes that Paris, BN lat. 2328 was found in Saint-Martial Limoges but is from southern or southeastern France, perhaps Burgundy, and from the second quarter of the ninth century. Keefe got her information from a correspondence with Bischoff in April 1987 and says that the codex was in Limoges in the twelfth century but Bischoff did not think that is where it originated. Bullough, who also corresponded with Bischoff, said it was from an unknown scriptorium south of the Loire, maybe in southern Burgundy. He calls this compilation a “very miscellaneous manuscript” and was looking at it for the purposes of tracing the circulation of Alcuin’s texts, specifically his understudied epitaph.
illuminated but there are modest attempts at decoration as seen in a few simple illustrations as well as enlarged and embellished titles and opening letters. There are also a few notes in the margins and two more substantial additions on folio 23r and 96v that appear to be in a similar, less trained, hand and also from the ninth century. Thus this compilation, simply based on the paleography and codicology, appears to be the work of a single compiler or center and its modest and dense appearance implies that it was created for practical, rather than ornamental, use.

I will, however, also demonstrate more specifically that its content, layout, additions and notes indicate that this Paris codex was created for and used by a Carolingian pastor. To this end I will show that the content of the texts in this compilation, because of their pastoral themes, complementary diversity, didactic intent, and instructive notes, work together and would have been useful for the purpose of educating a pastor serving in an era of renaissance and reform. I will use this chapter to prove this usage and the following two chapters to trace the significance of this case.

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3 Keefe, *Water and the Word*, 2:73. Keefe says that R. Reynolds informed her that the additions on folio 96v appeared to be from the ninth century. In addition, I had an e-mail correspondence from November, 2011 with Max Diesenberger who confirmed that he believed that the additions on folio 96v as well as those from folio 23 were from the mid-ninth century.

4 Yitzhak Hen, “Knowledge of Canon Law Among Rural Priests: The Evidence of Two Carolingian Manuscripts From Around 800,” *The Journal of Theological Studies* 50, no. 1 (April, 1999): 117–34, 123–129; Rob Meens, “Religious Instruction in the Frankish Kingdoms,” in *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power and Gifts in Context*, ed. Esther Cohen and Mayke B. de Jong (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 59; Maximilian Diesenberger, “Introduction: Compilers, Preachers, and their Audiences in the Early Medieval West,” in Sermo doctorum: *Compilers, Preachers, and their Audiences in the Early Medieval West*, eds. Maximilian Diesenberger, Yitzhak Hen, and Marianne Pollheimer (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 8–10. Here Hen and Meens note that although the Carolingians were decorating some of their books, the manuals that contain popular sermons were often rather plain because they were practical texts and meant to be used. Diesenberger talks about how in the late antique era the compiler and preacher were often the same person but in the eighth and ninth centuries sermons were often commissioned to be copied, often by bishops, to be disseminated. These sermons were often redacted from other sources and sent out for others to use, some for private use but some for public use in the form of pastoral handbooks for rural priests, missionaries, and bishops. Sometimes there are notes or descriptive prefaces that show that the compiler had a specific audience or region in mind and the changes that are made to the texts were often strategic ones to make the texts relevant and useful for the intended recipient, his context, and audience.

5 See John Contreni, “Inharmonious Harmony: Education in the Carolingian World,” in *Carolingian Learning, Masters and Manuscripts* (1980; repr., Ashgate: Variorum, 1992), 84–91 on the intentionally unspecific nature of Carolingian curriculum that sought that a diversity of knowledge be taught rather than a standardized selection.
study. I will look at what Paris, BN lat. 2328 can reveal about the education of pastors but, by extension, I will also look into what the intended pastor was expected to teach to his flock. I am arguing that this compilation, and others like it, were intentionally created to provide a double layer of education; they were educating pastors and equipping them in turn to educate their lay flocks. Although this was true indirectly in the Laon case study, because pastors in the cathedral school were being prepared to teach their future flocks, this was the reality with the Paris codex if it was directed to a local, rural pastor, who already had a lay congregation in need of pastoral care.

Why is this case study significant? If this miscellany was created by a reformer for the education and use of a rural pastor, compilations such as Paris, BN lat. 2328 straddle the line between theory and application, ideal goals and realistic instructions. Compilers strategically selected base sources and then creatively combined or inventively altered those sources to control the way the information would be received and learned. The artful and strategic copying undertaken by the Carolingians in general has been increasingly appreciated by scholars; as John Marenbon has put it, “Often old ideas were merely the starting points for new ones; and even where they did not obviously innovate, the Carolingians transformed what they borrowed, giving new meaning to the individual arguments and motifs which they repeated from their authorities.”

David Ganz has noted that scribes were more than copiers, they were compilers, they were administrators, decision makers, educators; he argued that by studying the products of scriptorium historians can often reconstruct the local concerns or needs the compilers were working to correct through texts. In addition, although focused on late medieval exempla, Barbara Shailor has

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7 David Ganz, Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1990), 44.
challenged medievalists to question the often derogatory label of miscellany and to analyze these compilations on an individual basis. She has argued that in most cases they were not deemed to be random miscellanies of information by the original authors or audiences so “to label them as such today... hinders our efforts to understand the manuscripts and their cultural context.”

While all of this was also true in my previous chapters on Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, this case study does represent a different angle of research. The creative compiling of the Laon scribe, the organizational strategies of Martin Hiberniensis, and the complex, complementary and practical nature of the texts in the Laon codex shed light on the realities of Carolingian reform, how texts were used to educate pastors-in-training. And yet, that was a miscellany used at a prominent cathedral school; it was edited and labeled by a renowned Carolingian scholar, perhaps making its coherence a bit more expected and believable. Paris, BN lat. 2328 is a modest, anonymous compilation that cannot be connected to any major churches, monasteries or schools and yet, I will argue, that it too was intentionally compiled to serve an educational purpose. In fact, because of its disconnect from the formal educational setting, I will argue that Paris, BN lat. 2328 should not only be considered more than a random miscellany of texts, but that it should be regarded as a particularly fascinating and valuable window into local experiences of the Carolingian reform movement. What were local pastors supposed to know and how were they to teach it? How was the education of pastors accomplished through textual resources and what kind of local leaders were they expected to be? I will argue that the answers to these questions lie in the miscellanies that were created for local pastors, with this Paris codex being a prime example.

In this chapter, I will focus on the origins, characteristics, and dissemination patterns of the individual sources in Paris, BN lat. 2328 in an attempt to understand the logic of the compiler. As the paleography indicates, most of the sources in this manuscript were copied or created at the same time by one scribe, which indicates that the content was not put together haphazardly over time. Since the intended recipient is unknown, I am using this chapter to analyze the texts in order to identify the imagined audience. To that end, I am asking questions that relate to function and usage such as: was the compiler copying a text that was well-known or obscure, local or foreign, controversial or standard? What authorities were often cited and in what context? What sorts of genres, rhetorical techniques, or categories of information are represented in this compilation? Were texts arranged strategically and was there a purpose to their order? What basic topics were being covered and is there a pattern in how they were addressed? I will seek to demonstrate that these texts were selected, created, and adapted in a way that proves that together they present a multi-faceted, complementary, and comprehensible vision of Carolingian Christianization. More specifically, I will argue that the traditional usages, adaptations, and annotations associated with or contained in the texts that make up Paris, BN lat. 2328 do indicate that this collection was more than likely created for the use of a rural, ninth-century pastor.

Resources for Pastoral Care: Reference Works for Reform Ideals and Sermon Writing
Isidore, Sententiarum libri tres & Alcuin, De virtutibus et vitiiis ad Widonem

The compilation starts off with two lengthy treatises, together taking up 95 out of the manuscript’s 124 folios. Both are nearly complete copies of notable reference works, one from the past and one from a famous Carolingian reformer, that I will argue work together when placed side-by-side to form a vision of reform for a Carolingian pastor. Folios 2r-79v contain a three
volume work called *Sententiae*, which was written by the late sixth-, early seventh-century Spanish theologian Isidore of Seville. It is copied here nearly in full. Isidore was best known for his encyclopedic *Etymologies* but his accessible and practical, three book *Sententiae* was also popular in the early Middle Ages and beyond, although not much is known about Isidore’s original reasons for writing it. Laureano Roblès was able to find around five hundred manuscripts dating from the eighth until the fifteenth centuries in his exhaustive search of *Sententiae*’s manuscript history in 1970 and then Pierre Cazier has since found twenty more to add to his list. In 1998, Cazier produced a critical edition of *Sententiae* based on thirty-one manuscripts from the eighth, ninth, and early tenth centuries that contained all three books of Isidore’s manual. Paris, BN lat. 2328 (labeled manuscript S) is in the middle of Cazier’s sample in terms of chronology as well as geography. It is one of ten that Cazier was able to label as coming from the first half of the ninth century and, out of those, it is one of seven that came from southern or south-eastern France or Burgundy from that time. Cazier then briefly concludes that the copies that were circulating

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9 Cazier, *Sententiae*, CCSL 111, xviii–xix; Thomas L. Knoebel, ed., *Isidore of Seville: De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* (New York: Newman Press, 2008), 5. There is no introduction or dedicatory letter that circulated with the text, which previously led some scholars to believe that it was not intended for public dissemination. Cazier, however, rejects this hypothesis, although he mentions that Isidore was known to be very picky about what was published, wanting to make sure the text had been completely finished and checked over before it was disseminated. There is also no clear dating marker and scholars have only been able to conclude that Isidore wrote this later in his life, after a long career in the church teaching on these matters, and have set a wide date range of 618 up until his death in 636. Knoebel also says that most of Isidore’s other writings seem to have been written between 598 and 618 making *Sententiae* one of, if not the, last work that Isidore created. Hillgarth and Roblès slightly differ and have a 618–633 date range as summarized in J.N. Hillgarth, “The Position of Isidorian Studies: A Critical Review of the Literature, 1936-1975,” *Studi Medievai* Ser. 3, 24 (1983): 817–905; and Sister Patrick Jerome Mullins, O.P., A.M., *The Spiritual Life According to Saint Isidore of Seville* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1940), 27–29.

10 Cazier, *Sententiae*, CCSL 111, lxi.

11 Cazier, *Sententiae*, CCSL 111, lxx. Cazier only found two manuscripts from Isidore’s native Spain, and one of those was a later tenth-century manuscript. Rather than crediting this to a lack of circulation, Cazier attributed this pattern to a lack of preservation, citing the Arab conquest in 711. The oldest complete copy that he was able to locate was from the eighth century and was probably copied in Bobbio in Northern Italy. Cazier found seven other manuscripts from the eighth century, mostly in Italy and France, four manuscripts from the late eighth or early ninth century mostly from Germany, then nineteen from the ninth century spanning Italy, France, Germany and Spain.

12 Cazier, *Sententiae*, CCSL 111, lviii–lxxii. Two of the manuscripts (labeled J and A) from that region pre-date Paris BN lat. 2328 and are from the eighth century, there are two others (labeled s and L) that were copied in this
France in the ninth century were often either coupled with other Isidorian materials or were combined with seemingly miscellaneous collections of materials that would have been useful for a pastor such as sermons, passion tales, and biblical and patristic excerpts. Thus, the presence of Isidore’s work in the similarly described Paris miscellany is not unusual.

The copy of Isidore’s *Sententiae* in Paris, BN lat. 2328 appears to have been faithfully copied to serve as a reliable reference book and two out of the three books were copied with corresponding table of contents. Cazier briefly mentions that this Paris, BN lat. 2328 version was carefully assembled; this copy has many of the variations shared by some of the other known manuscripts from that era but seems to pick and choose between them, indicating that multiple copies were cited by the compiler. If this is true, the compiler would have had access to a large library or to a network of scholars. Although we cannot be sure, he may have gone through this effort because he expected this copy to be widely referenced or copied or perhaps he just wanted to get his recipient the most complete text he could develop.

Although *Sententiae* in Paris, BN lat. 2328 was being recycled from the past, Isidore was a renowned scholar whose works were regarded as relevant and useful by the Carolingians. In his own time, Isidore was very connected to the social and political world in Spain and, at least according to the language of the church councils he led, he was active in leading a reform movement condemning Arianism. On the one hand, Isidore thought it was important to focus his

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reform efforts on the “top” and he thus worked to instruct and lead bishops and fight the spread of heresy through church councils and with his political connections. But Isidore also worked to actualize the diffusion of reform teachings to the local level through education, by writing extensively, often with a wide audience in mind. In these ways, Isidore stood out as an exceptional leader, reformer, teacher and theologian. He was copied extensively throughout the Carolingian period and is one of the most cited authorities in Paris, BN lat. 2328. Although from a different era of reform, he had a similar vision as the Carolingian reformers, since he created accessible works intended to spur on trickle-down reform, to educate leaders and to clarify often misunderstood theology and promote orthodoxy.

The Arians had been losing power prior to this conversion, implying that Recared’s conversion had as much to do with political savvy as personal conviction. A similar point is also mentioned by Hillgarth. Also, see Knoebel, who talks about how many historians see Recared’s conversion and the 589 council as a watershed moment for Spain that marked the end of Arianism. Yitzhak Hen’s forthcoming book, however, may challenge many of these traditional views on the hold of Arianism in the post-Roman world, see Yitzhak Hen, Western Arianism: Politics and Religious Culture in the Early Medieval West (Cambridge, forthcoming).


Rosamond McKitterick, The Carolingians and the Written Word (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 202–205; John Butt, Daily Life in the Age of Charlemagne (Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 2002), 161; and Cazier, Isidore de Séville et la naissance, 159. And having a wide audience would have been possible in seventh century Spain due to the already established system of episcopal schools that had created a high level of intellectual ability, at least in the upper levels of society.

See José Orlandis, “Le royaume wisigothique et son unité religieuse,” in L’Europe héritière de l’Espagne wisigothique, ed. Jacques Fontaine and Christine Pellistrandi, Collection de la Casa de Velázquez, vol. 35 (Madrid: Recontres de la Casa de Velázquez, 1992), 9–16; Jacques Fontaine, “La figure d’Isidore de Séville à l’époque carolingienne,” in L’Europe héritière de l’Espagne wisigothique, ed. Jacques Fontaine and Christine Pellistrandi, Collection de la Casa de Velázquez, vol. 35 (Madrid: Recontres de la Casa de Velázquez, 1992), 195–211; and Giles Brown, “Introduction: The Carolingian Renaissance,” in Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1–3. Orlandis’ article provides a clear overview of the catholic Visigothic church and its legacy, most especially through the work of Isidore, in the medieval west. Fontaine focuses in on the importance of Isidore in the Carolingian world, even concluding that Isidore’s works helped instigate the Carolingian reformation. Brown notes that although the Carolingians took their reform efforts to a new level, the impulse for reform had existed in a similar form throughout different periods in Late Antiquity. Isidore and the Visigothic church reforms of the seventh and eighth centuries are observed to have been particularly similar, although he notes that the legacy of their success is hard to determine.
Alcuin’s treatise, *De virtutibus et vitiis* follows Isidore’s work, starting on folio 80r and ending on 95v. By including Alcuin’s treatise the compiler was pairing Isidore’s work from the past with a contemporary reference work. Paris, BN lat. 2328’s edition, which has been dated to the second quarter of the ninth century, is one of the earliest copies of Alcuin’s treatise for Wido, Margrave of the Breton march, which was written in either 799 or 800. Both Donald Bullough and Paul Szarmach have sought to quantify Alcuin’s popularity both during and after the late eighth century, by tracing the manuscript histories of his major works. Szarmach provided a preliminary handlist of at least 140 manuscripts containing the treatise in full from soon after its creation to the end of the Middle Ages. Bullough found that the virtues and vices treatise seemed to have been Alcuin’s most popular work; it was circulated almost immediately after he wrote it.

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18 Even though I have been working with the manuscript text, Alcuin’s *De Virtutibus et Vitiis* has been edited. See Alcuin, *De virtutibus et vitiis Liber ad Widonem Comitem*, PL 101: cols. 613–638. See also Marie-Hélène Jullien and Françoise Perelman, eds. *Clavis des auteurs Latins du moyen âge: territoire Français 735-987*, vol. 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 153–159; and Paul Szarmach, “The Latin Tradition of Alcuin’s *Liber de Virtutibus de Vitiis*,” *Mediaevalia* 12 (1989): 13–41, 16–17. There are a few notable content differences between Migne-Frobenius’ edition and the early manuscript texts, such as Paris, BN lat. 2328. Other than a few minor differences in sentence order or wording, the most significant change to the text is in chapter 34 on vainglory. The Migne-Frobenius edition has a long addition about how vainglory is a heightened form of avarice that tries to destroy a soldier of Christ on many fronts or, like a hidden rock in the sea, seeks to shipwreck those who are not always vigilant. This section basically reiterates the concept that vainglory is so destructive because it can strike while someone is trying to avoid other vices and sets up the remedy that Alcuin proposes in this manuscript as well, which is the remembrance of divine goodness. The section following this remedy, which quotes Psalm 52 and urges pious Christians to guard their hearts, is also a later addition. This part of the passage suggests that everyone avoid anything in excess like the monks do in order to avoid this dangerous and insidious sin. Finally, the earlier manuscripts, such as this one, also do not include the line that says that if these principal vices are not forgiven through confession and repentance before death, the culprit will be condemned to hell. These sections appear in the Migne-Frobenius edition but really do not align with the overall tone of Alcuin’s work and do not appear in this manuscript compilation and thus will not be a part of my analysis.


20 H.M. Rochais, “Contribution à l’histoire des florilèges ascétiques du haut moyen âge Latin: Le ‘Liber scintillarum,’” *Revue bénédictine* 63 (1953): 246–291, 251–252. Dom Rochais, in his research on popular texts for the assembly of *florilegia* in the Middle Ages, found 22 ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts that contained this treatise in 1953 but he did not include this Paris, BN lat. 2328 copy so we must consider his a low estimate.

and continued to be in high demand until the twelfth century. Although it was often copied in part, Paris, BN lat. 2328’s version copies Alcuin’s treatise in its largest form, which is with 35 chapters as well as an introduction and *peroratio*. The copy in this manuscript stood out to Bullough since it even includes the closing addition of a passage on friendship from Ecclesiastes that is left out of most other copies. Thus, in contrast to Isidore’s *Sententiae*, which was being resurrected from the past and circulated at large in the first half of the ninth century, Alcuin’s treatise, having been written much more recently, had only recently entered circulation when it was included in this collection. On the other hand, similar to the copy of *Sententiae*, this Paris, BN lat. 2328 copy of the treatise worked to preserve Alcuin’s work in its longest form, perhaps showing a similar impulse to preserve and present the teachings of these two reformers in whole.

Who was reading this treatise in the ninth century? Alcuin’s treatise appears in a couple of library collections owned by elites. Bullough found, however, that “most if not all that survive were penned for a clerical or monastic readership” and said that this treatise’s early manuscript

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22 Donald Bullough, “Alcuin’s Cultural Influence,” 1–3. Although there is a sharp decline in the circulation of the treatise after the twelfth century, the work gained new attention later under the fifteenth-century humanists.


24 Bullough, “Alcuin’s Cultural Influence,” 21n63. Bullough mentions that this addition at the end assembles quotes on true friendship from Sirach (Ecclesiastes) and does not appear in the majority of the copies of this treatise. In fact, both the address to Wido specifically and this friendship passage at the end were often excluded to give the text a more generic tone. He also thinks that it is this addition that led Szarmach to (misleadingly) say that this manuscript, along with three others, contained more than 35 chapters instead of the standard 35 chapters, *peroratio*, and friendship section. See Szarmach, “The Latin Tradition of Alcuin’s *Liber de Virtutibus de Vitiis*,” 15.

25 Rachel Stone, *Morality and Masculinity in the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1–14; Thomas Noble, “Secular Sanctity: Forging an Ethos for the Carolingian Nobility,” in *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World*, eds. Patrick Wormald and Janet L. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 24–31; and McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, 211–270, especially 267. Stone notes that both Dhuoda and Eberhard of Friuli had copies of Alcuin’s treatise but she also says it was reused for other treatises and in sermons and thus was sent to clerics for teaching purposes. Noble looks at a lay prayerbook that was found in a manuscript that contained Alcuin’s *De virtutibus et vitiis* and works to break down the false divide between clerics and elites, noting that most high ranking churchmen came from elite families and that these messages about lay piety were circulating through sermons as well.
history implies it was used as a kind of penitential tool. Bullough did later reference the treatise though as evidence for Alcuin’s vision for lay virtue and talked about the ways this text worked to address men in positions of power by calling them to certain Christian duties and obligations. He concludes by saying these messages made their way into sermons; they were being used and read by church leaders in order to reach the lay elite. To combine these observations of the extant sources then, it seems that Alcuin’s treatise was being appreciated for its messages for Christianizing lay elite but it was religious leaders who were most apt to receive these lessons and then work to communicate them at large.

Like Isidore, Alcuin was a very educated reformer with high political connections and he was a prolific writer with an interest in teaching pastoral care. In fact, in the early sections of this treatise, Alcuin was most influenced by Isidore’s *Sententiae* when he opens with a discussion pairing wisdom with the virtues of faith, charity and hope and when he weaves together descriptions of virtues alongside related sins and Christian duties. Alcuin even mentions judges and false witnesses, borrowing from Book 3 of *Sententiae* in which the two categories are discussed in detail by Isidore. These connections show how the Carolingians appreciated and used Isidore in their reform texts in general and how complementary these two reference texts were specifically. In general though, with this work Alcuin was repurposing the virtues and vices

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26 Bullough, “Alcuin’s Cultural Influence,” 21–22. He said this intended use changed after the Carolingian period when it started being copied in the vernacular. For more general information on this topic see Richard Newhauser, *The Treatise on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, Fasc. 68 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), 88–94.  
treatise genre, which was commonly used in the monastic setting, for lay instruction. In his later section on the eight principle vices, Alcuin depended on the two most renowned authorities on the subject: Cassian from *Collationes* and his *Institutes*, and Gregory the Great from his *Moralia*, XXXI, 45. Here, Alcuin incorporated the traditional viewpoint that pious believers should both avoid evil and do good works as understood within the paradigm of warring virtues and vices. At the same time, however, he defined these goals in practical terms and made concessions regarding ascetic ideals to make virtuous Christian living an achievable goal for pious laymen.

As shown by the recent research of Rachel Stone, Alcuin was not alone in this impulse and in fact the intentional Christianization and moral training of the elite appears to have been an essential component of the Carolingian reform movement. After all, recruiting them and educating them in the reform cause not only encouraged aristocrats to be better local leaders, but it functioned as a sort of political propaganda. With this work, Alcuin was articulating the tenets of his own self-imposed mission to spread a high moral ideal, previously associated with monks, to the secular world, calling on all believers to develop a Christianized sense of their moral and spiritual active life responsibilities. He had the specialized skill set to minister to lay elites due to his high intelligence and education as well as his, as Janet Nelson termed it, “self-created role as teacher-servant: his special combination of teacherly authority with clientish deference” that is especially

29 Mary Alberi, “‘The Better Paths of Wisdom’: Alcuin’s Monastic ‘True Philosophy’ and the Worldly Court,” *Speculum* 76, no. 4 (October 2001): 896–910, 902. Alcuin was not a monk, and he actually never officially held a title higher than that of deacon; however, he was familiar with the monastic life having lived a monastic *regularis vita* at York’s cathedral and was named an abbot without taking formal vows.


32 Wallach, “Alcuin on Virtues and Vices,” 175.
evident in the tone of this treatise. As Newhauser puts it, *De virtutibus et vitiiis* was Alcuin’s way to win over the nobility to the reform movement and get them to invest in a “renewed code of conduct” that was now addressed to all Christians and not just the monastic elite. In a similar way, Thomas Noble points out that Carolingian reformers such as Alcuin were trying to transform the noble life in order to channel their influence towards Christianization. To do so, they intentionally did not want to appear as dismantlers of aristocratic living but wanted powerful laymen to use their influence and resources to work alongside clerics in a whole-scale Christianization effort. Stone agrees and goes further to argue that Alcuin’s treatise was particularly forgiving, saying that it seemed to envision Carolingian nobles as “spiritual couch potatoes” who needed to be presented with a rather low morality bar. Although I would argue that Stone’s conclusions are overstated, Alcuin did create a treatise on Christian behavior that, while steeped in the teachings of the past, also produced a new vision of pious discipline that was meant to be accessible to laymen as well.

With this background in mind, then, what does the inclusion of Isidore and Alcuin’s works in this manuscript, side-by-side, tell us about the purpose of this compilation? These two lengthy texts function as reference works. *Sententiae* contains three books that introduce a wide variety of topics related to basic Christian theology, cosmology, and morality, with the third book addressing the duties of specific audiences such as monks, clerics, kings, nobles, subjects (*subditis*), and judges. *De virtutibus et vitiiis* has a similar interest in providing a structured overview of the

33 Janet Nelson, “Organic Intellectuals in the Dark Ages?” *History Workshop Journal* 66, no. 1 (2008):1–17, 8. Nelson goes on to propose that Alcuin thought that he was living in an era in which the church would be led by pious, Christian laymen, which is why he worked hard to teach aristocrats about the scriptures and theology. In this regard, he saw the Christianization of elite laymen as essential to Carolingian reform.
Christian faith but it was built to be concise and organized, its tone was conciliatory but firm, its content based on the basics of good and bad behavior and directed more specifically towards lay application. Both are lengthy and have messages that built upon one another so they probably would not have been read out loud, even in pieces. And yet they were both intentionally organized and simply written, meant to provide accessible explanations that were steeped in biblical support and patristic wisdom. Both of these sources were commonly mined for sermon material throughout the Middle Ages and both authors were interested in realistic piety for laymen involved in active lives. The fact that they had complementary messages is obvious since Alcuin actually modeled the opening sections of his treatise off Isidore’s work! It is therefore fitting to conclude that the compiler placed them here to complement each other. Isidore’s work was well-known at the time and provided wide-ranging moral instructions and advocated for vocational duties for all Christians: lay, monastic and clerical. Alcuin’s treatise was relatively new to the scene but was in the process of being circulated for its value in providing Carolingian reform teachings specifically directed to lay authority figures. It not only outlined what lessons needed to be taught to lay leaders but it modeled the tone and manner in which that information was to be presented, showing how spiritual leaders were to put themselves in a fatherly advisor role.

By looking into how these two texts were used throughout their early medieval circulation as well as what they include and how that information is presented, their potential value as part of a teaching tool for a ninth-century pastor is evident. Isidore’s text was the perfect launching off point to ensure the recipient had a strong foundation in the basics of Christian theology and moral application. The pastoral vocation, in both monastic and clerical contexts, as well as the vocational duties of people he would have been ministering to is carefully explained as well. Then Alcuin’s
work follows that up with a more concise way of prioritizing, understanding and teaching these ideas and with concrete ways to implement the reform agenda of his era for a lay audience. Although he was addressing a layman, the manuscript history of Alcuin’s treatise indicates that it was often read by church leaders, perhaps as a model for how to teach this message to their flocks. In these ways then, the inclusion of these carefully copied reference works in Paris, BN lat. 2328 strongly suggest a pastoral audience.

Although this compilation starts with nearly full copies of two substantial manuals dedicated to explaining the theology and morality of the Christian faith, the rest of the compilation is made up of smaller works from a variety of genres. It is in these texts, which could be easily overlooked by scholars, where the compiler showed the most creativity and originality. He changed introductions and conclusions and organized the placement of the texts so that they worked together in units. These other works supplement the lengthy, opening reference works with malleable, practical, and interesting additions which, I will argue, were specifically geared towards teaching pastoral care.

Resources for Pastoral Care: Care for the Dead
Prayer for the Dead, Alcuin’s Epitaph & A Chart on *deus, anima, corpus*

A particularly intriguing section in Paris, BN lat. 2328 is devoted to issues of caring for the dead and provides further key clues about the intended audience and use of our manuscript. This section, covering folios 96 recto and verso, includes a copy of Alcuin’s epitaph, an original chart depicting the attributes of *Deus, anima* and *corpus*, and a prayer written in an untrained hand that I have been able to trace back to the still developing office of the dead. These texts, as I will argue,
work together to provide lessons on the care for the dead and appear to have been started by the compiler and added to by the ninth-century user who could only have been a pastor.

Alcuin wrote his own epitaph in 804; the original inscription is no longer extant but the text was preserved in manuscript copies like this one.\textsuperscript{37} Here, Alcuin appeals to whomever stands near his grave, which contains his rotting flesh, to contemplate the inevitability of death, to realize that the body will fade away but the soul will live on in heaven or in hell, and to pray for him and respect his remains. This text was considered an impressive epitaph and poetic exemplar for circulation, since it came from a well-known reformer and was associated with the epigraphic school of Tours.\textsuperscript{38} Ernst Dümmler edited Alcuin’s epitaph in 1882 in volume 1 of Poetae latini aevi carolini. He used six different manuscripts for this edition but his sampling did not include this copy in Paris, BN lat. 2328.\textsuperscript{39} These early manuscripts are all miscellanies except for P4, Paris BN lat. 2832, which is a ninth-century syllogae that contains thirty-four ancient or late antique epigraphs with Alcuin’s being the most modern.\textsuperscript{40} Bullough added to the conversation about the epitaph’s manuscript history in 2001, noting that Alcuin’s epitaph seems to never occur alongside his life, the Vita Alcuini. The earliest copies of the epitaph are two of the ones Dümmler looked at, P3: Paris, BN lat. 4629 and P1: Paris, BN lat. 2826, but then Bullough, unlike Dümmler, also mentions Paris, BN lat. 2328, which he calls a “very miscellaneous” manuscript that contains an early ninth-century copy of the text.\textsuperscript{41} Neither of these studies provide a comprehensive manuscript

\textsuperscript{38} Wallach, “Epitaph of Alcuin,” 367.
\textsuperscript{39} See Epitaphium Alcuni, MGH Poetae 1:350–351.
\textsuperscript{41} Bullough, “Alcuin’s Cultural Influence,” 3.
history analysis; in fact, Bullough listed Alcuin’s epitaph as one of the most understudied of all of his works, saying that this text is “transmitted by far more manuscripts than either modern editions or catalogues suggest.”42 Their findings, however, do demonstrate that the epitaph was being circulated soon after Alcuin’s death and this was one of the earliest copies; it was also being circulated in mixed compilations, not just with epitaphs, which would have indicated it was valued mostly as a poetic model, nor just with his vita, which would have indicated it was valued mostly as a biographical insight into a great reformer.

The practice of commemorating the dead with monuments and epitaphs associated with the Romans was carried on by the Merovingians, who saw epitaphs as being symbolic of wealth and an important component in continuing a person’s legacy.43 Although there have been fewer epitaphs uncovered from the ninth century in comparison to the Merovingian era, the Carolingians took more aggressive strides to protect buried bodies, building walls around cemeteries that served as protection and brought more visibility to the church centers in communities.44 Bonnie Effros has argued that the continuing appreciation for epitaphs, which honored the dead and petitioned for prayers from the living, stemmed from the belief that there was a time of separation between the body, which was to remain in the tomb until the Final Judgment, and the soul, whose journey was mysterious and the object of much concern.45 Inscribed epitaphs were also a mark of respect

44 Effros, Caring for Body and Soul, 101–103, 112, 131–2; and Ian Morris, Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 169–171. Bonnie Effros credits the decline of epitaphs in the seventh century and on to the fact that by the end of the Merovingian kingdom marble was in short supply, which cut down on the production as well as the quality of grave epitaphs. Ian Morris, however, interprets the decline to a cultural turn away from the use of monuments and towards a “hierarchy of spatial symbolism” to denote wealth and power at this time.
and rank. Joanna Story’s work on Pope Hadrian I’s surviving, black marble epitaph, probably written by Alcuin, shows that the Carolingians were trying to imitate classical Roman style and that epitaph monuments, especially when made out of exotic stone, were used to honor the dead with an imperial status.\(^{46}\) In addition, Bullough points out that burial practices under the Carolingians reflected the status of the family and epitaphs were often a way for aristocrats to try to impose markers of rank. Bullough and Patrick Geary agree that people also wanted to be buried nearby churches because they wanted their graves, often complete with grave goods, protected from robbers and they deemed church land to be a sacred space, especially if the church was in possession of relics, and a constant institution with continuity of place over time.\(^{47}\)

The Carolingian reformers, however, wanted to put the church more in the center of the care for the dead. Angenendt traces this development, saying that the Carolingian church embraced the care for the dead so much that they were able to tame the process; they made death almost controllable and understandable by surrounding the dead and dying with ritual, prayer and tradition.\(^{48}\) In addition, many scholars have also noted that Carolingian rituals for the dead were intended to foster community both between pastors and laymen as well as between the living and the dead, the most powerful of which were the saints.\(^{49}\) As shown then, the process of burying and


memorializing the dead and the process of Christianizing the funeral ritual was an important element in the Carolingian church and reform movement. Thus, the presence of an epitaph text in a teaching compilation for a rural pastor should not be considered all that strange.

Alcuin’s epitaph in the Paris codex must be understood in light of the texts surrounding it, which demonstrate that this section was developed by the compiler to provide a discourse on the pastoral care for the dead. Following the epitaph, on the top of the second column of folio 96v, in a similar if not identical trained hand, is a chart that draws attention to the key components in Alcuin’s message. The chart contains nine statements on the left side that are then connected by lines to three categories on the right, which are: God (Deus), soul (anima), and body (corpus).

- Summum bonum (Chief good)
- Magnum bonum (Great good)
- Bonum (Good)
- Creat et non creatur (Creates and is not created)
- Creatur nec moritur (Is created but does not perish)
- Creatur et moritur (Is created and perishes)
- Movet et non movetur (Affects and is not affected)
- Movetur tempore et non loco (Is affected by time but not space)
- Movetur tempore et loco (Is affected by time and space)

Due to its placement and content and the fact that it was written in the same trained hand, I believe that this chart was created by the compiler to go with the epitaph to inspire a novel or at least directed reading of it, perhaps to guide a pastor to the instructive value in Alcuin’s text.

Bianca Kühnel’s work on Carolingian diagrams supports this theory. Although she has studied Carolingian chart diagrams that were paired with complicated scientific texts, her conclusions are similar. She argues that Carolingians used diagrams as aids to scholarly works and placed them next to texts “with the aim of facilitating the reader’s access to the textual content.” In this way, charts were used to actually change and direct the meaning of the texts with the intent...
of “improving, correcting, and modifying them.”

Carolingians used charts to make sense of difficult concepts and to interpret those ideas for the reader and Kühnel argues that their visualization of the invisible speaks to a high level of creativity and originality. I contend this chart in Paris, BN lat. 2328 was doing just that for the reader of Alcuin’s epitaph. Even though the Carolingians did appreciate epitaphs as poetic masterpieces and marks of rank, because it was here being paired with a chart I believe Alcuin’s epitaph in this manuscript seems to have been included primarily for its theological not rhetorical content. The epitaph covers the separation of the body and soul, the frailty of life and inevitability of death, the link between the living and the dead, and the theology surrounding the Final Judgment and resurrection of the saints. In the chart, those lessons are condensed and directed to the essential conclusions: life is short, the body is aging and will decay, and the soul is special but disembodied. There is a hierarchy in the universe, in which Deus is supreme. The corpus does perish and is limited by space and time but it is also good and created by God. The anima, which man also possesses, is better than the body and does not perish, but is not equal to God since he created the soul and it is not infinite. Thus, when the chart and epitaph are combined, a balanced and yet simple teaching emerges to creatively explain these complicated theological concepts that Alcuin referred to in his poem.

Positioned immediately before Alcuin’s epitaph, Keefe has identified a prayer of confession, which is in an untrained hand that Roger Reynolds determined was added in by a later ninth-century writer. Although difficult to read, I have been able to make out most of the faded

51 Kühnel, “Carolingian Diagrams,” 375.
52 Keefe, Water and the Word, 2:73. See note 2.
text and noticed that half of the lines are copied responsories and versicles from the first three readings of the First Nocturn in the Matins for the Dead.\textsuperscript{53} The origins of the Roman office of the dead are shrouded in mystery. Scholars are divided over whether or not the office was developed in Rome in the early eighth century and then adopted and adapted by the Franks soon after or if it was a Frankish invention, since the oldest known copy, Vat. Pal. lat. 550, comes from Reggio Emilia in North Italy in the second half of the ninth century.\textsuperscript{54} It is clear though that the commemoration of the dead was important to the Carolingians, as evidenced by the conclusions of the Council of Chalon-sur-Saône in 813 that mandated that at some point in all masses the Lord should be invoked for the spirits of the dead.\textsuperscript{55} Frederick Paxton makes the same observation from the capitulary evidence saying that, “Familiarity with the votive and commemorative masses for the living and the dead in the sacramentaries became an expected requirement of clerical training.”\textsuperscript{56}

In Knud Ottosen’s extensive work on the office, however, he made no mention of the (albeit barely legible) fragments of the opening prayers found in Paris, BN lat. 2328, which appear

\textsuperscript{53} Damien Sicard, \textit{La liturgie de la mort dans l’église latine des origines à la réforme carolingienne}, Liturgiewissenschaftlich Quellen und Forschungen 63 (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1978), 156–159; and Knud Ottosen, \textit{The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead} (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1993), 7–8. Here Ottosen writes out the responsories and versicles in the First Nocturn of the Roman office of the dead and lists in note 7 a number of other editions of this text. Although he notes what biblical passages were to be read where, he does not write them out but Paris, BN lat. 2328 does not contain them either.


\textsuperscript{55} McLaughlin, \textit{Consorting with Saints}; and Concilium Cabillonense (813), MGH Conc. 2:1:281: 70. \textit{Visum praeterea nobis est, ut in omnibus missarum sollemnibus pro defunctorum spiritibus loco competenti Dominus deprecetur. Sicet enim nulla dies excipiatur, qua non pro viventibus et pro quibuslibet necessitatibus Dominus deprecetur; ita nimirum nulla dies excipi debet, quin pro animabus fidelium preces Domino in missarum sollemnibus fundantur. Antiquitus igitur hunc morem sancta tenet ecclesia, ut et in missarum sollemnibus et in alitis precibus Domino spiritus quiescentium commendet, dicente beato Augustino: Non sunt praetermittendae supplicationes pro spiritibus mortuorum, quas faciendas pro omnibus in Christiana et catholica societate defunctis etiam tacitis nominibus eorum sub generali comminatione suscipit eclesia, ut, quibus ad ista desunt parentes aut filii aut quicumque cognati vel amici, ab una eis exhibeatur pia matre communi.}

to be an early testament to the influence and use of the Roman office of the dead, although it was written in an untrained hand that can only be loosely dated to the ninth century. As for the usage of these prayers, Ottosen has found that in the other ninth-century sources that he was able to identify, with one exception, these prayers were used as part of the burial rite. The prayers make reference to Job’s suffering and have the penitent begging for mercy and confessing sins and were often placed alongside other texts dealing with death, as is true in Paris, BN lat. 2328. He concludes, then, “that the primary function of the office of the dead was connected with the celebration of the wake for a single person in connection with death and burial, and this was repeated on the 3rd, 7th, and 30th days after decease and on anniversaries.”\textsuperscript{57} This means that the prayer would have only been of use to a pastor, either a cleric for ministering to his flock and for conducting the increasingly popular votive masses, or a monk for administering to his monastery or interceding for a member of his prayer confraternity.\textsuperscript{58}

On top of the fact that the presence of these prayers strongly suggests the intended recipient was a spiritual leader, although he could have been a monk or cleric, the fact that they have been written into this compilation at a later point is also significant. That implies that the recipient thought it convenient to have these prayer included and even worked to find, or perhaps, although there are no obvious erasure marks, make space to include them in this collection. This reflects the needs of the recipient; it indicates that the recipient had access to other resources like the office of the dead and felt enough ownership over this manuscript to add to it as he saw fit. It shows this

\textsuperscript{57} Ottosen, \textit{Responsories and Versicles}, 43–44.
was deemed to be a practical resource, useful for the fulfillment of this spiritual leader’s pastoral duties. I think that its placement in Paris, BN lat. 2328 is also significant because it was added in next to Alcuin’s epitaph and chart. There is an interest in maintaining a sense of structure and organization to this “miscellany” that perhaps indicates this resource was by no means thought of as a randomly thrown together collection by the compiler or the recipient. It also implies that care for the dead required that a pastor know more than the prescribed words but that he understand the theology behind the ritual, as he was introduced to it through the creative words of Alcuin and the corresponding chart. In these ways then, this section of Paris, BN lat. 2328, with its mix of originally intended and later added sections, very much seems to indicate both that there was an intentional shaping of this manuscript and that the intended audience was a pastor.

Resources for Pastoral Care: Performing the Mass & Sacraments
Seven Canonical Letters of the New Testament, Baptismal Instruction, the Exposition on the Mass & A Priestly Prayer of Confession

As shown so far by looking at two complementary reference works, one from the past and one from the Carolingian present, as well as a section devoted to the care of the dead, partially prepared by the compiler and partially added to by the recipient, there are indications that Paris, BN lat. 2328 was (1) an intentionally compiled work that was (2) created for a pastor and (3) used by a pastor. To add to this argument, I will next turn to the liturgical section of the manuscript. Once again, the compiler placed a number of related texts side-by-side that complement each other in terms of usage and content. In this case, there are also a few marginal notes, written in the same ink color and same trained hand as the original text, that shows the compiler included directions for presenting this information to a popular audience. Finally, there are a few additions that
supplement these texts and further speak to the active use by the recipient, supporting the idea that this compilation was created for practical, pastoral purposes.

Folios 97r through 115v contain three resources for the performance of the liturgy and mass: scripture readings, a baptismal instruction and an exposition on the mass. The reform capitularies of the first half of the ninth century were especially concerned with orthodox liturgy. And yet, liturgical diversity remained throughout the empire and there is no evidence that the reform leaders ever mandated one liturgical work, not even the supplemented Hadrianum, over the others. Despite the diversity in liturgical practices throughout the empire, however, the mass was being promoted by the reformers as a way to unite the people as a communitas fidelium; although the details of the mass may have differed from region-to-region, the significance of the worship, the role of the clergy within it, the ways the laity were included in the drama and performance of the rites, and the message of orthodox Christianity were to create a bond that promoted unity within diversity. The Carolingian reformers, then, wanted to make sure the liturgy was correct but were not concerned that it was uniform; in fact, as Ildar Garipzanov has argued, the Carolingians may have seen the benefit in allowing for minor changes to fit the traditions and history of the region so that the liturgy was “relevant not only to the contemporary context but also to the expectations of its local audience.” The performance of the mass and sacraments was essential to the spread of Christianity and the unity of the empire and their

execution was dependent on the leadership of local pastors. As a result, as seen in the Admonitio generalis as well as other capitularies such as the 794 Capitulary of Frankfurt, bishops were to examine the priests in their region and were to make sure they had the resources they needed to celebrate the mass.\(^{63}\) It was important that all clergy be in possession of mass books so that they could perform their pastoral duties and, this section in Paris, BN lat. 2328 may indicate that this miscellany served as one of those tools.\(^{64}\)

A new section begins on folios 97r – 107v with a complete copy of the seven canonical, or catholic, epistles of the New Testament: James, I, II Peter, I, II, III John and Jude. These were not commonly copied passages of scripture under the Carolingians, like the Psalms, Gospels and, to a lesser extent, the Pauline epistles were, and yet they were regarded as important teaching tools.\(^{65}\) For one, these books were written by early church leaders and pastors who knew Christ and were entrusted with the task of leading the earliest Christian churches. Due to this connection with the early church, the original canon lists of the fourth century organized the canonical letters as coming

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\(^{63}\) Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen, MGH Fontes iuris 16:220, cc. 68; Synodus Franconofurtensis, 794, MGH Capit. 1:77, cc. 29. Carine van Rhijn has identified in some of the episcopal statutes evidence of the kinds of tests bishops gave to their priests, see Carine van Rhijn, Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 107–109.


after the Gospels and Acts and before the epistles of Paul. The organization of the canon was still not standardized under the Carolingians, and the few examples of complete Bibles that have survived are not uniform. For example, the ten complete Bibles created under the supervision of Bishop Theodulf around 800 place the catholic epistles later, after the Pauline epistles. The pandects overseen by Alcuin in Tours, however, from 796 until nearly the middle of the ninth century, placed the catholic epistles immediately following Acts and before Paul’s works. And, it was the same in the Carolingian liturgical context, the catholic epistles were often read in conjunction with the Acts of the Apostles after Easter. Their content is pastoral and practical; their original audience varied and in need of simple instruction.

In this manuscript, there are a number of clues that indicate that these catholic epistles were intentionally inaugurating a liturgical section in the manuscript and that they were meant to be used by a pastor. First of all, the title and incipit introduction on folio 97 indicates that the scriptural readings were intended to be paired with the liturgical documents in Paris, BN lat. 2328, since there is a line that notes that an exposition follows: “sequitur in hoc volumine expositio”. The catholic epistles also stand out in the compilation because each new book starts with a large and decorated letter, five out of the seven books have illustrations of faces, and the header of every folio is labeled and embellished with simple, decorative designs. In these ways, the catholic

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69 Kamell, “Preaching the General Epistles,” 143.
epistles are made to stand out in the compilation, perhaps so that they could have been easily turned to by the reader and recognized as special texts: the word of God.\textsuperscript{70}

The most illuminating clue, however is found in the margins; these books are especially interesting because they are broken down into segmented readings using Roman numerals, which were drawn in the same ink as the original and thus perhaps under the direction of the compiler. Although in the early Middle Ages, scripture readings during the mass were increasingly being curtailed in an effort to make more room for other expressions of worship, such as songs and prayers, the reading of scripture was still valued because it was one of the marks of worship in the early church.\textsuperscript{71} In addition, these readings during mass were the main vehicle by which the laity learned about the Bible.\textsuperscript{72} There is evidence that the catholic epistles were often read during mass in the weeks following Easter.\textsuperscript{73} The Carolingians, however, were not intent on standardizing the list of specific readings per day, which would have made the marginal numbers in Paris, BN lat. 2328 especially valuable to a pastor in need of direction. According to the Roman numerals in the manuscript, the canonical books were to be read in the following segments:

\textsuperscript{70} Eric Palazzo, \textit{A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century}, trans. Madeleine Beaumont (1993, repr., Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1998), 101–102. He talks about how copied sections of scripture, when placed in compilations, were traditionally decorated to denote their significance, which supports my theory here.

\textsuperscript{71} Palazzo, \textit{A History of Liturgical Books}, 149–151.


As shown in this table, the reading selections differ in length but are never lengthy and there are no notes as to the dates or occasions in which each section was supposed to be read. The numbering systems start again with each book, perhaps implying even more flexibility; the books could be read as separate units or one after the other. Thus the divisions broke these books down into manageable sections that were useful for oral presentation and were instructive as well as adaptable. For these reasons, they are significant indicators that the manuscript was intended for a pastor to use during the mass.

At the same time, sharing the margins of the catholic epistles are also some directional notations in the same trained hand and original ink that serve to nuance or explain certain sections for the intended reader. There are three notes that are especially interesting because they may have been written in by the compiler in order to supply instructions suitable for the benefit of the intended pastor who was to read them to his flock. The first appears next to James 3:17, which talks about how wisdom from above is “first pure, then peaceable, gentle, open to reason, full of...
mercy and good fruits, impartial and sincere.” Next to this verse it says, in a trained hand, “bonis consentiens” with a symbol indicating that it should appear before “plena misericordia”. Perhaps this phrase, meaning “with the good joining in” is a direction for the rest of this verse to be said out loud by the entire congregation, which, although not the only explanation for this addition, does make sense in the context of these being liturgical readings. Another similar note is found next to James 5:16, which is about the importance of confessing sins to each other. In the margin there is a note that reads: “hic clare sonat de confessione,” meaning: “proclaim this part on confession clearly.” So perhaps this is a note for the pastor when reading this section out loud or perhaps crafting a sermon around the reading to particularly emphasize this point. There is also a note next to I Peter 2:6b, which is the end of a quote from Isaiah 28:16 and says, “Behold, I am laying in Zion a stone, a cornerstone chosen and precious, and whoever believes in him will not be put to shame.” The marginal note simply says “omnes” with a symbol indicating that it should appear before the “qui” in “et qui crediderit in eo.” This addition, which is not included in the Vulgate translation, changes the nuance of the verse so that it is not just “whoever believes” but has the emphasis of “everyone who believes” which sounds more inclusive and emphasizes that the gospel is for all. With all these notes, then, the compiler may have been seeking to provide a few helpful glosses for the benefit of the pastor who was to receive them, further evidence that the inclusion of the catholic epistles in this compilation was strategic and demonstrates its pastoral nature.

The other half of the texts in this section of the manuscript are purely liturgical in nature. On folios 107v through 109v is a baptismal instruction divided into fourteen chapters. It is partly

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74 James 3:17a (ESV)  
75 I Peter 2:6b (ESV)
in question-response form and walks the cleric and catechumens through statements of faith and renunciations of the devil. This text has been edited by Keefe as her Text 54.1 in *Water and the Word* but has no previous editions and has no close matches and thus appears to be an original.\(^76\) Keefe in her extensive work on Carolingian baptismal tracts argued that modern historians need to look into the liberties that Carolingian composers took with these baptismal explanations; by looking at the order of the ritual, the wording of the explanations, or the elements that were changed or added, historians can gain insights into how priests were being taught to administer pastoral care.\(^77\) Keefe argued that the Carolingians were especially interested in Christianizing through the symbolism and initiation that came through baptism, hence their focus on explaining the symbols of the ritual and how it worked to transfer catechumens out of paganism and into orthodoxy.\(^78\) She noted that this particular baptismal instruction in Paris, BN lat. 2328 mainly consists of passages from Isidore’s works *De ecclesiasticis officiis* and *Etymologies* but she did not identify which sections came from where. This baptismal instruction, like many from the middle of the ninth century, seemed to reference Charlemagne’s questionnaire from 812 that he sent out to his metropolitans to make sure they and the bishops and priests under them were including what the court considered the essential elements to the ritual.\(^79\) There are, however, a number of originalities woven throughout this instruction (which will be discussed in detail in the following section) that not only use Charlemagne’s list and Isidore’s words in an interesting way

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\(^{77}\) Keefe, *Water and the Word*, 1:41–2. 68. Keefe stresses throughout her study that most of these baptismal instructions are unique or contain unique elements. She concludes that when the legislation was calling for uniformity in baptism, they were aiming for a uniformity in the *ordo* of scrutinies, not the entire rite. Thus the disparity in these baptismal instructions should not be seen as a sign that the reform movement failed, since reformers were not trying to take away regional and local differences.


but borrow from a variety of other unexpected texts to create a unique and detailed explanation on this important initiating sacrament. Since baptismal instructions in general were predominantly created for the practical use of pastors and since this baptismal instruction was being paired with other liturgical texts that were often used for the same reasons, this is yet another text whose usage, placement, and content indicates a pastoral audience for Paris, BN lat. 2328.

To conclude the section on liturgy in this manuscript, immediately following the catholic epistles and baptismal instruction is a commonly copied, Carolingian exposition on the mass, known by scholars by its incipit *Dominus vobiscum.* In as much as the baptismal instruction included in Paris, BN lat. 2328 was creatively original, this particular mass exposition was commonly copied by the Carolingians. Yitzhak Hen has studied it in the context of understanding the education of clergy under the Carolingians and he concluded that, although often attributed to Amalarius of Metz, it was probably produced by someone in or close to the Carolingian court at the turn of the ninth century. It was very quickly circulated and began to be included in liturgical canonical collections. Keefe found that to be true, noting that the *Dominus vobiscum* was the selected mass exposition in sixteen out of the twenty-seven, ninth-century manuscripts she looked at that contained mass commentaries along with baptismal instructions. The regularity in which

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80 J.M. Hanssens, ed., *Expositio missae: Dominus vobiscum*, in *Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia* (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1948), 1:283–338. For this edition Hanssens looked at ten manuscripts but did not include the Paris, BN lat. 2328 copy. Despite the fact that it was not consulted, there are few significant differences between the texts. There are some sections where the arrangement of the words were changed but the meaning remains the same and in most of these cases the reworded sections provide a summarized and streamlined version of the text. At the same time, however, there also seems to be an effort to keep the text as accurate as possible as shown on folio 113r where a marginal note in the same trained hand adds in a phrase that must have been inadvertently skipped.

81 Hen, “Educating the Clergy,” 52–53.

it was copied actually led Christopher Jones and Keefe to suppose it was the unofficial, go-to mass text under the Carolingians.\textsuperscript{83} An analysis of its content makes me tend to agree; this exposition combined logistical and theological descriptions of the mass, detailing how a priest was to explain the theology behind the godhead and the passion and how he should lead the people in prayers of thankfulness and contrition. The mass commentary then culminates in an annotated reading of the Lord’s Prayer and a detailed explanation of how to prepare for, receive, and understand the Eucharist. It is concise and yet full of useful information for a local pastor.

This genre, the exposition on the mass, seems to have been a particular creation of the Carolingians. André Wilmart labeled mass expositions as a Carolingian novelty and argued that their proliferation in the ninth century was in reaction to legislation, such as the \textit{Admonitio generalis}, that required that clerics display a level of education and knowledge, particularly in regard to the teaching of the Lord’s Prayer and Creed.\textsuperscript{84} Christopher Jones added to Wilmart’s observations to say that “theorizing about liturgy answered such a need that, from the ninth century, it could rival and at times surpass biblical commentary as the more urgent exegetical challenge.”\textsuperscript{85} Expositions on the mass in particular were intended to be accessible and practical as well as comprehensive and detailed, in an attempt to educate all clerics on the correct vocabulary, grammar and theology of the mass.\textsuperscript{86} The mass, with its focus on preparing for the Eucharistic meal, was meant to teach the laity though instructions, sermons, readings, symbols as well as

through their own experiences and participation. Laymen were given the opportunity to respond to readings and prayers, sing some of the songs, walk in the offertory procession and exchange the kiss of peace. In these ways then, mass instructions were, like baptismal instructions, expected to serve as important educational resources in the Carolingian agenda of dispersing reform, teaching clerics how to understand and use the symbols of the liturgy for the education of the laity.

There is one final text in Paris, BN lat. 2328 that, although not connected codicologically, needs to be highlighted here as not only another liturgical text but as evidence of pastoral usage. The inclusion of portioned scriptural readings, an original baptismal instruction, and a practical mass exposition all, I believe, work together to show that the compiler of this manuscript was providing a pastor with useful, adaptable, and educational materials for the celebration of the liturgy. The texts on folio 23 verso, however, do not speak to the compiler’s intent because they were not written by the compiler. These texts were added in, with an untrained, ninth-century hand, to the middle of Isidore’s Sententiae right after Book 2 and right before the start of Book 3. The text is barely legible but seems to contain a prayer of confession in one column and a copy of Luke 1:57–68, the birth of John the Baptist, in the other. The passage begins with the word “Circu” in dark ink and then has a statement about God’s love and faithfulness, referencing the incarnation of Christ, who was a doctor who walked in pain for us, “in specie vulnerati medicus ambulavit hic nobis.”

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87 Palazzo, A History of Liturgical Books, 24; and Rev. Josef A. Jungmann, The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origin and Development, Missarum Sollemnia (New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc., 1950), 1:81–85. Reverend Jungmann made an important observation that while the Carolingians were working to elevate the role of the clerics through changing the physical architecture of the churches and limiting some of the participatory nature of the liturgy, at the same time they were promoting a religious revival and insisting on regular attendance at and a general participation in the mass.

88 Jungmann, Mass of the Roman Rite, 86.

89 Keefe, Water and the Word, 2:73. See also note 2.

90 Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 23v.
reader as a supplicant who is to appeal to God the Father to be raised up from his sinful and fallen state, ending with a series of imperatives: break the shackles (*solve conpeditum*) of sin that bind and overcome, and prevail (*praesta*) through holiness, glory and adoration.\(^91\) What is interesting about this passage is that it is actually a prayer that can be found in a number of sacramentaries, including the Roman and Gelasian.\(^92\) It is a prayer that the priest was to pray for himself before entering into mass and it is followed by an oblation as an offering for sin. As such, the prayer is one of humble confession and acknowledgement of Christ’s work of salvation. Since it is in an untrained hand, the implication is that it was written by someone who was not trained in a *scriptorium* but who was familiar with both liturgical and scriptural texts, and therefore perhaps a rural priest.

As shown then, folio 23v may be a testament to the use and purpose of this compilation. Although these two texts do not belong in the middle of Isidore’s *Sententiae*, they serve a liturgical function like the other texts discussed in this section and they indicate that this was a pastoral collection. One is a prayer that a pastor, and only a pastor, would have recited in preparation for the mass, and the other is the biblical account of John the Baptist’s birth, one of the most important feast days in the church.\(^93\) The fact that someone, within the same general time frame that this

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\(^91\) Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 23v.

\(^92\) CETEDOC search “*pro amore hominum factus in similitudinem carnis*” on 01-14-2015. The search reveals that this prayer can be found in the Sacramentary of Angoulême, which is a Gelasian type affiliated with Aquitaine around the year 800, the Gelasian Sacramentary, and the Roman Sacramentary. See Saint-Roch, *Liber Sacramentorum Engolismensis*, CCSL 159C, 342, no. 2197; Damas, *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, CCSL 159A, 243–244, no. 1872; Salmon, *Testimonia orationis christianae antiquioris*, CCCM 47, 170, no. 386.

\(^93\) *Capitula ecclesiastica*, 810–813?, MGH Capit. I: 179, no. 81 mentions the feast day of John the Baptist in a short list of required feasts that are to be observed. Note also that Bernadette Filotas talks about how the mid-summer, solstice festival in the early Middle Ages was merged with the feast day of St. John the Baptist and thus often associated with a number of lewd behaviors that were forbidden by Caesarius and later Atto of Vercelli. It was associated with ritual bathing, bawdy songs and dances, drunkenness and fertility and rain-making rituals. See Bernadette Filotas, *Pagan Survivals, Superstitions and Popular Cultures in Early Medieval Pastoral Literature*, Studies and Texts 151 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005), 175–177.
compilation was assembled, thought this pastoral prayer and passage were important to add into this compilation supports the possibility that this collection was being used by a pastor. It also shows that this manuscript was viewed as a living collection by an active, thinking, proactive, and informed user, who was invested in matters of pastoral care.

As shown then, Paris, BN lat. 2328 has a number of liturgical texts in the middle of the compilation that were linked either explicitly, as seen in the title of the catholic epistles and their placement, or linked on the basis of their liturgical function. The presence of these texts alone, however, may not be considered conclusively pastoral as a rule. Some could argue that the (mostly) unglossed catholic epistles might actually be indicative of a monastic audience since clerics were more likely to be given commentaries on the scriptures or just receive the Psalter or the Gospels.94 In addition, scholars who specialize in Carolingian library lists and wills have found that these kind of practical texts were sometimes owned by pious laymen for devotional or intellectual study rather than for ministerial purposes. In fact, Rosamond McKitterick even mentions Paris, BN lat. 2328 specifically as one of her prime examples of a florilegium that would have been interesting to pious lay readers because of the explanatory texts it contains such as the works by Isidore and Alcuin as well as the expositions on the mass and baptism.95 While McKitterick is right in that these texts do appear in some lay libraries, the manuscript history of these texts, as shown, was actually quite broad. In addition, there is legislative evidence that supports that these kinds of texts were to be circulated for the reform of pastors. While laymen were actively being recruited by


95 McKitterick, The Carolingians and the Written Word, 259, 267.
reformers, the main impetus of the reform agenda was the education and *correctio* of the spiritual leaders. The odds are that a modest, anonymous miscellany, with instructional texts on the liturgy, priestly prayers, and popular sermons was much more likely directed to a pastor than an elite layman.

In this section, by playing close attention to the titles and marginal notes, by making connections to the ways the included texts worked together, and by identifying and situating the additions on folio 23v, I have pointed out that there are a number of clues that indicate that these liturgical texts were being copied by a compiler for a pastor’s use. The catholic epistles were included for more than contemplative study because they are segmented into reading portions and supplemented with marginal notes explaining points to emphasize to an audience. In addition, they fit into the ecclesiastical calendar when read in comparison with the other texts in the compilation; that is because the catholic epistles were often read after Easter and the baptismal instruction was to be used for Easter baptisms and there are a series of Lenten sermons at the end of the manuscript. The pastoral prayer of confession, which would only have been of benefit to an officiant of the mass, was copied into the manuscript by the user. In fact, the evidence here corresponds with Yitzhak Hen’s description of a pastoral handbook, his criteria being a compilation of texts, modest in appearance, which contains pastorally relevant works alongside a collection of different, and usually just partial, liturgical resources. In these ways, both the originally compiled and the later included liturgical texts in Paris, BN lat. 2328 continue to show (1) that this manuscript “miscellany” was intentionally created for a purpose and (2) that the purpose was to serve as a resource for a Carolingian pastor.

Hen, *Royal Patronage of Liturgy*, 13–14. Hen used this criteria to identify and analyze two manuscripts that he labeled as pastoral handbooks. See also Hen, “Knowledge of Canon Law Among Rural Priests,” 121–129.
So far this analysis of Paris, BN lat. 2328 has shown that the compilation contains texts that were grouped together by a compiler for a purpose. We looked at two sizeable, educational resources from the past and present, a collection of practical texts dealing with the care for the dead, and a connected sampling of liturgical expositions that explained the form and function of the mass and sacraments. Later additions that related to these original texts were also identified as significant since they may be indicators of how the recipient used and supplemented the compilation for purposes of pastoral care. My analysis of these sections has demonstrated that Paris, BN lat. 2328 had been intentionally compiled by a scribe and was intended to be and was actually used by a ninth-century pastor. Here, I will continue to work to that end but, before getting to the collection of popular sermons that conclude the compilation, I will tackle the two texts that do not seem to fit easily into a pastoral category. These include a short and original lapidary and a hagiographical text based on the life of a late antique, eastern, cross-dressing, female saint. While these texts may have served a number of possible functions, I am going to use this section to look at the manuscript history and the content of these works to show how they may have been used quite effectively by a pastor and even perhaps for similar purposes.

While the first two texts by Isidore and Alcuin are lengthy copies, starting on the bottom of the second column on folio 95v there is a small lapidary text that takes up just a folio and a half. It in fact almost blends in with Alcuin’s treatise, distinguishable only by a modest title in all capitals that reads “Incipit de lapidibus et gemmis.” It is a loose copy of Isidore’s Book XVI, which was the most commonly copied section from his Etymologies and served as the most popular lapidary text in the west during the early Middle Ages until the eleventh century with Marbode’s
study. Isidore’s text is scientific in nature; he was mainly interested in describing and categorizing stones and metals and only on occasion mentioned their medicinal potential or magical reputations.

Whoever wrote the lapidary in Paris, BN lat. 2328, perhaps the compiler, was clearly aware of Isidore’s text. The opening lines are nearly identical to Isidore’s opening and some of the references show a deep awareness of Isidore’s descriptions. Despite these few exceptions, however, the work as a whole indicates that this was not a direct copy. Rather, the author was summarizing parts of Isidore’s lapidary from memory or his notes, as evidenced by the number of errors, the haphazard arrangement of the stones, as well as the reworded, rather than just selected, abridgments. In addition to these changes, the Paris, BN lat. 2328 lapidary is interesting since there

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99 For example, the passage on Pontica interestingly puts together information that Isidore had split between two different sections in Etymologies. The creator of this lapidary says that Pontica is a gem with bright spots of red and gold, which Isidore documents in Etymologies XVI, section 12. The creator continues by saying that some have found that Pontica is able to question and drive off demons, which Isidore documents in section 15. The combination of these references could indicate that the creator was familiar enough with Isidore’s work to remember and rearrange the information for his own purposes. This is just a theory, though, since he may have also been working from an altered copy of Isidore’s work.
are also many new stones mentioned, although misspellings and misunderstandings are common in the copying of lapidary texts, so it is difficult to tell if these passages are mistakes or original contributions. There are also some changes to Isidore’s descriptions; this lapidary says chrysolite is from India, when Isidore locates it in Ethiopia, that topaz is expressed in twelve colors, when Isidore says it glitters with all colors, or that beryllus is white, when Isidore says it is pale green.

As shown, then, the creator of this text was not just trying to copy a few sections on stones from Isidore’s famous work, he was using Isidore’s research to create something new. He was making a judgment call about what to include and in what order. Although this text seems to stand in contrast with the theological and pastoral texts it is surrounded by, it is important to remember that lapidary texts were a popular genre in the ancient and late antique world and used for a number of purposes. There were early Christian lapidaries that denied the reputed magical attributes and focused on the allegorical significance of the stones, especially in connection with the biblical passages on the breastplate of the High Priest as well as the gilded gates of heaven. Clearly, however, lapidaries did not have to be explicitly focused on biblical stone allusions to be useful for Christians, since Isidore, one of the most read theologians of Late Antiquity, did not choose

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100 Concetta Giliberto, for one, specifically mentions her issues with finding mistakes in her study of the Old English Lapidary and she attributed them to the author working off of memory rather than copying an altered text. See Giliberto, “An Unpublished De Lapidibus,” 275. Although this issue is referenced in many other sources as well, Claude Lecouteux’s study tries to counteract this problem by listing the popular stones with the common variations of their names listed below. I went through this list and was not able to find any similarities. For his thoughts on this problem see Claude Lecouteux, A Lapidary of Sacred Stones: Their Magical and Medicinal Powers Based on the Earliest Sources, trans. Jon E. Graham (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 2001), 26.

101 These unidentified stone references and apparent errors do not seem to appear in any of the other known texts this compiler may have been aware of, such as those of Pliny, Augustine, Dioscorides, Theophrastus, and Solinus. Unfortunately, not enough work has been done on transmitted copies of Isidore’s lapidary chapter to know if any one else was summarizing and altering the work in this way.

102 Evans, Magical Jewels, 29.
this subgenre but created a scientific lapidary instead. Stones were often an object of superstitious interest or magical practices in the ancient world and through the Middle Ages. Thus, to say that the “scientific” works were in no way religiously relevant is in many ways a false dichotomy. Knowledge was power for a rural pastor and Paris, BN lat. 2328’s lapidary, then, should be considered an originally constructed version of a common and multifaceted genre that could have been just as valuable, if not more so, as I will explain in a moment, for a pastoral recipient than any other.

The other seemingly out of place text in Paris, BN lat. 2328, which is written in after the moral sermons and in the midst of the sermon section at the end of Paris, BN lat. 2328 is a hagiography. This short story, taking up folios 119r–120r, is about a saint named Marina who was a late antique, eastern, cross-dressing, female monk who lived in male garb most of her life and used the name Marinos.\(^{103}\) The use of hagiographies under the Carolingians has been much debated. Some historians have postulated that hagiographies were being read mainly in monasteries by the ninth century, but most also admit that there is much uncertainty surrounding the uses of this genre and that saints’ lives seem to have had multiple purposes in the Carolingian empire.\(^{104}\) At the same time, there is much that we do not know about Marina as well. She was a cross-dressing female ascetic, also labeled a transvestite nun, and as such she actually fit in to a

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\(^{103}\) For printed edition see *Vita sanctae marinae virginis*, PL 73: col. 691A– 694B.

popular hagiographical subgenre in the early Byzantine Empire. These cross-dressing stories seem to have been inspired by the story of Thecla from the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, who was the most popular female saint of the early church after the Virgin Mary and the first female ascetic to dress like a man. The author of Marina’s original *vita* is unknown. She is often renamed Maria or Mary or confused with other saints, most commonly St. Margareta the martyr, and even when she is called Marina there is confusion over which Marina she is. The BHL lists her as “Marina, dicta Marinus monachus” with a feast day of July 17th. Heribert Rosweyde, however, who edited the *Vitae patrum* collection in 1628, said that out of the several saint Marinas, this story centers on Marina of Alexandria, whose saint’s day is February 12th. Her *vitae* does not have any place or time markers; it exists in Syriac, Latin and Greek, and also in many later vernaculars such as Coptic, Armenian, Arabic, medieval German and old French and scholars have had a difficult time estimating her dates. M.F. Nau argued that Marina lived near Alexandria in the beginning of the

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105 For a useful overview of the context and characteristics of these texts see Susan Ashbrook Harvey, *Asceticism and Society in Crisis: John of Ephesus and the Lives of the Eastern Saints* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 114–117; John Anson, “The Female Transvestite in Early Monasticism: The Origin and Development of a Motif,” *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 5 (1974): 1–32, 13; Nicolas Constas, “Life of St. Mary/Marinus,” in *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints’ Lives in English Translation*, ed. Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996), 3–5; and Khalifa Bennisser, “Gender and Sanctity in Early Byzantine Monasticism: A Study of the Phenomenon of Female Ascetics in Male Monastic Habit with a Translation of the Life of St. Matrona” (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1984), 43–44. Tales about the secret lives of transvestite nuns were popular in the late antique east. Anson argued that they shared a three-part structure that went through a flight from the world, through means of disguise and seclusion, until the moment of their discovery and recognition by others who heralded them as saints. Constas relabeled the stages as separation, liminality, and reaggregation, noting that through the recognition stage these women were accepted as “men” in terms of their spiritual achievement but they were rarely accepted as such while they were still alive. Bennisser, however, questioned the overlapping stages theories and instead argued that their textual patterns changed over time in waves.


fifth century and M.L. Clugnet believed she lived near Tripoli in Syria but also thought she was a fifth-century saint and that her *vita* was written in the fifth century as well.\textsuperscript{109} The latest theory, from nearly forty years ago now, is from M. Richard, who looked at three manuscripts on her life preserved at Mt. Athos and argued that her *vita* was written down sometime between 525 and 650.\textsuperscript{110}

In the Latin version of her life that appears in Paris, BN lat. 2328, Marina’s father leaves her for the monastic way of life but later misses her and smuggles her in disguised as his son. In Marina’s subsequent transformation into *Marinus* she is both passive and silent, warned by her father not to reveal her gender “lest this holy monastery be destroyed, and in the sight of Christ and his holy angels, we receive eternal damnation with the wicked ones.”\textsuperscript{111} The ruse worked and, after her father died when she was 17, Marina was able to stay in the same cell on her own and was loved by all. She was, however, asked to start making regular trips outside the monastery to buy supplies, often staying at the inn of a man named Pandotius. Now Pandotius had an unmarried daughter. One day a local soldier impregnated her and she named Marinus as the culprit. The abbot questioned Marina, and she, rather than reveal her true gender, sighed deeply and responded: "I have sinned, father, I am sorry; I have committed a grave crime, pray for me."\textsuperscript{112} As punishment, Marina was forced out of the monastery for five years and the “holy virgin” had to raise the child


\textsuperscript{111} *Vita sanctae marinae virginis*, PL 73: col. 0691B; Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 119r: “et dicit ei: Vide, filia, ne cognoscat aliquis mysterium tuum usque in finem tuum, et sollicita sis ab insidiis inimici et ne seducaris ab eo, et iste sanctum monasterium videatur dissolvi, et in conspectu Christi et sanctis angelis eius ne cum impiis aeterna damnationem accipiamus.”

\textsuperscript{112} *Vita sanctae marinae virginis*, PL 73: col. 0692B; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 119v: Peccavi, Pater, penitentiam ago; Ago feci enim grave scelus ora pro me.
of her accuser and live as a beggar outside the monastery gates. The resolution of the story, that is the moment of discovery and recognition, began when Marina was finally allowed back in to the monastery as long as she continued to do penance by taking on the most servile tasks for her brothers. Marina agreed to these terms willingly but a few days later she died. In the process of washing her body for burial, the monks discovered that “Marinus” was actually a woman and the repentant abbot had her buried in a place of honor, the oratory of the monastery. On that same day, the innkeeper’s daughter, who had been “seized by the devil” since her lie, came and confessed and seven days later the demon came out of her near Marina’s grave. News of this spread and people came to the monastery “where now, through the prayers and because of the merit of the holy virgin Marina, on whom the Lord has deigned to bestow so great a grace, many miracles began to occur.”

Marina’s story was first written in Syriac and translated into Greek and then from there translated into Latin and inserted in the Vitae patrum, which was a collection of stories about the desert fathers and early martyrs and saints that was translated and collected between the fourth and seventh centuries and disseminated widely during the Middle Ages, although in many forms and parts. Despite this compilation’s popularity, it has not been adequately studied by modern scholars and has only gone through one edition and that is the seventeenth century publication completed by Jesuit Heribert Rosweyde and later reprinted in the PL. Marina’s story is copied

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113 Vita sanctae marinae virginis, PL 73: col. 0692C; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 119v: Sancta enim virgo...
114 Vita sanctae marinae virginis, PL 73: col. 0694A; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 120r: Eadem die puella illa arrepca a demonio venit ad monasterium, et confitebatur crimen quod ei in miserat, eo quod deipso concepisset. In septima vero die passionis eius liberata est a Domino: infra oratorio a demonio.
115 Vita sanctae marinae virginis, PL 73: col. 0694B; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 120r: Qui usque nunc per orationibus et meritum sanctae virginis Marine multa facit mirabilia, cui tantam gratiam Dominus praestare dignatus est.
117 Vita patrum, PL 73–74.
in the section on eleven Holy Women. Out of these eleven women, four of them, including Marina, were cross-dressers.\footnote{These include: Eugenia, Euphrosyna, Pelagia, and Marina. Mary of Egypt almost counts since she was often assumed to be a man because of how much her ascetic lifestyle altered her appearance.} A limited study of this story’s dissemination in the west was begun by Clugnet in his work on a critical edition and French translation of the Latin text. He looked at eleven Latin manuscript copies from the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale and listed this manuscript as the oldest Latin copy he was able to locate.\footnote{Clugnet, “Histoire de sainte Marine,” 357. All of the manuscripts he looked at, however, are from Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, so it is unclear if this is the oldest Latin manuscript that he was able to find just in that library collection or in general. The other manuscripts include: B: Paris BN lat. 10840, f. 145–147 (11th c.); C: 5296, f. 63–64 (13th c.); D: 5306, f. 101–102 (14th c.); E: 5345, f. 87–88 (12th c.); F: 5573, f. 54–56 (12th c.); G: 5666, f. 52–56 (12th c.); H: 2843, f. 122–124 (12th c.); I: 12612, f. 182–184 (13th c.); J: 5367, f. 32–34 (14th c.); and K: 17632, f. 67–69 (15th c.). For editions of each of these texts see Clugnet, “Histoire de sainte Marine,” 360–378.} He also said that Paris, BN lat. 2328 was a particularly negligent copy and thus he used manuscript B, Paris BN lat. 10840, from the eleventh century, as a base text since it was the second oldest Latin text he was able to locate, perhaps showing a very limited early medieval dissemination pattern in the west, albeit based on a limited sample pool.\footnote{Clugnet, “Histoire de sainte Marine,” 357–358n1.} When it comes to archeological evidence, Marina had a small chapel named after her in Paris, with a deed dated to the mid-eleventh century in the name of Henry I.\footnote{Nau, “Histoire de Sainte Marine,” 280. He notes that the church was destroyed in 1867 but is mentioned various times throughout the later Middle Ages.} Her relics, however, were eventually transferred to Venice, Italy where they remain today.\footnote{Hourani, “The Vita of Saint Marina in the Maronite Tradition,” 23.} So, apparently there was continuing, although limited, interest in these cross-dressing female saints among the Carolingians and beyond, with Marina’s \textit{vita} taking hold mostly in France and Italy but not until the eleventh century. At the same time, there is no evidence that there were new transvestite nuns or stories about them being developed in the Latin west. Thus, the inclusion of this \textit{vitae} in Paris,
BN lat. 2328 would have been unusual, an uncommonly circulated work in the early medieval west.

As shown, then, both the lapidary and hagiography included in Paris, BN lat. 2328 have a number of original and strange elements. The lapidary appears to be an original creation; it was based on a respected source but only loosely and contains a number of changes and additions. The hagiography, although an odd story of a late antique, eastern saint, does come from the circulated *Vitae patrum* collection that contained a number of other cross-dressing female subjects as well. Both sources could have been interesting to a number of audiences but I think they do fit in a pastoral handbook because they both deal with spiritual power and handle potentially dangerous topics by directing listeners and petitioners to the church. This is a subject I will spend more time on in the next two chapters but it is important to note here that stones and saints both would have represented potential sources of power and healing to medieval listeners. An early medieval pastor needed to know how to look out for and guard against the tendencies in his flocks to turn to superstitious solutions when dealing with sickness and misfortune. While these practices seem to have diminished in the ninth century, perhaps there were still local superstitions surrounding stones. It is interesting though that this lapidary informs more than it condemns, implying that the danger, if there, would be one of ignorance that a local pastor should correct, not fear or punish.

123 There is evidence that Caesarius and church leaders in the previous generation were very concerned that the people were turning to magic for healing purposes. As noted by Bernadette Filotas, the second Council of Arles (442-506) warned bishops to be on the look out against laymen who worshiped trees, wells and stones. Paxton has observed that this tendency to forbid stone worship through councils was also true in the eighth century since the Austrasian council presided over by Carloman in 742 forbade the use of magic, specifying the wearing of amulets, to promote healing. There is also mention of the sacrilege of worshipping stones, phylacteries, and amulets in the *Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum* from the eighth century. See Filotas, *Pagan Survivals*, 147; Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 70, 94; and *Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum*, MGH Capit. 1:223, no. 7 and 10: “De hits quae faciunt super petras.” “De filacteriis et ligaturis.” For a summary of why this anonymous and brief document is fraught with uncertainties and may only have limited significance, however, see Yitzhak Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul, AD 481-751* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 178–180.
Thus, even if this lapidary is evidence of continuing local superstitions, this text does not imply that local pastors were facing established cults as much as misinformation.

And misperceptions may have been common since the church was not suppressing all interest in the supernatural; Carolingian reformers just wanted to direct the laity to church-sanctioned, supernatural solutions. For example, pastors were to anoint the sick with oil, an option that certainly looked magical, and, according to Paxton, that was part of the point, saying, “the herbal medicine of the countryside was too deeply rooted to be readily replaced by an ecclesiastical rite that was no less magical...”\textsuperscript{124} G.R. Evans made a similar point but in connection with the saints, saying that the promotion of the cult of the saints would have looked like the cult of the pagan gods since both “gave simple people the encouraging sense that they could enter into transactions with supernatural powers.”\textsuperscript{125} Paul Hayward takes this even a step further saying that the Carolingians did not even try to spell out the difference: “Most hagiographers seem... to have been exploiting the experiences of humbler devotees rather than attempting to modify popular belief and practice.”\textsuperscript{126} And these fears and worries were not unwarranted. As Paul Dutton notes, in an agricultural kingdom, weather patterns and natural disasters could have life-changing effects and their occurrences were labeled in terms of omens. The Carolingians had to legislate against the use of incantations, rituals, sacrifices and amulets and saw these superstitious beliefs, spurred

\textsuperscript{124} Paxton, \textit{Christianizing Death}, 164.

\textsuperscript{125} Gillian R. Evans, \textit{The Church in the Early Middle Ages}, The I.B. Tauris History of the Christian Church series (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 71. Of course, the cult of the saints is not a movement that is unique to the ninth century but it was born in the period following the fall of the Roman empire. The nature of the cult of the saints then, however, was a bit different and generally had a broader appeal. While the Carolingians were working to strategically control their veneration, the cult of the saints during the late antique period fascinated superstitious laymen as well as educated theologians and aristocrats. There is a vast bibliography on this topic that starts with Peter Brown’s seminal work. See Peter Brown, \textit{The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

\textsuperscript{126} Hayward, “Demystifying the Role of Sanctity ,” 129.
on by fear, as “an important barrier to the Christianization of a rural population.” Thomas Amos’ conclusion wraps this up well: the Carolingian local pastors were in charge of shaping the worldview of their flocks; in general, the laity saw the world as a mysterious, dangerous place that was just as inhabited with unseen powers as it was with seen powers.

More recently, scholars have argued that by the ninth century pagan interpretations of this mysterious and dangerous world were increasingly rare. Part of the reason for this shift is because, through tools like this Paris codex, reformers were successfully spreading *correctio*. Isidore’s *Etymologies* was particularly valued and used for its logical and reasoned deconstruction of natural events and church leaders tried to encourage the laity in general to turn to the church with their questions and fears about the world. They also worked to replace superstition with Christian “magic” in the forms of prayers, holy oil, saints, relics, signs of the cross, and so on. Thus, any resources that would have supplied pastors with this kind of information, like a lapidary or a saint’s life, should be regarded by scholars as at least potentially being aimed at teaching pastoral care in this context. Even if, by the ninth-century, organized pagan belief structures were mostly a thing of the past, supplying information against paganism was part of the rhetoric of Carolingian reform.

With this background in mind, although these two sources may not be the most obvious evidence proving that Paris, BN lat. 2328 was intentionally compiled and intended for a pastor, they certainly do not undermine that argument either and should not be discounted. The lapidary

129 For a longer discussion of this debate about early medieval paganism, refer to my introduction, pages 38–41.
carefully demystified the magic of stones by describing most of them as decorative items that had known origins and observable properties. There were a few stones, however, that the text notes, in adherence with Isidore, were known for certain powers, such as deterring demons, assuaging pain, discovering virginity, and repelling serpents. By putting this knowledge into the hands of a pastor, however, it was his to bestow where appropriate and he could couch these powers in terms of their naturally given qualities ordained by God. If the pastor was the guide, laymen who turned to these stones for help were still turning to the guidance of the church. And Marina’s story may have held similar insights. As explained at the end of the story, Marina became a saint because of her life of chastity and patience; she was a saint who knew the hardships of life and had compassion on those who petitioned her post-mortem. On the other hand, sinners were to beware, as shown by the fact that her accuser was demon possessed for years as punishment for her crimes against the saint. A pastor with this story at his disposal had a way of showing the power of a moral life and the power of a saint’s intercession; both of these lessons would have directed his congregants to the authority of the church rather than pagan sources of supernatural power. In these ways then, even the apparently miscellaneous elements within Paris, BN lat. 2328 could have been categorized and treated by the compiler as useful tools for a pastor to possess.

Resources for Pastoral Care: Strategic, Popular Sermons
Moral Sermons 1-4; Life of St. Marina; Lenten Sermons 5-10

At this point, I have worked through all the main components of Paris, BN lat. 2328 with the exception of the final grouping of texts, which consists of two batches of sermons divided by Marina’s vita. I have grouped the works that appear in the manuscript in terms of their probable usage, which I have argued by looking at the manuscript history and content of each. My goals
have been to go through the texts in terms of their function in order to prove that (1) Paris, BN lat. 2328 should be considered an intentionally compiled work and (2) that it was created to aid in the education of a pastor. As has been shown, this manuscript contains reference theological works, instructions for the care of the dead, liturgical expositions, priestly prayers, segmented scripture readings, and a lapidary and vita dealing with supernatural power and outlets for healing. I have shown that all of these texts were at least plausibly useful for a pastor, both on their own but especially in conjunction with each other, and, in some cases, would not have been useful for anyone but a pastor. These sermons at the end of Paris, BN lat. 2328 drive that point home. All of these texts were written in the same trained hand as the other texts in the manuscript and thus were placed here by the compiler. The texts are separated from each other codicologically either by a change in ink color for the title or a decorated or enlarged initial but they, including the hagiography, also run into each other, often sharing the same page or column. Most of them are based on late antique works or sermons but contain strategic changes that alter the emphasis of the content and help make the sermons work together as units. In the next section, I will delve into these adaptations in more detail but here I will summarize the works, explain generally where they come from and how they fit with each other, and then conclude by showing how these sermons continue to indicate that Paris, BN lat. 2328 was a carefully shaped, practical and educational, pastoral compilation.

The first grouping consists of Sermons 1-4, which are moral sermons that contain exhortations on good, Christian behaviors. The moral sermons emphasize the weight of sin, the imperative for good works, especially tithing, and the motivation found in the eternal rewards and punishments that await all men. The main task of Carolingian popular sermons was to package
orthodox, understandable lessons on Christian behavior in concise, memorable, teachable formats. Sermons 1-4 use the lessons on virtues and vices, vocational callings, the transience of life on earth, and supernatural power detailed in other parts of this compilation, tie them to Scriptural passages, and then couple the exhortations with both positive and negative reinforcements to create practical and memorable messages for listeners.

Sermon 1 is an unedited, unattributed sermon that appears to be original to this manuscript and may have been a creation of the compiler. It starts the sermon section on folio 115v on the top of the second column immediately following the exposition on the mass and is a short sermon, taking up just three columns in total. Entitled “Incipit testimonia de apostolo sancto,” Sermon 1 revolves around an extensively augmented listing of good fruits of the spirit and bad fruits of the flesh based on Galatians 5. This list is particularly interesting since it goes well beyond Paul’s admonitions in order to list contemporary issues and seems to be especially concerned with encouraging care for others and loyalty to the church. To this point, the list of sins includes not doing good – a theme that will run throughout the moral sermons showing their complementary purpose. Sermon 1 then ends with a detailed description of the eternal punishments and rewards that are meted out on the Day of Judgment according to the caliber of the fruit each person produced on earth.

Sermon 2, entitled “Sermo sancti augustini episcopi” in very faint red ink, builds on these “behavioral Christianity” lessons but uses a creedal-like format to pair it with an introduction to

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130 Keefe, Water and the Word, 2:73. The “sancta” part is very faint and difficult to read but that was Keefe’s guess as well as mine.
131 See Meens, “Religious Instruction in the Frankish Kingdoms,” 54–55. In his summary of Carolingian sermons, Meens makes the point that they are most often concerned with either explaining essential theology using the Creed or explaining moral behavior and listing vices and virtues. In general, this collection of ten sermons follows those key points and, in particular, Sermon 1 here is consistent with the second category, which may be further indication that this was an original, Carolingian-era composition.
basic gospel theology. It is loosely based on Caesarius of Arles’ commonly copied Homily 17, in which he uses Augustine’s words to address repentance. In Paris, BN lat. 2328, the title and the first lines of Sermon 2 begin on the bottom of folio 116r and then the short sermon spans both columns on folio 116v and is packed with Christological and soteriological theology. It begins with a call for listeners to remember the hopeless state mankind was in because of original sin instated through the failure of Adam. A description of Christ’s incarnation follows and is a streamlined and slightly rearranged version of Caesarius’ words. The situation was so dire that, before Christ, “the devil ruled in the world and all people were held by the power of death, both sinners and the righteous.” Sermon 2 explains the incarnation and how it was effective in bringing salvation and then it continues on, in creed-like fashion, to outline the life, death, and work of Christ. The conclusion departs from Caesarius’ words entirely with an original ending on Christ’s descent to hell and then on the final resurrection of man, either into heaven or hell.

Sermon 3 starts where Sermon 2 ends, picking up with this theme of the judgment that will come on the day of reckoning. The sermon is titled “Incipit sermo sancti augustini episcopi de deum iudicii” and yet this sermon is a near exact copy of Caesarius’ Sermon 158 entitled “De eo quod dicitur in evangelio: Venite benedicti et de facienda eleemosyna.”

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132 Keefe, Water and the Word, 2:73; and G. Morin, ed., Sermo CLVIII: De eo quod dicitur in evangelio: Venite benedicti. Et de facienda eleemosyna, CCSL 104 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953), 966. For the edition of Caesarius’ version of this sermon see Homelia XVII PL 67: col. 1079C–1081B. Morin notes when describing Paris, BN lat 2328 that many of the sermons in the collection sound like Caesarius but there are many liberties that have been taken so he used these versions of the sermons sparingly in his editions. See G. Morin, ed., Sermo XXXIII: De reddendis decimus: ante natale sancti iohannis baptistae, CCSL 103 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953), ci. In regard to this particular sermon, Morin found that Caesarius’ Homily 17 appears in many variant forms throughout the Middle Ages and was often, as it is in Paris BN lat. 2328, attributed to Augustine.

133 Homilia XVII, PL 67: col. 1079C; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 116v: Fratres karissimi, ad memoriam vestram reducimus quod ante adventum salua diabolus regnabat in mundo, et mortis imperium tenebatur omnis populus, Peccatores sive iusti, extentes de corpore, ad infernum descendebant, propter originale peccatum que de adam traximus...

134 Keefe, Water and the Word, 2:73; and Morin, Sermo CLVIII, CCSL 104, 645–648. In Keefe’s reference to Sermon 3 in her description of Paris, BN lat. 2328, she mentions that Morin says that although it has the flavor of a Caesarius
than Sermon 1 or 2. The title is austere and faint, perhaps just on the bottom f. 116v to suggest a linkage between the sermons because the text actually starts on the next page, with the decorated first word “Audivimus”, and then it fills f. 116v and 117r. Sermon 3 focuses on Matthew 25 and the image of the separation of the sheep from the goats. The point of emphasis, like that of Sermon 1, is that those who are condemned to hell are not cast out because of a long list of sins but due to the good that they failed to do. Christians should be the nurturers of the needy and the champions for the poor; they are to do good works to both fulfill their Christian duty and to atone for their sins. Although the sermon lists the main categories covered in Matthew 25, which are: giving alms, feeding the hungry, relieving the thirsty, and clothing the naked, the emphasis at the end is very much on the practicalities of financial giving – how and what to give monetarily. The standard for giving is to be measured according to each person’s resources and the charity in each person’s heart; God is pleased with the offerings that are given willingly and sacrificially. The motivation offered is that proper giving on earth will be repaid with eternal rewards of far greater worth. “He who gives little, receives much. He who extends a coin, collects the kingdom; he who bestows a little bit of money, receives eternal life.”

Thus, Sermon 3 establishes that pious Christians, of Arles sermon, it is not a Caesarius sermon but I think she is mistakenly referring here to Sermon 158A, which is listed by Morin. See Morin, Sermo CLVIII, CCSL 104, 648. Sermon 158A is a similar sermon but also contains interpolations from other sources, especially in the second half. Keefe may have been relying primarily on the incipits. Upon close analysis, Sermon 3 is actually a near exact copy of Caesarius’ Sermon 158, which can be found just before 158A. See Morin, Sermo CLVIII, CCSL 104, 645–648. Morin says that his edition of Sermon 158 is a complete and unaltered Caesarius sermon. Keefe also references that an edition can be found in Morin. See G. Morin, Miscellanea Agostiniana: Testi e Studi: Volume 1: Sancti Augustini Sermones Post Maurinos Reperti (Rome: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1990), 725. Keefe notes this edition is similar to Augustine’s Sermon 78, but that is not the case.

135 Morin, Sermo CLVIII, CCSL 104, 648; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 117v: Quare laetus et hilaris? quia dat parum et accipit multum. Porregit nummum, et comparat regnum tribuit paruam pecuniam, et accipit vitam aeternam. This is also one of the instances where the sermon writer either shortened or was copying from a shortened text since Caesarius also lists “dat temporalia, ut mereatur aeterna” as one more reward of cheerful giving.
regardless of their wealth, were to give in confidence, viewing their sacrifice on earth as a foolproof investment for their future.

The last of the moral sermons, Sermon 4 is similar to Sermon 3 in theme and style. It is also attributed to Augustine, being entitled “Incipit Sermo Sancti augustini episcopi de decimis,” but it is actually inspired by Caesarius’ Sermon 33 entitled “De reddendis decimis: ante natale sancti iohannis baptistae.” Sermon 4, however, contains many minor changes when it comes to wording, often rearranging Caesarius’ sentences, switching out words, or streamlining the text, and it does not mention John the Baptist at all.136 The sermon text takes up folios 118r and 118v but the beginning of the title actually shares the last line on f. 117v with the end of Sermon 3. Sermon 4 starts where Sermon 3 ends, focused on giving but now specifically dealing with tithing, a topic that was particularly important to the Carolingian reform movement and will be explored in detail in the next chapter. As shown then, all the moral sermons have codicological connections that mirror their thematic connections. This sermon first contains many references to scripture that explain the concept of tithing: all are to give of the best they have to offer and thus the giving of "first fruits” is a requirement of all, whatever their profession. The middle of Sermon 4’s message focuses on the logic of giving: God could justly ask for nine tenths instead of one; he rewards the giver and punishes the stingy; he is in control of even the natural elements and everything that man possesses is a gift from Him. It also includes an original tangent on giving to Caesar. The last section then extends from explaining the logic of giving into setting forth application points. If

136 Keefe, Water and the Word, 274. As Keefe has described, Morin notes this sermon in his edition of Sermon 33. See G. Morin, ed., Sermo XXXIII, CCSL 103, ci. However, Morin did not address Sermon 33 in his Initia. See Morin, Sermo CLVIII, CCSL 104. I found, however, that Sermon 4 is very similar to Caesarius’ Sermon 33. See, Morin, Sermo XXXIII, CCSL 103, 142–147. The most striking difference is that Sermon 4 does not include the first or last sections of Caesarius’ original sermon where St. John the Baptist’s feast day is mentioned.
everything belongs to the Lord, if he only demands the best tenth, and if that giving will be rewarded or the lack of giving will be punished, then the logical and biblical application is that all pious Christians must act now and give before it is too late. Life is short and money is not eternal, therefore give now and give generously.

As shown, then, although varied in their specific messages these moral sermons were codicologically and thematically linked and seemed to be building on each other’s messages. They are all either indebted to Caesarius or original works. They are all interested in encouraging a balance between avoiding evil and doing good. Demonstrating the theological and scriptural reasons behind each exhortation is an important component to all four, showing that lived, moral Christianity was not to be separated from philosophical, theological Christianity even to a lay audience. Then, just on the practical level, these sermons are short, clear, streamlined, often abridging even Caesarius’ sermons that were known to be created for lay audiences. For these reasons, they align with Thomas Amos’ definition of popular sermons and would have served a pastor well as ready-made texts for preaching and teaching laymen. They thus help prove that this compilation was being intentionally shaped by a compiler and they help prove that this compilation was intended for a pastoral recipient.

After the moral sermons and in the midst of the sermon section at the end of Paris, BN lat. 2328 is the previously mentioned vita of Saint Marina. Her vita divides and yet blends in to the sermon collection, separating the moral and Lenten sermons and taking up folios 119r-120r. The


title, however, is on the very last line of f. 118v and is not decorated or enlarged. It simply reads “Incipit Tractus Sancta Marina” and is in red ink, as is the last line of Sermon 4. Thus, codicologically it appears as if the compiler was trying to connect this hagiography to the moral sermons that preceded it.

Although I have already mentioned that this hagiography may have been useful for a pastor because of its description of accessible Christian supernatural power, the fact that it is being literally connected to the moral sermons here indicates that its function may have also extended to possible preaching purposes. Marina led a difficult life, in which she was misunderstood and wrongfully accused, but her life was also blessed by God, as shown by her post-mortem miracles, and marked by exemplary character traits that are specifically included in Sermon 1’s augmented list of the fruits of the spirits: chastity, humility, hope, fasting, suffering, tribulation, and difficulty. While Sermons 3 and 4 especially follow up on the fruits of the spirit that had to do with service and giving, perhaps Marina’s story was meant to exemplify this other half of Sermon 1’s list of good works and the example of the obedient and suffering Christ as articulated in Sermon 2. In this light, the vita could have provided a pastor with an anecdotal tool for describing the difficulties of the Christian life and for encouraging a sort of hybrid asceticism that was possible for all. Marina, after all, was not always able to lead the strict monastic life that she loved, but it was her perseverance through demands on her time and through suffering that brought her the favor of the Lord. As stressed by both Isidore in Sententiae and Alcuin in De virtutibus et vitiis, even laymen could, if committed to moral living, reach a high rank of holiness that would be rewarded in heaven regardless of their status as lay people on earth. Thus, this story from the east could plausibly have been providing a Carolingian pastor with an interesting exemplum for a Christian life of humility.
Given its placement with the moral sermons on Christian living, the theological context of this manuscript as a whole, and the cultural context of the Carolingian reform movement, Marina’s \textit{vita} could have been a valuable pastoral tool to teach the importance of obedience and humility, the growth that comes through suffering, and the creative ways in which everyone can live holy, active lives.

Sermons 5-10 close out the volume. They are exegetical, Lenten sermons based on the book of John. While the moral sermons focus on practical lessons for living a Christian life and the basics of gospel theology supplemented with supporting biblical references, the exegetical sermons model and teach a more complex and rhetorical way of reading scripture, working to demonstrate how every detail has a multiplicity of meanings that are simultaneously historical, moral, and allegorical. These last six sermons delve into theological concepts such as Christ’s dual nature, original sin, purgatory, baptism, and the Trinity. They also seek to tie together Old Testament and New Testament themes and symbols, all while building up to the passion narrative focusing on John’s account, indicating they were to be presented in preparation for the celebration of Easter.\footnote{Jungmann, \textit{Mass of the Roman Rite}, 399. Here he talks about how in the Roman liturgy it was typical for the readings leading up to Easter to be taken from the book of John.}

Sermon 5 appears in the manuscript immediately following the Life of Marina. The title appears in undecorated, red ink on the bottom of the first column of folio 120r and reads \textit{Incipit sermo de evangelio sanctum Iohanni ubi dicit quod die tercio nuptiae facte sunt in Chana Galaliae}. It is a near exact copy of Caesarius’ Sermon 167 with the same title.\footnote{Keefe, \textit{Water and the Word}, 2:74; and G. Morin, ed., \textit{Sermo CLXVII: De evangelio secundum iohanni ubi ait quod die tertio nuptiae factae sunt in cana galilaeae}, CCSL 104 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953), 682–687. Morin says he used Paris, BN lat. 2328 as one of his two manuscripts for his edition and he connected it to Caesarius without a doubt.} The sermon is quite long,
continuing to the middle of the second column on folio 121v. All but the end of Sermon 5 follows Caesarius’ sermon. It starts with an allegorical overview of Christ’s miracle of changing water into wine at the marriage feast in Cana and compares it to the waters of baptism that transform Christians through a spiritual rebirth that brings a new dignity. The wine metaphor then becomes more complicated; divine love inebriates the soul with spiritual wisdom but the soul can also become drunk on vices and corrupted pleasures. In an effort to withstand the machinations of the devil who uses pleasure as a tool, Christians should strive to be “sober in the things of the world and inebriated with the things of God” for “the rejection of sins is the acquisition of merits.”

Again, as similarly portrayed in the moral sermons, the symbiotic relationship between doing good and avoiding evil is expressed; neither discipline is good enough to stand alone but Christians were to be devoted to both. Even after baptism, Caesarius warns, when one’s symbolic water has been changed to wine, the wine can be poured out. This teaching is then followed with a detailed description of the punishments that await those who were “stripped of their faith” or had been “cast out into darkness.” This conclusion, however, alters Caesarius’ original words to limit the kinds of sins that can be paid for in purgatory. This is a subtle but significant change to the sermon that will be discussed in the following chapters.

Sermon 6 is an exegetical sermon that is mostly based on the story of the Samaritan woman at the well. It is at this point that the manuscript compiler stops relying on Caesarius’ works and turns to some earlier late antique sources. Although Keefe did not identify the origins of this work, most of Sermon 6 is a copy of the beginning of Augustine’s analysis in #64 of De diversis

141 Morin, Sermo CLXVII, CCSL 104, 684; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 121r: Quia abdicatio criminum adoptio est meritorum. Et ita homo mundo sobrius et deo ebrius ad vota caelestium...

142 Morin, Sermo CLXVII, CCSL 104, 685; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 121r: “illa fidei veste nudati” and “eiciendi in tenebras exteriores.”
The untitled Sermon 6 begins halfway down the second column on folio 121v and continues on to end in the middle of the second column of folio 122v. It starts by copying Augustine with a warning about the mysteriousness of the Bible; anyone undertaking a careful analysis of scripture must do so with all vigilance. Augustine then goes on to model how this is done. When the scripture says Christ was weary and sat down at the well, it may have been to show that he was fully human and thus weak in the flesh or his sitting may have been a symbol of the humility he exhibited coming to earth or it may have been included to highlight his role as teacher. Augustine concludes by saying that Christ’s main, driving thirst was for the Samaritan woman to gain faith, just as a doctor knows that he is needed by the sick. Thus, in this analysis, Augustine presents important Christological theology by emphasizing Christ’s humanity and real, physical needs but also his divine nature and will. In addition he explains that the Samaritan woman, although she misunderstood Christ because of her carnal thinking (“carnaliter intellegens”), was still offered living water, demonstrating that offer is for all. Sermon 6 then stops copying Augustine, leaving out his original conclusion, to end with a section from one of Caesarius’ less circulated sermons entitled De caeco nato. This grafted-on ending references another person who could not see Christ for who he was, the man who was born blind in John 9 and was miraculously healed by Christ’s saliva. By ending with this transplanted Caesarius conclusion, Sermon 6 implicitly connects the Samaritan woman to the blind man, perhaps to

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143 Almut Mutzenbecher, ed., *Augustinus De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus. De octo dulcitii quaestionibus*, CCSL 44A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975), 137–141. This Augustine text was also used by Alcuin in his commentary on John. See *Alcuini opera omnia*, PL 100: cols. 733–1086.

144 The only indication that this is another text is that the “E” in the first word “Evangelica” is enlarged but there are no decorations nor red ink used to set it apart.

145 Mutzenbecher, *De diversis quaestionibus*, CCSL 44A, 140; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 122v.

146 G. Morin, ed., *Sermo CLXXII: De caeco nato*, CCSL 104 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953), 701–704. Morin discovered that Paris, BN lat. 2328 contained this part of Caesarius’ Sermon 172 but Keefe did not note this change nor is it listed in the catalogue description of the manuscript.
cleverly point out that all humans inherit spiritual blindness of the heart and the only cure is through the work of Christ.

Sermon 7 is also untitled and borrows from one of Augustine’s works, this time from *Tractus 49* on the death and resurrection of Lazarus from his *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus*. This base text was familiar to the Carolingians; we actually have a letter from Charlemagne’s sister and daughter, Gisela and Rodtruda, asking Alcuin to write a commentary on John since they found Augustine’s *Tractatus* too difficult at times and excessively rhetorical. Sermon 7, presumably in order to make this *tractus* manageable as a preachable sermon, significantly streamlines this text but it still remains quite long, starting in the middle of the second column on folio 122v and continuing through the first column on folio 124r. It starts with an original introduction, then uses Augustine’s words to explain Christ’s three resurrection miracles: the raising of the synagogue ruler’s daughter in his house, the widow’s son as he was being carried outside the city gates, and then Lazarus from the grave. Each of these resurrections were symbolically representing three kinds of spiritual deaths caused by sin: those who only sin in their thoughts, those who allow sinful thoughts to turn into sinful actions, and those who are controlled by sinful habits, respectively. The author of Sermon 7 copies Augustine to focus on the worst state exemplified by Lazarus’ story, but skips most of Augustine’s detail to focus on when Christ arrives four days after his death and explains the symbolism of the number and also references the man born blind from John 9 (and


from Sermon 6). In the end, listeners are reassured that even if they are overwhelmed by habitual sin, God is capable of forgiving and saving. Sermon 7 then has an original conclusion on Christ weeping that concludes by saying: “We beg for divine mercy so that He might deign to instill in us such remorse and repentance that we might gain the right to be free from all these deaths of the soul.”

Sermon 8 follows as part of the Lenten teachings but it departs from the pattern of presenting an exegetical study of a story in John and instead is an explanation of the Apostles’ Creed. This sermon still fits the Lenten series though since the Creed was commonly taught during the Easter season in the medieval west, specifically on Palm Sunday according to the Gallican rite. Sermon 8 is the shortest of the sermons; it starts in the middle of the first column on folio 124r and ends at the bottom of the second column on the same folio. It is titled “Incipit sermo in diem ramis palmarum ad missa cum simbolum” and most of the sermon is an exact copy of part of Augustine’s sermon *De Symbolo ad Catechumenos*. Sermon 8 presents listeners with the Apostle’s Creed, or *simbolum*, in its entirety with directions on how to memorize it as well as a model on how to teach it through repetition. The entire introduction focuses on the importance of committing the words of this Creed to memory and then it explains to listeners *how* creeds can be

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149 Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 124r: *Oremus divinum misericordium ut nobis talem compunctionem et penitentiam inspirare dignetur; Ut de omnibus istis septem quas supra diximus animarum mortibus mereamur...* Interestingly, this original conclusion references Christ weeping over the widow’s child, rather than Christ weeping over Lazarus as is recorded in John 11:35. The reason for this change, though, is not clear.


memorized through specific techniques and disciplines such as daily scheduled repetition and by reading it out loud. The middle section of the sermon is a full copy of the Apostles’ Creed. Then the final section reviews the first phrase of the Creed, “I believe in God”, repeating it three times, in agreement with the Trinity and as a memorization technique, and then explaining its meaning. While Augustine’s sermon went through each line of the Creed, Sermon 8 is a truncated version and only models that process by reviewing this first phrase. It ends with an original conclusion that is a reward statement: “For God almighty thus illuminates your heart so that you may believe and understand what we just said and you may guard the true faith and shine through holy works so that you may be able to arrive at a blessed life. Those who believe in God have been enlightened and thus inspired to believe and to act through good works; in that way they are a chosen people and will gain blessings as a result.

With Sermon 9 the Lenten series goes back to the exegetical style of sermons and focuses on the Last Supper narrative in John 13. It is entitled Incipit sermo de cena domini and begins on the top of the left column on folio 124v and extends onto folio 125v, which is the last folio of the manuscript and very damaged and hard to read. The sermon is on Christ’s act of washing his disciples’ feet, a lesson that was often given on Maundy Thursday. This sermon is an exact copy

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152 Férotin, Le Liber Ordinum en usage, 5:186; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 124r: Credo in deum. Augustine’s sermon includes the rest of the line “patrem omnipotentem” but this sermon keeps it even more basic: establishing a belief in God.

153 Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 124r: Deus autem omnipotens ita cor vestrum inluminet, ut credendo et intelligendo que diximus, et fidel rectam custodiatis, et sanctis operibus fulgeatis: Ut per h(a)ec ad beatam uitam peruenire possitis.

154 Boynton, “The Bible and the Liturgy,” 13; Isabelle Cochelin, “When the Monks were the Book: The Bible and Monasticism (6th-11th Centuries),” in The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, & Performance in Western Christianity, eds. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 72–73; James McCune, “Rethinking the Pseudo-Eligius Sermon Collection.” Early Medieval Europe 16, no. 4 (2008), 445–476. Boynton notes the connection between Christ’s foot washing and Maundy Thursday in general in the Middle Ages; Cochelin talks about how monastic communities also recognized this passage on Maundy Thursday and some even washed the feet of the laity in imitation of Christ’s humility and service; McCune notes that Maundy Thursday was traditionally a day of the reconciliation of penitents. In his study of the sermons for Maundy Thursday grouped together in the Pseudo-Eligius sermon collection, almost all of then are entitled IN COENA DOMINI.
of a late antique antecedent, but it was not authored by Caesarius or Augustine. Instead, this is one of the few surviving sermons written by Chromatius, the bishop of Aquileia at the end of the fourth into the beginning of the fifth century. Known as a champion of orthodoxy and asceticism, he was not only an influential exegete and preacher himself, but encouraged the same in his famous contemporaries such as Jerome and Ambrose. Although he was apparently a popular sermon writer, up until the middle of the twentieth century, only his homilies on the Gospel of Matthew and one on the beatitudes had been discovered. Since then, however, forty-two additional sermons have been published and this sermon, Sermon 15 entitled *De lavatione pedum*, is one of them.\(^\text{155}\)

In fact, the only other place this Chromatius sermon appears is in an early twelfth century manuscript, Paris BN lat. 742.\(^\text{156}\)

Sermon 9 begins by stating that although there are many instances in scripture in which Christ exemplified humility, the most striking moment is when he condescended to wash the feet of his disciples. This act of God serving man, Chromatius points out, was inaugurated by Christ. In the Old Testament, *men* washed the feet of the Lord, as seen with Abraham at the oak of Mambre and Gideon in the Book of Judges. After describing both stories in detail, Sermon 9 then returns to the account from John, observing that Jesus dried his disciples’ feet with the cloth around his waist after taking off his outer robe. Here, although Christ put on the robe of flesh in the Incarnation, he was taking it off for the Passion. In this act, he would cover the nudity of men with his own flesh and yet he was not naked himself, since he was wrapped in the cloth of virtue, being


\(^{156}\) Chromatius, *Sermons*, 1:246. Lemarié notes that two similar sermons are in Cml 6310 and 14445, part of the *Collectorium de Robert de Bardi*, but the sermon was abridged and reworked in these manuscripts.
also fully divine. Peter refused to be served in this humble way by his master at first but when Christ revealed that this act of service was essential in order for them to be in relationship, Peter asked that Christ wash his feet, hands and head. The final part, which is barely legible in Paris, BN lat. 2328, analyzes Peter’s response. The dirty feet represent original sin from Adam, the dirty hands represent Adam’s sin in the garden, and the dirty head refers to the filthiness of the soul, corrupted with sin. In the end, this washing of the feet is ultimately tied back to the sacrament of baptism. Christians experience that spiritual cleansing through baptism, a sacrament administered by the church but fueled by the power of God.

Sermon 10, the last sermon in this series and the last work in this manuscript, is unfortunately mostly illegible and was left unidentified by Keefe in her catalogue description. An indecipherable title appears in capital letters on the bottom of the first column on folio 124v and the text starts on the top of the second column. In the first few lines the words “passionis domini”, “elementa”, “caelebret”, “fidei linguis hominum”, “cum clamaverunt etiam silentia tenebras”, “in terra crucis pretium nostra”, “et una morte universum” not only indicate that this last sermon is, fittingly, on the passion but I also found that they match the opening of Augustine’s Sermon 153 “On the Passion of the Lord” from his Sermones Ad Populum. Upon closer inspection, it seems as if this last, previously unidentified sermon is a copy of the first half of this

157 Chromatius, Sermons, 1:254; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 125r: Nec alio plane tempus loti sunt pedes animorum nostorum vel mundata sunt mentis nostre vestigia nisi quando se Dominus tunicam exuit: Tunc utique cum tunica carnis ad sumpta in cruce deposuit quare quidem induerat in nativitate sed exuit in passione. Exuit autem se tunicam carnis sua est contergeret. Denique una tunica corporis Christi totum mundum vestivit... For more on the theological implications of Christ putting off his robe of flesh in the Passion that comes up in many of Chromatius’ sermons see Rémi Gounelle, “Chromace d’Aquilée et la passion du Christ,” in Chromatius of Aquileia and His Age: Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Aquileia, 22-24 May 2008, eds. Pier Franco Beatrice and Alessio Peršić (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 299–302. Here, Gounelle says that Chromatius was making this point in order to show that Christ’s descent into hell was a victorious one, since he went in power as the Son of God, not as a condemned man.

158 Keefe, Water and the Word, 2:74. She labels the text on f. 125v as a “fragment of another sermon, nearly illegible.”

Augustine sermon. Sermon 10 thus describes the theological significance of Easter, when the Lord, who was without sin, died for the sins of the world. In the middle of this copied sermon, six, mostly illegible lines that mention the prayers of the martyrs, blood for virtue, offering up his life and the cost of flesh do not follow Augustine’s sermon and may be original to this work.\(^{160}\) The sermon then continues on with Augustine’s words to emphasize that Christ died as the perfect representative for sinful humanity without being stained with sin himself. Seeing how great the Father’s love was for the world should drive Christians to confess their sins and delight in the great worth of their salvation. Christ’s sacrifice was enough to pay the debt of sin because Christ was the embodiment of perfection.\(^ {161}\) In this way, the tone of triumphant humility is continued on from Chromatius’ words in Sermon 9. As Lent ends, the magnitude of humanity’s sin is placed into its proper perspective: it has been paid in perfect divine and humble human blood.

As shown, then, this second grouping of sermons come from many different authors from different eras – Caesarius, Augustine, Chromatius – and are taken from different sermon collections or commentaries and yet they all fit together as a Lenten series and depend extensively on sequential chapters from the book of John. They were thus selected and altered to fit together by the compiler, meaning that they were intended to be a connected series of texts uniquely developed for this manuscript. They were shortened and streamlined so they could be presented out loud. In addition to providing a pastor with ready-made sermons for the most important season in the liturgical calendar, however, these sermons also would have been useful teaching models on

\(^{160}\) Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 124v: “martyrii devotione… sanguinis ad virtutum… tamen carnis sue iacturam ac vitae temporalis”

\(^{161}\) This summary of Sermon 10 was reconstructed based on the edition of the work because only every few words are visible on the damaged folio in which it appears. There are enough legible words to see that the compiler was following the basic content of the sermon but it is impossible to closely analyze this text except when there are obvious section changes and those have been noted.
how to undertake and how to then preach complex scriptural exegesis. They show a skilled level of allegorical interpretation that used numerology, metaphors, cross-references, and symbolism and in these ways represent a different way to preach than the earlier moral sermons exemplified. Perhaps, when placed side by side, the moral sermons, saint’s life and exegetical sermons were intended to teach a Carolingian pastor the different ways to teach the laity about Christian behaviors and theology. And finally, the Lenten sermons importantly reference and explain the Creed and the sacraments, especially baptism. As articulated in a number of Charlemagne’s capitularies, the Carolingians required that the Creed be taught to the laity during the mass; this demand most famously makes up part of the 789 Admonitio Generalis in which Charlemagne demands that all laymen be able to recite the Lord’s Prayer and Creed. In addition to being important to Carolingian reformers in general, the Creed was a necessary part of the Lenten season in particular. On the one hand, the Creed explains Christ’s life, ministry, death, resurrection and ascension concisely and accurately. In this way it touches on essential and complex theology and yet is short and rhythmic and memorizable. On the other hand, testing people on the Creed was a necessary scrutiny during baptism and baptisms were performed during Easter. The sermons’ emphasis on explaining the significance of baptism thus fits with the Lenten season but those messages also make these sermons fit with the rest of Paris, BN lat. 2328 that includes liturgical expositions including a baptismal instruction. In these ways then, the Lenten sermons on the last

163 Jungmann, The Mass of the Roman Rite, 491. Jungmann says that besides the vehicle of the sermon, it was through the Lord’s Prayer and the Apostles’ Creed that the Carolingians hoped to explain the gospel to the laity.
folios of this manuscript provide convincing evidence that this compilation needs to be regarded and respected as a pastoral handbook. The sermons were strategically altered to provide streamlined messages in manageable portions and thus would have been suitable for popular preaching as well as educational tools for pastors; they are connected to each other as a series and are connected to the other texts in this collection and thus prove that this collection was purposefully shaped by a compiler and that it was intended for pastoral usage.

**Conclusion**

By going through the manuscript history and general content of the texts in Paris, BN lat. 2328 and by grouping them in terms of their probable function and importance in the ninth century, I have used this first chapter on the Paris miscellany to build a case that (1) this compilation was intentionally created by a compiler who presented these particular texts to fit together for a purpose and (2) that his purpose was for the education of and the equipping of a ninth-century pastor. Although the significance and details of this argument will be the focus of my next chapters, because this is an anonymously compiled and relatively unknown collection, these two points needed to be demonstrated first. The codicology of the manuscript provides the first clue that this collection was not a hodgepodge miscellany. The original texts in this collection were written in the same hand implying one compiler. The manuscript is humble in appearance and size. It is orderly and readable in Caroline miniscule, but it is not illuminated and it is dense, with two columns per page and no wasted space. Red ink and simple decorations set different texts apart implying that it was a professionally orchestrated product. The overall appearance, therefore, implies that it was created by one person and intended to be used not just displayed.
Despite those codicological clues that imply some level of intentionality, at first glance the many texts in the collection may appear disconnected and haphazard, without any identifiable pattern or purpose for the modern historian to find interesting or useful. By looking at the manuscript history and content of these texts, however, I have worked to uncover the function of these works, both individually and together as a whole, in order to recreate the compiler’s strategy behind his creation of this work. To that end, I have worked to prove that Paris, BN lat. 2328 is actually made up of texts that share an overall vision and purpose, that the texts may rely on earlier archetypes but that they also contain deliberate alterations to aid in the flow and functionality of the collection as a whole. With the second point I then built on this conclusion to demonstrate that Paris, BN lat. 2328 was created for educating an educator, for training a pastor in leadership, theology, morality and pastoral care.

As has been shown, the manuscript begins with two reference works authored by great theologians, one from the past and one from the Carolingian present; Isidore and Alcuin taught basic theology and modeled how it should be articulated in order to guide readers towards Christian moral living and pious vocational duties. Alcuin’s epitaph is paired with a chart on the body and its relationship to God and the soul, which was then later supplemented with a prayer associated with the office of the dead. Together, these three form a unit of texts that explain death and show that the recipient was actively contributing to this work with practical, pastoral care additions, an especially useful (and rare) indication of the pastoral audience. There is a grouping of liturgical texts that provide scriptural passages, as well as a baptismal instruction and an exposition on the mass. They are clearly meant to go together, as indicated in the title of the catholic epistles and the content of the works, and would have been useful for the administration of the mass, as especially
evidenced by the fact that the catholic epistles were divided up into reading sections. In addition, there is another supplement elsewhere in the manuscript that shows the recipient wrote in part of a confessional prayer that was to be said by the pastor, and only the pastor, before his celebration of the mass, which is revealing evidence that strongly implies the main ninth-century user was a pastor. The lapidary and Marina’s vita, although possibly useful for a number of different reasons, may have been especially important as guides to accessing church-approved supernatural aid. They could have also been used as ways of harnessing knowledge of the natural world, thus demonstrating the intellect and authority of the pastor in the community. And the manuscript appropriately concludes with ready-made teaching tools in the two groups of sermons; they were deliberately made to build off of each other and the collection as a whole and yet they were varied in terms of their style in order to provide educational models for sermon making and exegetical study.

In the midst of these individual analyses, I worked to show that there is a shared vision throughout Paris, BN lat. 2328 that indicates intentionality. This is most clearly evidenced by the reoccurring references to the Easter season, the most important holiday in the church calendar. The compilation includes a baptismal instruction and baptisms were generally administered twice a year with the most important occasion being Easter. Paris, BN lat. 2328 contains a series of Lenten sermons that go through the ministry of Christ and culminate in the story of the passion. It also contains the catholic epistles, which were often read immediately following Easter. In these ways then, the traditional purpose of the included sources reveals a level of connectivity and purpose to their association.

165 Cramer, Baptism and Change, 140; and Bullough, “The Carolingian Liturgical Experience,” 57.
There is also a practicality to the variety of texts that are included. For example, the texts of Alcuin and Isidore are both copied in full; the compiler may have done so by consulting a number of manuscripts in an attempt to provide the recipient with the most complete edition of these important reference works. As for the texts that would have been used directly for teaching purposes, such as the baptismal instruction and sermons, however, the compiler was carefully succinct, strategically streamlining the texts to provide pastors with manageable portions to ingest and then impart. In these ways, the compiler was perhaps giving a pastor access to important and detailed texts that explain theology and pastoral care and then using a variety of shorter texts to show how that information could be used, nuanced and applied.

The collection feels appropriately complete in its incompleteness, meaning that there are a variety of genres and materials represented in its folios and yet this would not have been sufficient as the sole resource for a pastor. This was not a mistake but a strategy; the compiler was using Paris, BN lat. 2328 to teach a pastor how to care for souls, how to learn from these texts and apply their lessons broadly. For example, the compiler provides a mass exposition for the standard mass, but there are no expositions for a feast day or holiday. He provides sermons from a variety of genres and for a variety of occasions (with a series for the most important season of Lent) but not enough for the entire liturgical year. One of the sermons, Sermon 8, is even left incomplete, only modeling how to teach the Creed by going through the first phrase and then leaving the pastor to figure out the rest.

This chapter has also begun to show that even the less obviously pastoral sources contained messages useful for Carolingian pastoral care. Isidore’s Sententiae and Alcuin’s De virtutibus et vitiis demonstrate how pastors are to teach the main tenets of Christian moral principles to all
different audiences. Alcuin’s epitaph with its chart explains the separation of the body and soul at death, providing complicated theological lessons through a short and interesting text and supplement. The lapidary may have been equipping a pastor with a counter to superstitious behavior or at least educating him in practical information that may provide him more authority as a local leader. And finally the hagiography stands out in its foreignness but perhaps it was supposed to; it provides an attention-grabbing story from the east with a universal message about supernatural power as well as moral lessons on penance and suffering, and the eternal rewards of being a sacrificial servant devoted to the pursuit of God.

Although I have used this chapter to better explain the cohesiveness and logic of Paris, BN lat. 2328 and to set-up its significance as a carefully crafted, Carolingian educational resource, I have also sought to use this analysis to continue to challenge the assertion that anonymous miscellanies are random, derivative and not worthy of study. When the texts are contextualized, in terms of their reputation, history, function, and content as well as in terms of what they are surrounded by in the manuscript collection, their significance and even their message changes. I have sought to challenge modern categorizations and expectations and study this collection on its own terms. In the two chapters that follow, I will take these conclusions and delve into why they are significant by arguing that modest looking collections like Paris, BN lat. 2328 may actually be the key to uncovering insights into the lived experiences of local pastors and laymen during the ninth century.
Chapter 6: Paris, BN lat. 2328:
Insights into Carolingian Pastors from a Pastoral Miscellany

Introduction

Having thus established in the previous chapter at least the plausibility that Paris, BN lat. 2328 was intentionally compiled for the use of a spiritual leader, in the next two chapters I will analyze the texts included in this manuscript in detail. Specifically, I will ask how the Carolingians were using compilations like this one to diffuse reform, at first to the local pastors and then to the laity. How were those two audiences represented in an anonymous collection like Paris, BN lat. 2328? This chapter will tackle the compilation’s immediate audience: the Carolingian pastor. If Paris, BN lat. 2328 was intentionally created for a local pastor in the middle of the ninth century, as the previous chapter has suggested, what do its content, novelties, appearance, additions, and conclusions reveal about what Carolingian pastors were supposed to look like? I will broach this question by looking at what specifically this compilation reveals about Carolingian expectations...
for their spiritual leaders living in an era of reform. In this context, I will argue that the definition of a “pastor” was a broad one and that, as a result, his education and training had to be multi-faceted. I will demonstrate this by going through the manuscript’s explicit messages about the ideal spiritual leader as well as the implied messages that emerge from the additions, innovations and abridgments in the texts. Although Paris, BN lat. 2328 is only one manuscript and therefore can only provide a limited portrait of the Carolingian reform movement, nevertheless, I will argue here that as a case study it can show the ways in which pastoral miscellanies can be extremely useful in tracing the logistics of the Carolingian reform initiative and its success on the grassroots level.

What We Know About Local Carolingian Pastors

Who were the pastors in charge of the Carolingian reform movement on the local level in the ninth century? A good starting point is to look at the bishops who were in charge of overseeing and educating these pastors and are more represented in the extant sources than the often unknown lower clergy. Carine van Rhijn in her study of Carolingian episcopal statutes noticed that from 813-829 the reform agenda of correctio was being propagated on a heightened level and bishops felt newly inspired to make sure the priests in their regions were properly trained and equipped.¹ Steffen Patzold has also stressed this period of time, arguing that the 829 Synod in Paris was a particularly important turning point in which bishops began to be perceived as uniquely authoritative figures.² Van Rhijn noted that these newly empowered bishops were particularly

¹ Carine van Rhijn, Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 76–89.
² Patzold argues that this shift was evident in the language of the capitularies that followed but also made its way through society, categorically changing the way bishops were perceived and the authority they were accorded. See
concerned that priests know the proper way to explain and conduct baptisms, that they maintain their church buildings and properly administer the mass. Working beyond the ideal, prescribed responsibilities and characteristics of the Carolingian pastor, however, she found to be much more difficult since local pastors were often passive recipients of these imposed standards. In general terms, she was able to glean that rural pastors were schooled locally, in a monastery or under a bishop or other priest, and they usually took up a position in their local area. She found a few examples of legitimately poor priests and some examples of wealthy ones with extensive lands, books, serfs, livestock and precious metals. Their authority in their communities very much rested on the public opinion of them as well as their relationship with the bishop. In general, Carolingian spiritual leaders were to lead moral, active lives, were to be educated, were to teach their flocks and care for their churches and communities.

There is much, however, that we do not know about the typical Carolingian pastor. In particular, there are some scholars who have questioned whether pastors were always secular clerics or if monks could have been entrusted with pastoral care as well. In the eighth century, after all, clerical and monastic roles often overlapped, with some spiritual leaders being lay abbots or both abbots and bishops, living in cloisters without a prescribed community and yet actively

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3 Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, 112–137; Mayke de Jong, “Charlemagne’s Church,” in *Charlemagne Empire and Society*, ed. Joanna Story (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 103–104. Mayke de Jong makes a similar observation based on Archbishop Leidrad of Lyon’s letter to Charlemagne reporting on the structural and internal reforms he had made to his church as ordered.


administering pastoral care. Benedict of Aniane led the charge in the first half of the ninth century to make adherence to the Benedictine Rule a monastic requirement and yet the changeover was slow and often resisted, as seen in the debated and controversial Aachen councils in 816 and 817. In fact, it was not until 844 that any real measures were taken to enforce these distinctions and corral lay abbots and even these efforts were not wide-ranging. At the same time, however, monastic communities were becoming distinct in the first half of the ninth century because of their honored status as centers of prayer and penance. Clearly, when Paris, BN lat. 2328 was being compiled then, this was still a debated topic and the reality is, as many scholars have noted, that the only way the Carolingians would have been able to accomplish the extensive reform they desired was if they used all of the resources available to them and that would have included using the educated, spiritual, and often locally connected monks as pastors.

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For a longer discussion of this debate about early medieval monk-priests, refer to my introduction, pages 35-38.
This is an interesting topic that needs to be tackled by anyone studying anonymous compilations concerned with pastoral care but especially collections that may, as Susan Keefe noted in regard to Paris, BN lat. 2328, contain sources that hint at monastic usage.\(^{10}\) Since the portrait of the typical Carolingian pastor is still up for debate in scholarly circles and since the extant information on the Carolingian pastor is often prescriptive rather than descriptive, any discussion of the intended pastoral recipient of an anonymous manuscript must start at the basics. What does this manuscript reveal about: how this intended pastor was educated, the messages he was supposed to emphasize, the authority he was to wield in his community, the ways he was to benefit from this kind of compilation? Even though the unknowns are daunting, compilations like Paris, BN lat. 2328 are extremely valuable because they represent sources that try to implement ideals; they show scholars how ideals were articulated to the pastors on the front lines of reform outside of the church councils and court legislation. Paris, BN lat. 2328 shows how Carolingian pastors were educated in the implementation of these ideals. It reveals what they needed to know, believe, and teach in order to live up to those standards realistically. This chapter will focus on uncovering Paris, BN lat. 2328’s explicit and implicit messages on the ideals and reality of pastoral care that were central to actualizing reform. In my conclusion, I will then piece this evidence together to provide a working description of the pastoral recipient of this manuscript and its significance for understanding the realities of the Carolingian reform movement as a whole.

\(^{10}\) Keefe, *Water and the Word*, 1:30–31. She specifically mentions that Isidore’s lengthy *Sententiae*, Alcuin’s treatise on virtues and vices, the lapidary, epitaph and *vita* all would have been most appropriate for a monastic education but notes that the baptismal instruction, exposition on the mass, and sermons seemed to be geared towards the education of a secular cleric. She classifies this collection as a “schoolbook” and never takes one side over the other.
Explicit Messages on the Ideal Carolingian Pastor

Some of the texts selected by the compiler for Paris, BN lat. 2328 explicitly lay out ideal qualities that a pastor should exhibit; although these descriptions do not necessarily reflect on what the intended pastor was actually like, they do show what the compiler wanted the recipient to work towards. The compiler chose the texts, freely adapting many of them, for the edification and training of a pastor, and therefore the models they include can be regarded as the ideals that the compiler chose to have passed down to his recipient. They should thus be regarded as important indicators of what kinds of reform messages at least some rural pastors may have received in the ninth century.

Explicit messages about pastoral care appear in the first text, Isidore’s Sententiae. In Book 3, clerics are addressed directly and in detail. The call to serve in the church is portrayed as an honor but also a burden. Clerics should shine through their knowledge of doctrine and their way of life and both were necessary for pastoral care. Isidore dedicates several chapters to detailing the many ways priests often fall short of this high standard, in terms of either their doctrine or lifestyle, when they are ignorant, hypocritical, depraved, carnal, angry, cruel, and proud. Instead, he calls on pastors to use discretion when teaching the doctrine they acquire; he compares a priest to a doctor who needs to use wisdom to apply fitting remedies for his patients.¹¹ Priests are to be advocates for the truth, for the poor and oppressed, and for justice. They are also to be advocates for their flocks before the heavenly throne; pastors are to weep for the sins of their people and are

to help them correct their sinful habits. Finally, in Book 3 there is a section in which Isidore writes his own personal lament, which appears in Paris, BN lat. 2328 but is only included in some of the manuscript copies of Sententiae.\textsuperscript{12} In this addition, Isidore confesses that he himself feels unworthy of the priesthood but that it would be a greater sin if he were to step down and thus abandon his flock. He warns that pastoral care is a heavy burden and those who take on the priestly position seeking earthly honors will invoke the harsh judgment of God in the next life.\textsuperscript{13}

As shown, this vocational calling towards pastoral care, according to Isidore, was the job of clerics. Although he had an earlier section in Book 3 devoted to describing the monastic way of life, he did not associate monks with preaching, teaching, and charity. Instead, monks were to be wholly devoted to the difficult and yet rewarding contemplative life; they needed to be focused on humility and prayer in order to stave off the attacks of the devil and lusts of the flesh. On the one hand, Isidore’s advice, was coming from a different context and era, hence his strict separation between monks and clerics that may not have existed under the Carolingians. On the other hand, the compiler chose to copy this section in a pastoral compilation that also contained many texts that were clearly directed towards serving in the world and preaching to laymen. If Paris, BN lat. 2328 then was directed to a monk-priest, this part of Isidore’s work would have been rather confusing for his recipient and potentially cut.

\textsuperscript{12} Cazier, \textit{Sententiae}, CCSL 111, lxviii–lxxix. Cazier notes that this statement is not in all of the manuscripts, including the oldest one. It does, however, appear in manuscripts W: Wolfenbüttel, Weissenburg 44 (9\textsuperscript{th} c.); Z: London, Lambeth Palace 377 (9\textsuperscript{th} c.); O: Paris, BN, lat. 15683 (9\textsuperscript{th} c.); J: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14325 (8\textsuperscript{th} c.); Y: Bâle, Universitätsbibliothek B IV 12 (9\textsuperscript{th} c.); I: Berne, Bürgerbibliothek 107 (9\textsuperscript{th} c.); E: Escorial T II 25 (894 AD); and U: Madrid, Biblioteca nacional 10067 (10\textsuperscript{th} c.) and is consistent with other passages throughout the three book series in which Isidore similarly bewails his own sins and mentions the burden his office carries. This passage does appear in this manuscript, his ms S, but he does not mention that here.

\textsuperscript{13} Cazier, \textit{Sententiae}, CCSL 111, 274; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 65r: \textit{Heu me misero inexplicabilibus nodis astrictum; si enim susceptum regimen ecclesiastici ordinis retentem, criminis conscius timeo; si deseram, ne deterior sit culpa susceptum gregem reliquere, amplius reformido: Undique miser metuo, et in tanto rei discrimine quid sequar ignono. Uniuscuiusque casus tanto maioris est criminis, quanto, priusquam caderit, maioris erat virtutis praecedentium. Namque magnitudo virtutum crescit ad cuolum sequentium delictorum.}
In addition to Isidore’s work, Paris, BN lat. 2328 also includes insights into the role of a pastor from the Carolingian context. For one, in *De virtutibus et vitiis*, Alcuin has similar concerns regarding the challenges associated with the pastoral vocation. He most explicitly calls on pastors to live exemplary lives in his chapter on chastity saying that although chastity is a good aspiration for all people, it is an essential discipline for a pastor

whose life ought to be the teaching of others, and the constant preaching of salvation. It is fitting for the Lord to have such ministers, who are corrupted by no contamination of the flesh, but rather shine with the continence of chastity and gleam before the people, examples of total honesty.14

In this way, Alcuin, who was dependent on *Sententiae* for other large sections of this work, was perhaps taking Isidore’s message about the high standard required of pastors and demonstrating how that standard was to be lived out. Not only are pastors to be good examples, Alcuin highlights in the Carolingian context that priests are to be chaste and it is through their abstinence that they can be shining examples to their flocks and be appreciated for their honesty. And Alcuin was not alone in this logic but these ideas were also commonly expressed in the Carolingian reform agenda (some of which Alcuin may have helped write). Pastors were encouraged to preach in word and deed; they were to completely separate themselves from temptations such as women and taverns; they were not to carry arms but trust solely in the provision of God.15 Their public persona mattered in the prescribed capitulary ideals and, based on the evidence in the Paris codex, those royal ideals were being diffused to local pastors.

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14 *De virtutibus et vitiis Liber ad Widonem Comitem*, PL 101: col. 0627C; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 89r: *Omnibus enim castitas per necessaria est, sed maxime ministri Christi altaris, corum vita aliorum debet esse erudito, et asidua salis praedicatio. Tales enim debet Dominum habere ministros, quia nullo carnis contagio quorum sumpuntur: Sed potius continentia castitatis splendeant et totius honestatis fulgeant in populo exemplis.*

15 *Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen*, MGH Fontes iuris 16: 180–182, 186, cc. 4, 190, cc. 14, 220, cc. 68; *Synodus Franconofurtensis, 794*, MGH Capit. 1:76; and *Karoli epistola de litteris colendis, 780–800*, MGH Capit. 1:79.
Another Carolingian creation in Paris, BN lat. 2328, the mass exposition, shows priests how to cover their bases, so to speak, through prayer. In this regard, the ideal, that pastors should lead exemplary moral lives, is met with the reality that pastors do sin, with the solution being prayer. There are several instances throughout the exposition in which the priest is instructed to pray for himself or to have the people pray for him so that he will be considered worthy, his words will be heard clearly, and so that God will accept the gifts of the church. And there is a confession section in which the exposition reminds priests that they need to be careful because they celebrate the mass for the people and as representatives of Christ. Thus, in this text, correct behavior is still extremely important but there is a realization that not even pastors will be sinless. This ideal is that pastors should rely on prayers of confession to make up for their deficits. In this particular case, this is not just an explicit, ideal message about what was required of pastors, however, but there is evidence that the recipient worked to realize this requirement. The exposition mandates prayer, but in most cases does not include any, but folio 23v contains just such a prayer, although in an untrained hand! In the middle of Isidore’s Sententiae, there is an addition that includes a prayer that is similar to the one that the priest was to pray for himself before administering mass to his flock. The prayer starts with a recognition of God’s love and work of salvation. It then has the pastor beg for forgiveness from sin and for the transformative work of grace to exalt him from a place of shame, to break the bonds of sin, and allow him to excel in holiness, glory and honor.

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16 J.M. Hanssens, ed., Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia, vol. 1 (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1948), 1:316, 318; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 113r: Memores nos esse sacerdotes profitemur atque plebem memores esse testimur Christi filii teui Domini nostri, Ideo sacerdotes fideliter memores esse debent quia ipsi missam celebrant: et sacrificium offerant Christi exemplo instuceti et scire debent quae celebrant quia stulta postolatio(?) est si postulans nescit quod postulat, Plebs sancta ideo meminere debet quia Christus non solum per sacerdotibus est sed et pro plebe; Sancta ideo dictur quia fide ad baptismo Christi percepto sanctificata a modo indicat unde meminere debent;

17 Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 23v: Circum. Etiam enim Deus qui pro amore hominum factus est in similitudinem camis pec(c)ati formam servi Dominus adsu(mp)isit et in specie vulnerati medicus ambulavit hic nobis Dominus et magister salutis advocatus et iudex sacerdos et sacrificium. Per uncte Domine sancte Pater supplicantum exoro ut dum reatum
In this way, Paris, BN lat. 2328 is proven to contain both idealized and realized indicators of pastoral responsibilities. Priests were called to be humble confessors and it appears as if the recipient of the manuscript copied down a prayer that would help him do just that before the mass.

In all four texts, pastors are reminded that their actions matter because of the responsibilities of their office. This preliminary analysis, particularly because of the included passage from Isidore’s *Sententiae* that links pastoral care deliberately to the clergy, appears to lean in favor of a clerical pastor rather than a monastic one. The most obvious information, though, about the ideal pastor in the Carolingian context was related to behavioral standards. In this time of reform, it was essential that the pastors, who were essential players in the dispersal of reform, lived up to the part. In order for them to be effective spiritual leaders they needed to stand morally above their congregants. The explicit ideals that were being articulated to this pastor demanded that he be chaste, devoted to prayer, humble, and discerning. He needed to be trained and equipped to teach and live out the gospel in a way that promoted Christianization through words and deeds. These ideals were also being circulated in Carolingian capitularies but this evidence shows those messages were also being presented on the grassroots level. Paris, BN lat. 2328 is especially valuable, despite the many uncertainties surrounding it, because it shows the recipient at work; the pastor took these explicit lessons to heart and made sure to include a prayer of confession in the

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\text{conscienc(\textsuperscript{?}) meae erunt(\textsuperscript{?}) recognosco, quod in praeceptis tuis pr(a)evaricato ex titit et per delictarum facinum corruit in ruinam, tu me Domine erige quem lapsus pec\textsuperscript{(?)}ati prostravit. In lumina c(a)ecum quem tetr(a)e pec\textsuperscript{(?)}atorum calim(\textsuperscript{?}) es(\textsuperscript{?}) obscura vero, Solve copeditum quem vincula pec\textsuperscript{(?)}atorum constringunt, pr(a)esta per sanctum et gloriosum et adorandum. See P. Saint-Roch, ed., Liber Sacramentorum Engolismensis, CCSL 159C (Turnhout: Brepols, 1987), 342, no. 2197; A. Dumas, ed., Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis, CCSL 159A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981), 243–244, no. 1872; and P. Salmon, C. Coebergh, and P. de Puniet, eds., Testimonia orationis christianae antiquioris, CCCM 47 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977), 170, no. 386.}
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18 Rob Meens, “Religious Instruction in the Frankish Kingdoms,” in *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power and Gifts in Context*, eds. Esther Cohen and Mayke B. de Jong (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 58. Meens, in his study of Carolingian sermons and penitentials, argues that it was also stressed that pastors be exemplary moral figures so that people would accept them as authoritative and appropriate mediators on their behalf.
compilation that he could use to implement these ideals and be a morally upright but humbly repentant leader for his flock.

Basic Skills of Carolingian Pastors

Beyond the explicit messages included in the compilation to lay out the ideal standard toward which the recipient was supposed to aim, we can also tease out many implicit messages, based on what was included, created, and emphasized in Paris, BN lat. 2328. In the same way that there has been much debate about who the Carolingian pastors were, monks or clerics or both, scholars have not agreed on the educational level of Carolingian pastors. Were they formally educated? What basic skills did they possess? How much were they expected to understand? The previous case study on the Laon codex was being used in a prominent cathedral school in which Latin, grammar, exegesis and general liberal arts skills were being intentionally taught. This Paris codex was most likely disseminated to a rural pastor for his self-education or perhaps continuing education. Looking at what the recipient of Paris, BN lat. 2328 was expected to be able to read and understand may provide insights into the lived experiences of both this pastor in particular and Carolingian spiritual leaders in general.

First of all, the intended recipient of Paris, BN lat. 2328 was expected to read Latin. All of the texts included in this compilation are in Latin and there are no vernacular notes. This pastor was expected to read and understand the relatively sophisticated theological works by Alcuin and Isidore, renowned theologians and teachers. It is important to analyze, however, the nature of those texts. On the one hand, Alcuin’s epitaph was considered a work of poetry and an exemplary epitaph model and thus may be considered a rhetorically polished piece. Yet, here it is not left alone but
the compiler pairs it with a chart. In this regard, a rural pastor is being given a rhetorical piece but also being taught how to use it and how to mine it for key points. On the other hand, although lengthy and highly regarded as important theological manuals, neither Isidore’s *Sententiae* nor Alcuin’s *De virtutibus et vitius* are rhetorically complex. In fact, both of them were created to be accessible: Isidore had a wide audience in mind and included messages for people engaged in both spiritual and secular vocations of all types and ranks and, although Alcuin addressed his work to an educated aristocrat, he explicitly explained that he wanted his treatise to be concise and simple so that it could be easily ingested and memorized. In addition, Isidore and Alcuin’s works cover some of the same topics and may have served, side-by-side, as complementary texts. Although living and writing in different contexts, these were both reformers who were interested in explaining Christianity to the masses through texts; in this way, the recipient of Paris, BN lat. 2328 had access to two similar points of view on similar topics, centered on basic theology, virtues and vices, and vocational callings. If he did not understand the presentation provided by one, he could learn from the other, and thus educate himself on the essential tenets of Christianity.

As shown then in this case study, the intended recipient, a Carolingian pastor, was expected to handle lengthy Latin without glosses but with the aid of charts and complementary texts. In addition to this, Paris, BN lat. 2328 contains evidence that implies that local pastors were also expected to have a basic knowledge of scripture and were to use compilations such as this one to grow in their ability to interpret it. The pastoral recipient of Paris, BN lat. 2328 was being provided

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19 *De virtutibus et vitius* Liber ad Widonem Comitem, PL 101: cols. 0613D–0614C; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 80v: *Quos etiam, quamvis minus eloquenter videatur esse compositos tamen certissime scito sanctae caritatis vigore eosdem esse dictatos. Singulis siquidem huius sermonis seriem distincti capitulis, Quatenus facilius vestrae devotionis memoriae haec mea dicta inhaerere potuissent; sciens te in multis secularium rerum cogitationibus occupatum. Unde precor sanctum salutis vestrae desiderium, harum saepius, quasi ad quoddam recurrere solatium, literarum lectionem; ut animus exterioribus fatigatus molestus, ad seipsum reversus habeat, in quo gaudeat; et quo maxime festinare debeat, intelligat.*
with unglossed scripture passages, something scholars, based on a small amount of extant book lists, have thought that Carolingian pastors were rarely entrusted with unless they were the Gospels or the Psalms, and yet the compiler makes sure his recipient is equipped to not only understand scripture but teach it.\textsuperscript{20} The catholic epistles are broken down into segmented readings and there are a handful of occasions in which marginal notes draw the reader’s attention to points he is to emphasize. In addition, the sermons that are grouped together at the end of the manuscript were packed full of explicit instructions and implicit models to teach a pastor how to read scripture and glean from it layers of meaning and symbolism. New and Old Testament passages are used in a complementary manner, as seen prominently in Sermon 9 in which Jesus’ washing of the disciples feet is contrasted to the work of Abraham and Gideon. Bible passages are explained and augmented, as seen especially in Sermon 1 in which the fruits of the spirit and of the flesh from Galatians 5 are only used as a starting point in what would become a long, custom-made list of good and bad behaviors. In both of these cases, the included and modified sermons in Paris, BN lat. 2328 are encouraging the recipient pastor to imbibe his teachings with scripture, to know it well enough that his interpretation and application points are buttressed by and based on biblical passages.

In the midst of these models for how a pastor is to use scripture, there are also sections in Paris, BN lat. 2328 in which the recipient is warned about the difficulties and complexities of reading scripture. Isidore says in Book 1 of \textit{Sententiae} that the layers of scripture are not clear to

all and thus the study of the word must be done with careful persistence and much zeal.\footnote{Cazier, \emph{Sententiae}, CCSL 111, 62–63; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 17r: \textit{Scriptura sacra pro unius quiusque lectoris intelligentia variatur, sicut manna, que populo veteri pro singulorum delectatione variam dabat saporem. Iuxta sensuum enim capacitatem singulis sermo dominicus congruit. Et dum sit uniuscujusque intellectu diversus, in se tamen permanet unus...}} This same message is articulated in Sermon 6, which copies Augustine in saying that not everyone is qualified to interpret scripture:

Gospel mysteries, which were signified in the words and deeds of our Lord Jesus Christ, are not accessible to all, and some, by interpreting them not very carefully or not very soberly, are confounded, generally to their ruin in respect to salvation and to their error in respect to examination of the truth.\footnote{Almut Mutzenbecher, ed., \emph{Augustinus De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus. De octo dulcitii quaestionibus}, CCSL 44A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975), 137; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 121v: \textit{Evangelica sacramenta in domini nostri Iesu Christi dictis factis que signata non omnibus patent; et ea non nulli minus diligenter minus que sobrie in(ter)pretando differunt; plerumque; pro salute perniciem et pro cognitione veritatis errorem.}} Then further down he adds to this saying that anyone undertaking this sort of analysis of scripture must do so with all vigilance so that the interpretation derived from the reading is one that is in accordance with the faith. This opening is important because not only does it justify the allegorical reading of the scripture passage that is to follow but because it stands as a lesson for preparing exegetically based sermons in general. All of scripture was miraculously created to contain these layers of meaning but these layers were to be accessed only in a certain way and only by certain people. Perhaps this was a necessary reminder, even a warning, to a pastor concerning the responsibilities of his office. It shows that the Carolingians wanted their pastors to learn how to read scripture but also wanted to impress upon them the seriousness of this undertaking. This would serve to inspire pastors to feel a sense of accountability and intentionality in their work that fit some of the explicit ideals mentioned in the previous section; it would also articulate to congregants that pastors were authority figures entrusted with a specialized skill set and mission.
As shown then, the pastor who was receiving Paris, BN lat. 2328 could read Latin and was expected to be able to handle reading accessible but still rhetorical works created by well-known authorities from the past and present. He was supposed to be a teacher through his words and deeds. It was expected that he had a basic knowledge of the Bible and could handle an unglossed copy of all of the catholic epistles. These are not the most commonly copied books in the ninth century, perhaps implying that this pastor already had access to the Psalms and Gospel books. Their selection may have had to do with the Lenten theme of the compilation, since the catholic epistles were often read immediately following Easter. At the same time, then, as this pastor was being entrusted with unglossed scripture and perhaps expected to use it for the creation of post-Easter sermons, however, he was also being warned that there were many layers to the scriptures; he was being challenged to explore their meaning conscientiously, a challenge that implies he was or could be made capable of accomplishing such a task.

Methods for Building Local Authority as a Carolingian Pastor

These first sections, then, have established that the Paris compilation, intended for a pastoral recipient, contains selected, ideal standards and reveals the basic skills that were expected of a pastor. The texts in Paris, BN lat. 2328, however, do seem to work beyond these foundational characteristics as well to explain other specific responsibilities that a Carolingian pastor was expected to take on, with one of the most important being that he establish himself as a local

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authority. Here, I will argue that Paris, BN lat. 2328 shows that a Carolingian pastor, in order to be an agent of reform, had to be recognized as an authoritative and knowledgeable spiritual as well as intellectual leader in his community. This process required a level of self-confidence that came through a sense of connection to the historical and present church as well as through access to a wide-ranging repertoire of information; to that end, I will argue here that the compiler was developing a leadership mentality and a variety of leadership skills in his pastoral recipient through the included texts (1) by establishing the pastor’s spiritual association, as a pastor and administrator of the sacraments, with the pope and the history of the church and (2) by providing his pastor with a Carolingian education, which consisted of equipping him with small amounts of high quality, unusual, and varied information that would have set him apart as an intellectual in his community.

As a starting point, there are a number of references in Paris, BN lat. 2328 that underscore the general spiritual authority of pastors. In chapter 45 of Book III, Isidore in Sententiae wrote about how pastors are guarded by the Lord and thus should be confident in their spiritual authority even if attacked by secular leaders. This is exemplified in the life of Marina, who, as a servant of the Lord, was protected by him, only subtly in life but powerfully in death as evidenced by the miracles near her grave. Alcuin considered himself a spiritual father figure to Wido, despite Wido’s high rank, and was thus able to give his “sweetest son” (“dulcissime fili”) challenging advice and to reassure him regarding his salvation in De virtutibus et vitiis. In the baptismal instruction pastors were to use their authority and the power of prayer to exorcize the devil himself, not just lowly demons, from their catechumens. And in the mass exposition the priest was

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24 Cazier, Sententiae, CCSL 111, 288–290; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 68v–69r.
25 Vita sanctae marinae virginis, PL 73: col. 0694B; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 120r.
27 Keefe, Water and the Word, 2:607; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 108r.
described as the intermediary between God and the people and thus an essential authority figure over his flock.\textsuperscript{28} These allusions throughout the manuscript build a general profile for an effective Carolingian pastor: he needed to be confident and authoritative because his vocation made him a specially commissioned, protected, strengthened, and endowed servant of the Lord.

The most recurrent way the pastor’s authority was stressed in the liturgical texts in Paris, BN lat. 2328 was through referencing the spiritual power the church had wielded for centuries, specifically through the apostolically endowed authority of the pope. In the mass exposition, there is a section dedicated to outlining prayers for the pope. In this section, the pope is first identified as the one who received authority from St. Peter. It references just the first phrase of Matthew 16:18, “You are Peter and upon this” then ends with \textit{et reliqua}, cutting short even the shortened reference that most \textit{Dominus vobiscum} copies contain. It is then stated that all pastors should take the time to lead the people during mass to pray for the unity of the church, the pope, and the bishop.\textsuperscript{29} In these ways, the stability of the hierarchy of the church, with the pope at its head but the regional bishops as overseers, was linked to the unity of the church at large. Since this was a part of the \textit{Dominus vobiscum}, a commonly copied mass exposition in the ninth century, these instructions show that the authority of the pope was to be regularly addressed and explained in Carolingian mass celebrations.

This seems, however, overly simplistic since the concept of papal supremacy was evolving during the Carolingian era. In fact, the papacy of the late eighth century was anything but supreme,

\textsuperscript{28} Hanssens, \textit{Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia}, 1:316, 318; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 113r.

\textsuperscript{29} Hanssens, \textit{Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia}, 1:308, 310; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 112r: Quam pacifiare custodire adunare et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum, pro hoc offerimus inprimis ut supradictam congregationem tuam per totum orbem terrarum pacifiatam et adunatam custodiare digneris. Una cum f'amulo tuo illo, hoc est simul cum illo qui sedem apostoli Petri tenet quia ecclesia in quia petrus principes apostolorum secundum caput est omnium ecclesiarum catholicorum, Ideo quia Petro dixit Christus tu es Petrus et super hanc et reliqua: Et propter hanc sententiam debemus omnes pro eo orare qui eadem est ecclesiae.
needing to rely on the help of the Carolingians at every turn to maintain power. In the second quarter of the ninth century, when the Paris codex was created, this situation was growing even more complicated with the revolts against Louis the Pious in the early 830s and then the subsequent civil wars between his heirs. During this time the popes were constantly changing sides.\textsuperscript{30} This mass exposition in this miscellany, however, reflects none of the political realities of papal power and instead holds firmly to the historical and spiritual significance of the papal office. It seems to indicate that the concept of the church hierarchy with the pope at its head was an essential part of Carolingian Christianization and of a pastor’s teaching inventory. Here, the effectiveness of the church was dependent on the leadership of the pope, bishops and pastors, who were to be held up by the prayers of the individual congregations throughout the empire. This was the message of church history and hierarchy that was intended to be diffused through society in the Carolingian reform movement and it was seemingly not affected by current events.

Even if the papacy was dependent on the Carolingians in the political arena, the pope’s spiritual authority was still recognized and important. Thomas Noble has actually argued that in some ways papal spiritual power grew in the ninth century. He cited the pope’s role in major disputes like Iconoclasm, Adoptionism, the \textit{filioque} controversy, different missionary endeavors, and the divorce case of Lothar II; in many of these scenarios, the popes played minor roles, only succeeded with the support of others, and tended to fall back on traditional interpretations. The key for Noble was that parties outside of Rome were getting the popes involved in theological matters and seeking their approval.\textsuperscript{31} This was a prime set-up for the popes; they were being sought

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\textsuperscript{31} Noble, “The Papacy in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries,” 577–583.
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for advice but seemingly were not bearing the brunt of any crisis. “Frankish protection curbed the worst social and political abuses in Rome. It was only in this context that the papacy could feel encouraged to make bold claims about its power.”32 The evidence in this Paris miscellany may demonstrate that Noble’s observations about the growing spiritual reputation of the papacy under the Carolingians was not just true among reformers but it was impacting the reform on the local level. Having an established head of the church provided a clear vision of church order and structure. The papal office was a historical one, established by Christ through Peter. Referencing papal supremacy was an effective way to highlight the unity and structure of the church at large. The way that the pope is referenced in this miscellany, however, perhaps most importantly works to empower the rural pastor. After all, even a parish pastor could participate in the reform movement and in the hierarchy of the church as a supporter through prayer of his bishop and pope and thus serve as an important link in a chain of pastoral leadership.

Further evidence that local pastors were to emphasize papal power and the church’s history of apostolic authority appears in two other places in Paris, BN lat. 2328. For one, Matthew 16:13-19, the primary biblical support for papal supremacy in which Peter is called the rock of the church and given the keys of heaven by Christ, is copied into Paris, BN lat. 2328, perhaps by the pastor. It was added into folio 96v, right before the catholic epistles, in a faded untrained hand so it cannot be attributed to the original compiler. Its presence, however, is significant since it shows that someone who used the compilation thought it was an important passage to be able to reference quickly.

The most interesting and unusual reference to papal supremacy, however, appears in the baptismal instruction. In the last section, the compiler references a now lost letter from St. Eutropius, the late antique bishop of Valencia, to Licinianus, Bishop of Carthagena, in which he explains the authority of the fourth-century Pope Sylvester, who baptized Emperor Constantine in secret. This reference alludes to the late antique legend, first recorded in the *vita* of St. Sylvester, that goes on to explain how Constantine, after his baptism, gave up the western half of his empire to the pope in recognition of his greater status as the heir of Peter. The context for this reference to the legend and Sylvester’s authority is odd and interesting; it takes over the last section of an originally constructed baptismal instruction that, before this point, had been largely dependent on Isidore and focused on explaining the meanings behind the terms and symbols used in baptism. This last section is entitled with a question: Why is baptism confirmed with the body and blood of the Lord? The response only partially answers the question, saying that before baptism, catechumens cannot take part in the Eucharist because they were not sanctified through baptism. The compiler, who may have been the author of this original text, then spends the rest of the chapter talking about what St. Eutropius said about baptism. He was inspired by the words of Augustine:

> When infants are exorcized, they are ground like grain; when they are baptized, they are sprinkled or spread, when they are christened, they are gathered together. It seems to me that this is a fair comparison! For being ground through exorcism, is like being released from the power of the devil, and being sprinkled through baptism is like being cleansed from the filth of sin, and being collected through the chrism, is being enlightened and strengthened by the grace of the Holy Spirit.

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33 Keefe, *Water and the Word*, 2:611–612; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 109v: *Commemorat abba ethrophius de sacramento baptismatis in eodem epistola quod sanctus silvester in constantino peregit. Se velantibus apostolos inviso noctis constantino ipsum mysterium baptismatis sacramentum peragere debuisset a sancto petro qui est caput ecclesiae et princeps omnium apostolorum sibi traditum esse, et secundum regulam ab illo acceptam, sic eum baptizavit, et vestibus induit albis in quibus per septem dierum spatia persttit et VIII die exitus iunventus est mundus.*

34 Keefe, *Water and the Word*, 2:611; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 109v: *Quando exorcizantur infans, vel in frumentorum moluntur; quando baptizantur, consparguntur; quando crismantur, coguntur. Pulchra mihi videtur haec conparatio ut dum moluntur per exercismum a potestate diaboli eruantur; dum consparguntur per baptismum a peccatorum sordibus emundentur; dum per chrisma coguntur spiritus sancti gratia, inlustrentur et confermentur.*
Although Eutropius said that this was a quote from Augustine, I have not been able to pair it with any of Augustine’s works but it was quoted by a ninth-century bishop, Leidrad of Lyons, who also said that he was quoting Augustine in a treatise on baptism he wrote for Charlemagne around the same time. So, either it is being falsely attributed to Augustine (by someone prior or by Eutropius) or it is in an Augustine source that has since been lost. The compiler then follows up this quote by citing Colossians 1:13, which says that God delivers Christians from darkness into the kingdom of his son. This is then the context for the final lines in the treatise, a reference to Pope Sylvester, who, because of his apostolic authority, was sought out by Constantine under cover of night, to baptize him and clothe him in white garments which he wore for seven days.

Saint Eutropius was the Spanish bishop of Valencia who died around 610. There is very little known about him but he is referenced by Isidore in his De viris illustribus Liber as being a bishop and a monk, who had written a letter to Licinianus on the anointing of baptized children with the holy chrism. Although we have two other letters Eutropius wrote to Peter, Bishop of Iturbica, this letter to Licinianus has since been lost. In this reference, the compiler focuses on the fact that Eutropius says the baptism was done in secret and yet Constantine still wore the white garments for seven days. These last points connect to the baptismal instruction but the reference to the album vestimentum is out of place since this was supposed to be a section on the body and

35 Keefe, Water and the Word, 1:65–66. His text was edited by Keefe. See Keefe, Water and the Word, 2:374. ‘Quando exorcizantur infantes, velut frumentum moluntur; quando baptizantur, consperguntur; quando chrismantur, cocuntur.’ Pulchra comparatio, ut dum moluntur per exorcismum, a potestate diaboli eruantur; dum consperguntur per baptismum, a peccatorum sordibus emundentur; dum per chrisma cocuntur, spiritus sancti gratia illustrentur et confirmentur. The most notable difference is that Leidrad’s use of the word “cocuntur”, or “to be cooked or boiled”, is changed in the Paris, BN lat. 2328 instruction to be “coguntur” or “to be collected”. It is unclear if this was a mistake that was made twice or an intentional change to soften the metaphor and stay away from the image of cooked babies.

36 Keefe, Water and the Word, 2:611–612; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f 109v.

37 Isidore, De viris illustribus Liber, PL 83: cols. 1106A–1106B: Eutropius, ecclesiae Valentinae episcopus, dum adhuc in monasterio Servitano degeret, et pater esset monachorum, scripsit ad papam Lucinianum, cuius supra fecimus mentionem, valde utilem epistolam, in qua petit ab eodem quare baptizatis infantibus chrisma, post haec unctio tribuatur.
blood of Christ. Since there are no similar references to Eutropius or the legend of Constantine’s baptism in any of Susan Keefe’s sixty-four edited baptismal instructions from the ninth century, there may have been more going on here than an explanation of baptism.

Although perhaps a unique allusion to find in a baptismal instruction, the legend of Constantine and the authority of Pope Sylvester were being strategically emphasized and politicized in the middle of the ninth century. Stories of Constantine’s baptism were being circulated throughout Late Antiquity, but the details of the story took on new meaning and new standing in the ninth century with the creation of a series of forged documents known as the Pseudo-Isidore collection. The Pseudo-Isidore texts mostly consisted of an intricate mix of forged, genuine, and altered papal letters and church councils, many of which came from the seventh-century Collectio Hispana, that were used to criticize secular leadership and to strengthen the institutional church by protecting and championing the rights of the bishops and pope. As Klaus Zechiel-Eckes definitively argued from marginal annotations in three Corbie manuscripts, at least some of the forgers were based at Corbie. He also demonstrated that rather than place the forgeries in the middle of the ninth century, as they had traditionally been placed because of the extant source dating, they needed to be thought of as being earlier creations. He argued that they were meant to defend Ebo of Reims after the failed coup against Louis the Pious in 833 and that they

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were spearheaded by Paschasius Radbertus.\textsuperscript{39} While Zecciel-Eckes’ Corbie placement has been widely accepted, his dating and the involvement of Paschasius Radbertus has been challenged by some and there is still a great deal of mystery surrounding the authors and purposes of these forgeries.\textsuperscript{40} In addition, the relationship between the ancient \textit{Actus Silvestri} vita account, the \textit{Constitutum Constantini}, which was an early medieval creation that further extrapolated and nuanced this Constantine legend, and the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries is still being debated.\textsuperscript{41}

Paris, BN lat. 2328’s baptismal instruction just briefly mentions this legend, focusing on Sylvester’s authority, as passed down through Peter, and Constantine’s respect for baptism and its rituals, specifically the wearing of white garments. These references do not necessarily hint towards any knowledge of the false decretals nor do they seem to promote an assertion of episcopal authority over secular power. The historical context, however, is important, since Paris, BN lat. 2328 has been dated to the second quarter of the ninth century, putting this reference to Constantine’s baptism in the probable context of the first wave of Pseudo-Isidore materials. In addition, this manuscript has been associated with southern France or perhaps southern Burgundy and Schafer Williams, who did a paleographical and historical study on the Pseudo-Isidore materials, found that four out of the eleven extant, early manuscripts that contained Pseudo-Isidore works were from those general regions.\textsuperscript{42} In this light, Paris, BN lat. 2328’s addition of the

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\textsuperscript{39} Zecciel-Eckes, “Auf Pseudoisidors Spur,” 1–28.\textsuperscript{40} For a summary of some of these debates and questions, see Knibbs, “The Interpolated Hispana,” 1–11; and Karl-Georg Schon, “Projekt Pseudoisidor,” accessed March 10, 2016, http://www.pseudoisidor.mgh.de/\textsuperscript{41} Johannes Fried has developed a very detailed theory on these texts as well as on the Donation of Constantine legend that he says developed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries but his interpretation has been widely criticized. See Johannes Fried, \textit{Donation of Constantine and Constitutum Constantini: The Misinterpretation of a Fiction and its Original Meaning}, Millennium Studies 3 (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007); and Caroline J. Goodson and Janet L. Nelson, “Review article: The Roman Contexts of the ‘Donation of Constantine,’” \textit{Early Medieval Europe} 18, no. 4 (2010): 446–467.\textsuperscript{42} Williams, \textit{Codices Pseudo-Isidoriani}, 123–134. He did not mention Paris, BN lat. 2328 as being connected to this collection, not even in his section on related fragments.
Matthew 16:13-19 passage and this original, and seemingly out of place, conclusion to the baptismal instruction do at least stand out. As already shown, the compiler of Paris, BN lat. 2328 was intentionally mixing famous works from the past with Carolingian creations and original works to create an orthodox, learned, and yet contemporary and relevant collection for a pastor. It is possible that he was copying this entire baptismal, which consists of a hodgepodge of references from Isidore’s *De ecclesiasticis officis* and his *Etymologies*, Jerome’s commentary on Matthew and his Letter 64 to Faviola, Leidrad of Lyon’s *Sacramento Baptismi*, and original sections, from a different, now lost, source. Given its manuscript context, however, I think it is more plausible that the compiler created this particular instructional on his own and used the last section to reference Eutropius’ letter because it showed an appreciation for baptismal rituals and it was culturally relevant in terms of the other circulating materials on the general subject.

In the end, although this short reference does not provide a direct link to the Pseudo-Isidore materials, Paris, BN lat. 2328’s emphasis on the authority of the pope is direct and, I believe, significant. Perhaps by establishing the authority of the pope, the compiler was establishing the authority of the bishops and church leaders by association. The mass exposition required that the pope’s authority be explained and that he be the recipient of regular prayer from priests and their congregants. The addition of the Matthew passage shows that the recipient thought it useful to have quick access to the passage that emphasized Peter’s authority. Then, in the baptismal instruction, the story of Pope Sylvester’s authority as exhibited through his administration of baptism may have been deemed especially effective because not only was the power of the papacy being invoked yet again but the power of baptism was also established and of the administrators of baptism by extension. As an initiating ritual that carries catechumens out of the kingdom of
darkness and turns them into the elect who will inherit the kingdom of God, all believers, even emperors, would at some point come to the church and seek baptism. As Julia Smith put it, “Baptism formed the point of entry into a rule-bound society.” Owen Phelan argued more specifically that Carolingian reformers used baptism for three main purposes: to establish the faith in new converts, incorporate catechumens into the community of the church, and qualify them for new moral obligations as members of that church. The sacramentum of baptism was the foundation for the imperium christianum, giving it political and social as well as spiritual significance. Thus, baptism was an essential sacrament, the initiation into the church and thus into heaven, and priests had to not only administer it but understand its significance and teach it. The baptismal instruction in the Paris codex is thus significant because it shows how such an important ritual in the church was being packaged by a scribe for the understanding and use of a pastor. The historical reference to papal authority in the context of baptism may have been an effort to empower local pastors to be spiritual leaders in line with Sylvester’s example and thus confident administrators of the sacraments.

Thus, as shown, it was important for Carolingian pastoral manuals, as evidenced by the case study of Paris, BN lat. 2328, to include lessons on the priesthood and the importance of the church as tied to salvation. Pastors were to feel the weight of their office, with its high standards and important responsibilities. They were also to articulate the respect that their positions

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commanded to their flocks and to be confident in leading the mass and performing the sacraments, recognizing that these were the vehicles through which God granted salvation to his people. The Carolingian reform movement depended on cooperation and delegation on the local level and thus they needed pastors to be seen by their flocks as local leaders who were in line with the hierarchy of the church and its reform agenda and were also linked to the historic and spiritual authority of the church and pope through the nature of their office, even if actual contact with the bishops and pope was uncommon.47

The other way that the compiler of Paris, BN lat. 2328 was preparing his pastoral recipient for leadership was by providing him with a variety of scholarly texts that would allow him to be a participant in the cultural and intellectual renaissance of his time. Although the term “renaissance” has been disputed, scholars have agreed that the Carolingians were ushering in an exciting time of learning and education in which literacy was on the rise and information and texts were prized.48 In fact, that was the purpose of miscellanies: to compile a wide breadth of information into one reference source. I have been arguing that Paris, BN lat. 2328 was intentionally compiled in one

47 Van Rhijn, Shepherds of the Lord, 1–9, 63, 89; 689–690; and Patzold, Episcopus, 118–129. For similar ideas on the hierarchy of the church but the power being invested in parish priests, albeit in the context of researching the tithe, see John Eldevik, Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform in the German Empire: Tithes, Lordship, and Community, 950-1150, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought: Fourth Series, no. 86 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), esp. 62–102.
setting and directed for the specific use of a Carolingian pastor, but I believe that remembering that this was not only an era of reform but also one of information helps to show how the undeniably odd and varied texts in this compilation can be viewed as purposely included and useful for a Carolingian pastor.  

In the Carolingian context, knowledge about a variety of topics was expected and appreciated in high-ranking leaders as shown in the *speculum* genre that was popular during this time. In Paris, BN lat. 2328, Alcuin’s *De virtutibus et vitiiis* was such a *speculum* work since it was devoted to educating a nobleman on how best to live and lead. In it, Alcuin used carefully labeled and deliberately short chapters to guide pious laymen, especially those in positions of power, to be educated, just, and pious leaders. Although this work is often categorized by modern scholars as a *speculum*, it was also a *florilegium*, a miscellany of sayings from all different sources. Alcuin wove his own explanations in with scripture references and passages from the Church Fathers to create a tapestry of connected and organized information on proper living. His work was informed by a lifetime of personal study and reflection and yet Alcuin’s *brevi sermone* was just one of many Carolingian texts devoted to providing advice on proper living. Jonas of Orléans’ *De institutione laicali* and Paulinus of Aquileia’s *Liber exhortationis* are two examples of works that were being written contemporaneously with Alcuin’s and show a similar interest in explaining Christian living, saturated in the authority of a variety of texts from the past, to lay

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51 For the seminal work on *specula*, see H.H. Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit*, Bonner historische Forschungen 32 (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag, 1968).
audiences. Perhaps the most studied lay, Carolingian *speculum* though has been Dhuoda’s handbook that she wrote for her son between 841 and 843, thus roughly contemporary to the time Paris, BN lat. 2328 was probably being created. Dhuoda’s handbook has fascinated modern scholars because it was written by a woman but also because it demonstrates that by the mid-ninth century, the reformers’ goal of diffusing Christianity and education throughout society was working. Dhuoda was a noblewoman who was steeped in Christian texts and the language of reform. According to M.A. Claussen, she used her combined knowledge of the scriptures, Church Fathers, and the Rule of St. Benedict to establish her own authority and infuse her manual with the significance of a reform text that stemmed from “the monastic ideal of *correctio* – the duty of an individual to rectify the behavior of another.” Although written to her son, like Alcuin’s text this handbook was expected to be circulated and contained words of advice and caution that were applicable to all noble youth. She encouraged her son, and others in his position, to read the Holy Fathers, respect the church, and lead a pious life. She unabashedly also included advice on aristocratic concerns, showing a real interest in status, honor, education, politics and family.

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Throughout she did not seem to find the two lessons mutually exclusive and urged her son to be strategic in his secular ambitions while still working to develop his spiritual disciplines. As Peter Dronke put it, “Dhuoda’s fundamental premise is the validity of a two-fold undertaking (utrumque negotium): it is oriented towards the world as well as towards God. Both world and God demand an ideal of gentle service, and in that twofold service there is joy.”

In some ways, these specula, then, were similar to the Italian Renaissance conduct books for courtiers; the message of both genres was that a properly conducted life could be achieved through education, discipline, decorum, and morality. As Burckhardt classically described it, the “uomo universale” of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was elegant and talented, possessing learned and practiced intelligence, grace, and skills making him able to excel in all areas of life.

Thus both renaissance manuals established that the key to attaining the ideal life was the accumulation of varied sums of knowledge; while the Italian Renaissance ideal was based on the humanist belief in the superiority of man and encouraged varied learning through broad study and the practiced accomplishments in the fields of art, music, science and sport, the Carolingian renaissance man ideal, however, advocated for hard work, piety, and penance and remained grounded in texts. Alcuin and Dhuoda taught their “sons” how to be respected leaders by providing them with abridged miscellanies, concise guides to the essentials of Christian living fit for pious layman with many worldly responsibilities. In this same spirit, the compiler of Paris, BN lat. 2328 not only included Alcuin’s instructive model and example, but had the entire manuscript function in the same way for his spiritual “son.” The compiler copied and created texts that would work

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58 Dronke, Women Writers of the Middle Ages, 41.
together to provide his recipient with information that touched on a variety of topics from a variety of genres and eras, all meant to educate and inspire his recipient but also to capture the values of the Carolingian renaissance ideal.

Although both Alcuin’s work in particular and these mirrors in general were directed towards aristocratic laymen, there is no reason to believe that pastors were not addressed in a similar fashion in terms of how they could establish their authority as intellectual leaders in their communities. After all, as Susan Keefe has pointed out, on the local level the pastors, even if they only had basic educations, were often the “sole contact between the people and the world of learning.” Carine van Rhijn has noted that local pastors may have held relatively prestigious positions in their communities, since they tended to be educated and were connected to powerful networks, either through their families or through the ecclesiastical chain of command since the Carolingians were stressing that bishops mentor and oversee the pastors under their supervision. This may have been part of the compiler’s logic when he included texts or sections of texts into Paris, BN lat. 2328 that presented a diversity of information, genres, and stories for the intended pastor’s use: they were fodder for his renaissance man persona, information he could use for future sermons or in discussions with congregants, and continuing education resources. By looking at the Carolingian renaissance and reform movement in this light, “miscellanies” like Paris, BN lat. 2328 take on a new importance: they should be appreciated for the intentionality behind their creation as well as for the variety of their content and those two should be seen as complementary rather than mutually exclusive attributes.

60 Keefe, Water and the Word, 1:5.
As a prime example, this logic can help explain the presence of the lapidary text in Paris, BN lat. 2328. As introduced earlier in the previous chapter, the lapidary text is entitled *Annotationes de lapidis et gemmis* and appears on folios 95v-96r. It is loosely based on Book XVI of Isidore’s *Etymologies* but with many changes. Isidore’s *Etymologies* was a highly regarded work in the early Middle Ages because it was well organized and researched but also because of the variety of information it provided in a rational and yet orthodox way. Isidore’s chapter on stones and gems in particular was often copied. In addition, Isidore was a favored authority by the compiler of Paris, BN lat. 2328 based on how frequently his books are used. This background shows that a reference to one of Isidore’s texts was not unusual in this context and yet, why was information on the characteristics of stones deemed to be particularly important for a rural pastor?

On the one hand, the lapidary may have been included for its specialized information and thus as a novelty source. After all, some of the references in this work would have sounded fantastic and exotic to a rural pastor and his flock. The lapidary mentions stone origins from far off lands such as Ethiopia, India, Libya, and Arabia; some of the stones have supernatural powers, such as carbuncle that is bright even at night, haematite that can heal wounds, pontica that can drive off demons, and gagates that can expel demons, discover virginity, repel serpents and ward against lightning! Since they are described, a pastor would have been able to identify these stones by sight and tell others about their value. Perhaps it was placed here to give pastors an educational lesson on the ways to identify stones that were either common to the area or sought after through

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63 Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 96r.
trade for their medicinal potential. In this way, this text would have made him an intellectual authority figure on stones and gems.

On the other hand, the lapidary also contained practical and useful medical and spiritual information. The use of stones for healing and as amulets was an ancient practice that continued throughout the Middle Ages.64 Perhaps this text was meant to supply pastors with information on stones and gems so that he could recognize superstitious practices. As Thomas Amos argued, pastors, especially through their sermons, saw the need to teach their congregants about the nature of the world in order to combat their superstitious interpretations of natural events. “The clergy, as almost the sole literate class in the Carolingian world, were influential in shaping the ways in which the Carolingians saw their world,” which was, as he puts it, “a mysterious place filled with unknown and ostensibly unknowable forces.”65 For example, in one of his letters to Archbishop Æthelheard of Canterbury, Alcuin noted that he knew of many men who, rather than seek salvation from the church, were instead devoted to making up their own version of Christian practices that consisted of excessive drinking, wearing stone amulets, reciting small bits of scripture, and collecting relics.66 Although organized paganism was rare in the empire by the ninth century, superstition, especially related to healing practices, may still have been considered a problem.67

66 *Alcuini Epistolae*, MGH Epp. 4:448–449; and Janet Nelson, “Organic Intellectuals in the Dark Ages?” *History Workshop Journal* 66, no. 1 (2008):1–17, 9–10, 17. Alcuin also mentioned they did this all while sleeping with their wives, which may have implied the stones were being used as a pagan birth control option.
This text is not a heresiology though; it was not written to condemn pagan, superstitious practices. Instead, it is packaged as a mix of geological, etymological and medical information and, as I will argue, may have been used by a pastor to establish his intellectual and spiritual authority in the community.68

With this background in mind, it is interesting that although the custom-made lapidary in Paris, BN lat. 2328 is rather short, it does not condemn the use of stones for healing in all regards but notes that carbuncle, haematite, pontica and gagates can be used for their special healing powers. In this sense the compiler was perhaps familiar with Augustine’s point of view in De doctrina christiana. In this work, which was made for Christian teachers and preachers, Augustine made the distinction between seeking herbs and stones to serve as natural medicinal aids and seeking herbs and stones to serve as amulets and idols; in this line of reasoning, an herb could be rightly used for medicinal purposes but if it was hung around the neck and trusted like a magical amulet, that same herb became an idol.69 Then, in a related, later section, Augustine famously references the Israelites’ escape from Egypt noting that they were commanded by God to take the treasures offered to them from the Egyptians. While their pagan enemies may have used these items for evil, they were not evil in and of themselves and could be repurposed by the Israelites.70


70 Martin, De doctrina christiana, CCSL 32, 73–75.
Although *De doctrina* is not overtly cited in this work, it was widely circulated in the early Middle Ages and the compiler may have felt free to provide his pastor with this practical lapidary outlining the healing powers of some stones in light of Augustine’s words. In the early middle ages the church recognized the appeal of magic, highlighting the role of saints and the supernatural as well as infusing the liturgy, holidays and rituals with a sense of magic, as seen in the use of holy oil, relics, and signs of the cross.71 Perhaps this lapidary was to play a similar role, providing a local pastor with information about which stones were approved as healing aids. The Carolingian church was not looking to stamp out the laity’s interest in the mystical, reformers were trying to situate “magic” within the hegemony of the church. The information was presented here as a scientific overview with medicinal value; the lapidary was a guide to using God-given objects for good purposes. To this end, the compiler seems to have both wanted this pastor to be educated in the basics of stone and gem knowledge and trusted that this pastor would be able to explain their value without encouraging superstition.

Along the same general lines, Alcuin’s epitaph may have served the purpose, at least in part, as a Carolingian renaissance resource that was included to establish the recipient’s authority as an intellectual. On the one hand, since the epitaph is combined with a chart and with the later addition of a prayer based on the office of the dead, the compiler seems to have included it primarily for its content and meant for these texts to be used for practical pastoral care: the conducting of funerals and the creation of sermons explaining death, the body, and the soul. On the other hand, Alcuin’s epitaph was also a work of poetry that was circulated in other manuscripts as a model of sophisticated epitaph writing and as the poetic work of a popular Carolingian

reformer. The problem with commenting on the Carolingian use of epitaphs as texts that were disseminated through manuscript accounts is that they have not been systematically studied by historians.\textsuperscript{72} Epitaph inscriptions and epitaph text copies are actually two very different things, which is something Mark Handley has observed in his research.\textsuperscript{73} Sometimes Alcuin’s epitaph was circulated in epitaph specific collections in which they served as poetic masterpieces and models, but, as seen in this manuscript, sometimes his epitaph text was circulated along with theological and pastoral sources. Handley argued that the possibilities for the disseminated use of epitaph texts could be quite broad, postulating that “it is possible to imagine either a desire to use the epitaphs for edification, or some sort of antiquarian imagination. A combination of the two is not unlikely.”\textsuperscript{74} Thus, we must note that epitaphs took on a different purpose when they were copied as poetics texts rather than carved onto stone markers and when they were copied in epitaph collections rather than pastoral collections and that purpose can only be determined by looking at the manuscript context.

In this light, perhaps the inclusion of Alcuin’s epitaph in Paris, BN lat. 2328 is further evidence of what kind of varied information a Carolingian pastor could have used to help him achieve the status of an authoritative intellectual in his community. If only the content in this poem was important, the compiler could have used a simpler text or just included the chart but maybe he used the epitaph because it would have been recognized as a sophisticated and scholarly text. It

\textsuperscript{72} See Heinrich Härke, “Cemeteries as Places of Power,” in \textit{Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages}, eds. Frans Theuws, Mayke B. de Jong and Carine van Rhijn, Transformation of the Roman World, vol. 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 9–30. Although there are many works on cemeteries and gravestones, they tend to focus on the archeology but this is one recent study that looks at the many layers of meaning and expressions of authority that grave markers may have held in the early Middle Ages.


\textsuperscript{74} Handley, “Epitaphs, Models and Texts,” 56.
provided a unique perspective, since it was written as if it is being spoken by an already dead Alcuin, spinning lines of poetic wisdom to wayfarers from the grave. A pastor with this text at his disposal may have worked the reading of the epitaph into a sermon or into a funeral service or used its formula for inscriptions on the tombs of his congregants. The possibilities may have been quite broad, a reason why the use of epitaph texts is a subject that could benefit from more modern scholarship. Perhaps the compiler included this particular text because it could serve multiple purposes, with the content being just as important as the presentation of that information. This rural pastor now had access to an Alcuin poem and a highly regarded epitaph formula but he also had a chart to explain to him how this text could be used as a teaching tool. The presence of Alcuin’s epitaph can show that the texts that were painstakingly written onto these expensive folios of parchment needed to serve as many functions as possible. Here, one text could be valuable for a rural pastor in charge of explaining complex theology and of burying members of his flock; and the same text could be valuable for a pastor seeking to exert his competency and authority because of its connection to a famous reformer and its status as a superior poem and epitaph work.

In a similar way, the hagiography of St. Marina may also have been included at least in part for the purpose of providing the recipient with a varied education and building up his local authority. In order to understand this text, however, one must first understand the subgenre of cross-dressing nuns stories in order to determine why they were being created and how they may have been received in their original late antique context, which is actually a debated topic. In the Syriac version of this story was actually rather different than the Latin one. In the earliest Syriac texts, Marina plays a much more active role in her transformation into Marinus but then has a much less powerful presence after death with no post-mortem miracles. The Syriac Marina was active through feminine means: getting what she wanted or undergoing her penance through tears, and being described in detail as a caregiver. The Latin Marina, although still prone to weeping (which had a different resonances in the Middle Ages than in Late Antiquity anyway), was given more dialogue and there was an emphasis on her learning and service and she is the one who consciously decides to maintain her disguise, even if she did not chose to take it on in the first place. See François Nau, “Histoire
mid-twentieth century, there were three different major theories, by Marie Delcourt, John Anson, and Évelyne Patlagean, that all concluded, from different angles, that these vitae were sensationalized stories that revolved around the radicalized and yet stylized motif of cross-dressing and would have been thought of as controversial and extreme. More recently, however, Stephen Davis has challenged this premise to conclude that cross-dressing stories were “composed of bits and pieces of prior cultural texts, images and discourses” and that they each borrow in different ways from the stories of Thecla, St. Antony, various eunuchs, and that of Joseph and Potiphar’s wife. The late antique hagiographers were encapsulating traditional archetypes so that in as much as these cross-dressing vitae were strange and interesting, their storylines were also familiar to listeners and were ultimately pointing readers to Christ as the one who changed identities, was sacrificial, and was often associated with feminine characteristics, virtues, and images. In addition to Davis’ work, scholars such as Khalīfa Bennasser, Gillian Cloke, Valerie Hotchkiss and Sandra Lowerre have also argued that these vitae would not have been all that radical in their

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76 Delcourt, “Le complexe de Diane dans l’hagiographie chrétienne,” *Revue de l’histoire des Religions* 153 (1958): 1–33; John Anson, “The Female Transvestite in Early Monasticism: The Origin and Development of a Motif,” *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 5 (1974): 1–32, 30; and Évelyne Patlagean, “L’histoire de la femme déguisée en moine et l’évolution de la sainteté féminine à Byzance,” *Studi medievali* 17 (1976): 597–623. Delcourt argues that this motif of the transvestite nun was similar to the extreme undertaking of male castration in that these women were trying to do away with their female identities out of a hatred and abandonment of their bodies and of their familial responsibilities. Anson argued that these stories were encapsulating male monks’ “secret longing for a woman in a monastery” and were making these women “appear guilty of the very temptation to which the monks are most subject” but then their guilt was satisfied when the women were made saints. Finally Évelyne Patlagean labeled these vitae as romantic, literary fiction tales of female independence in a male-dominated ascetic world.


original context. Late antique female ascetics wanted to be male because the church associated manliness with holiness; they were not trying to escape family by cross-dressing and in fact their male garb, like in Marina’s case, often united them with family members. Yet, the spiritual landscape was complicated; these same women were also being praised when they exhibited extreme female characteristics, such as their ability to feel deep contrition and express it through tears or their willingness to practice submission and obedience. In fact, these cross-dressing women never did escape certain female characteristics: they are sexually dangerous, frail and vulnerable, and Marina is a prime example since she was accused of sexual sin, marginalized, given subservient chores and was even forced to be a caregiver although she was thought to be male! This most recent scholarship is particularly compelling and demonstrates how even extreme and unusual saints’ lives may have been presented as relevant and even relatable to audiences.

Thus, despite their oddities, scholars have concluded that cross-dressing vitae were operating within the vocabulary and symbolism of the ascetically-minded late antique church. There has been no work done, however, on why these stories continued to be popular centuries later in the female section of the Vitae patrum nor on their reception in the west by the

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80 Cloke, *This Female Man of God*, 216–218.

81 Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man*, 19–30; Lynda Coon, *Sacred Fictions: Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 120–121, 141; and Lowerre, “To Rise Beyond Their Sex,” 65–71, 86–87. Coon focuses on Merovingian women but makes a similar point and Lowerre adds in that perhaps these women, Marina in particular, took on undeserved penance because of their deep-seated guilt for their lies and sex.
Carolingians. Female saints in general, not even just the cross-dressing ones, were carefully regulated by Carolingian reformers. Lynda Coon noted that women were saintly in hagiographies only in the ways they imitated Christ’s humility, thus by being apolitical, peaceful, nurturing, a friend of the marginalized. Since women were considered naturally more sinful than men, when they are able to reach sainthood, the grace of God was made to shine all the more clearly. In Julia Smith’s study on early medieval female sanctity she found that out of the 262 saints lives that she uncovered only forty-two were on female saints and out of them, thirty-seven were early Christian martyrs with only five being recent female saints. Carolingian female saints’ lives were modeled after St. Martin and often described as male, although the women were not physically cross-dressing. They were rarely the main characters in their own stories and rarely completely separated from their families. Their miracles, if they performed any, were within their communities and the saints did not physically travel, except occasionally through visions. In the end, Smith concluded that the Carolingians were creating very safe images of female sanctity by limiting new female saints and allowing the circulation of some distant, in terms of time and space, saints that moved within the bounds of the reform movement and promoted peace and cooperation between kin groups and the church. If this is true in general, it begs the question of what to do

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82 Julia M. H. Smith, “The Problem of Female Sanctity in Carolingian Europe c. 780-920.” Past & Present 146 (Feb., 1995):3–37, 11–13, 13n27. Smith did note, as an aside, that the Greek lives of transformed harlots, although known to the Carolingians through the Vitae patrum, do not seem to have been popular. She observed, however, that further research needs to be done on this collection of eastern lives in the Carolingian context.

83 Coon, Sacred Fictions, 12–15, 48–51.

84 Coon, Sacred Fictions, 46–47.


89 Smith, “The Problem of Female Sanctity,” 28. It is also important to note though that the Carolingians were limiting new saints in general, not just new female saints.
with these cross-dressing saints’ stories that circulated in the *Vitae patrum*. Were they considered safe images?

Clearly there needs to be more work done on Carolingian perceptions of and usages for these cross-dressing saints’ stories but between this background overview and the placement of Marina’s *vita* in Paris, BN lat. 2328, I would like to propose a few possibilities in terms of how it could have been useful for building up the authority of a Carolingian pastor. As seen in Clugnet’s, albeit limited, work on the manuscript history of this story, Marina’s story was not widely circulated in the ninth century, so, in comparison to the other texts in Paris, BN lat. 2328, it would have been regarded as the most unusual and rare. On the one hand, this speaks to the extensive library, or at least network of libraries, the compiler had access to. On the other hand, it shows that the pastor who received this compilation was being intentionally gifted with an uncommon hagiographical story. In this context, it provided the pastor with an exotic tale complete with cross-dressing, sexual allegations, dramatic irony, demon possession and post-mortem miracles. This is not to say that this text was given to a pastor to encourage pious women to sneak into monasteries, for in fact even Marina, at least in the Latin translations, did not have that ambition but her disguise was placed upon her by her father. In many ways, in fact, Marina’s story fits much of Coon and Smith’s profile. Even though her location and era is never mentioned explicitly, she was vaguely distant in terms of space and time in that her context was established as extremely rural, far from any towns, and her death was described as being in the distant past, since it was remarkable that

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90 M. Léon Clugnet, “Histoire de sainte Marine,” *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien* 6, no.3 (1901): 357–378, 357. At least in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale collection, Paris, BN lat. 2328 was the oldest copy and the only ninth-century copy of Marina’s *vita* that Clugnet was able to locate. A more extensive study of manuscript history of this work is needed.

91 The original Syriac version of this story puts Marina in control and says that she demanded that her father bring her with him.
miracles were still happening near her relics. Marina stayed connected to family, did not want to travel (she did travel when asked by her abbot but it led to her suffering), was saintly through accusations and ostracism, and cared for the outcast. These were appropriate, Carolingian-approved messages in their essence, but they were presented in Paris, BN lat. 2328 in this unusual storyline, and thus I think were included to add to the recipient’s “renaissance man” repertoire of knowledge. If pastors were to establish themselves as authoritative leaders and teachers through knowledge, a vita about an unusual saint, especially a powerful one that could perform miracles, may have been an important tool for a pastor to use on occasion to show that he was a knowledgeable and intellectual leader.

Another angle that could be taken to explain the power behind this hagiography and the ways in which it may have served to help establish the authority of the pastor can be found by looking at the propaganda between the lines of the text. As Paul Antony Hayward has noted, many medieval saints’ lives would not have been usefully instructive for teaching lay people how to live saintly lives. His observation applies particularly well to Marina, since she entered into a monastery by cross-dressing and by someone else’s initiative, and her story is devoid of specific good works. Instead, Hayward proposes that hagiographies were mainly used for propaganda: to popularize a relic shrine or church or to instill a sense of awe and respect for saints and the church. In a similar train of thought, Bennasser and Cloke also noted that the reoccurring storyline in which the cross-dressing nuns are falsely accused of (often sexual) crimes has the same effect. The fact

93 Hayward, “Demystifying the Role of Sanctity,” 124, 129. For a more recent work that traces this general idea but with a specific focus on how the Carolingians recopied Merovingian vitae for a variety of social and political purposes, see Jamie Kreiner, The Social Life of Hagiography in the Merovingian Kingdom (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), esp. 237–276.
that these heroines-in-disguise are physically unable to commit the crimes they are accused of (i.e. fathering a child) underscores the injustice of the accusations laid against them by laymen.94 In the case of Marina’s story, not only is she clearly innocent, but the *vita* details that her accuser paid for her actions in that she was demon possessed until she confessed and Marina herself (post-mortem) chose to free her from that punishment. A lay woman, who took advantage of the vulnerable position of an ascetic, incurred the wrath of God but also served as the vehicle by which Marina was able to reach sainthood. This, then, may have been another way this hagiography provided a local pastor with tools with which he could assert his authority. Perhaps this story could serve as a warning to congregants that falsely accusing a servant of the Lord would incite divine retribution. Clerics and monks were to be respected because their connection to heavenly justice was particularly direct. This unusual story, much like Alcuin’s epitaph, thus may have been useful both for its general content and for the way that information was presented, here in an entertaining story that upheld the power and authority of the church and saints.

As shown in this section, then, Carolingian pastors were to be educated on more than just strictly spiritual matters but needed to be equipped with a varied arsenal of tools, which, in the renaissance context meant they needed access to a varied collection of texts. This is an important concept to keep in mind when reading miscellanies because this point of views sees the variety of the collection as an educational strategy rather than an organizational failure. Carolingian pastors were to be made aware of their own connection to the ecclesiastical hierarchy and reminded of the

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94 Bennasser, “Gender and Sanctity in Early Byzantine Monasticism,” 72; and Cloke, *This Female Man of God*, 195. Also Davis makes this point in a different way when he talks about how this kind of false accusation also happened to Joseph, a man, and yet a beautiful man who was compared to his mother and may have had an androgenous appearance. After all, church tradition holds that Potiphar was also attracted to him! See Davis, “Crossed Texts, Crossed Sex,” 27–28.
power and history of the spiritual father of the church, the pope. They were administering sacraments that were essential for salvation; they were following a vocational call that had been established by the apostles and were specially gifted with spiritual authority as a result. This information was to give rural pastors confidence and evidence with which to assert their local authority and, in the middle of the ninth century, these references to papal authority were on the rise and perhaps politically charged as seen in the scholarship surrounding the Pseudo-Isidore forgeries. Thus, the compiler of Paris, BN lat. 2328 was providing the recipient with culturally relevant and practically useful resources. In addition to knowing and explaining their authoritative position, pastors were expected to build up their persona as intellectuals in order to fulfill the Carolingian version of a “renaissance man” ideal. In a renaissance context, in which knowledge was the mark of a leader, pastors needed to be able to speak on a variety of topics and to display their education as proof of their participation in an era of reform. In the context of Paris, BN lat. 2328, this may explain the presence of the lapidary, Alcuin’s epitaph, and Marina’s *vita*, all of which seem to have been included for their multi-faceted importance in terms of their reputation, content, form, and uniqueness. These texts were important for the information they supplied but also for the ways in which that information was expressed and would have given the pastor ample resources for counseling, leading, warning and reassuring his flock.

**Text Editing Strategies for a Pastoral Care Education**

Paris, BN lat. 2328, and compilations like it, are not only important indicators of how pastors were equipped and trained under the Carolingians in their efforts to spread reform because of the texts that they include, but also because of the ways the texts were strategically changed. In
some cases, entire sections were omitted or statements were re-worded by the compiler. In other cases, material was added in to the text in order to clarify or redirect the message for a Carolingian specific audience. Depending on the nature of the change, these elements to the manuscript are important indicators of what the compiler thought was appropriate for pastors to teach. By focusing in detail on a few key copying novelties, this section will seek to expose the ways in which the compiler took strategic liberties in his copying efforts and my analysis will show how these changes demonstrate the realities of the Carolingian reform movement. These details provide valuable insights into at least some of the ways reform was being diffused through society because they show how information was being packaged, focused, and explained to a pastor.

There are a number of sections in these texts that were skipped over and not included in this compilation.95 One example of this kind of change occurs towards the end of Book 1 of Isidore’s Sententiae starting with the section on the Antichrist. The manuscript copies the beginning of the Antichrist chapter from Isidore but then, after talking about how the saints will not be overcome by the Antichrist in the last days, the compiler does not include the more pessimistic caveat of Isidore’s that talks about how the elect will be harshly persecuted, the devil will attack more viciously once he is loosed, and yet all of this will be with divine permission so that the saints can be glorified and the wicked damned.96 Then, even though the next two chapters, On the Resurrection and On Judgment, are included in Paris, BN lat. 2328’s table of contents, implying that the compiler knew about them and had access to them, they are also omitted. In these

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95 Now, of course, some of these texts are original works or are so changed that the deletions are too numerous to study or quantify and the original sections simply may not have been available to the compiler. There are some cases, however, where the changes stand out and appear to indicate that the compiler was intentionally not including them and working around them.

96 Cazier, Sententiae, CCSL 111, 79.
cut chapters, Isidore discussed the perfect peace that is to come for the saints and the resurrection of the dead when all the elect will be given new bodies in the image of Christ, young without defect and strong, whereas the reprobates will be separated and damned on the Day of Judgment. The compiler skips all of that and instead finishes the Antichrist chapter with the end of Isidore’s Judgment chapter, which is appropriately about how even though there will be a final day of judgment, the process begins on earth as the reprobates and elect are separated by divine wisdom.

With this sizeable deletion, then, the compiler does not just leave out the end of a chapter but he selects sections from two different chapters of Isidore so that when they are put together, his words are repurposed. Then, after the augmented Antichrist chapter, the changes continue when the compiler says the next chapter is *De resurrectione* but it is instead an exact copy of Isidore’s chapter on Gehenna and thus the entire section is about the pain and suffering the reprobates will encounter in hell.

This omission and merger of chapters at the end of Book 1 in Paris, BN lat. 2328 is significant for a number of reasons. For one, Pierre Cazier in his critical edition of *Sententiae* does not mention this change as occurring in any other manuscripts. This is an important point because it may indicate that this change was not a result of the compiler copying an altered base text but was an original and intentional change. In addition, content-wise this change affects the tone of the passage. Although the suffering of the elect is mentioned, with this omission the times under the Antichrist’s reign on earth are characterized mainly by God’s faithfulness to his people, not his allowance of evil. In skipping the entire Resurrection chapter to get to the Judgment chapter, the

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97 There is a problem though since he did not notice this change as occurring in Paris BN lat. 2328 either. Cazier seems to have done less of an analysis on this manuscript than the others and I am here operating under the assumption that not mentioning this significant deletion in one manuscript may have been an oversight but not seeing it in multiple manuscripts seems unlikely.
compiler was able to put the sufferings Christians will face under the reign of the Antichrist into the context of the Final Judgment and the ultimate victory of the elect. Yes, the Antichrist will reign for a time but, most importantly, the elect will make it through the Final Judgment where the impious will be identified and destroyed. The sections on the suffering of believers is downplayed but still present; suffering is a form of temporal judgment leading to purification for the elect in contrast to the reprobates who will suffer in hell and receive no mercy. The compiler never returns to the content of the Resurrection but instead uses the De Resurrecto chapter to discuss the horrors of hell that only has light so that the wicked can fully experience their terrifying situation. Perhaps by using this title, the scribe was emphasizing that the damned will fully experience eternal damnation since they will be resurrected into it; all will live eternally, however some will do that “living” in a place of death in the same way as there will be “light” in a place of darkness.

What do these changes, these copying novelties, reveal about Carolingian pastoral care and the ways pastors were to be educated in theology in order to teach it to others? This implicit point about resurrection being for the elect and the damned indicated by the content of this chapter, also occurs in Sermon 2 that talks about how people will experience heaven or hell on both physical and spiritual levels. Therefore, this lesson about the physicality of eternity seems to have been an important one to this compiler. On the other hand, the bulk of the section that was omitted by the compiler, the content on heaven and the resurrection of the elect, was also covered in detail in other sources throughout the compilation, especially the sermons. Perhaps the compiler knew the intended pastor would have access to descriptions of heaven through other works and used this restructured presentation to highlight a broader understanding of the concept of resurrection. These changes, then, show that the compiler had a vision for this compilation as a whole and expected a
pastor to benefit from its complementary themes. It may also indicate that there were some topics that reformers did not want pastors to dwell on, with one of those being the skipped section on the Antichrist’s reign on earth and the concept of God allowing evil. All of these points continue to show the variety and depth of theology covered in this humble looking manuscript; it seems as if Carolingian pastors were being entrusted with a wide variety of theological concepts but, as shown in these changes, perhaps the nature of evil and the ominous (albeit temporary) reign of the Antichrist were not ones that the compiler wanted his reader to dwell on or attempt to teach.

There are also significant changes in the baptismal instruction that may shed light on the expectations and realities of Carolingian pastoral care. In the ninth century, baptisms took place during Easter and Pentecost, with the former being an especially important part of the liturgical calendar that is well represented in Paris, BN lat. 2328. Traditionally the entire process took a number of weeks to go through the scrutinies and confirmation process.98 The Carolingians, however, began to shorten the baptismal process from seven meetings over the course of Lent to one session that would take place in the Easter Vigil mass.99 With these changes, along with the fact that the Carolingians were not working to enforce standardization, the baptismal instructions were varied and diverse in their order, wording and emphases.100 As a result, these texts can reveal local customs, interests, or issues and thus are important to study in detail.

100 Keefe, *Water and the Word*, 1:67. Keefe here proposes that when the Carolingians did state that baptisms should be performed in the Roman order, they were saying that baptisms needed to be preceeded by scrutinies and teachings on the faith. In this way, priests were to follow the spirit of the Roman order but not necessarily conform to its exact order or structure.
In the case of the baptismal instruction in Paris, BN lat. 2328, the composer is focused more on explaining the concept of the baptismal rites than on providing a detailed liturgical routine and yet there is a procedural order and process to the work. In this regard, it seems to fall into the category of instructional texts that were responding to Charlemagne’s 812 circulatory letter to his metropolitans on the teaching of baptism. The topics Charlemagne listed did not follow any liturgical order nor were they urging pastors to adhere to a Roman standard; he instead mentioned the most important baptismal rites in the form of a list of questions as a sort of test for bishops to give their priests to make sure they understood the key elements of the sacrament. As a result, a number of baptismal instructions were created by church leaders in the years that followed to respond to this test. The responses were sometimes directed in letter form to Charlemagne to show him that they were indeed well versed in baptismal theology; most, however, were circulated regionally, probably to priests in the diocese surrounding the scriptorium. These instructions were clearly inspired by Charlemagne’s letter but were also freely rearranging or adding to his list to better fit the liturgical practices of their regions.¹⁰¹

Since much of the Paris, BN lat. 2328 instructional is original, or at least originally combined, a quick analysis of the entire work is necessary and useful. It predominantly borrows from a number of chapters in Isidore’s De ecclesiasticis officiis Book II and his Etymologies Book VI. Its borrowings, however, are strategic in that they rearrange and pick and choose between Isidore’s works and create original transitions and conclusions and entire sections to create a treatise on baptism with its own unique message and tone.

The text in Paris, BN lat. 2328 begins with an original opening on the signing of the cross.\textsuperscript{102} Chapter two is on catechumens and begins with Isidore’s words from \textit{De ecclesiasticis officiis}, II, xxi, 1a which defines catechumens. The compiler then skips the end of this section, in which Isidore talks about the history of the term, and ends with an original section that reads as if it could have come from Isidore. In it, the compiler defines the Greek word “catechumen” as “the listening one” since catechumens are being given instruction on the divine mysteries.\textsuperscript{103} Isidore was known for defining catechumen with the term “audiens” and this format of defining the

\textsuperscript{102} Keefe, \textit{Water and the Word}, 2:606; and Paris BN lat. 2328, f. 107v: \textit{I. Cap. Primum signum crucis in fronte ponitur ut fugato diabolum (lege: diabolo) christum habitorem recipiat.}

\textsuperscript{103} Keefe, \textit{Water and the Word}, 2:606; and Paris BN lat. 2328, f. 107v: \textit{Caticuminus ergo grece, latine auditor vel audiens interpraetatur. Caticuminus autem efficitur mysteriis divinis instructus ut purior ad baptismi sacramentum perveniat.}
etymology of a term and connecting it to a larger theological concept is typical of his *Etymologies*. Thus, perhaps the compiler thought it was important to include a definition here both for the information as well as for the parallel structure it provided in the work as a whole.

Selected excerpts from Isidore’s works continue into the next three chapters. Chapter 3, *De competentibus*, omits the rest of Isidore’s chapter on catechumens, exorcism and salt, which he will return to later, to copy Isidore’s *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, II, xxii, sections 1b and 2a defining the elect as those who have received teaching on the faith and sacraments and are actively seeking the grace of Christ. Catechumens, in comparison, are like the guests or neighbors of the elect for they only observe from the outside because of their ignorance. Chapters 4 and 5 then go back to explain the practice of giving catechumens salt and conducting exorcisms to expel the devil before baptism. These chapters are almost completely derived from Isidore’s words, however, they reference both his *DEO* and his *Etymologies* and pick and choose from each. The section on salt comes from *DEO*, II, xxi, 3d, which talks about how salt was instituted as a symbol by the fathers to remind catechumens to never leave the taste of Christ and never to look back on their former life. The latter reference is to Lot’s wife and is a point that Isidore makes explicitly in *DEO* but this compiler does not and instead focuses on the first point that catechumens are to be stripped of their sins and seasoned with wisdom and intelligence.104 Chapter 5 then goes back even further in Isidore’s *DEO* to xxi sections 2b and 3b to talk about the importance of driving out the devil so that the catechumen can be freed from the power of darkness and carried into the kingdom of the Lord. It then transitions into copying Isidore’s *Etymologies*, VI, xix, sections 55 and 56 that

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explains the etymology of “exorcism,” stressing that exorcism expels the devil, not a creature or a minor demon, from catechumens.

Selective borrowings from different texts intermixed with original contributions characterize the rest of the baptismal instruction. In Chapter 6 on the scrutinies, the compiler again takes it upon himself to explain the meaning of the Greek word “scrutiny.” Following this original section, Chapter 7 on the symbol or Creed, covers the etymology of the word but does so by directly copying from *Etymologies* VI, xix, sections 57-58. The wording of the next three sections, chapters 8-10, however, appear to be original. They cover the renunciation of the devil, the touching of the nose and ears with spit, and the anointing of the chest and shoulders. While these are not original topics, the wording here seems to be unique. Keefe particularly noted that Chapter 8’s renouncing of the pomp of the devil before works is not found in any other liturgical books. Chapter 11 on baptism goes back to copying Isidore’s *Etymologies* but goes backwards in his text to VI, xix, sections 43-45a, skips section 45b-47, and ends with Isidore’s section 48. These references go through the etymology of the term baptism, a reference to Song of Songs about being washed clean, and the importance of invoking the name of the Trinity to complete the mystery of baptism. The compiler quotes from Matthew 28:19a, as does Isidore, “Go and teach all nations” but then cuts off mid-verse to end with: “For it is not possible that the body receive the sacrament of baptism unless you undertake all the truth of the faith.” This line actually comes

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from Jerome’s commentary on Matthew, who used this verse to show that teaching was to precede baptism. Thus the compiler was not just working to merge Isidore’s words on baptism but he was crafting a compilation of information that would work for his intended recipient. Then Chapter 12 on the chrism copies from Isidore’s *Etymologies* VI, xix, 50-51 and *DEO* II, xxvi, 2b, explaining the meaning of the word, the Old Testament origins of the practice, and how the anointing makes catechumens part of a priestly and royal people.

The last two chapters are the most original. Chapter 13, on the white garments, starts with a new beginning introducing the idea that white clothing is symbolic of the putting on of a new self after baptism. The section then ends with two different passages from another Jerome source, this time from his Letter 64 addressed to Fabiola. This letter was written around 396 or 397 and in it Jerome professes to be dependent on a since lost text by Tertullian on the vestments of the high priests. At one point in the letter, however, Jerome relates this symbolic interpretation of Old Testament passages on priestly clothing to the New Testament sacrament of baptism and that is what is copied in the Paris, BN lat. 2328 baptismal instruction:

> We read in Leviticus, according to the command of God, Moses washed Aaron and his sons. Already then the purgation of the world and the sign of the holy sacrament of baptism was signified. They do not accept the garments unless washed of their dirt and filth, neither are they to be decorated with the sacred unless they are born again as new men in Christ.

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108 For Jerome’s commentary, see *Commentaria in Evangelium S. Matthaei*, PL 26, col. 218B. It was also used by Hrabanus Maurus in his Exposition on Matthew. See Hrabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in Matthaeum libri octo ad Haistulphum*, PL 107; col. 1152D.


110 Jerome, *Epistolarum*, PL 22: col. 619; Keefe, *Water and the Word*, 2:610-611; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 109r: *Legitur in levitico quod praeceptum est moysi lavisse aaron et filius eius? Legitur iam tunc purgationem mundi et rerum omnium sanctitatem baptismi sacramentum signabant. Non accipiant vestes nisi lotis prius ordine, nec orneantur ad sacramenta nisi in chriso novi homines renascantur.* In between these sections, Jerome had originally also included another layer of biblical metaphor, comparing these white garments that were worn by the high priests and are worn by those who have been baptized to the concept of new wine needing to go in new wine skins. He explains that it is because of the curse of original sin that all must be washed clean and given the new clothing of Christ.
Then we can be clothed in a linen garment, having nothing to do with death, but totally white, so that rising from baptism, we can gird our loins in truth and the ugliness of all of our former sins will be hidden.\textsuperscript{111}

With this addition from Jerome, he shows that white garments are a symbol of baptism used throughout the history of the church, even before the institution of the sacrament. This passage, as also demonstrated in Sermon 9, shows that the compiler wanted this pastor to be aware of the connections between the Old and New Testament and of the long history and vibrant meaning associated with the symbols and rituals used in the mass and in the administration of the sacraments. In addition, this addition from Jerome’s letter once again reveals the creativity and intentionality of the compiler who, in seeking to create a valuable instructional on baptism for his intended recipient, saw the need to combine information from a variety of sources.

The final section of the baptismal instruction on the body and blood of the Lord, as discussed in the previous chapter, interprets its title liberally. The compiler here begins with an original introduction explaining that catechumens are not considered worthy of partaking in the Eucharistic meal before baptism since they have not been instructed in the divine mysteries. He then makes a rare reference to Saint Eutropius, goes on to quote Augustine’s words on baptism, and cites the story of Pope Sylvester’s baptism of Constantine, who then wore the white vestments for seven days. It is with this strange tangent that the baptismal instruction ends.

The first thing to look at when analyzing the originalities and changes made to this baptismal instruction is to determine how unusual it really was. Since this particular instructional appears to be responding to Charlemagne’s questionnaire, that document is the obvious point of

\textsuperscript{111} Jerome, \textit{Epistolae}, PL 22: col. 620; Keefe, \textit{Water and the Word}, 2:611; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 109r: \textit{Tunc induimur veste linea nihil in se mortis habentes sed tota candida, ut baptism consurgentes cingamus lumbos in veritate et tota pristinorum peccatorum turpitude celetur.}
As shown by this chart, the two documents cover much of the same ground but in differing orders.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paris BN lat. 2328 Baptismal Instruction</th>
<th>Charlemagne’s 812 Baptismal Questionnaire</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Signing of the cross</td>
<td>Explanation of the term &quot;catechumen&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Explanation of the term &quot;catechumen&quot;</td>
<td>Explanation of the term &quot;scrutiny&quot;</td>
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<td>Explanation of the process of becoming</td>
<td>Explanation of the term &quot;creed&quot; and its</td>
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<td>elect</td>
<td>main points and how it should be</td>
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<td>Reasons behind the giving of salt</td>
<td>memorized</td>
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<tr>
<td>Explanation of exorcism with exsufflation</td>
<td>Renunciation of the devil, his works</td>
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<tr>
<td>Explanation of the term &quot;scrutiny&quot;</td>
<td>and pomps</td>
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<tr>
<td>Explanation of the term &quot;creed&quot; and its main</td>
<td>Explanation of exorcism with exsufflation</td>
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<td>points and how it should be memorized</td>
<td>Reasons behind the giving of salt</td>
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<td>Renunciation of the devil, his pomps and</td>
<td>Explanation of the touching of the nose</td>
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<td>works</td>
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<td>Explanation of the touching of the nose</td>
<td>Explanation of the anointing of the chest</td>
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<td>and ears with saliva and effeta</td>
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<td>Explanation of the anointing of the chest</td>
<td>Explanation of the vesting of white</td>
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<td>and shoulders</td>
<td>garments</td>
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<tr>
<td>Explanation of baptism and its importance</td>
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<td>Explanation of the anointing of the chrism and its importance</td>
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<td>Explanation of the vesting of white garments</td>
<td>Why confirmed with the Eucharist?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Why confirmed with the Eucharist?</td>
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Perhaps the change in sequence indicates that this was the order in which the pastors in that region normally conducted baptisms. The elements that are added in, the signing of the cross that was to open the ceremony and the act of baptism that was the center of the ceremony, were important to include if this was supposed to lead a pastor through the steps of baptism. The compiler was intentional in making these explanations structurally parallel and organized; every chapter is numbered and titled and, when applicable, starts with the etymology of the word in question and then builds from that point. Perhaps this was set up so that it could be more easily memorized or referenced by the reader. Thus, these changes show that although it may have been created with

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Charlemagne’s earlier challenge in mind, this instructional was intended to be practical and locally relevant.

In these ways, then, the content and the changes to the base sources are important because they show how the intended recipient, a Carolingian pastor, was to understand and explain baptism, one of the most important sacraments in the Christian faith. It is also interesting that “practical” instructionals, during this age of reform, were centered on explaining theology. All of the essential steps to the sacrament may have been outlined but the explanations that followed centered on what they each meant, not a step-by-step “how to.” Perhaps the ordo for baptism (the set phrases and prayers, directions on where to stand and how to turn, etc.) were expected to be diffused to pastors without issue. After all, the Carolingians did not insist on the standardization of the liturgy and thus pastors were free to follow the traditions in their region that they would have been able to observe on their own. Orthodox understanding of the significance of the sacrament, however, seems to have been controlled by the reformers. Perhaps the worry was that pastors were often just acting out of habit and not teaching or even aware of the symbolic meaning behind what they were doing. This shows that reformers wanted pastors first and foremost to understand what they were administering; these symbolic rites were not to stand on their own and they were not self-explanatory, either to pastors or their congregants, in the ninth century. And the compiler was creative and selective when building up those theological definitions, depending on a variety of sources and confidently adding in sections to create parallel structure and to transition between ideas.

Strategic subtractions and copying novelties are also present in the sermons at the end of Paris, BN lat. 2328 and these changes are important for what they reveal about Carolingian
sermon-making. In some cases, significant deletions from the original text seem to have been done for logistical reasons. In Sermon 4, although the sermon is mostly a copy of one of Caesarius’ works, it skips over his original introduction and conclusion. In this case, the deletion seems to have been an easy way to make this sermon, which had opened and closed with references to John the Baptist and the harvest season, a model sermon that was not tied to a season or feast day.\footnote{G. Morin, ed., \textit{Sermo XXXIII: De reddendis decimus; ante natale sancti iohannis baptistae}, CCSL 103 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953), 143–145.} This was also accomplished by changing the title: it is falsely attributed to Augustine, a renowned authority, and referenced as a sermon on tithes in contrast to the original title that was dedicated to John the Baptist. This shows that in a compilation like Paris, BN lat. 2328, that had a limited number of sermons that were to be models for pastors, generic sermons were more valuable since they could be used for a variety of purposes. After all, Caesarius’ full version of Sermon 4 is only tangentially about John the Baptist, while its content is predominantly focused on the logic and importance of tithing. With this beginning deletion and title change, the compiler kept the practical purpose of the sermon, its lesson on tithes, in the foreground for the benefit of a pastor who would have used it for a variety of sermon occasions.

In a similar way, rather than include the long, three-part, introduction in Augustine’s Tractus 49, Paris, BN lat. 2328’s Sermon 7 has an original introduction that frames and focuses the sermon’s message. After all, Augustine’s original text was not created to be a sermon but a commentary and as a result sought to be comprehensive in its analysis of the Lazarus miracle story and its multi-faceted meanings.\footnote{See Augustine, \textit{Tractatus XLIX: Ab eo quod legitur, Erat autem quidam languens, Lazarus; usque ad id, Abiit in regionem juxta desertum, in civitatem quae dicitur Ephrem, et ibi morabatur cum discipulis suis}, PL 35: cols. 1746–1747 for the original introduction.} Sermons for popular purposes, however, had to be memorable
and concise in order to hold the audience’s attention and achieve their purpose in presenting practical and applicable lessons.\textsuperscript{115} As a result, the compiler deleted Augustine’s rhetorical and lengthy introduction and began Sermon 7 with a new one that immediately states the main theme of the sermon in a straightforward manner:

In this way, dearest brothers, when the gospel is read, we listen because the Lord came to the grave of Lazarus and he, already dead for four days, arose to the sound of [Christ’s] voice without delay; That which happened in him bodily, is being done in us spiritually, and therefore we, brothers, should listen and be restored. Carefully we should examine our consciences lest, by chance, there be something that, hitherto, oppresses our customs with wicked habits. For the Lord does that in the living which he did in the dead.\textsuperscript{116}

Here, the compiler, if he was the sermon author, is immediately alerting the audience to the essential plot of the passage, its main spiritual interpretation, and how it should inspire and teach listeners. The fact is that Lazarus was raised from the dead after being dead for four days; the interpretation is that this is a symbol for how Christ transforms people spiritually; the lesson is that pious Christians should examine their consciences for habitual sins that make them spiritually as dead as Lazarus was physically. This is not a summary of Augustine’s introduction, rather it is an original creation that was intentionally being used to direct and mold Augustine’s commentary into a sermon, to frame the compiler’s subsequent selections from the commentary, and to focus listeners’ attention to these three key points.

While these deletions seem to have been performed in order to make the sermons more accessible, focused and useable for pastors, there are other changes that were done to actually alter

\textsuperscript{115} Amos, “Early Medieval Sermons and their Audience,” 6–8.
\textsuperscript{116} Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 122v: \textit{Modo fratres karissimi cum evangelium legeretur Audivimus quia venerit Dominus illa sunt ubi sepultus fuerat Lazarus et ad vocem eius mortuus iam quatriduanus sine aliqua dilatatione surrexit; Quod in illo factum est corporaliter fiat in nobis spiritualiter; et nos ergo fratres audimus et resurgamus. Diligenter consideremur conscientias nostras ne forte sint aliquid quos adhuc mores male consuetudines praemiat; Facit hoc Dominus in viventibus quod fecit in mortuis.}
some of the messages that were being presented in telling ways. In Sermon 5, in accordance with Caesarius’ sermon, the first half of the sermon is on the story of the wedding feast at Cana and the symbolic importance of baptism, but the latter half is consumed with descriptions of hell and urgings for Christians to repent. At one point, there is a discussion about a purgatory-like stage that Caesarius’ original sermon said would burn off the light, unrepented sins from the elect such as: perjury, false testimonies, unjust judgments, wrath, vices, and unlawful desires.\textsuperscript{117} Sermon 5, however, changes this to an even shorter list of temporal sins, only listing: idle conversations and unkind or vulgar thoughts.\textsuperscript{118} Then the conclusion of Sermon 5 has a notable difference since it deletes the penultimate section that talks about how the bodies of the just pass through these fires unharmed. Caesarius’ section here uses the example of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to explain how purgatorial flames do not destroy the virtuous.\textsuperscript{119} Sermon 5 skips this section altogether and concludes simply with Caesarius’ exhortation to Christians to not procrastinate but to die to sin and live a better life before it is too late.\textsuperscript{120} It seems that in both of these changes, Sermon 5 has cut out the passages that may soften the blow of Caesarius’ message, and that is significant, since Caesarius himself was known for his terror-inducing emphasis on the punishments of hell.\textsuperscript{121} The venial sins that Christians could get away with in Sermon 5 were light

\textsuperscript{117} G. Morin, ed., \textit{Sermo CLXVII: De evangelio secundum iohanni ubi ait quod die tertio nuptiae factae sunt in cana Galilaeae}, CCSL 104 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953), 686: “

\textit{illic periuria, falsa testimonia, iniqua iudicia, irae, malitiae, cupiditates, quae puritatem nobilis naturae infecerant, exsudabunt…}”


\textsuperscript{118} Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 121r: \textit{Illic sermones otiosi et cogitationes inique vel sordide}.

\textsuperscript{119} Morin, \textit{Sermo CLXVII: De evangelio secundum}, CCSL 104, 686–687.

\textsuperscript{120} Morin, \textit{Sermo CLXVII: De evangelio secundum}, CCSL 104, 687; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 121v: \textit{Et ideo, carissimi, convertamus nunc ad meliora, dum in nostra sunt potestate remedia: curramus dum lucem habemus nec praeterereuntia salutis tempora neglegamus. Hic exinguamus mortem moriendo peccatis, hic vitam vitae meritis coparemus: per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum qui vivit in saecula seculorum. Amen.}

\textsuperscript{121} Le Goff, \textit{The Birth of Purgatory}, 87. On this point, Le Goff refers to Caesarius’ own concession that he had been reproached by his listeners for speaking too often on the terrors of hell and final judgment.
indeed; the vast majority of sins needed to be dealt with on earth through repentance and penance. In this way, the compiler wanted the intended recipient and his flock to know about the existence of this place of purging but not to depend on it.\textsuperscript{122}

Message-altering deletions combined with original additions also change the nuance and overall message of Sermon 2, which is loosely based on Caesarius’ Sermon 17. Here, the compiler deletes Caesarius’ original conclusion in favor of a new one. In a rather wordy explanation, the last two thirds of Caesarius’ original sermon had focused on the many ways man deserves hell, referencing Matthew 25 with the separation of the sheep and the goats, and mortal sins that require penance and alms.\textsuperscript{123} This entire lengthy section is skipped by the compiler who instead creates a short, new conclusion to talk about how Christ descended to hell after his death to save the just. This is a particularly interesting change since teachings on the harrowing of hell were much debated with the main controversy circling around who Christ saved. Did he go to preach and then saved those who responded, as the Alexandrian school in the early church promoted? Or did he go to save those who had trusted in the promise of salvation but died before salvation was bought on the cross, as argued by Augustine, Gregory the Great and Bede?\textsuperscript{124} In some ways, this text seems to sidestep the issue. It says vaguely that Christ redeemed some but also left some others behind ("partem abstulit et partem de religuit").\textsuperscript{125} There is one statement, however, that seems to be doctored. The original line, written by the compiler, explains that at least 5,000 were taught,

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{122} Despite this emphasis on confession and penance, Paris, BN lat. 2328 does not include a penitential. I believe this is evidence that, in as multi-faceted as this manuscript is in explaining pastoral care, it was not intended to be comprehensive. This point fits my previous observations regarding the inclusion of the catholic epistles but not the Psalms or gospel texts, and the inclusion of two groups of sermons but not enough for the liturgical year.\textsuperscript{123} Caesarius, \textit{Homilia XVII}, PL 67: cols. 1080B–1081B.\textsuperscript{124} James C. McCune, “An Edition and Study of Select Sermons from the Carolingian Seminary of Salzburg” (Ph.D. diss., King’s College, London, 2006), 117–118.\textsuperscript{125} Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 116v.
\end{flushleft}
docentur, perhaps implying they were preached to but, in lighter ink, there is a “u” over the “o” changing the verb to ducentur, meaning they were led out.\textsuperscript{126} Perhaps this correction was made to avoid confusion and to stay in line with the more traditional, western interpretation of Christ’s descent.\textsuperscript{127} The section ends by saying that while in hell, he also bound the devil and plundered hell ("indeligavit diabolum et expoliavit infernum") then, reminiscent of the language in the Creed, Christ resurrected on the third day and ascended to heaven but will return to judge the living and the dead. Sermon 2 uniquely ends with an explanation about how people will be resurrected into either heaven or hell; both experiences will be bodily and spiritual, whether the resurrection is for damnation or glorification. In addition, all resurrections will be modeled after Christ’s so all will be resurrected in 30 year old bodies.\textsuperscript{128}

On the one hand, this change makes sense because many of the topics that Caesarius discussed in the deleted sections come up later in the collection of sermons. In fact, an explanation of Matthew 25 is a major part of Sermon 3 that immediately follows. Thus, this change further supports the idea that the sermons were selected and altered in such a way to complement each other. On the other hand, the addition is particularly important since understanding the logistics of the resurrection of the saints was a controversial Christian doctrine and yet one that Charlemagne

\textsuperscript{126} Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 116v.
\textsuperscript{128} Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 116v: Si Dominus Iesus Christus in triginta annos parsus est tertia die resurrexit: Ita et nos omnes populi ad viditium In triginta annorum aetate resurgeremus; Nam omnis homo in qua libet aetate fuerit mortuus aut parvulos aut senex aut in utero matris vivificatus. In XXX annorum aetate resurrexerit.
For an overview on the patristic background of this topic, specifically the ideas of Tertullian, Jerome and Augustine, see Caroline Walker Bynum, The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 97–98.
required be preached on in the *Admonitio generalis*.\(^{129}\) James McCune looked at five Carolingian sermons on resurrection themes in his dissertation work on the Sermonary of Salzburg, which followed the twofold death and twofold resurrection theology. Although there was a long history of this theology, ninth-century thinkers seemed particularly indebted to Augustine’s thoughts on the matter. The first death is bodily and happens to everyone and the second is for sinners who are sent to the pit of death, meaning eternal damnation. The twofold resurrection is reserved for Christians who go through a first “resurrection” that is spiritual conversion that is effected through baptism and the second resurrection is physical and at the Final Judgment when their bodies are glorified in heaven.\(^{130}\) Although the term for “purgatory” was not established and defined until the twelfth century, these ideas about a stage between the physical death of the body and the final resurrection of the body did get some late antique and early medieval writers to hypothesize that there was a waiting stage after death often referred to as Abraham’s bosom.\(^{131}\) This theory inspired other developments in the church that were especially being promoted by the Carolingians such as votive masses, prayers for the dead, and prescribed penance as ways to try to deal with post-baptismal sins and the unknown gap between the two resurrections.\(^{132}\)

In the original ending to Sermon 2, there is a reference to the twofold death and twofold resurrection concept but it is slightly different than the one McCune recognized in the Salzburg

\(^{129}\) *Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen*, MGH Fontes iuris 16:236, cc. 80; P.D. King, trans., *Charlemagne: Translated Sources* (Lancaster: University of Lancaster Central Print Unit, 1987), 219: “Further, it is necessary to preach diligently concerning the resurrection of the dead, that people may know and believe that they will receive the rewards of their merits in their very same bodies.”


\(^{132}\) McCune, “An Edition and Study of Select Sermons,” 200. As shown in the addition in Paris, BN lat. 2328 of a prayer from the office of the dead, the pastoral recipient was very much living in this reform context and conducting votive masses.
Sermonary. Here, the emphasis is on the fact that the Final Judgment will bring about a physical and spiritual “resurrection” for the just and the wicked; the dead will experience either of their eternal fates in a very physical way.

As sinners descend to hell in the flesh, so the just come in to the kingdom of God in the flesh; because (the whole world)\textsuperscript{133} will be (examined) with the just judgment of God and in the very real flesh he who sinned in the present life (and) did not perform penance, in the very real flesh, with the body and spirit, will be tortured in hell, similarly that same flesh will be tortured in terms of the spirit; the very real flesh and spirit that is deigned to stand firm will rejoice with Christ and all the saints and with the angels in paradise.\textsuperscript{134}

With this, Sermon 2 ends with an originally worded emphasis on the tangibility of the salvation process. Those condemned to hell are tortured in the flesh and in the spirit but the righteous who accept the kingdom of God in the flesh will be resurrected and glorified in the flesh and in the spirit for paradise. Perhaps, with this copying novelty, Sermon 2 was meant to further explain the heaven and hell dichotomy that was first set up in Sermon 1 but also discussed earlier in the compilation in Alcuin’s epitaph. It was not enough for Carolingian preachers to vaguely reference eternal rewards and punishments but they needed to understand how those two options were to be carried out. As Alcuin noted in his epitaph, immediately after death the soul leaves and the body remains in the grave, to rot and be eaten by worms, and yet the day will come that the body will be resurrected. The emphasis is also on the importance of taking the right precautions in this life, namely through penance, which is the distinction here between the sinner and saved. Although Paris, BN lat. 2328 did not contain a penitential, it was addressed to a pastor operating in a reform

\textsuperscript{133} The words or phrases in parentheses were added in with a similarly trained hand but in a lighter ink in between the lines.

\textsuperscript{134} Paris BN lat. 2328, f. 116v. \textit{Ita ut peccatores in carne descendant in infernum. Iusti in carne recipiant regnum Dei. Quia iustum iudicium Dei (tunc) erit (examinat[us] omnis mundus); et illa caro qui in presente vita peccavit (et) penitentiam non egit. Ipsa caro cum corpus et anima cruc[ab]itiur in infernum; Similiter et illa caro qui propter Spiritum cruciatur: ipsa caro et anima cum Christo et omnibus sanctis paradysi letabitur (maybe meaning: levabitur) cum angelis quod ipse perstare dignetur: qui regnas in saecula seculorum.}
era that revolved around piously motivated good works. The Carolingians, rather than just stressing the avoidance of evil, were encouraging that pious believers seek the rewards of heaven through good works, specifically through alms and charity. In this system, wealth could be retained if used for good. God was especially described as a wise judge who could balance between the good done and evil committed, and the dead were remembered through regular, votive masses as a reminder of the impending life (or damnation) to come. In the end, then, the compiler creates Sermon 2 by borrowing the introduction and creed-like explanation of the gospel from Caesarius then changing the end to fit his purposes, to complement other explanations of death in the compilation, and to expound on the mysterious and yet very physical wages of sin and rewards of good works as appropriate to the reform context in which this sermon was to be taught.

As shown, the compiler of Paris, BN lat. 2328 chose to alter many of the texts he was otherwise copying for this compilation and an analysis of how those changes impacted the message and presentation of information has revealed important insights in regard to the education of Carolingian pastors. The compiler was conscious of how the original texts he was borrowing from could be confusing or distracting and he created new introductions, conclusions, titles, and transitions to help. The texts he included needed to be malleable and useful for a number of purposes and it seems as if some of the sections that were deemed to be either too confusing or controversial or tangential were then cut. In the works that remain there is a consistent emphasis on the importance of good works and the motivation of both spiritual as well as physical punishments and rewards in the afterlife. Local traditions were to be respected but the compiler

wanted to ensure that the meanings behind the symbols of the mass and sacraments were not lost in the midst of habit. In all of these ways, Paris, BN lat. 2328 shows that ninth-century pastors were to be entrusted with a good deal of theology, doctrine and liturgy and yet this compiler at least used strategic editing to try to control the flow of that information in order to stress the essentials and provide his pastor with user-friendly, adaptable resources for pastoral care.

**Realities of Reform Implementation**

While the last section sought to uncover the realities of Carolingian educational strategies by tracing some of the important copying novelties and editing decisions of the compiler, Paris, BN lat. 2328 is also a useful case study because of the information is reveals about how these messages were implemented by the pastor. To that end, there are a number of sections in this compilation that either infer or explicitly demonstrate a bit about how the pastor was expected to or actually did work to apply the information he was receiving. This evidence shows that the recipient was an active participant in his own training. Paris, BN lat. 2328 was not supposed to be a self-sufficient, comprehensive, step-by-step manual on pastoral care; it was created to be a guide that provided models to imitate, information to ingest, topics to investigate, and skills to learn and the additions to this compilation may provide an indication of how that was carried out by the recipient.

As articulated in the included mass exposition and supported by two later additions to the compilation, the recipient of Paris, BN lat. 2328 was expected to be a prayer leader. The *Dominus vobiscum* mass exposition makes this pastoral responsibility clear by punctuating every stage in the mass with directions to pray. In some places, the exposition includes the exact words of the
prayer, as it does for the prayer over the offering, the prayer before the Eucharist and, of course, the (annotated) Lord’s Prayer. In other sections, however, the priest is simply told to pray or to lead the people in praying. In the first lines, the priest is told to greet the people and lead them in prayer to start every service. This prayer is to be in the name of Christ and the Holy Spirit and it is most effective if it is participatory; the people are to join in the prayer so that it will be heard (“dum dicet sacerdos oremus, rogat omnes orare ut oratio eiusmod”). The priest is to focus on the essential reasons why it is important to pray, which are here: to recognize and declare God’s power and eternal nature as well as to ask for help and to give thanks. There is a section on the priest with his flock praying for the pope, the bishop and the unity of the church, which is followed by directions on who should pray for whom if the bishop is present or absent. Prayers should next be said for the elders (“senioribus”) and for all of the faithful who came to listen to the message. The priest is to specifically pray over their offerings, so that their giving will be profitable for their salvation and souls. He is then to lead the people in praying over his words so that they would be clear and beneficial. As shown then, prayer was important and was seen as both something that needed to be taught and something that could be expected from Carolingian pastors. While the

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136 Hanssens, Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia, 1:284; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 109v.
137 Hanssens, Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia, 1:286, 288; and Paris BN lat. 2328, f. 109v–110r: Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro sacerdos gratias agit Deo iuxta professionem populi qui confessus est ad Dominum se esse intentum. Dignum et iustum est populus cum sacerdote simul gratias agit Domino quia iuste et digna ora Deum omne verbum, aeternae Deus hoc in aeternum et temporale aeternum est, quod inicium non habet nec finem habet sed semper fuit et est et erit. Perpetuum est quod esse caepit et finem non habebit et ideo hic dittitur aeterne Deus nec coepit esse nec desinit esse sed semper est. Note that this section is significantly simplified when compared to the critical edition of this commonly copied mass exposition.
138 Hanssens, Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia, 1:310; and Paris BN lat. 2328, f. 112r.
139 Hanssens, Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia, 1:312, 314; and Paris BN lat. 2328, f. 112r–112v: Hanc igitur oblationem servitutiis nostre sed cuncte familii tuae quasesumus Domine placatur accipias; Sacerdos oblationem suam adque cunctorum qui Domino famulantus id est qui Domino serviant commendat ut Domino placeat et ipse nobis propitius sit; Desque nostros in tua pace disponas atque ab aeterna damnatione eripe: et in electorum tuorum tuebas grege numerari: per Christum Dominum nostrum; Post eo quod sacerdos offeret populi debet orare ut sacerdos exaudiatur ut omnium dies in pace disponantur et ab aeterna damnatione eripiatur de qua Dominus mihi Iesus Christus in finem mundi dicturus erit impiis.
exposition provided guidelines and models for how to pray, there was an expectation that the pastor could, with some direction, create prayers on his own as well.

There are two additions in Paris, BN lat. 2328 that show this implementation in action. On folio 23, in the middle of the copy of Isidore’s *Sententiae*, one folio was commandeered to write out a prayer. It is a copy of prayer that appears in a number of early medieval sacramentaries.\(^{140}\) It begins by explaining the incarnation of Christ and his work as a doctor, but also his multi-faceted identity as master, savior, judge, priest, and sacrifice.\(^{141}\) It then seamlessly follows into a confession of sin and petition for forgiveness. According to the sacramentaries in which it appears, this humble prayer was one of seven different prayers that the priest could use to pray for himself before entering into mass. This may be evidence that the pastor who received Paris, BN lat. 2328, was actively working to supplement it. The mass exposition he was given, after all, emphasized the importance of prayer but also the need for the pastor to confess and be particularly mindful of his sin since he was Christ’s representative in word and deed.\(^{142}\) This prayer that was written in to folio 23, thus, fulfills the concept introduced in the exposition and shows that this pastor was seeking out and recording prayers he could use to that end.

Paris, BN lat. 2328 contains another added-in prayer that similarly indicates that the recipient of this compilation, and thus perhaps Carolingian pastors in general, was expected to be

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\(^{141}\) Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 23v: *Etiam enim Deus qui pro amore hominum factus est in similitudinem carnis pec(c)ati formam servi Dominus adsu(m)sit et in specie vulnerati medicus ambulavit hic nobis Dominus et magister salutis advocatus et index sacerdos et sacrificium.*

\(^{142}\) Hanssens, *Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia*, 1:316, 318; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 112v: *Memores nos esse sacerdotes profitemur atque plebem memores esse testamur Christi filii tui Domini nostri. Ideo sacerdotes fideliter memores esse debent quia ipsi missam celebrant: et sacrificium offerunt Christi exemplo insticti et scire debent que celebrant quia stulta postolatio est si postulans nescit quod postalat.*
an active gatherer of information in regard to resources he could use for pastoral care. As mentioned in the previous chapter, this prayer appears on folio 96r before Alcuin’s epitaph and the subsequent chart. Written in a faded, ninth-century, untrained hand, this prayer is loosely based on the beginning of the First Nocturn reading in the Matins for the Dead. With this chart, comparing the Paris, BN lat. 2328’s prayer with that of the Roman Office, the similarities and differences are clear. 143

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Office of the Dead: Matins, First Nocturn</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paris, BN lat. 2328 - Folio 96r Prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>???: Dirigi domine, verba mea converte Domine ne in nequando, Domine deus meus;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R14: Credo quod redemptor meus vivit, et in novissimo die terra resurrectus sum, et incarne mea(m) video dominum salvatorem meum;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~V177: Quem visurus sum, Et in carne;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~R72: Qui Lazarum requies tu eis, subvenite sancti suscipiate ore(?), omnia mea a deo,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>???: Deus Deus meus, delicta, Domines inluminacio mea, redemisti me dominem, or[ae]te(?), domine anima meatur;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R24: Domine comodo veneris iudicare terram ubi me abscondebo a vultu irre tua quia peccavit in vita mea;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown, the prayer in the Paris manuscript starts with an original petition for the Lord to direct these words lest the leader fall into iniquity. The prayer then copies most of the First Response that is based on Job’s words from Job 19:25-27a: “Lord God I believe that my Redeemer lives and in

143 For a complete break-down of the Roman Office, see Knud Ottosen, The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1993), 7–10. The response (R) and versicle (V) numbers are Ottosen’s designations and are used in his extensive study of these prayers. I include them here to show how the two prayers line up.
the last days of the earth I will be lifted up, I will see God, my savior, in the flesh, whom I will see myself in the flesh.”’¹⁴⁴ In the Office for the Dead, these lines are broken into a verse and response but in this prayer they are simplified and combined. The copy then ends with a barely legible reference to Lazarus that is vaguely similar to the Roman Office in its mentioning of Lazarus’ rest. This is followed by a unique line of contrition: “God my God, I have sinned. The Lord is my light, you have redeemed me, Lord, my spirit beseeches you.”¹⁴⁵ After this original confession, the copy picks up again with the Third Response in the Nocturn reading: “Lord, when you come to judge the world, where shall I hide myself from your face? Because there is sin in my life, I am frightened and will blush before you when you come to judge. Do not condemn me because of sin.”¹⁴⁶

The origins of the Roman office of the dead are unknown. Since the oldest known copy of the Roman office of the dead, Vat. Pal. lat. 550 from Reggio Emilia, has been dated to the second half of the ninth century, it would have just been developing at the time this manuscript was being used.¹⁴⁷ The f. 96r prayer addition then appears to be early evidence of the office’s growing usage. The word-for-word parallels at times, however, means that whoever wrote this version of the prayer was familiar with the Roman office so either the pastor was writing from a flawed memory or he changed the prayer to suit his needs or he was using a copy that had changed the material at some earlier point. In this way, just like the prayer from folio 23, this is a pastoral prayer that was

¹⁴⁴ Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 96r: Credo quod redemptor meus vivit, et in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sim, et in carne mea(m) videbo dominum salvatorem meum, Quem visurus sum, Et in carne …
¹⁴⁵ Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 96r: Deus Deus meus, delicta, Domines inluminacio mea, redemisti me dominem, or[a]Je(?) domine anima meatur
¹⁴⁶ Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 96r: Domine comodo veneris iudicare terramubi me abscondeo a vultu ire tue quia peccavit in vita mea. pavesco et ante te erubesco, cum vener[is] iudicare noli me condemmare quia pecc.
¹⁴⁷ See Ottosen, Responsories and Versicles, 31–37, 172, 322–325. There is much uncertainty surrounding the development of the office of the dead, with some scholars speculating that it was created earlier in the eighth century in Rome and was being adapted by the Carolingians in the ninth century for their purposes. In Paris, BN lat. 2328, the prayer was written in a ninth century hand but is not the same as the compiler’s so it could have been written later in the century making either date estimate possible. On the dating of the additions see: Keefe, Water and the Word, 2:73.
to be given during mass, usually a specialized votive mass or funeral service in this case, but had not been originally provided by the compiler.

As Yitzhak Hen has argued, studying liturgical texts, especially ones that have been altered, is important because they provide us with “a rare glimpse of the actual rites people performed” and “a great deal of information about the perceptions, ideas, and preoccupations of the society in question.” In many ways, the content of this prayer, both the changed sections as well as the original lines, fits perfectly into this compilation. The opening, praying for correct words, is reminiscent of the instructions in the mass exposition directing the priest to lead the people in praying over his words so that they may be clear and right. The acknowledgment of Christ’s return, his role as redeemer, the resurrection of the flesh complement Alcuin’s epitaph as well as the messages in many of the sermons, most especially the original ending of Sermon 2 detailing the two resurrections of the saints and sinners. There is an overall tone of repentance and contrition, a fear of the wages of sin and a sense of unworthiness that relates to Sermon 1’s list of wrong deeds and Sermon 5’s warnings against the allure of sin and the many ways people can lose the favor of the Lord, even if baptized. This prayer also fits the compilation in terms of its probable usage. Ottosen has argued that in the early Middle Ages, these prayers were most often prayed by the priest over the dying and sometimes in the funeral service immediately after death. Caring for the dead and the dying was an essential part of the administration of pastoral care. The ceremonies and rituals were filled with meaning and symbolism; the laity were dependent on clerics to ease

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149 Ottosen, Responsories and Versicles, 43–44, 53, 322–324. These pleas for forgiveness and statements of faith then were to be the words of the ones facing death but in the later Middle Ages, these prayers were more often prayed over the dead and were to represent their petitions from purgatory.
their passage to the afterlife and to ensure their right standing before God and the Carolingians were particularly intent on using the church to take away some of the fear associated with death, both through liturgical instructions and through the veneration of the saints.\textsuperscript{150} This kind of pastoral care also promoted lay community. As commemorative prayers and services for the dead became regularly administered in the ninth century, more people became loyal attenders of their local churches in order to reap these benefits, giving more prominence and power to the rural churches and their pastors.\textsuperscript{151}

Thus, taken in context, it appears as if these prayers, added in with a ninth-century, untrained hand but in the context of a pastoral compilation of texts, are evidence of how a Carolingian pastor was using these resources and implementing reform ideals. The exposition called on him to be a prayer leader and gave him basic guidelines, and he found or was separately given other resources that could help him create prayers that would fit. In these ways, the Carolingians were educating pastors through compilations like Paris, BN lat. 2328 that were to serve as a framework to work within, and these additional prayers show the ways in which at least this pastor, but perhaps Carolingian pastors in general, worked to fill in the gaps.

In a similar way, Sermon 8 also serves as evidence of how this Carolingian pastor was expected to use the compilation to perform his responsibilities as a spiritual leader. This sermon is interesting because it appears as if it was intentionally left incomplete. The part of the sermon that is included is an exact copy of the beginning of Augustine’s sermon \textit{De Symbolo ad Catechumenos}.


\textsuperscript{151} McLaughlin, \textit{Consorting with Saints}, 103–114.
It presents the text of the Apostles’ Creed in full and then begins to go over how to memorize and teach it but only gets through the first phrase in the first line: “I believe in God.” This is not only the first line of the Creed but, as the sermon explains, it is the most important part that should never be doubted at the risk of endangering the soul. If one does have doubts about their beliefs in God, they should keep them to themselves and continue to obey, trusting that God will illuminate the truth into their hearts in time.\textsuperscript{152} In this way, Augustine and the compiler of Paris, BN lat. 2328 were perhaps hoping to ward against the spread of heretical thoughts by discouraging the discussion of doubts. It may have also been the only line discussed because the compiler wanted to emphasize to pastors the most important starting point when it came to Christianization. Congregants needed to believe in God; if they did not, their doubts could become a poison to the community at large.

With this sermon, then, the intended pastor was being taught how to teach his congregants the Creed, which makes sense in a pastoral compilation since it was packed with essential theology and was imperially mandated preaching material. He was to model, during his presentation of the sermon, how the Creed should be put to memory by repeating each line and thus not only recommending memorization but starting that process for them in the mass itself. Then, as shown, he was to explain how each line was packed with meaning. That first phrase, after all, provided information about God and faith, warned against apostasy, and discouraged the dangerous

\textsuperscript{152} Augustine, \textit{De symbolo ad catechumenos}, in \textit{Le Liber Ordinum en usage dans l’Église wisigothique et mozarabe d’Espagne du cinquième au onzième siècle}, ed. D. Marius Féroton, \textit{Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica}, vol. 5 (Paris: Librarie de Firmin-Didot et Cie Imprimeurs de l’Institut, 1904), 5:186; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 124r: \textit{Hanc sanct(a)e fidei regulam, quam uobis nunc tradidit sancta mater Ecclesia, firmissima mentis uestre retinet sententiam, nec aliquis in corde uestro dubitationis scrupulus oriatur. Quia si, quod absit, in hoc uel tenuiter dubitatatur. Omne fidei fundamentum subruitur, et animae periculum generatur: Et ideo si aliquem uestrum inde quippiam mouet, sibi reputet quia hoc intelligere non possit; Verum tamen credat iste omnia que auduit. Deus autem omnipotens ita cor uestrum influminet, ut credendo et intelligendo que diximus, et fidem rectam custodiatis, et sanctis operibus fulgeatis: Ut per h(a)ec ad beatam uitam peruenire possitis.}
channels of gossip and spiritual exploration in the flock, and concluded with a promise of reward as incentive. By only working through the first point, Sermon 8 is presented as a model for how such a sermon on the Creed could be extended. The subsequent deletion of the rest of the sermon implies that the intended pastor was supposed to be using these sermons both for their content and for their example, in order to be inspired and prepared to create sermons of his own. This sermon is short and incomplete but the compiler was confident that it gave enough information for the intended pastor to use. Thus, Sermon 8, in its form in Paris, BN lat. 2328, gave the pastor a model to follow and then left him with it, showing an expectation on the side of the compiler that the pastor could rise to the occasion.

Thus, there are indications throughout Paris, BN lat. 2328 that this compilation was not only made for a pastor but actively used by him. This may demonstrate that Carolingian pastors were not just trying to understand the materials given to them by reformers, but they were confident enough to add to them. Local pastors were able to participate in the reform movement in this way. They were given (or perhaps sought out) practical handbooks of information but some of the material was intentionally left incomplete since the collection was meant to model how to pastor, not provide comprehensive instructions. In addition, this handbook was not intended to be the end of the pastor’s learning; as shown with the addition of the two prayers, this pastor must have had access later to more resources, some of which he chose to copy here. Paris, BN lat. 2328 then was meant to instruct, guide, inspire, and model pastoral care to a recipient with the expectation that he would rise to the occasion.
Tying it Together: Paris, BN lat. 2328’s Portrait of a Carolingian Pastor

As shown through the analysis of Paris, BN lat. 2328 that has been conducted, the compilation contains a variety of descriptions of and guidelines for Carolingian pastors. I used the previous chapter to argue that this manuscript was intentionally compiled in one setting for a pastoral audience. Then, in the this chapter, I examined in detail what the compilation reveals about how the Carolingians were teaching local pastors pastoral care: what information was being diffused and how was the pastor expected to or actually receiving that information. To that end, I first looked at the explicit messages that explained the ideal standard for pastoral care. I then analyzed in detail both what was included and what was left out of the individual texts, many of which were based on copies of late antique or other Carolingian works. I worked to determine the basic skills required of Carolingian pastors, the ways they were expected to establish their local authority, and the realities of how pastors implemented Carolingian-approved Christianization and how they used this compilation to that end. I found that even subtle changes created new points of emphasis, side-stepped certain topics, and directed the reader to nuanced conclusions.

Where does that leave us? In the end, I found a number of reoccurring themes that emphasized some of the key responsibilities, duties, and skills that were expected of this rural Carolingian pastor in the ninth century. First of all, it is clear throughout this educational resource that the pastor being described and addressed through Paris, BN lat. 2328 needed to be aware of his spiritual and pastoral duties as well as the dignity and responsibility inherent in his office. Along these lines, he was expected to be able to: administer the sacraments, collect tithes, conduct funerals, interpret symbolic rituals, and be an exemplary role model. The recipient of Paris, BN lat. 2328 had a popular Carolingian mass exposition and a unique baptismal instruction based on
a recent imperial questionnaire to walk him through the steps and symbolic meaning of the sacraments of the Eucharist and baptism; he had Sermons 3 and 4 that were devoted to the importance of giving, specifically through tithes; he had an epitaph model with an accompanying chart, a prayer from the office of the dead, and multiple sermon messages about death, heaven, hell, resurrection and the body that were appropriate for funeral ceremonies; and he had a variety of resources, from the mass exposition to Alcuin’s treatise to sermons to the hagiography, encouraging him to lead an exemplary life of humility, morality, and service. This list of responsibilities reveals a number of things about the intended pastoral recipient.

These clear points of emphasis, especially those referencing his duties of baptizing, burying and tithe collecting, could narrow down what kind of church the recipient pastored. In many ways the systematized tithe was a Carolingian innovation. Although the command to tithe ten percent harkens back to Old Testament law, its logistical implementation varied throughout church history. In 779 AD, Charlemagne instituted a universal tithe with the capitulary of Herstal but the Carolingians then struggled with a way to organize and supervise its collection.  

Previously in the west, small churches formed around mother churches that were the natural collectors of tithes. By the eighth century, however, there was a multiplicity of mainly autonomous churches operating around Europe, which led to fights among them over regional supremacy, in particular, who was to collect tithes and perform the sacraments.  


154 Eldevik, *Episcopal Power*, 69; and Susan Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 11. As Wood puts it, “it was the multiplication of new churches and monasteries, each with its own property from the start that reduced the centralized property of the mother church to an ever smaller proportion of ecclesiastical wealth. This is both background and symptom of the proprietary church; economic separation from the diocese made churches desirable objects of private property; treating them as property promoted this separation.”
yet continue to encourage the rise of new churches, the Carolingians worked to establish a parish system centered on regulated tithe-collecting churches. In the capitulary of Salz in 803, Charlemagne declared that some churches had the right to collect tithes and that responsibility was also connected to the right to provide the sacrament of baptism. These policies were then continued in the 813 councils that sought to protect the rights of parish baptismal churches and to work on ways to enforce the tithe. In these efforts, we start to see more of a distinction, at least in theory, between monasteries and churches that had not existed previously as well as the defining of manorial regions and tithe districts with bishops in control of regulating the income of the rural churches under their watch. The reality, however, of how the Carolingians enforced and collected the tithe throughout the ninth century was much messier than all that. New churches were needed and there was an allowance for regional customs and practices. Tithing sermons, like the ones found in Paris, BN lat. 2328, were commonly circulated and it seems as if pastors were finding it difficult to get tithes out of their congregants. In addition, sometimes even monasteries were receiving tithes in competition with local churches. A parish system, however, did develop so that by the end of the ninth century only tithe-collecting churches were baptizing and burying laymen, a regulated system that became one of the greatest Carolingian legacies.

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156 Constable, *Monastic Tithes*, 36–37. Although Constable also noted that the 909 Synod of Trosly required that they still provide the sacraments even if regular tithes were not being paid.
In this light, the texts in Paris, BN lat. 2328 that imply that this pastor was to be collecting tithes as well as baptizing and burying may mean that the intended recipient was associated with an older, established church in southern France or with a church that had gained tithe collecting rights. Since this compilation dates to the second quarter of the ninth century, the logistics of establishing a delineated parish system would take a few more decades to establish so this is not a foregone conclusion. If we are to assume the compiler was issuing these texts in line with reform ideals, however, then perhaps the inclusion of these texts can be trusted as a mark of the approved status of the recipient’s church. If that is the case, the pastor we have been analyzing was not of the humblest order, was not on a private estate, and was not a monk, but was a pastor over an established church and had newly been given an official responsibility and was being groomed for his role. The compiler may have been patronized by or associated with the pastor’s regional bishop, whose job it was to make sure he was educated in the symbolism and importance of his office (at least in theory).163

To follow another set of related themes, this investigation of Paris, BN lat. 2328 has also shown that in order to be a respected community leader, this pastor was being taught to take on the roles of a renaissance man, spiritual authority, prayer guide, and community builder. First of all, this means that Carolingian pastors had to feel comfortable with addressing all kinds of audiences. As modeled by Alcuin in his treatise, the pastor was expected to know how to address high ranking laymen. This entailed the logistics of how best to address them, and Alcuin shows that pastors can refer to their congregants as beloved sons, fellow reformers, and treasured friends.

163 Van Rhijn, Shepherds of the Lord, 1–9, 76–137, 215–216; Contreni, “The Carolingian Renaissance,” 73; and Amos, “The Origin and Nature of the Carolingian Sermon,” 238–248. These sources point out the ways in which bishops instructed the pastors under their care through texts, so this case study is in line with their general findings.
Alcuin’s treatise also demonstrated what topics to broach with them. Laymen in positions of power were allowed significant leniency in terms of celibacy ideals. They were, however, to be held to a high standard in terms of their administration of justice. In his opening address, Alcuin hopes that this little handbook will be helpful to Wido in his quest for celestial glory, which he can reach if he does two things: gives alms generously and administers justice with fairness and mercy. This is also articulated by Isidore in Book 3 of his *Sententiae* in which most of his section on kings and judges is concerned with them not taking bribes, following vain ambition, falling into pride, refusing to confess, and oppressing the weak. The king is the representative of Christ in his administration of justice. Thus the ideal situation in both texts is that kings, aristocrats and judges be recruited to the cause of Christianization and be administrators of justice, protectors of the church and collaborators with her aims.

Although high-ranking elites, which may have made up part of the audience, were especially important recruits to the reform movement due to their spheres of influence and authority, the recipient of Paris, BN lat. 2328 was supposed to be a community builder in general, calling on all members of his flock to participate in the church. One of the most important ways that he was to do this was through prayer. As noted earlier, the exposition on the mass often talks

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165 Cazier, *Sententiae*, CCSL 101, 300; and Paris BN lat. 2328, f. 71v: *Dedit Deus principibus praesulatum pro regimine populorum, Et illis eos praesesse voluit, cum quibus una est eis nascendi mortiendique condicio. Prodesse ergo debet populis principatus, non nocere; nec dominando premere, sed condescendo consolare, ut vere sit utile hoc potestatis insigne, et donum Dei pro tutione utantur membrorum Christi.*

166 See Monika Suchan, “Monition and Advice as Elements of Politics,” in *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh Century Western Europe*, ed. Ludger Köntgen and Dominik Waßnhoven (Boston: De Gruyter, 2011), 39–50. Suchan traces the concept of “shepherd” in the Carolingian era and how it was applied to bishops as well as to the king and his chosen leaders.
about the importance and purpose of prayers, which are often led by pastors, but prayer is also something that congregants are supposed to know how to do. Throughout the mass, the priest is to periodically ask the people for prayers on his behalf. In this way, as much as prayer was important for connecting to God, in the Carolingian church it was also a connection amongst believers that was to be taught and encouraged by the pastor. Prayer was used to make offerings acceptable, make sermons clearer, and sanctify rituals. Alcuin in his epitaph points out that prayers, even the prayers of a random wayfarer that passes his grave, are so powerful that they can affect the dead. Prayer, once it was taught, was a tool that all believers could wield. In this way, prayer was an equalizer in the church. In addition, it gave people access to the divine, an outlet through which they could ask for help or offer praise; in these ways it was an alternate to superstitious petitions to pagan gods and an incentive for joining the church community. Thus, being a prayer guide, as shown in this compilation, was an important way that a Carolingian pastor, could establish himself as a spiritual leader and be a community builder by giving his flocks tools for participation in the church and for communication with the divine.

In order to be effective at this role, the pastor had to wield some level of local authority and be seen as a leader worth listening to. I have argued that in the ninth century the key to achieving this kind of reputation in general was through knowledge. This was not just an era of reform but it was also a renaissance of learning, predominantly through texts. Secular leaders were encouraged to be the Carolingian version of renaissance men and I have argued that, as shown in the content and themes of Paris, BN lat. 2328, a similar combination of skills, morality, rhetoric,

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167 Alcuini Epistolae 210, MGH Epp. 4:350–1; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 96v: Tu mihi redde vicem, lector rogo, carminis huius, Et dic da veniam Christe tuo famulo helcuino(?); Obsecro nulla manus violet pia vira sepulcri; Personet angelica donec ab archetuba; Qui iaces in tumulo terrae de pulvere surge; Manus adest iudex milibus innumeris; Alchuine nomen erat sopham mihi semper amanti, Pro quo funde preces mente legens titulum.
and learning was expected of spiritual leaders as well. In this vein, Alcuin’s treatise on virtues and vices may have been included as a model for how pastors were to interact with noble elites: the topics to cover, caveats to allow, vocabulary to use, and acceptable greetings and addresses they were to employ. I also focused on how this theory could help to explain the presence of some odd texts that appear in this compilation. For one, the recipient of Paris, BN lat. 2328 had access to Alcuin’s epitaph, which was highlighted for its content in this manuscript, but also would have stood out as a respected work of poetry, the creation of a famous, Carolingian reformer, and a model for epitaph writing. As has been shown by the later addition of a prayer for the office of the dead and by the implied status of the church, this pastor would have been responsible for overseeing funerals and perhaps maintaining a cemetery. For this task, he was given a model that was respected in religious as well as intellectual circles for its eloquence, rhetoric, and content. In addition, the lapidary and hagiography are two similarly odd texts that may have been educational works included to empower the intended Carolingian pastor. The original lapidary would have shown the pastor how to recognize a variety of stones and this information would have set him apart as an impressive expert, who knew their scientific, medicinal and spiritual usages and could name their often exotic places of origin. In a similar way, the hagiography of the late antique, cross-dressing nun/monk Marina may have also been intended to help strengthen the intended pastor’s renaissance man leadership reputation. Knowledge of an interesting and unfamiliar story that focused on a saint who loved the contemplative life and yet achieved holiness through suffering and active life responsibilities may have been a powerful resource for a pastor’s sermon repertoire. Since Marina is clearly honored by God for her suffering and her accuser is punished by God for her accusations this hagiography may have also conveyed a message that the pastor
could use to highlight the power of the church, which was under the protection of God and his miracle-capable saints. This evidence thus shows that the recipient of Paris, BN lat. 2328 was being equipped to be a leader who was respected for his wealth of knowledge, his connection to intellectuals and reforms, and his logical arguments.

Finally, the pastor who was to receive and use Paris, BN lat. 2328 was also expected to be an active participant in his education and in the reform movement. He was not being given a complete resource of daily, step-by-step instructions, he was being given a collection of reference tools, models, lessons, and guidelines that were to educate him in pastoral care. This set-up, and the use of disseminated compilations for self-led, educational purposes in general, does assume a fair amount of base knowledge. This shows that the intended recipient, and perhaps other pastors in this category, were expected to know how to read Latin and could be entrusted with large reference works and unglossed scripture passages. My argument is also though that they were expected to learn how to use these resources to continue the diffusion of education and Christianization to the laity. The Carolingians wanted their pastors to take it upon themselves to interpret scripture, incorporate memorable stories in their lessons, explain essential theological concepts, create sermons and be able to teach others what they have learned.

The way the compiler set up the information makes it clear that the pastor was meant to learn from the material and build off of it. As has been shown, Paris, BN lat. 2328 contains large sections of unglossed scripture passages – all of the catholic epistles and later additions of two New Testament passages – and also contains sermons that explicitly explain and implicitly model how to interpret the layers of scripture. In addition, the catholic epistles, which were traditionally read after Easter, were partially annotated and broken into segmented readings. Since the
compilation contains six Lenten sermons, this set-up implies that the compiler was here providing ready-to-use sermons for the most important holiday in the liturgical year but just giving the pastor materials to work from to make his own sermons for the weeks to follow, using the portioned out, catholic epistle readings.

To look at this point more specifically, one of the strategies these sermons taught was that pastors were to be story tellers and theology teachers and that the two often went together. As modeled in the included exegetical sermons, this pastor needed to be able to use Bible stories to highlight important and complicated theological points. The marriage feast at Cana is in Sermon 5 a message about baptism. The Samaritan woman story tells us about Christ’s humanity and mankind’s spiritual blindness in Sermon 6. In Sermon 7, Lazarus’ resurrection story, along with the other resurrection miracles, shows that Christ is mighty to save all sinners who repent, no matter how deeply entrenched they are in sinful patterns. At the Last Supper when Christ washed the feet of his disciples, Sermon 9 showed that he was reversing Old Testament parallels, enacting a new covenant between God and man, demonstrating his dual nature, and foreshadowing the power of baptism. And Sermon 10 explains that the story of the passion was not just the death of a good man, but was the death of goodness itself and was God’s method for bringing salvation to the world. In these ways, Paris, BN lat. 2328 shows the intended pastor how to use familiar Bible stories to push to deepen theological lessons. To do this, he had to show what the passages meant allegorically and he had to tie together Old and New Testament parallels to show the interconnected message of scripture that culminated in Christ.

By including moral and exegetical sermons, this compilation was providing the intended recipient with a variety of sermon models to use, adjust, and learn from. They were based on the
orthodox works of Augustine, Caesarius, and Chromatius but they were also interspersed with original introductions, transitions, and conclusions so that they were custom-made for the needs of this pastor. The intentionally incomplete Sermon 8, however, implies that the compiler also expected the pastor to be able to create his own sermons as well, learning from the models and resources that were provided in Paris, BN lat. 2328. The changes in the sermons and the theological works that surrounded them show that pastors were to focus on certain themes such as: moral living that included avoiding evil as well as actively doing good works, the dual nature of Christ, with an emphasis on his humanity, and the significance of the incarnation, man’s natural sinfulness and need for confession and penance, the realities of the two afterlife options and ways to escape hell, the need to and way to memorize the Apostle’s Creed and Lord’s Prayer, and the miraculous power of baptism. These themes reoccur throughout the texts, whether they are explicitly taught in a treatise or sermon, symbolically represented in the mass or baptism rituals, or creatively expressed in the poetic epitaph or narrative hagiography. There are also some themes that are deemphasized such as the reign of the Antichrist and coming persecution of the church, the safety net of purgatory that deals with remaining sins, and the importance of ascetic disciplines that are not possible for all. These clues thus reveal how pastors were taught to teach and what they were taught to teach.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on what the content of the Paris, BN lat. 2328 collection can reveal about the Carolingian expectations for and strategies for the education of their pastors who were to be on the front lines of the reform movement. The sketch that emerged has shown that
there were actually a lot of expectations for these pastors. They were being educated and equipped through text compilations to be respected leaders who could unite and minister to their congregants in terms of their belief structures, value systems, afterlife alternatives and physical needs. The pastors were the link between the scholars leading the renaissance and reform of the ninth century and the laity they hoped would benefit from it, and Paris, BN lat. 2328 provides some insights into how those pastors were being trained to handle that responsibility.

The following chapter will delve into Paris, BN lat. 2328’s second and more removed audience: the underrepresented Carolingian laity. I have argued that the Carolingians were successful in many of their reform objectives because they depended on a system that worked to delegate reform efforts; they wanted to diffuse teachings on orthodox Christianity through local pastors in order to reach the lay majority. I have also argued their strategies on how to prepare pastors and what to teach laymen can be unpacked by looking in detail at case studies such as this Paris codex. Bishops and reform leaders would instruct scribes and compilers to create texts for pastors to learn from and use; those lessons would then impact the laity through the setting of the local church. As shown by the proliferation of text compilations, Carolingian reformers were not content to allow reform ideals to remain in the cathedrals, monasteries, and courts but they worked to educate pastors on all levels and then expected them to pass on what they learned to their flocks.

Thus, by looking at the popular messages included in Paris, BN lat. 2328, with a special emphasis on the sermons, this compilation can give rare insights into what information was specifically designed to be presented to the common laymen, a population group that is severely underrepresented in medieval sources and largely unknown to scholars.
Chapter 7: Paris, BN lat. 2328:
Tracing the Diffusion of Carolingian Reform to the Laity

f. 1 (s. X-XI)
ff. 2-79v Isidore, Sententiarum libri tres
ff. 23v Fragment on Luke 1:57-68 (untrained hand)
ff. 80-95v Alcuin, De virtutibus et vitis ad Widonem
ff. 95v-96 Annotationes de lapidibus et gemmis
f. 96 Prayer loosely from the Office for the Dead (untrained hand)
f. 96v Alcuin, Epitaph
f. 96v Chart on deus, anima, corpus
f. 96v Matthew 16:13-19 (untrained hand)
ff. 97-107v Seven canonical letters of the New Testament
ff. 107v-109v Baptismal Instruction
ff. 109v-115v Exposition on the Mass
ff. 115v-118v Moral Sermons 1-4
ff. 118v-120 Life of Saint Marina
ff. 120-125v Lenten Sermons 5-10

Introduction

In a compilation that was created to teach practical pastoral care to a pastor, the ultimate, albeit more removed, audience of these lessons is the laity. If this manuscript was intended to teach a teacher, as I argued in Chapter 5, the collection can be mined for information on how pastors were educated and equipped, as was handled in Chapter 6, but also for information on how they were to effectively articulate Carolingian-approved Christianity to their flocks, which is the topic of this chapter. What, according to Paris, BN lat. 2328 was expected from the Carolingian laity? This analysis will seek to pinpoint and decipher what lessons the compilation contained that were meant to be taught to congregants in order to determine what laymen were required to believe, how they were motivated to accept these beliefs, and how they were expected to value the church. This analysis will conclude with a proposed portrait of the Carolingian lay audience that was
imagined by the compiler of this pastoral manuscript. Thus, this study will show how compilations such as Paris, BN lat. 2328—anonymous, modest, but cohesive miscellanies—provide a rare window into the realistic expectations for and experiences among the lay majority in the ninth century.

Paris, BN lat. 2328: A Mixed Audience

The first point to establish is: who was the ultimate audience of this pastoral compilation? If Paris, BN lat. 2328 was created to teach a pastor how to understand, teach, and exemplify Carolingian Christianity, what audience did the compiler assume the pastor was going to address?

Sententiae by Isidore starts off this compilation with explicit messages about the variety of believers who make up the church and are to receive distinct messages on Christian moral standards. Throughout the bulk of Book 3 of his treatise, Isidore addressed the spiritual responsibilities of monks, clerics, kings, judges, and subjects (subditis) by group, demonstrating that he had a broad understanding of who and what the church entailed. He was not preaching that everyone live a chaste life or adopt a religious vocation but he believed that each person had their own responsibilities and temptations. When discussing the contemplative and active lifestyles, Isidore described them as follows: “The innocent active life is one of good works, the contemplative life is one of speculation of things above. The former is common to many, the latter one of a few. The active life makes good use of the things of the world but the contemplative renounces the world and delights only in living for God.”¹ In this way, Isidore showed that he had

an appreciation for both lives and this text’s inclusion in the collection implies the intended Carolingian pastor was to as well.

Although Isidore’s text targets multiple audiences, many of the subsequent texts were more appropriate for a lay audience. Alcuin’s treatise, for example, was originally written for Wido, a Carolingian aristocrat and official. Since treatises on virtues and vices were typically studied in the monastic setting, Alcuin was making a statement about audience with his repurposing of the genre. He did not expect laymen to pursue virtues and avoid vices with the single-minded and ascetically disciplined resolve of a monk and yet he used this genre to write to Wido for a reason: he believed that laymen could lead pious lives, characterized by holy moral living, without requiring monastic retreat. To this end, he built-in caveats and focused on ways that Christian behavior could be achieved by pious laymen living active lives through good works. He emphasized that all Christians could obtain salvation through faith in God and the worthiness of their merits. He even concluded that there will be no distinction between laymen or clerics in heaven but all would be honored in proportion to the good they did on earth.²

Practical advice for lay listeners is elsewhere in the collection as well. Alcuin’s epitaph warns against the self-centered life and chasing worldly fame that will not last after death, which

² Donald Bullough, “Alcuin and Lay Virtue,” in Predicazione e società nel medioevo: Reflexione etica valori e modelli di comportamento. Preaching and Society in the Middle Ages: Ethics, values, and social behavior. Atti/Proceedings of the XII Medieval Sermon Studies Symposium Padova, 14-18 luglio 2000, eds. Laura Gaffuri and Riccardo Quinto (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 2002), 81, 89–90; Thomas Noble, “Secular Sanctity: Forging an Ethos for the Carolingian Nobility,” in Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World, eds. Patrick Wormald and Janet L. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 12, 28–31; and Rachel Stone, Morality and Masculinity in the Carolingian Empire (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 2–4, 20–25. Stone notes that Alcuin’s audience was high status males not the laity at large but then she goes on to talk about how fluid and broad the concept of nobility was in the early Middle Ages. She also noted earlier how widely circulated the treatise was in that it was owned by nobles but not just males since Dhuoda seems to have had a copy. It also appeared to have been owned by clerics who used Alcuin’s messages in their treatises and sermons. It was so popular that it was later translated into the vernacular for circulation.
seems to address those living the active life.\textsuperscript{3} The chart that follows illustrates how the body, although not evil, is not eternal nor is it, and its desires, the ultimate good. In this sense, the body is placed in its appropriate context for laymen: it was not something that needed to be punished or deprived but it was something that needed to be controlled. The baptismal instruction was directed to the laity, giving a pastor directions on how to initiate people into the church by explaining the symbols of the liturgical rite, how to educate congregants in the gospel and in Christian living, and how to exorcise and cleanse catechumens.\textsuperscript{4} The mass exposition functions similarly, since it was meant to walk the priest through the elements of the service, making sure to direct instructions to the congregants and have them participate with him in communing with God through prayer and the sacraments.\textsuperscript{5} The addition of the catholic epistles, which were broken down into discrete passages, were ready-to-use for the mass, a function that is especially apparent due to the occasional marginal notes as well as the short length of the sections. There are also texts like the lapidary and cross-dressing Marina vita, which may have been used by a pastor in his interactions with his flock, infusing his knowledge-based repertoire with exotic and specialized references to boost his reputation as an authoritative intellectual so that he could direct his flock to church-sanctioned supernatural powers.\textsuperscript{6} In these texts, then, we see that lay people were being given instructions on practical Christian living through a number of different outlets. Every ritual and service was to be imbued with directions, saturated with meaning, and directed towards applying Christianity to the active life.

\textsuperscript{3} Alcuin, \textit{De virtutibus et vittis Liber ad Widonem Comitem}, PL 101:cols. 613–638; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 80r–95v.


\textsuperscript{6} \textit{Vita sanctae marinae virginis}, PL 73: cols. 691A–694B; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 95v–96r, 118v–120r.
Although these sources seem to suppose that the final audience was going to consist of lay listeners, the sermons should be regarded as the most telling indication of audience. The good and bad lists of behaviors in Sermon 1, for example, mostly focus on attainable goals for lay congregants, who were dealing with money and war and the administration of justice and families. Sermon 1 does, however, also recommend ascetic disciplines such as chastity and fasting. Perhaps this list was intentionally broad, so that the pastor could pick and choose what to focus on depending on the audience. It may also show, however, that the Carolingians did expect some level of ascetic discipline to characterize even the lives of Christians living in the world. Chastity is particularly interesting because it is dealt with in great detail in Alcuin’s treatise where he argues that the chaste life is the closest that humans can live like the angels in this world and reassures Wido that this lifestyle is possible, since God does not give his children more than they can bear. Alcuin does, however, make a concession for those who are married, saying that a husband may enjoy his wife at the proper times and Alcuin prays that married couples would be blessed with children from their union. Rachel Stone argues that Carolingian reformers sought to articulate a positive and Christian image of marriage that recognized and worked with the nobility’s customs and practices. Carolingian moralists consistently worked to make a place for Christian

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7 Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 115v–116r.

8 Alcuin, De virtutibus et vittis Liber ad Widonem Comitem, PL 101, cols. 627B–627C; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 89r: Nemo dicat a fornicatione se custodire non posse. Fidelis est enim Deus, dicit beatus Apostolus, qui non permittit nos temptari supra id, quod portare possimus: sed faciet cum temptatione proventum. Talis unicuique homini temptatio datur, sive in carnis desiderio, sive in ambitione saeculi, vel etiam in quacumque temptationis molestia, quam aut cum laude vincere, aut cum obprobrio subcumbere poterit.

9 Alcuin, De virtutibus et vittis Liber ad Widonem Comitem, PL 101, col. 627B; and Paris BN lat. 2328, f. 89r: Qui filios habeat spirituales, vel carnales, nutriatillos in castitate Deo, non in fornicatione diabolo... Qui mulierem habet legitimam, legitime utatur ea temporibus opportunis. Ut benedictionem mereatur filiorum a Deo accipere. This is a noteworthy point since neither Cassian nor Gregory in their popular treatments of the virtues and vices included this caveat.
(monogamous, lifelong, consensual) marriages within the church. Asking laymen to be celibate was not only unrealistic, it was alienating a powerful part of the population. It was perhaps in this light that in his lengthy treatment of chastity Alcuin seems to have labeled self-control within marriage as pleasing to God and thus the call to chastity that appears in Sermon 1’s list should then be understood, in this context, according to Alcuin’s definition. In these ways, then, the Carolingian reform movement was dedicated to transferring traditionally ascetic disciplines into the lay and active worldview to create a realistic but moralistic standard that all pious Christians could follow.

Giving and the need to portion out part of one’s income to the Lord is addressed in detail in Sermons 3 and 4. This topic, which would seemingly be only directed to lay audiences, however, was made to be broadly applicable by the compiler. Throughout both sermons, the importance of giving was consistently paired with lessons on how the motivation and sacrifice matter more than the amount. This was practical for a mixed audience; Christians were to learn that even if they had few resources at their disposal, they were still supposed to give regularly and with a willing heart since it was an investment in their eternal future and was not contingent on the amount. Sermon 4 even expands on Caesarius’ lesson about tithing to include a message to virgins. Married women are to give and not hoard their money for their husbands who will squander it after they are gone. This message does not apply to virgins, who do not have husbands or any money to give, but the

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11 Stone, Morality and Masculinity, 310.

12 G. Morin, ed., Sermo CLXVII: De evangelio secundum iohanni ubi ait quod die tertio nuptiae factae sunt in cana Galilaeae, CCSL 104 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953), 647; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 117v.
compiler does take the time to address them anyway; in fact, he cuts out the parallel message to husbands and replaces it with a message to virgins, praising them for their way of life.\textsuperscript{13} In these ways, both Sermon 3 and 4 emphasize the importance of giving and work to present this message in a way that would be applicable to a broadly defined audience in terms of vocation, marital status, and socio-economic status.

Thus, the texts that make up Paris, BN lat. 2328 seem to be predominantly dedicated to teaching and explaining standards for a Christian life to a varied lay audience. There are indications, such as in Isidore’s address to clerics, monks, and laymen of varying ranks and in Sermon 4’s unique address to virgins, however, that this pastor was expected to be able to address a wide variety of listeners. This may indicate that there was a monastery or convent in his area. Overwhelmingly, however, this compilation is concerned with the laity, albeit from a variety of socio-economic levels and vocations, showing that the Carolingians wanted Christianity to be diffused to all. This was very much in line with Charlemagne’s political goals from earlier in the century, in sending out religious and lay \textit{missi}, in collecting scholars to his court and then dispersing them to different places later in life and sometimes even elevating them to episcopal or monastic positions: Carolingian leaders saw the value in mixing sacred and secular populations on all levels of the empire; perhaps this blending was also occurring on the local, ecclesiastical level. Thus, when considering the ultimate audience of Paris, BN lat. 2328, it appears to have been mainly directed to a lay audience, who were to use their active lives to do good and please God. Yet it also appears that the compiler wanted the pastor to be ready to administer pastoral care to all types of believers who came under his supervision.

\textsuperscript{13} G. Morin, ed., \textit{Sermo XXXIII: De reddendis decimus: ante natale sancti iohannis baptistae}, CCSL 103 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953), 145; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 118v.
Packaging Carolingian Christianity for Diffusion to the Laity

This section will look at two clear ways in which pastoral texts, like the ones found in Paris, BN lat. 2328, can reveal insights into what was being taught to the laity. In these two approaches, I focus on the texts that would have been directly used in the administration of pastoral care and I analyze them in terms of their stated and symbolic meaning and significance. In the first approach I look into the ways in which the symbols, prayers, and wording associated with the mass, Creed, and the sacraments were explained and presented. Since Paris, BN lat. 2328 contains a mass exposition and a baptismal instruction, as well as a number of sermons that refer to the symbols of the sacraments, this collection is full of indications of what the laity would have been taught through the imagery of church rituals. In the second approach I analyze how Christianity was presented to the laity through custom-made sermons. Isidore, in his section in Sententiae that was devoted to church leaders, points out that the pastor should be aware of the needs, personalities, and the knowledge base of his congregants. Not all will benefit from the same kind of pastoral care. Some need to be rebuked, others flattered in order to effect change. Unsophisticated people ("rudibus populis") cannot understand lofty things and will be overwhelmed with dense doctrine ("inmensitate doctrinae"). He compares this process to a doctor finding the fitting remedy for a particular disease and urges pastors to preach in such a way that at least the basic morals can be understood by listeners ("mediocriter ut initia eorum moresque desiderant edocere"). Quoting a common belief found in bestiaries regarding a raven who will not feed its young until they turn black, Isidore says that a preacher, likewise, is not to teach the profound theological mysteries until his congregants have grown black through confession and repentance ("nisi eos quos docet viderit..."
ad suam similitudinem poenitentiae confessionem nigrescere”). Knowing that this was the challenge for pastors, looking at what messages are points of emphasis in the sermons, especially when those points are echoed throughout the supplemental texts in the collection, can provide insight into what teachings the laity were expected to understand. Thus, this section will seek to uncover the realities of lay Christianization. What information were they expected to know and learn? What were their experiences with the mass and sacraments? What kind of theology was meant to be passed down to the masses? And how were laymen to be motivated towards living a Christian life? These questions are hard to answer in the ninth-century context since the lived experiences of the lay majority are not well represented in the sources but I suggest that objectives of the Carolingian renaissance and reformation can be glimpsed through close analyses of pastoral compilations.

Establishing the Basics

Equipping the pastor to teach effectively the basics of the Christian faith to his flock is a clear priority in Paris BN, lat. 2328, and the starting point was outlining the identity of God. The collection begins with Isidore’s *Sententiae* which establishes the greatness of God and his attributes of immutability, eternality, omnipresence and omnipotence. According to Isidore, God is the greatest good ("summum bonus") who is not corrupt in any way; he is immutable and eternal ("incommutabilis et aeternus"). He is all powerful, ("omnipotentiae") and he is not bound by place and time ("nec loco movetur, nec tempore"). In the same sections, God’s attributes are compared to those of creation, the angels and the soul. Creation is good but not ultimate since it is mutable ("creatura vero bonum, sed non summum est quia mutabilis est"). Angels and the soul are immortal

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but not immutable ("angeli et animae immortales sunt, sed immutabiles non sunt") and they depend on God to sustain them.\textsuperscript{15}

This emphasis on clearly establishing the attributes of God in relation to man also appears later in Paris, BN lat. 2328. In Alcuin’s epitaph, he alludes to the differences between the soul and body. After death, his rotting body is food for the worms and devoid of any of the honor it bore on earth but his soul is separate and never dies. The goodness of bodies, however, is explained when he asks the passerby not to disturb his grave for in the final days, his body will be resurrected and glorified, fit to be reunited with the soul and transported to heaven.\textsuperscript{16} In the chart that abuts Alcuin’s epitaph, the basic theology that Isidore established is laid out using the same specific wording. God is the highest good ("summum bonum") who is creator not created ("creat et non creatur") and does not change ("movet et non movetur"). Next is the soul ("anima") that is created but does not die ("creatur nec moritur") and is affected by time but not space ("movetur tempore et non loco."). And then finally, the chart is clear to establish that the body ("corpus") is good ("bonum") but it is created and will perish ("creatur et moritur") and it is affected by time and space ("movetur tempore et loco") thus making it inferior to the other two.\textsuperscript{17}

These messages on the supremacy of God and the nature of the body and soul were necessary to forming a Christian world view and were also the starting point of the Apostle’s Creed and Lord’s Prayer that both immediately establish God’s supremacy as a holy creator and father. The Carolingians used legislation to mandate that the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer be taught during

\textsuperscript{15} Cazier, Sententiae, CCSL 111, 7–10 ; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 2v–3r.
\textsuperscript{16} Alcuini Epistolae 210, MGH Epp. 4:350–1; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 96v.
\textsuperscript{17} Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 96v. See page 270 for the layout of the chart.
the mass. These tools were appreciated since they were concise, memorizable, and compact and included the essentials of Christian theology; in this way, they served the same purpose as this manuscript except in microcosm. They are referenced in Paris, BN lat. 2328 four times: in the mass exposition and baptismal as well as in Sermon 2 and Sermon 8. The baptismal instruction sets this expectation, explaining that catechumens need to know the Creed since it includes a profession of the Trinity, the unity of the church, and all the basics of the Christian faith. Sermon 2, although not explicitly reciting the Creed, is inspired by its message and reads like an augmented version of it, going through the birth, ministry, death and resurrection of Christ. The Creed itself does appear in Paris, BN lat. 2328 in Sermon 8, and is clearly a nod to the legislation because it not only records the Apostle’s Creed in full, but surrounds it with lessons on how and why it was to be taught. It is to be memorized through repetition, both personal repetition and repetition at mass. It should be more than just words but should be a testament of what every Christian actually believes. The pastor should be able to run through every phrase and be able to explain its meaning and its importance to his lay flock after first establishing the important and basic foundations necessary for church membership: a belief in the existence of God. Finally, the Lord’s Prayer is explained in the exposition on the mass. This teaching on the prayer has a brief explanation of every line, the eternal nature of God in heaven, the holiness of his name, the coming kingdom that will end the reign of the devil, the importance of asking for bread – spiritual as well as physical,

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18 Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), 143. Here she cites the Council of Friuli (796/797) and the Synod of Frankfurt (794).
man’s desperate need for forgiveness and duty to forgive others, and the schemes and snares of the devil.²²

With the inclusion of these passages then, Paris, BN lat. 2328 was fulfilling the minimum requirement for pastoral care: establishing the basics in regard to God’s supremacy, the state of the body and soul, and the gospel. We know these are essentials in the Carolingian diffusion of Christianization because they are both mandated in the baptismal instruction and mass exposition and supplied and annotated in the sermons, all texts that were to be directly used in the administration of pastoral care to a lay audience. This, however, was not the only theology that was supposed to be taught to the laity. By looking at a few other clear points of emphasis in the compilation, we can see that the Carolingian laity was to have a deep understanding of a few key theological and principles for Christian living that, although related to what is covered in the Creed and Lord’s Prayer, were expected to be understood on a rather profound level.

Teaching through the Mass and Sacraments

The sacraments, as explained throughout this chapter, although an important part of the church for generations were particularly being explained and highlighted under the Carolingians through the custom-made instructional and expositions they created and circulated at large. The reformers wanted the church, with its rituals and calendar and saints and morals, to be the structure by which life was measured. The habitual nature of the liturgy and the loaded symbolism of the sacraments provided images and goals for Christians and provided alternatives for pagan superstitions and life markers.²³ As we have seen, Paris, BN lat. 2328 has both a popular

²² Hanssens, Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia, 1:283–338; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 109v–115v.
Carolingian mass exposition and a unique baptismal instruction. Here, I will look at how both of
these texts are also important evidence for determining the beliefs of and expectations for the
Carolingian laity.

According to the content of the mass exposition, the laity was to be taught a little bit about
a wide variety of theological concepts, including: the Trinity, the devil and angels, the attributes
of God, the incarnation of Christ, the Final Judgment, papal supremacy, the Eucharist, the tithe,
the passion and ascension, the Lord’s Prayer, the saints, and the gospel. In some cases the
exposition tells the priest what to say on a theme, in other places it just tells the priest to cover the
topic. These explanations were to include references to scripture and be associated with liturgical
rituals, symbols, and prayers, thus educating the laity through the habit and rhythm of the ceremony
and the sacraments. For example, the first lesson that is outlined in the mass exposition is on the
Trinity. In this case, the exposition does not leave these details up to the discretion of the priest
but instead tells him exactly what to explain. The priest is to greet the people and pray to the
Trinity, to God the Father through Christ his Son, and note that they are both one with the Holy
Spirit. Interestingly, as part of this explanation, the priest is also to explain a little bit about the
coming judgment, when the devil and his angels will be overcome and the faithful will be glorified
to live with God forever. Thus, an understanding of the unity of the Trinity apparently needed to
be buttressed with an understanding of the godhead’s relationship with the devil. After that point,

Ronald B. Begley and Joseph W. Koterski, S.J. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2005), 22–34; and Mary M.
Schaefer, “Latin Mass Commentaries from the Ninth through Twelfth Centuries: Chronology and Theology,” in

Hanssens, Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia, 1:284; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 109v–110r: Vult populum
credere et intelligere quod filius cum patre sine inicio ac sine fine regnat et Deus est sicut pater Deus est et una
potestas est Spiritus Sanctis cum patre et filio adque uno substantia et in omnibus unitas deitatis Pre omnia secula
seculorum id est filius cum patrem inunita Deum Spiritus Sancti sicut ante omnia secula in ditate fuit et vixit ita et in
presenti seculo atque in futuro ubi iusti cum angelis sanctis permanebunt et in iusto cum diabulo cruciabunt. Credatur
equaliter vivere cum patre et Spiritu Sancto et nullo fine conclude, amen.
in this often copied exposition, the priest is urged to explain these matters and pray in a language that the audience could understand, thus speaking in the local dialectic or vernacular.\textsuperscript{25} Overall though the pastor is being reminded here that the mass was to be accessible and educational to the masses. As one of the key outlets for diffusing reform, the pastor needed to be understood, linguistically and conceptually, but that apparently did not mean he was only to cover simple topics, since the exposition has the pastor start the service explaining complex theology dealing with the Trinity.

The rest of the mass goes back and forth between explaining the teachings and prayers the priest is to speak over his flock, and detailing the responses from the laity. Although sometimes the laymen are simply to reply with a stock phrase, there are actually many types of responses represented in this short exposition: sometimes the laity is to respond with a prayer, sometimes by giving an offering, sometimes by receiving the sacraments. The mass was set up to be a give and take between the pastor and his flock as well as between God and the laity with the pastor as intermediary.\textsuperscript{26} In this way, Carolingian Christianization worked by allowing the laity to be a part of the process with roles to play. The exposition in Paris, BN lat. 2328 says that they could give offerings that were then prayed over and they were told their gifts were pleasing to God and profitable for their salvation.\textsuperscript{27} They could partake of the elements in imitation of the disciples and

\textsuperscript{25} Hanssens, \textit{Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia}, 1:284; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 110r: \textit{confirmatio orationis est populo et in nostra lingua intellegi potest qua si omnes dicant ut ita fiat sicut sacerdos oravit sed propria eius interpretatio est vere sive fideliter.}


\textsuperscript{27} Hanssens, \textit{Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia}, 1:310, 312; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 112r: \textit{Iam sacerdos oravit pro omnibus qui ad audiandum missa venerunt tunc denuum orat pro his qui olibationes suas offerunt qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis dicit quod pro laudem Dei in primis offerunt et postea: que omnibus pro redemptione animarum suarum pro spe salutis et incolomitatis suae tibi reddunt vota sua aeterno Deo vivo et vero: Ideo offerunt
Christ himself. They could confess their sins and ask for forgiveness, invoking God’s promises of mercy. They could be taught how to pray the Lord’s Prayer and be given opportunities to recite it out loud. They could sing about Christ being the Lamb of God and understand that imagery. In all of these ways, the symbols, rituals, teachings and prayers of the mass were expected to teach complex theology in morsels, through habit, and with participation.

This analysis of the mass exposition is important because scholars have debated how involved the laity really were in the mass. Rev. Josef Jungmann in particular has argued that the Carolingians were separating the clergy from the laity through restrictions on lay participation in the mass. This was evident to him through the changes in the architectural set-up of churches that moved the altar back to emphasize this divide. It can also be seen in the use of unleavened bread that could be easily broken and placed on the tongue of congregants so that they never touched it with their unworthy hands. Despite these observations though, Jungmann did say that the

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28 Hanssens, Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia, 1:316; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 113r: Homo  Jesus Christus ipse voluit per nos panem et vinum offerre sibi et ab ipso divinitati consecrari et fidelem populum credere verum esse mysterium quod ipse tradidit discipulis...

29 Hanssens, Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia, 1:322, 324; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 114r: Haec omnia sacrificia ideo sunt offeta tam a sacerdote quam a populo: Omnipotens Deus peccata nostra non reputet sed cum sanctis suis nobis portionem tribuat, Intra quorum consortium non aestimatur meriti sed veniam quos largitor admittet. Hoc rogamus ut ipse qui dixit inquamque Die peccator conversus fuerit et paenitentiam egerit omnia peccata eius in oblivione erunt coram me non retributionem peccatorum aestimet sed ipse veniet largitor ut intra sanctorum societatem nos mittat per Christum Dominum nostrum: Per quem omnia haec dona ille creavit ipse sanctificet et benedicit et praestet nobis ut per Christum per quem facta sunt (Omnia) et in Christo et cum quo facta sum omnia secula seculorum, Amen.


31 Hanssens, Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia, 1:336, 338; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 115r–115v. Includes a detailed explanation of the lamb metaphor and directions on how to sing about it which ends the mass.


Carolingians wanted to encourage a movement of religious revival and did continue to allow certain, albeit restricted, outlets of participation for the laity.\footnote{Jungmann, \textit{The Mass of the Roman Rite}, 1:85–86.} I view my argument here as a way of supporting Jungmann’s second observation and explaining how this was occurring despite the separation of the laity from some elements of the Eucharist. The elevation of the role of the pastor, as shown in the previous section of this chapter, certainly was important to Carolingian Christianization and was represented in pastoral manuals like Paris, BN lat. 2328 but I do not think this was done at the expense of teaching Christianity to the laity. These expositions were utterly practical texts; they were Carolingian-made; this one in particular, the \textit{Dominus vobiscum}, was widely circulated. They were instructing Carolingian pastors what to do during the mass and are clues into the real experiences of the laity as a result. In fact, the laity’s appreciation for the authority of their pastor and for the holiness of the mass may have only served to heighten the importance of their participation, even if it was more limited than it had been in the previous generations. It is for these reasons, then, that I think the laity’s participation in the mass as explained in these mass expositions must be further investigated. The mass experience was meant to teach the laity but also to include them in the process. They were to learn what Christianity was all about while \textit{experiencing} what it was all about in perhaps a limited but an important way.

In this Carolingian mass exposition, most of the mass is structured to prepare the hearts of the priest and congregation for the Eucharist by going through a series of prayers and confessions. There is then a large section in the middle that focuses on the Eucharist itself, with the many layers of meaning symbolized in the elements being brought up often throughout; the priest is to explain that the elements are the body and blood of Christ but he is also to connect congregants to how the
sacrament also references the Old Testament Passover, the concept of Christ as living bread from heaven, the symbolism in Abraham’s sacrifice of Isaac, and Christ as the unblemished Lamb of God. The Eucharist should inspire application and good deeds; the memory of the cross should inspire Christians to love others as Christ loved those he died for. The priest is then to explain Christ’s words during the Last Supper: what the symbols meant, how he was predicting his upcoming death, how Christ was the mediator for the world, and how congregants are accepting, by eating the elements, the salvation purchased for them by his death. In these ways then, we can see the education of the priest but also how much information he was expected to convey to the laity. He was not just supposed to explain one symbolic meaning for the Lord’s Supper but he was supposed to use Old and New Testament parallels to show the multi-faceted and momentous nature of this powerful symbol that was exclusively for Christians.

The baptismal instruction, filled with explanations of imagery, was meant to be an interactive method through which the laity could be educated in complex theological concepts. Baptism was an especially important sacrament as the initiating moment in which catechumens were changed into the elect. The originally constructed baptismal instruction in Paris, BN lat. 2328 was meant to provide a pastor with all he needed to know to teach about this important sacrament and, according to it, the laity were to be provided with definitions for each of the terms, explanations as to the significance of each of the rites, and references that grounded each step of the ritual in scripture. The instructional explains that before baptism, one is a catechumen or a listener, an outsider. Baptism is part of the process of initiating them into the church as the elect.

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The salt, the cleansing, the exorcism, the unction, the new garments, all of the symbols teach that there is a dramatic change occurring with this sacrament and it is one that changes laymen from sinners inhabited by the devil himself to believers, inhabited by Christ and expected to live as members of his kingdom. This sacrament is only to be entered into, however, if the potential recipient understands the faith and is scrutinized accordingly and leaves behind the pomp and works of the devil. Knowledge about salvation and God is a pre-requisite and again shows that in this age of reform, even the lowest levels of society were receiving messages about Christianity that were saturated with theology, theology that was symbolized, and habitualized through the imagery of the sacraments but also theology that had to be taught and tested.

Baptism is explained outside of the instructional as well and is actually an important theme in a number of the sermons that appear in Paris, BN lat. 2328. Sermons 5 and 9 contain the most obvious references. In Sermon 5, on the marriage feast at Cana, one of the many symbolic explanations for the water changing to wine is that this was a metaphor for baptism that cleanses and changes the recipient. In this sermon, based on Caesarius, baptism is explained as something that can be lost. In a complicated metaphor, Caesarius, quoting Matthew 22:12 and the story of the man who did not come dressed for a wedding, said that man broke his water jug, meaning he lost the gift of baptism and his wine had been poured out, meaning he was doomed to hell. In Sermon 9, a copy of Chromatius’ study on the Lord washing the feet of his disciples, the ending, which is only partially legible in this copy, talks about how this foot washing was symbolic of baptism. In the same way that Christ washed dirty feet, he washes catechumens from sin through the waters

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38 Morin, Sermo CLXVII: De evangelio secundum, CCSL 104, 684; and Paris BN lat. 2328, f. 121r: Amice quo modo huc intrasti non habens vestem nuptiam? Iste qui vestem nuptiam perdiderat, credo, amissum baptismum hydriam suam frergerat, et manus sacri fontis amiserat, ac vinum beatae redemptionis effuderat.
of baptism. If sin occurs after the ritual, the sermon urges Christians to turn to sincere confession through tears. Thus, these two sermons show that baptism was not just a one-time initiating ritual conducted two times a year in front of the congregation, it was a symbol that was powerful for the Carolingians to “see” on a regular basis through stories and sermons. They would have heard about the many layers of the baptismal rite in the mass on many occasions, with different messages emphasizing different aspects of the symbol.

These examples, then, demonstrate that in as much as Carolingian Christianization was to be tied to the rote cycles of the church liturgy and customs, instructionals like this one show that the Carolingians did expect for these rituals to be understood for the greater theological truths that they symbolized. In these ways, then, both the exposition of the mass and baptismal instruction, as well as the related sermons included in Paris, BN lat. 2328, show that the Carolingian laity were expected to be able to understand the symbolically rich rituals in the church. The sacraments in the Carolingian process of Christianization were meant to initiate members of the church into a language and calendar rich in meaning, history and tradition and to teach through symbolic, participatory, and performative means. These served as clear cut ways that people were initiated into the church but the mass and Eucharist and teachings on baptism also provided regular reminders of what that initiation entailed. Congregants were not only being educated about the gospel, but they were being reminded that, as initiated members in the church, they were to be held to a high standard of moral practice and needed to work to repent of sins to ward off the devil and avoid damnation.

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Theological Nuances of Christ’s Dual Natures

Besides the symbols related to the sacraments, there were theological concepts that were emphasized within Paris, BN lat. 2328’s popular texts. Perhaps the most emphasized was the dual nature of Christ with a particularly explicit emphasis on his humanity. This is most clearly articulated in the sermons, in particular Sermons 2, 6 and 9 and was perhaps an important point of emphasis to ward against any leanings towards Adoptionism that were still present in Spain and parts of southern Carolingian territories.\(^{40}\) In Sermon 2, Christ’s birth was stated twice as occurring physically (and humbly) through the womb of a woman. In this way, Christ was put under the law so he could save those under the law, and he came in humility so that he could defeat the devil and free mankind.\(^ {41}\) In fact, Christ was so human that in the summary of his life in Sermon 2 it is specified that he was circumcised, baptized and fasted, as well as brutally tortured and killed. In the unique ending to Sermon 2, the compiler emphasizes that Christ decided to die in the flesh ("dignatus est mori in carne") to both emphasize that he was fully man but to also emphasize that his death was only related to his flesh.\(^ {42}\) Sermon 6 on the story of the Samaritan woman, is rife with allusions to Christ’s dual nature. In the allegorical interpretation of Christ being weary and sitting by the well, Sermon 6 copies Augustine saying that this account shows that Jesus truly was


\(^{42}\) Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 116v.
fully man, in that he felt hunger, thirst and fatigue. At the same time and even more so, however, his divine nature thirsted for the soul of the Samaritan woman. Augustine in Sermon 6 proves this by saying that when the disciples returned with food, Christ said that he had fed on the will of God and was thus satisfied of his hunger. And finally in Sermon 9, using the words of Chromatius, Christ’s dual nature was being symbolized when he took off his tunic and yet wrapped a cloth around his waist to wash his disciples’ feet. Like Sermon 6, Sermon 9 relies on an allegorical interpretation of scripture to show that Christ was both fully man and fully God. He took on the garment of flesh in the nativity and took it off in the passion, using it to wash and cover the whole world. He worked through humility and service to wield salvation for sinners.

In these ways, then, the sermons help explain a very difficult theological concept that is mentioned in the Creed through the accessible sermon genre. These repeated and detailed references show that Carolingian reformers wanted the laity to understand that Christ was fully God and fully man and the consequences of this miraculous merger. He actually experienced

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43 Almut Mutzenbecher, ed., *Augustinus De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus. De octo dulcitii quaestionibus*, CCSL 44A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975), 138–139; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 122r: *Quod autem fatigatus venit ad puteum infirmitatis carnis significat Quod sedit humilitatem quia et imbecillitate pro nobis surcepit: et homo hominibus tam humiliter apparere dignatus est; De (h)ac infirmitate carnis propheta dixit: homo in plagas positus et sciens ferre imbecilitatem De humilitate vero apostolus loquitur dicens: humiliavit se factus subditus usque ad mortem...*

44 Mutzenbecher, *De diversis quaestionibus*, CCSL 44A, 139–140; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 122r–122v: *Ergo eorum fidelis situt pro quibus sanguinemludit: Dicit ergo ad eam Iesus; Mulier da mihi bibere: et ut noveritis quid sitiebat Dominus noster post paululum veniunt discipuli eius, qui perrexerant ad civitatem ut cibos emerent et dicunt ei: rabbi manduca: Ille autem dixit eis: ego cybem habeo manducare quam vos nescitis; Dicunt ergo discipuli eius ad alterutrum; Numquid aliquis adtulit ei manducare? Dicit eis Iesus: meus cibus est ut faciam voluntatem eius qui misit me ut perficiam opus eius...*

45 Lemarié, *Chromace d’Aquilée*, SC 154, 254; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 125r: *Non enim sine causa dicitur quod exuerit se Dominus tunicam, et sic laverit pedes discipulorum suorum. Nec alio plane tempore loti sunt pedes animorum nostrorum, vel mandata sunt mentis nostrae vestigia, nisi quando se Dominus tunicam exuit; tunc utique cum tunicam carnis assumptae in cruce deposuit, qua se quidem induerat in nativitate, sed exuit in passione. Exuit autem se tunicam carnis suae, ut nuditatem nostram conterget. Denique, una tunica corporis Christi totum mundum vestivit. Et quavis exuerit se Dominus tunicam carnis in passione, non tamen nudus erat, quia habebat indumenta virtutum. Hoc ergo de exuta tunica intellegitur. Note: this part of the text is difficult to see in the manuscript because of a wrinkle but I could make out enough words and phrases to see that this general text was being copied here.*
physical want and pain, he humbled himself to take on flesh, and, as established in Isidore’s work and the chart, *Deus* and *corpus*, although both good, are very different in terms of rank. Although this is a difficult theological concept, the frequency with which it is explained in this compilation, and especially in the popular sermons, shows that the compiler wanted this theology to be diffused by the pastor to his flock. An essential part of being a Christian under the Carolingian reform movement, was then understanding that *Deus* and *corpus* are radically different and yet were miraculously intertwined in Christ so that he could bring salvation.

**Theology of Sin**

Another important theological theme that is present in the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer and is a significant point of emphasis in Paris, BN lat. 2328 is the sinfulness of man and his need for salvation. This theological concept is actually present in many sources throughout the compilation. In Isidore’s *Sententiae* he provides background explanations for the existence of sin and the sinful nature inherent in man. In Chapter 9 of Isidore’s *Sententiae* Book 1 he talks about how evil was not created by the devil but it was his invention (“*malum diabolo non est creatum, sed inventum*”) because God created everything but did not create evil. Original sin has been transferred from the first man and was born out of rebellion against the creator – a good thing used for evil. Isidore continues to explain sin saying that God knew that man would sin but he also devised a perfect plan of grace to save him. That first sin is then passed on to all of mankind and causes pain, division and struggle in the world and with God. In Book Two, Isidore says that sin is committed

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46 *Cazier, Sententiae, CCSL 111, 25; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 7v.*
47 *Cazier, Sententiae, CCSL 111, 25–26; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 8r.*
48 *Cazier, Sententiae, CCSL 111, 39; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 11v: Sicut praescivit Deus hominem peccaturem, ita et praescivit qualiter illum per suam gratiam repararet...*
in two ways: through want and fear. Isidore then continues to list the influences on man to sin that include the suggestion of demons ("suggestionem daemonum"), pleasure of the flesh ("delectatione carnis"), an agreeing mind ("consensione mentis"), and defense of elevation ("defensionem elationis"). He also lists and ranks the kinds of sins broadly categorized as those of ignorance, weakness and diligence.

Of course, Alcuin’s treatise, De virtutibus et vitiis, is also interested in explaining sin. When it comes to the origins of and motivations behind sins, however, Alcuin has less to say than Isidore. For most of the treatise, Alcuin follows the positive disciplines and the virtues that should characterize a pious Christian’s life. This is in line with what he says in his first chapter on wisdom, that it is not enough for a believer to avoid evil but he must also consciously work to do good. In his section on envy, Alcuin notes that the devil introduced death and sin into the world when he became jealous of mankind, the inheritors of heaven. From this he concludes that nothing is worse than envy since it is injurious to all good things. He also observes that pride was the devil’s greatest sin that led to his fall in the first place and is the beginning of all sin for mankind as well.

Both Alcuin and Isidore do end up isolating the more dire vices in their works. Alcuin listed the eight principle vices at the end of his treatise; with this list, he was clearly indebted to some of the wording and logic used by his two famous predecessors in this genre, Cassian and Gregory the Great, but the order and nuances were his own. He introduces his section on the vices

49 Cazier, Sententiae, CCSL 111, 130; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 33r: Duobus modis peccatum committitur, id est, aut vitu cupiditatis, aut metu timoris, Dum vel quisque vult adipisci quod cupit, vel timet ne incurrat quod metuit. Quatuor modis committitur peccatum in corde, quatuor perpetratur et opere.
50 Cazier, Sententiae, CCSL 111, 130; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 33r.
51 Alcuin, De virtutibus et vitiis Liber ad Widonem Comitem, PL 101: col. 615A; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 80v.
52 Alcuin, De virtutibus et vitiis Liber ad Widonem Comitem, PL 101: cols. 630A–630C; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 91r.
by saying that all sins sprout from these and thus he thinks that it is valuable to list and explain them “so that each person may know that, with the roots pulled out, he can more easily cut off the branches.” Isidore however, did not see the need to create an ordered list of vices, which is perhaps strange given his tendency to categorize and compartmentalize topics for easy reference. Instead, he devoted multiple chapters in Book Two to meandering through explanations of specific sins that he found to be especially egregious, pausing to comment on their corresponding virtues throughout. Alcuin and Isidore, however, both agree that pride is the most dire vice and they have similar descriptions of it as the queen or mother of all sins. They also both list gluttony, fornication and greed next but in a different order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alcuin</th>
<th>Isidore</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pride</td>
<td>Superbia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gluttony</td>
<td>Gula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fornication</td>
<td>Fornicatone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avarice</td>
<td>Avaritia</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

For the most part, their ensuing explanations of each are similar, but in the end Alcuin continues on to explain anger, sloth, sadness and vainglory while Isidore does not seem concerned to finish the list. Thus, in the end these two texts provide the recipient, and thus also potentially his audience, with a deep understanding of the origin and forms of sin. The Carolingians did not seem to be bothered by a lack of uniformity and so it should not be surprising that this one compilation contains two different teachings on the vices. In fact, it seems that rather than seek standardizations, the Carolingians tended to be strategic hoarders of information: the more authorities referenced, the more orthodox points of views provided, the more explanation angles,

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54 Alcuin, De virtutibus et vittis Liber ad Widonem Comitem, PL 101: col. 633A; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 92v: ut sciat unusquisque radicibus extirpatis, facilius ramos praecedere posse.
the better. After all, pastors were being tasked with the responsibility of Christianizing their flocks and time and time again, the capitularies (most famously in the *Admonitio generalis*), episcopal statutes, even the mass exposition included in this manuscript show that this was to be done by making Christianity understandable and accessible. Custom-made sermons were the vehicles for reform and works like Isidore’s and Alcuin’s provided plenty of material to make this possible.

There are, in fact, some similar teachings on sin already worked in to the included sermons. Sermon 2 explains that Adam’s transgression in the garden resulted in a stain of original sin that was then inherited by all mankind, causing God to send his son as an act of mercy and salvation for the world. In this way, Sermon 2 provides a concise lesson on the sinful nature that is inherent in all mankind. Sermon 5 warns that sin often tastes sweet at first and yet while it whets the appetite it does not satisfy but in fact it poisons the soul like honeyed poison. The devil particularly knows how to prey on the desires of the flesh and entice people into sin. The key is to build up virtue-centered habits so that “in as much as you retreat from vices, the more you will approach virtues, because the rejection of sin is the acquisition of merits.” This shows that Isidore and Alcuin’s insights into the dangers and deceptions of sin were to be passed down to the laity and could be incorporated into sermons.

In as much as the popular messages in Paris, BN lat. 2328 teach the danger of sin that often masquerades as pleasure, they also emphasize that suffering is the opposite and is actually a beneficial experience for a Christian. Sermon 1 prefaces a long list of bad behaviors that is an extension of Galatians 5 with a list of good fruits that should characterize the Christian life. Sermon

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56 Morin, *Sermo CLXVII: De evangelio secundum*, CCSL 104, 683; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 120v–121r.
57 Morin, *Sermo CLXVII: De evangelio secundum*, CCSL 104, 684; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 121r: *quantum a vitis recesseris tantum virtutibus propinquabis: Quia abdicatio criminum adoptio est meritorum.*
1’s version, however, unusually adds in chastity, humility, hope, fasting, suffering, tribulation, difficulty, and daily prayer. As shown, suffering is especially emphasized, with the compiler in this original Carolingian sermon using three different words for it: *afflictio*, *tribulatio* and *angustia*. This emphasis on suffering being a good work is especially interesting in that the *vita* of Marina is also in the sermon section and is a prime example of a suffering servant of Christ. She is falsely accused of a sin and takes on years of undeserved penance and for her pain she is able to attain sainthood, demonstrating this fruit of the spirit. Isidore, in the first four sections of his *Sententiae* Book 3, argues that the elect must keep in mind that God uses pain on earth to correct and discipline his people and to make them vulnerable so that they will rely completely on him. There are actually benefits to suffering on earth: you will not have an appetite for lust and luxury, you will not live in fear of losing your possessions, you will not love the world with too great an affection. Alcuin, too, discusses suffering in his treatise under the category of patience, saying that Christians should expect to suffer tribulations on earth and that sometimes those trials are a test of their motives and give them an opportunity to practice forgiveness instead of revenge. Sermon 2 and Sermon 8 point out that Christ often suffered during his ministry on earth. It is then implied that those who follow Christ’s example should also expect to suffer. In the original ending to Sermon 7 it says that there is a benefit in mourning and being pained (*plangere*) on account of reoccurring sins. At the end of the sermon, the pastor is to beg for the Lord to instill in his people such remorse (*compunctionem*) because there is something beneficial in mourning sin. As shown

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58 Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 115v.  
61 Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 124r.
then, suffering was seen as a benefit to Christians and was carefully explained in Paris, BN lat. 2328 as being a helpful deterrent to sin. Perhaps this was an important message for the Carolingian laity that may have been tempted to turn to other options in times of trouble, desperate to find a way out of suffering. Instead, pastors were to reassure their congregants that their suffering had a purpose and a value; suffering provided those living an active life with an opportunity to imitate Christ and was thus stressed in Paris, BN lat. 2328 as an essential theological tenet for popular audiences.

This compilation, however, also provided theological lessons on what to do about that sin. Although Paris, BN lat. 2328 does not include a penitential, which would have been perhaps the most obvious way to go about outlining the ways to deal with sin, nonetheless, the collection contains plenty of lessons on dealing with sin. Although the texts all make clear that unrepentant sinners deserve to go to hell, there were a few exceptions to this outcome with one being the possibility of purgatory, where the elect who die with venial sins go to suffer temporarily before being admitted to heaven. There is some background on this concept in the earlier texts in Paris, BN lat. 2328. Isidore opens Book 3 with a chapter entitled “On the Scourges from God” in which he talks about how God, in his holiness, must judge sin and does not spare the offender but he does have degrees of scourging. He uses hardships and pain on earth to discipline the elect; he uses purgatory after death to torture those with lighter sins for a time. His lesson in this section is that Christians should be grateful for God’s correcting hand on earth, “for whom the Lord loves, he chastens and he scourges the son that he accepts.”

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62 Cazier, Sententiae, CCSL 111, 194; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 47r–47v: Nequacquam Deus delinquenti parcit; quoniam peccatorem aut flagello temporali ad purgationem ferit, aut iudicio aeterno puniendum relinquid…

63 Cazier, Sententiae, CCSL 111, 196; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 47v: Quem enim diligit Dominus corripit, flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit.
the concept of purgatory. In chapter 13 on repentance he says that if a person trusts in Christ completely, even if he dies with many sins he will live forever because God is merciful to the ones he chose to save. And yet at the end of the section it warns that God forgives the penitent and that penance is only beneficial in this life and is no longer an option for forgiveness after death. There is an explicit message about purgatory in Sermon 5, copying the words of Caesarius; some will be delayed among the river of fire and boiling lakes in proportion to the guilt that remains on them so that they are like a heated copper pot whose alloys melt away. The sermon writer here, however, makes a change to Caesarius’ original wording to more narrowly define sins that qualify for purgatory rather than hell, saying this only pertains to base conversations and thoughts of idleness. This explanation of purgatory then leads into an admonition to repent now, before it is too late. As shown then, the emphasis was very much on teaching repentance and penance to the laity and motivating them by a fear of hell. The concept of purgatory was still being worked out in the early Middle Ages and I believe that the texts in Paris, BN lat. 2328 show that purgation after death was to be de-emphasized to the laity in favor of promoting action on earth. Alcuin in his popular work for lay elites, which may have been used by the pastoral recipient for sermon fodder, was not clear on the topic and Sermon 5 very much limited the sins that could be forgiven after

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64 Alcuin, De virtutibus et vittis Liber ad Widonem Comitem, PL 101: cols. 622C–623A; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 86r.
65 Morin, Sermo CLXVII: De evangelio secundum, CCSL 104, 685–686; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 121v: Et quod non exeat inde donec reddant novissimum quadrantem, Per fluvium ignem, de quo propheticus sermo commemorat et fluvius igneus currebat ante eum, per flumen ignem et vada fer(ventibus) globis (h)orrerattransibant. Quanta fuerit peccati materia, tanta et pertranseundi mora: Quantum exegerit culpa, tantum sibi exhomine vindicabit qua(edam) flammae rationabilis disciplina; et quantum stulta iniquitas gessit, tantum sapiens p(o)ena des(a)eviet. Et quia sermo divinus quodam loco aeneae oll(a)e animam peccatricem comparans dicit: Pone ollam super prunas vacuam, donec concalescat aequa. Et defluat omne stagnum, Illic sermones otiosi et cogitationes iniuste vel sordide. Illic multitudo non levium peccatorum que; puritatem nobilis natur(a)e infe(cerant), exsudabunt;
death so that both texts composed during the Carolingian era stressed the importance of action on earth.

The other option for dealing with sin that Paris, BN lat. 2328 provides is to repent and rely on God’s power and willingness to forgive, which is the theme of Sermon 7 on Lazarus. Based on an allegorical interpretation of Christ’s three resurrection miracles, this sermon explains that they stand for the three kinds of sins from which man can be saved. Some, like the daughter of the synagogue who was resurrected immediately after death, sin in thoughts alone and repent before those sins turn into action. Others, like the widow’s son who was resurrected when he was being carried out to be buried, delight in evil in their thoughts and deeds before they repent and are saved by Christ. The final group, like Lazarus who was dead and rotting in the grave for four days before being resurrected, live lives of habitual sin that overwhelm their thoughts and actions. Even these people, however, have hope because the power of Christ is great enough to even resurrect these sinners from their spiritual death (nec ad ipsum tamen resuscitandum minor fuit virtus Christi). Thus as shown, the popular lessons on sin in Paris, BN lat. 2328 that were to be diffused to the lay masses were not all warnings, some were also filled with hope that no matter how great one’s sin, God is powerful, merciful and saves the lost.

Taken together, then, the sermons in Paris, BN lat. 2328 explain to the laity a number of nuanced lessons on sin. First, all men sin in that all are born with a sinful human nature, a reality that provides an extremely bleak picture when it comes to the possibility of trying to avoid sin. An ascetic audience may have been taught to at least entertain the goal of avoiding vices but that is

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66 Augustine, Tractatus XLIX: Ab eo quod legitur, Erat autem quidam languens, Lazarus; usque ad id, Abiit in regionem juxta desertum, in civitatem quae dicitur Ephrem, et ibi morabatur cum discipulis suis, PL 35: col. 1748; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 123r.
not the message of Carolingian Christianity that was to be preached to a mixed but predominantly lay audience. Instead, sinning is presented as inevitable, but there is hope in that (1) there are different degrees of sinning (2) there are ways to combat it and (3) God makes a habit of saving people out of it all. First of all, there are ways to become less of an egregious sinner by working to stop sin on the thought level and learning how to recognize the sweet temptation of sinful pleasures. Second, belief in the gospel, confession, and a commitment to doing good works were held up as powerful solutions since there were very few sins that could be made up for through postmortem purgation if left untreated in life. Again, if this was only a monastic audience, perhaps ascetic disciplines would have been established as the best antidotes. And third, these sermons emphasize Christ’s willingness and power to save people from sin. This, then, was the essence of Carolingian Christianization: establishing a complex vision of sin alongside a powerful vision of the gospel with the antidotes being confession and good works.

Motivating a Carolingian Audience

In addition to making sure the laity understood that Christianity was an active religion that required good works as well as some grasp of a number of dense theological concepts, the compiler of Paris, BN lat. 2328 also shows through his points of emphasis ways that the pastor was to motivate his lay flock to want to learn and invest in these lessons. Christianity under the Carolingians was to be rewarding for participants. They needed to be reassured that their commitment to this belief system would yield them both temporal and eternal rewards and it had to be presented as one that was powerful, fair, compassionate, and cooperative. For the Carolingians, Christianity was to provide laymen with a community membership that united them
to the empire, kept them from paganism, and welcomed them into a mutually beneficial kinship. Here, I will argue that the Carolingians used the church on the grass-roots level as a herald of truth, a vehicle of community, a conduit of spirituality, and an institution of charity.

*Eternal Consequences To Motivate Earthly Participation*

The texts included in this collection make it a point to emphasize that Christianity ensures an eternal security for its followers by establishing a dichotomy between heaven and hell. The glories of heaven and the horrors of hell are explained in detail in many different textual contexts and are buttressed by related conversations on topics such as: what happens after death, the post-mortem power of saints, and the consequences for sins left untreated. Apparently these types of questions were interesting to the Carolingians and central to their diffusion of Christianization because they show up quite a bit in Paris, BN lat. 2328. They are also alluded to in both the Creed and Lord’s Prayer as important aspects to the gospel and motivators for Christian living on earth.

The separation of the body and soul, the limited importance of the grave, and the hope for glorification in heaven for all believers is a common theme in this compilation. We know that this was an essential popular message because the baptismal instruction requires that catechumens awaiting baptism be taught about the mysteries of heaven.\(^{67}\) In Alcuin’s epitaph, which may have been read out loud to a lay audience, he talks about how his body is rotting away in the ground and yet he asks the passerby not to harm it, since his body will be resurrected after the Final Judgment.\(^ {68}\) This point that is emphasized by the accompanying chart is that the soul of the Christian is glorified while the body perishes but only temporarily. In addition, the attached prayer, albeit in a different

\(^{67}\) Keefe, *Water and the Word*, 2:608; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 108r.

\(^{68}\) *Alcuini Epistolae* 210, MGH Epp. 4:350–1; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 96v. I am proposing that the epitaph may have been provided in Paris, BN lat. 2328 as a teaching text because its essential messages are highlighted in its accompanying chart, which was perhaps meant to serve as a guide for how to teach on Alcuin’s words.
hand, also explains this concept by expanding the First Nocturn reading that was used in the Matins Office for the Dead. Quoting from Job, Christians will be resurrected in the last days to see God in the flesh. These lessons were meant to reassure lay audiences that the promised rewards in heaven will be tangible.

An essential characteristic of heaven is that it will be a community. According to Isidore, there is an emphasis on the preservation of the faithful, who will ascend to heaven after the final resurrection in the flesh and be united in community with Christ. According to Alcuin, the opportunities for advancement in heaven are open to all and the measure of rewards is based on earthly merit rather than sex, age, rank or vocation. He perhaps meant for this to be a reassurance as well as a warning: Wido did not have to be a cleric or monk to earn salvation, as Alcuin states explicitly, nor should he devalue other believers below his high rank, as Alcuin perhaps implies. Either way, the heaven that Alcuin describes was to be a place of perfect community and that is also the message of Sermon 1 (a Carolingian original); here heaven is a place where the angels, prophets, apostles, martyrs, penitents and all the just praise Christ without any dissension, pain or darkness. This varied list of worshippers articulates Alcuin’s words to Wido but in a different way; rather than saying all will be equal he makes them equal in his list by grouping together all types of worshippers – even angels! In Sermon 2, this equality is shown in the original ending that talks about age: at the final resurrection all will be given glorified bodies that appear to be thirty

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70 Cazier, Sententiae, CCSL 111, 89–90; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 23r.

71 Alcuin, De virtutibus et vittis Liber ad Widonem Comitem, PL 101: cols. 638B–638C

72 Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 116r.
years old, since Christ was resurrected at that age.\textsuperscript{73} Finally, Sermon 5, allegorically compares heaven to a wedding feast when the church with all of its members is joined to her spouse, meaning Christ.\textsuperscript{74} Since the Carolingians operated in a gift culture, providing incentive through promised rewards and benefits was especially important in the Christian messages they wanted diffused throughout the empire. Arnold Angenendt has famously investigated the nature and importance of gift exchange in terms of the religious culture of the early Middle Ages and has cited the language of penitentials, the increased number of special masses and the donations of land that punctuated Carolingian Christianity as proof.\textsuperscript{75} David Ganz has termed the exchanges between laymen with their offerings and clerics with their liturgy as a “spiritual economy” that contained earthly as well as eternal incentives.\textsuperscript{76} My analysis here agrees with these findings and shows that this language of exchange, this use of rewards as incentive for pious living, was being taught as a strategy to pastors and was an essential part of the preached message of Carolingian Christianity on the grassroots level.

In addition to positive lessons on the joys and opportunities of heaven, however, there are more pointed messages on the dangers of hell. Isidore spends a great deal of time talking about hell but in this compilation the main section in which he describes it is actually mislabeled as a Resurrection section at the end of Book One! In it he starts by saying that there is a double curse for those damned to hell, one is a profound sadness of mind and the other is the suffering of the

\textsuperscript{73} Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 116v.
\textsuperscript{74} Morin, Sermo CLXVII: De evangelio secundum, CCSL 104, 682; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 120r.
body in the flames. His ensuing description of hell is very visual and physical. There will be light but only so that the wicked can see what grieves them and never what brings them joy. It will be a place of pain and misery. And in a later section he talks about how there will be a logic to the sufferings in hell in that all will be dealt what they deserve according to their crimes on earth. In this case, hell is described in much greater detail than heaven is and appears to be an especially important theological concept for Isidore.

The most telling evidence that this message detailing the physical terrors of hell was supposed to be dispensed to the laity is found in the popular sermons; warnings about the dangers of hell make up the conclusion of three of the sermons with two of them being original. This perhaps indicates that this Carolingian preacher was being encouraged to conclude messages to the laity with the fear of damnation. This strategy is suggested by Isidore in Book Two of Sententiae when he notes that the first stage of true conversion is often characterized by fear of future punishments in light of understanding God’s holiness and man’s sinfulness. Fear of hell, however, must eventually mature into love and gratefulness for salvation.

77 Cazier, Sententiae, CCSL 111, 86; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 22v: Duplex damnatorum poena est in gehenna, quorum et mentem urit tristitia, et corpus flamma, iuxta vicissitudinem, ut qui mentem tractaverunt quod perficerent corpore, simul et animo punitantur et corpore;

78 Cazier, Sententiae, CCSL 111, 86; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 22v: Ignem gehennae ad aliquid lumen habere, ad aliquid non habere: Hoc est, habere lumen ad damnationem, ut videant impii unde doleant; et non habere ad consolationem, ne videant unde gaudeant. Apta fit comparatio de camino trium puerorum ad exemplum ignis gehennae. Nam sicut ille ignis non arsit ad trium puerorum suplitium, et arsit ad comburenda ligamina vinculorum, Ita ignis gehennae et lucebit miseric ad augmentum poenarum, ut videant unde doleant, et non lucebit ad consolationem, ne videant unde gaudeant. Inter huius vitae et futurae infelicitatis misericordia multa discretio est. Illic enim et miseria est propter cruciationem dolorum, et tenebrae propter lucem adversionem: quorum unum in (h)ac vita, id est, miseria est, aliut non est; In inferno autem utrumque est.

79 Cazier, Sententiae, CCSL 111, 87; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 22v: Sicut unusquisque sanctus in futuro iudicio pro quantitate virtutum glorificabitur, ita et unusquisque impius pro quantitate facinorum condemnabitur; Nec de ert in sapplitio futurus damnationis ordo, sed iuxta qualitatem criminum, discretio ert poenarum.

80 Cazier, Sententiae, CCSL 111, 109; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 28r: Omnibus conversus ante exletu incortet peccatorum, et sic transeat ad desiderium supernorum... Ante necesse est timore converti ad Deum: ut metu futurarum poenarum carnales inlecebrar devincantur... Deinde oporaet, obiecto timore: ad amorem vitae aeternae transire. Perfecta enim caritas foras mitit timorem (I Joan. IV, 18)... Primordia conversorum blandis refoventa sunt modis, ne si ab asperitate incipiant, ad priores lapsus recurrant.
work to put Isidore’s words here into effect. Sermon 1 and 5 give very lengthy and vivid descriptions of hell as being a place of torture with no respite. They both note how it will be a place with burning flames and darkness and call it a trap. Sermon 1 mentions that all there will be thirsty without hope of water and there will be a worm that never dies feasting on human flesh, a reference to Mark 9:48 and Isaiah 66:24. Sermon 5, rather than talk about thirst, uses the imagery of another necessary bodily need, saying there will be no space for fresh air. Hell will be vast and yet crowded; people there will be “dying for life, but living for death without end.” Finally, Sermon 2’s original conclusion notes that those condemned to hell will be resurrected there so that they suffer in spirit and in body.

In these ways, the Carolingians motivated laymen to be a part of the church as a fool-proof investment in eternal rewards. The texts describe heaven as an eternal community for believers, where Christians will be glorified, where they can advance based on their merits on earth, where they can live in harmony with the saints, where there will be no pain and great joy. Hell is relentless and never-ending and very much a physical place. These messages are explained throughout the manuscript, especially in Isidore’s Sententiae, and then included in or added in to the popular sermons to be motivators for Carolingian Christianization. Pastors were to use a variety of means to get the attention of their flocks and inspire them towards Christian living and, as shown, one of the most powerful and consistent of those means was by laying out the eternal consequences of earthly actions and decisions.

81 Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 116r.
82 Morin, Sermo CLXVII: De evangelio secundum, CCSL 104, 685; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 121v: Quia, cum infelices peccatores susceperit reos, claudetur sursum, aperietur deorsum, (h)ac dilatabitur in profundum. Nullum spiramen, nullus libet anhelius Claustris desuper urgentibus relinquuetur. Decrudentur illuc valedicentes rerum natur(a)e; ultra nescientur a Deo, qui Deum scire noluerunt: Morituri vitae, et morti sine fine victuri.
83 Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 116v.
Building Community with the Divine: The Church as a Conduit for Spiritual Power

Although teachings on the future joys of heaven promised to believers were powerful motivators, the Carolingians, however, also wanted to teach the laity that the church could provide them with a community and support-system on earth as well. This was emphasized in two ways: through the conduit of the church, under the leadership of a pastor (1) Christians could commune with the divine and (2) Christians could commune with each other. Through these two outlets, I will argue that the Carolingians were promoting a Christianization that was infused with power, utilized for social stability, and functioned as a kind of membership in the empire; lay believers could actively tap in to spiritual power and to community support through the church.

This section will tackle the first point, that Christians could commune with the divine through the church, and the best place to start this analysis is with the mass exposition, since it outlined what the laity was to hear from the pastor on a regular basis. The mass exposition has a sizeable section devoted to explaining the existence of supernatural powers, specifically the powers and orders of the angels. The discussion starts by establishing that angels are a creation of God and therefore do not rank above the godhead, perhaps implying that this was a common misconception among the laity. The often copied Dominus vobiscum Carolingian exposition establishes the etymology of the word “angel” and then lists the ten orders of angels. They set an example for humans in their constant praise of God; Christians should follow their lead in singing “holy, holy, holy”, which is meant to serve as a humble confession as well as a reference to the threefold nature of the Trinity. The other angelic phrase of “hosanna” is also important, since “hos”

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84 Hanssens. Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia, 1:290; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 110v: quia maior est potestas Dei quam hominem Dei maiestatem per Christum laudant angeli quia Christus simul cum patre creavit angelos.
means to praise and “anna” means salvation.⁸⁵ And yet, there is a note that humans are not supposed to completely understand celestial things but they are supposed to fear divine power and pay attention to any signs of the coming last days.⁸⁶ This shows that there was an interest in angels and that the laity were to be taught and reminded of their rank, organization, and example regularly through the mass. At the same time, however, supernatural beings were to be considered mysterious; the mass exposition only provides the highlights of their significance that reveals to laymen that there is a sophisticated system of angelic powers and yet the most important thing is what they model about how to praise God. In these ways, the angels were to be known in some specific ways by the laity but, at the same time, they were also allowed to remain mostly mysterious. These materials provide enough insights into divine structures to infuse lay listeners with confidence in God’s supernatural agents and in Christianity’s power through the conduit of the organized church and yet the messages are kept simple and accessible.

Despite being regularly taught about powerful angelic powers through the mass, the inclusion of a custom-made lapidary in Paris, BN lat. 2328 shows that Carolingian laymen were prone to looking for supernatural aid in the natural world as well. Although this impulse probably stemmed from a pagan past, it seems as if the Carolingian reformers did not necessarily want to suppress this inclination in lay congregants as much as they wanted to harness it. The lapidary, although mainly scientific and focused on the appearance and origins of select stones, did say that a few stones were associated with supernatural powers: Haematite had the reputation of being able

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⁸⁵ Hanssens, Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia, 1:302, 304; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 111r–111v.
⁸⁶ Hanssens, Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia, 1:300, 302; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 111r: ...nos intellegamus omnia caelestia terresta et infernalia ante conspectu divine maiestatis tremere ac timere. Caeli celorum que virtutes ipsi caeli visioni divine oboedient quia se ostendere serenos vel nebulosos non habent potestatem caelorum virtutes sunt superstici ordines angelorum sicut gregorius in omelia sua super evangelica lectionem. Erunt signa in sole et luna et stellis.
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to heal wounds, pontica is said to be able to question and drive off demons, and gagates can drive out demons, discover virginity, repel serpents, and ward against lightning or flames.\textsuperscript{87} Although gagates was referenced by Isidore for its powers, the other two stones were not. Perhaps in these cases, the compiler was working off a vague memory or a faulty copy of Isidore’s text or perhaps he was passing on information he had acquired on his own. Either way, the fact that a Carolingian pastor was provided with this text in a compilation devoted to teaching pastoral care is significant and can reflect on the needs and expectations of the lay audience. The intended recipient may have used this text in his sermons or perhaps as a resource to provide practical advice to his flock. Its presence here and its content shows that the Carolingians believed there was a value in allowing the laity to have outlets through which they could access supernatural help and healing. Carolingian laymen were not being discouraged in these efforts but they were being intentionally directed to seek advice on these matters from their pastors and thus from the church.

Besides being taught by the pastor about what stones could possess healing powers, Paris, BN lat. 2328 contains additional lessons on how to access spiritual power and healing in the hagiography and in the baptismal instruction. Both sources make clear that there are good and bad supernatural powers. In Marina’s \textit{vita}, her accuser is possessed by a demon as punishment for her lies. Then God worked supernaturally through Marina after her death, not only freeing her accuser of the evil spirit, but performing a variety of miracles on behalf of those who came and continue to come to visit her grave.\textsuperscript{88} Both of these displays of power are supplied as evidence pointing to

\textsuperscript{87} Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 96r: \textit{Ematites habet colore rubio et indicum habet que virutem ut mittatur super plagas sanguinem extingit... Bronea habetque virtutem ut quomodo aput hominis dulverit si supra eum posuerit stati dolorem tollit... Gigardus nigrum colore et permit, magnam que vir autem habet demonia eiecit virginitatem deprehendit serpentem repellit vel contra fulgura contrarius est.}

\textsuperscript{88} \textit{Vita sanctae marinae virginis}, PL 73: cols. 694A–694B; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 120r.
Marina’s saintly status; they also establish the dangers that come to those who falsely accuse servants of the Lord and the benefits that come to those who respect the saints and turn to the church for help.\footnote{There has been extensive work done by scholars such as Stephen D. White, Barbara H. Rosenwein, Constance Bouchard, Otto Gerhard Oexle, Arnold Angenendt, Megan McLaughlin, and Patrick J. Geary, on the power of saints in medieval society in terms of gift-exchange and communal bonding. For an excellent summary of their research and the contributions on this topic from anthropologists, sociologists and economists see Arnoud-Jan A. Bijsterveld, “The Medieval Gift as Agent of Social Bonding and Political Power: A Comparative Approach,” in Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power and Gifts in Context, eds. Esther Cohen and Mayke B. de Jong (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 123–156.} In the baptismal instruction, the section on exorcism with exsufflation is especially long and detailed, borrowing from parts of Isidore’s explanation in De Ecclesiasticis Officis II, xxi (xx) as well as from his Etymologies VI, xix, perhaps showing that this was an especially important topic for the compiler to ensure was complete and clear. Here, he uses Isidore’s words to establish that all are naturally possessed by the devil himself, even as infants, because of original sin. Before baptism catechumens are to be breathed on (exsufflatur) so that they can be freed from the power of darkness to enter the kingdom of the Lord.\footnote{Keefe, Water and the Word, 2:607–608; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 108r: Hoc est exorcismum, increpare et coniurare adversus diabolum. Unde et s[e]iendum est quod non creatura dei in infantibus exorcizatur aut exsufflatur, sed ille sub co (sic) sunt omnes qui cum peccato nascentur. Est enim pr[i]nceps peccatorum.} In this way, the sacrament of baptism was shown to be much more than a symbolic ritual but it was an initiating rite with supernatural power. Carolingian pastors were teaching that all catechumens were possessed and controlled by evil powers and that it was only through the cleansing waters of baptism and the ceremonies surrounding it that they could be freed from the dark powers and also infused with heavenly powers. Although articulated most strongly in the exorcism chapter, the same basic message is repeated in the effeta and the unction, which are two originally worded sections in Paris, BN lat. 2328’s baptismal instruction. In both, catechumens are being cleansed of
evil and fortified with goodness, “so that he who leaves behind an empty house and former lifestyle, can hold to the faith and prepare for the habitation of God.”

In all these sources, direction on how to access and navigate the supernatural was an important topic that needed to be presented to laymen. The lapidary and hagiography both imply that laymen were looking for ways to tap in to supernatural powers for healing and protection. All four sources, rather than try to suppress interest in these matters, seek to encourage it, albeit when sought through specific, church-approved channels. Laymen were to trust that their pastors could direct them to outlets through which they could access supernatural power, whether that was through teaching them about an ordained selection of powerful stones, a saint’s shrine, or through the sacraments. There was a hierarchy to these options, with baptism being the most powerful and important since, as the instructional tells pastors to explain, laymen were freed from demons but also from the hold of the devil himself, and were not just introduced to the power of God but infused with it through baptism. This general point regarding reformers’ use of the supernatural has been made by other scholars who have especially analyzed the directed way the Carolingians seemed to be using hagiographies and votive masses dedicated to the remembrance of the dead. These stories of supernaturally powerful, spiritual heroes and masses devoted to the vaguely still present and helpful dead were intended to build Christian community; in promoting the cult of the saints and of the dead, the Carolingians usefully tried to tap in to pagan understandings of the supernatural and yet wanted to make sure these figures were clearly tied to the church; pastors wanted to reassure congregants that the community of believers transcended the grave and yet they

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91 Keefe, Water and the Word, 2:609; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 108v: ut vacua domus et a prisco habitatore derelicta, fide tenetur et praeparatur habitatio dei.
also wanted their congregants to be devoted to confession and good works in this life.\textsuperscript{92} As shown in Paris, BN lat. 2328, despite the complexities and potential pitfalls associated with the promotion of accessible supernatural power, it was an essential component in the Carolingian renaissance and reformation even down to the grass-roots level. Even if the reformers had to be careful, through legislation and statutes, to control how supernatural powers were presented, they \textit{were} being presented regularly, powerfully, and strategically to lay believers. In these ways, Carolingian Christianization sought to use the laity’s natural tendency to fear and covet unseen and powerful spiritual powers in order to bind them to the church, since the pastors could provide them with the sacraments, stones, shrines, and relics that gave them tangible access to divine aid.

\textit{Building Community on Earth: The Church as the Provider of Membership Benefits}

In addition to providing the lay community with access to the divine, reformers also wanted local pastors to stress that the laity could benefit from community on earth through the church. Carolingian Christianity was to be taught as a way of life as well as a belief system. Becoming a member of the church meant that you were initiated into a society with its own terminology, rituals, and symbols. Everyone identified with the same concepts and defined the cycle of their lives by the same traditions; they shared an ecclesiastical calendar, spiritual heroes, and moral standards. In addition, this community was encouraged to care for one another, to love and provide for their

neighbors as a necessary component to pleasing God. It was through good works that laymen were
told they could advance in spiritual rank, storing up favor to be realized in the next life. The church
offered them an egalitarian system in which all could participate through the mass and sacraments.
No matter their socio-economic standing, all laymen could enter the mass and respond to the
pastor, pray to God, and participate in the sacraments. All of these characteristics of community
are emphasized in Paris, BN lat. 2328, revealing details of how Christianity was articulated to the
laity in the ninth century.

Many major life stages from birth until death were commemorated by the church and
everything in between was punctuated by meetings in the church and enriched by the language and
symbols promoted by the church. The texts included in Paris, BN lat. 2328 testify that local pastors
were to not only use but to explain these important rituals for the purpose of building community.
The Paris manuscript gave the local Carolingian pastor expositions on how to conduct mass,
funerals, baptism, the Eucharist and sermons. These instructionals and models, more than anything
else, were focused on explaining the way Christian communities functioned. The mass exposition,
baptismal instruction, sermons, and treatises explain the etymologies of commonly used terms, the
meaning of referenced symbols, and the interpretation of important biblical passages. These
messages were to be given repetitively because the Carolingians were creating community through
a shared sense of habit, shared knowledge base, and shared specialized vocabulary.

Paris, BN lat. 2328 also implies that the reform movement depended on local churches to
be the coordinators of justice and charity. The most commonly reoccurring theme throughout this
compilation is that Christianity was based on good works. Isidore argues that although avoiding
evil is important, the pious layman can be purified through an active life that is devoted to good
works. The good that he does fights against the vices he has inevitably not been able to avoid. He concludes that it is better for one to lead a pious active life than a badly motivated contemplative life. Alcuin, in De virtutibus et vitiis, also saw the benefits in leading an active life characterized by good works. “Not doing evil does not suffice, unless someone also does good works.” This message is then used throughout his work to frame the ideal lay life. It is implied throughout that doing good is especially possible for those living active, secular lives, like Wido, since they have resources at their disposal and opportunities to minister to those around them. Good works, however, must be motivated by right intentions that are rooted in love. Alcuin goes as far as to say at the end of his treatise that laymen and clerics will not be ranked in heaven based on their vocation, but all Christians will be glorified in heaven in proportion to the good works they accomplished on earth.

Therefore, just as the blessing of the kingdom of God is preached equally to everyone, so the entrance of the kingdom of God lies equally open to every sex, age, and person, according to the worthiness of their merits. In that place, there is no distinction between he who was a layman or he who was a cleric in the world, or whether he was rich or poor, young or old, servant or master, but each person will be crowned with perpetual glory according to the merit of his good work.

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93 Cazier, Sententiae, CCSL 111, 241–244; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 58r–58v.
94 Alcuin, De virtutibus et vitiis Liber ad Widonem Comitem, PL 101: col. 615A; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 80v: Nec enim sufficit cuiquam mala non facere, nisi etiam et bona faciat.
95 Alcuin, De virtutibus et vitiis Liber ad Widonem Comitem, PL 101: col. 615C; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 81r: In praeceptis vero Dei caritas obtinet principatum, sine cuius perfectione nihil Deo placere posse Paulus testatur apostolus, qui nec martyrium nec saeculi contemptum, nec eleemosynarum largitionem, sine caritatis officio quicquam proficere posse ostendit.
96 Alcuin, De virtutibus et vitiis Liber ad Widonem Comitem, PL 101: cols. 638B–638C; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 95v: Igitur sicut omnibus aequaliter regni Dei praeicata est beatitudo, ita omni sexui, aetati, et personae aequaliter secundum meritum dignitatem regni Dei patet introitus. Ubi non est distinctio, quis esset in saeculo laicus vel clericus, dives vel pauper, iunior vel senior, servus aut dominus: sed unusquisque secundum meritum boni operis perpetua coronabitur gloria.
According to this logic, the Carolingian reformers, who were in reality living in a very hierarchical society, were promoting the church as an egalitarian community where all had equal opportunities to please God. In these ways then, the laity were being encouraged to live out Christianity in their active, secular lives; they were being welcomed into a community in which, in spiritual terms, their value was not dependent on their earthly rank. They were encouraged to care for one another, which would serve to create a cooperative community as well as gain them eternal rewards.

We can know that these themes were to be taught directly to the laity because this call to good works was a notable point of emphasis in the popular sermons included in Paris, BN lat. 2328. Sermon 7 stresses the avoidance and confession of sin, using the resurrection miracles to show how people become spiritually dead and how all are in need of God’s grace and forgiveness. The work of salvation is ultimately in the hands of the Lord, as shown in Sermons 2 and 8 that recount themes from the Apostles Creed, as well as Sermon 9 that compares Christ’s washing of the feet of the disciples to the cleansing power of baptism that can wipe away one’s sins. Although God’s work of salvation is clearly established in these sermons, the overwhelming message in the sermons is a call to action, a call for the laity to live out their faith by bearing good fruit through good deeds. Sermon 1, in its list of good works and even in its list of bad, emphasizes that Christians are to look for opportunities to do good to others. So much so that it is a sin to not do good things such as not giving regularly to the poor, not aiding captives, aliens and strangers, not comforting those in trouble, not receiving guests, not visiting the sick, not clothing the nude, not working for the freedom of one’s slaves, and not allotting out alms for the poor.97 This sermon

97 Paris BN lat, 2328, f. 116r: *Qui pauperibus adsiduae non perstia: qui viduam et orfanum deprimet: qui captivam et incolam proselitum et advenam non diligit. Qui tribulantes non consolat... qui hospites non recipiunt qui infirmos non visitant, qui nudos de suis vestimentis non vestiunt. Qui domesticos suos despicient. Qui libertatem servis suis non faciunt, qui elemosinam adsiduae secundum vires pauperibus non tribuunt...*
then closes with a detailed description of the hell that awaits those who do not do these good works. Sermon 3 has a similar theme with its focus on Matthew 25; in this metaphor, God does not judge those who stand before him because of the sins they committed, instead he refuses to accept those who did not do good works to help their neighbors. "No man is without sin but every man is able to redeem his sin with alms and with God’s help." Sermon 3 also ends with a description of the punishments of hell that await those who fail to live up to this call. Sermon 4 is on the tithe and is focused on giving to the church but continually states that those funds will be used for the poor, even adding in a line to Caesarius’s original sermon to explain how in the Old Testament this money was guaranteed to provide for the needy. Sermon 4 also promises over and over that those who tithe will be paid back with an abundance of blessings in this world and in the next but those who refuse will be condemned. After talking about how the cleansing power of baptism can wear off, salvation can be lost when people fall into sin and fail to bear good fruits, and after describing the punishments of hell, Sermon 5 says, “Let us hurry while we have light, lest we neglect the fleeting days of salvation. Let us extinguish death by dying to sins and let us prepare

98 Morin, Sermo CLXVII: De evangelio secundum, CCSL 104, 646; and Paris BN lat. 2328, f. 117r: Et videte quia Non dixit discedit a me maledicti, quia furto fecistis, Quia falsum testimonium dedistis. Quia omicidium aut adulterium comisistis; non dixit sed ait: Quia esurivi et non dedistis mihi manducare Sitiui et non dedistis mihi bibere; Non dixit discedit a me qui res alienas tulistis; sed quia de substantia vestra pauperibus non dedistis. Non quia mala opera fecistis sed quia bona facere noluitis; hac sic et illis qui ad dexteram futuri sunt, sola misericordia liberavit.

99 Morin, Sermo CLXVII: De evangelio secundum, CCSL 104, 646; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 117r: Sine peccato nullus hominum esse potest tamen peccata sua redimele eleemosynis omnis homo auxiliante Deo potest.

100 Morin, Sermo XXXIII, CCSL 103, 144; and Paris, BN lat. 2328, f. 118r: Decime vero tributa sunt egentium animarum. Redde ergo tributum pauperibus; Offer libamina sacerdoti quod si decimas non abes fructuum omnium terrenarum quia non es agricola quod cumque te pascis ingenium Dei est; Inde decimas expetit: unde vivis; Aliut enim pro terra dependimus alium per usus vivendi pensamus. Redde ergo homo quae possides redde quod nasci meruisti; Et ut haec verum es se doceamus percuratorem suum Dominus sic praemonuit sacerdotem; Accipe iniquum pecuniam hanc oblationes a fillis Israel. Et dabunt ea in visitatione Domino Deo suo. Et non erunt in eis morbi neque casus; Haec erit omnis oblatio a vicinali anno et supra haec autem legitima est offerendi;
for life with the merits of our life now.”^101 Thus, the message of Carolingian Christianity that was to be passed down to the laity was to be lived out through charity. This call gave those living an active life objectives to accomplish; it created a community that was motivated by eternal rewards and punishments to provide for one another; this kind of community was appealing to the laity and incentivized their loyalty to the church while promoting justice, peace, compassion and charity, which was a win-win situation for Carolingian reformers.

Thus, as shown in the example of Paris, BN lat. 2328, Carolingian Christianity was committed to investing laymen with a calling to use their active lives for charity and this was emphasized for a number of reasons. The reformers wanted to channel lay vocations, resources, and energy towards advocating for justice and providing for the poor and needy. As argued by Paul Kershaw, the Carolingians promoted the language and idea of unity and peace, especially in the ninth century when “peace had become Charlemagne’s legacy to his descendants… part of the Carolingian myth of themselves.”^102 My argument here is that the Carolingians were not just promoting peace, idealizing the Solomon-type ruler as Kershaw traces throughout the period but they were actualizing peace on the local level in the ways they promoted Christianity as a gateway to community. With the reform movement, Carolingians were not just seeking to unite their diverse and expansive empire with a common ideology and structure, they were also relying on the tenets of Christianity to make it so that these proto-parishes were united by a shared sense of right and wrong, a shared responsibility for charity, and a shared bent towards service and generosity.

^101 Morin, *Sermo CLXVII: De evangelio secundum*, CCSL. 104, 687; and Paris BN lat. 2328, f.121v: *curramus dum lucem habemus, nec praeterentia salutis tempora neglegamus. Hic extinguamus mortem moriendo peccatis, hic vitam vitae meritis conparemus…*

Pastors were to emphasize the importance of self-sacrificial community so that the developing parish system was also creating a social system in which people gave of their resources, money, and time to help others. Good works were preached by pastors as an investment with eternal rewards but also with the practical, earthly effect being that these sermons were working to create a sort of citizen’s benefit system. Thus, Carolingian pastors were to Christianize the laity, at least in part, by promoting the community that the church offered all who believe.

**Tying it Together: Paris, BN lat. 2328’s Portrait of a Carolingian Lay Audience**

As this section has shown, since Paris, BN lat. 2328 was an intentionally compiled manuscript intended for a Carolingian pastor, not only can it provide information about what ninth-century pastors were expected to learn, model, and teach, but it can shed light on the knowledge, character, needs, interests, and expectations of their ninth-century listeners as well. Although some of the sources included show that pastors needed to be familiar with dealing with a variety of flocks, the majority of the messages would have been most appropriate for a lay audience and so that is what my study has focused on. As an overarching theme, the Carolingian lay audience needed to be reassured that their active lives were not a detriment to their salvation. In fact, those with the resources and opportunities to do good and be charitable were actually in a prime position to glorify God through their actions. The amounts, however, were relative; it was the motivation and level of sacrifice that mattered most so believers from all statuses could have equal opportunities to please God through their giving.

My analysis has focused on what the text reveals about how Carolingian reformers wanted to Christianize all levels of society. To that end, I have worked to build at least a partial portrait
for the Carolingian lay audience. First of all, it is clear that they were expected to be learners. The mass, sacraments and sermons were intended to be educational experiences for congregants. Rural pastors were to teach etymologies, allegorical exegesis, theology, morality, prayers and creeds to their flocks; they were to lead their congregants in memorizing messages and were to provide them with custom-made sermons all in an effort to promote learning. Carolingian Christianization on the local level involved disseminating knowledge of correct belief and practice, and, as shown, the expectations for the laity were rather high. The frequently repeated theological themes throughout the compilation include teachings on God’s attributes, the nature of Deus, anima, and corpus, the gospel, the Trinity, confession and prayer, Christ’s dual nature, the origins of sin, virtues and vices, the importance of suffering, heaven, hell and purgatory. These lessons were woven into many different outlets of education. Laymen were to learn from explicit lessons in parts of the mass, in the baptismal scrutinies, through the Creed and prayers, and through sermons. They were also to be impressed with theology through the rituals and symbols. Since they were called to interact with the pastor and to verbally and physically respond to the instructions, the rituals of the mass and sacraments were also teaching the laity through habit and experience.

Another important element was that pastors were supposed to motivate congregants with rewards available in this world and in the next. Those who trusted the gospel and committed themselves to good works could expect to be received into heaven and those who did not were to fear the horrors of hell. In the portrait that emerges from Paris, BN lat. 2328, the laity in the ninth century were also to be motivated by promises of community, of access to spiritual power, and of opportunities for advancement both in life and in death. The church through its teachings and rituals was creating a shared vocabulary and belief system; it promised earthly and eternal
community that was marked by cooperation, charity, power, and equal opportunities. The Carolingian reformers were creating a church in which the laity felt a part of something greater than themselves. Good works pleased God and aided neighbors; Christians could access divine power through the saints, through the pastors, through their own prayers; everyone, no matter their vocation and habits, could be saved and even awarded positions of honor in heaven through faith and charity.

This analysis of the intended audience of the pastoral compilation Paris, BN lat. 2328 shows that the laity during the Carolingian reform era was expected to be active. By using local churches and their pastors as hubs of learning, community, and charity, the Carolingian church became a community for the laity. For an audience in which the political courts seemed far away, Christianity provided them with an identity, access to power, and charitable aid. Thus, Carolingian Christianity was presented to the laity in a simple format, through packaged bits of information, and yet the messages were still theologically rich and practically powerful.

Conclusion

This chapter has methodically worked through Paris, BN lat. 2328, which has been generally placed in southern France in the second quarter of the ninth century but is an anonymous compilation lacking an identifiable author, recipient, school, library, *scriptorium*, or church. Carolingian compilations, like this case study, have been derided as derivative miscellanies and left unedited and unstudied. I argue, however, that compilations that were purposefully created to serve as educational and spiritual guides for rural pastors were practical resources made for the front lines of the Carolingian reform movement. They provide rare insights into the lived
experiences of rural pastors and laymen and demonstrate the nature of Carolingian Christianization, showing the ways pastors were trained to lead it and the elements the laity were expected to receive from it.

This three chapter analysis of Paris, BN lat. 2328 starts by looking at the individual sources in the collection and studying them in terms of their manuscript history and their normative usage in the ninth century. The paleographic and codicological evidence suggests that the manuscript was put together at the same time under the leadership of one compiler or school. Beyond that, Chapter 5 shows that this compilation was broad ranging but not comprehensive; the theological, liturgical, biblical, and homiletic materials included in the manuscript were grouped together to be complementary and self-explanatory. They covered the essential basics of the administration of pastoral care but also served to model how a pastor could use these practical texts to create additional resources to broaden his repertoire of information and tools. The compiler combined classic Christian works, with recent Carolingian products, with new original creations to provide custom-made messages on Christian theology and morality. He also included some marginal notes and a chart to further explain the material. By the end of this chapter, Paris, BN lat. 2328’s structure and basic content is laid out and shown to be most especially directed towards explaining pastoral care. The sources it included were either solely for the use of a pastor or were read more broadly in the ninth century but would have been particularly helpful to a pastor. In these ways, Chapter 5 serves to establish the argument that Paris, BN lat. 2328 was not a haphazard miscellany but instead it was an intentionally compiled work that was being created for the use of a pastor and for the benefit of his flock.
The last two chapters build on this conclusion to look into what sorts of things were expected of and being taught to pastors and laymen. The compiler had access to an extensive library and seemed to be connected to high level reform ideology; he was able to include material from a wide range of authorities but he was confident and knowledgeable enough to adapt most of the texts he collected to direct their messages and sometimes repurpose genres for his own objectives. For the most part, the compiler’s changes served to make these texts more streamlined, more broadly applicable, less rhetorical and less lengthy. In some cases, for example the omission of the section on the Antichrist from Isidore’s *Sententiae*, these changes may have avoided complicated theology that was not deemed to be essential for Christianization. In other cases, as is especially seen in the sermons, the alterations made the texts fit together to create a flow of information or to direct the reader’s attention to certain patterns and key points. I focus on the details of the compiler’s changes and study them as Carolingian educational strategies because I argue that the compiler wanted these texts to be instrumental in educating and training his recipient to be a spiritual leader.

Despite the compiler’s changes that made the texts more accessible to a Carolingian audience, Chapter 6 makes clear that the lessons that were being taught through compilations to pastors was not to be overly simplified either. On the contrary, my research here shows that ninth-century pastors were expected to learn and apply a great deal of information. This pastor needed to know the scope and logistics of his office which included baptizing, burying, serving the mass, and collecting tithes. He must have been in charge of an established church since only select churches, either because of their history, importance, or status, were allowed to collect tithes and baptize (at least, in theory). He had to be respected as a moral exemplar, a local leader, a
renaissance man, a prayer leader, and a community builder. I argue that pastors were being empowered and equipped to be local leaders through knowledge. It was through compilations like Paris, BN lat. 2328 that rural pastors had access to classic and contemporary texts that taught them about Christianity but also gave them general information. In this case, this pastor had a poetic epitaph by the great reformer Alcuin, a custom-made lapidary loosely based on Isidore’s and an unusual hagiography from the Byzantine east; these were sources that gave him specialized knowledge that he could use in his sermons or in the administration of pastoral care. Finally this pastor was expected to be and actually was an active participant in his own education. For example, Sermon 8 on the Creed intentionally only goes through the first phrase of the first line to model how to analyze the Creed for a lay audience but to allow the pastor to work on figuring out the rest. In addition, this pastor was given unglossed books of the Bible and not the commonly circulated Gospels and Psalms but the catholic epistles. They were segmented into readings but he had to figure out ways to interpret and explain them to an audience without the aid of commentaries; perhaps he was expected to use the techniques modeled for him in the six exegetical Lenten sermons in the collection. The texts that were later added in to the compilation, which include a priestly prayer of confession, a prayer from the office of the dead, and additional Bible passages, may indicate that the pastor lived up to these expectations and did continue to add to his repertoire of information. Although we cannot be certain these texts were added in by the recipient, they all appear to be in the same ninth-century hand and they were all for the use of a pastor, with the two prayers being ones that only a priest would have prayed. Thus, as shown in Chapter 6, this pastor was expected to be able to handle a lot of information and was expected to be able to build upon it over time.
Finally, this chapter has continued to trace the diffusion of Carolingian Christianization because, as I argue, this information was not supposed to stop with the priests but the reformers wanted the essentials of Christian beliefs and Christian morals to penetrate all levels of society. By looking at the popular lessons included in Paris, BN lat. 2328, this compilation can also reveal what lessons were deemed appropriate for lay audiences. What were they expected to know and grasp and how was that information to be packaged and explained? To answer these questions I look at the liturgical texts that explained how pastors were to administer the sacraments and argue that not only were these rites rich in meaning and symbolism but that even the nuances of their ideas were supposed to be explained to the laity. The mass and baptismal instructions were full of information about the etymology, history and scriptural basis behind the elements of the mass and baptismal rite with explicit instructions throughout that the pastor was to teach these matters and even test his flock on these matters. I also look at how the sermons, the most important vehicles for disseminating reform, established complex theology through repeated lessons and interpreted biblical narratives dealing with the dual nature of Christ, the theology of sin and the power of the gospel. The laity, like their pastors, were expected to learn a lot of information. The information they were to receive and know was presented to them orally so it had to be repeated, it had to be symbolized, it had to be tied to stories, it had to be introduced and concluded in clear ways, it had to be couched in terms of rewards and punishments. Laymen had to be motivated, entertained, and empowered and thus these sources outlined that their actions on earth had eternal and earthly consequences. Apart from the church, laymen were warned they would face spiritual as well as physical eternal damnation. As part of the church, laymen were encouraged that not only would they gain spiritual as well as physical glorification, but that they were part of a greater community...
that could offer them power, status, rights, and charity both in this life and the next. Membership in the church, I argue, was a key element in Carolingian Christianization that harnessed rather than disavowed lay inclinations to look for supernatural aids to gain control of their lives.

In the end, Paris, BN lat. 2328 has revealed three different portraits: (1) the reform-minded, educated and well-connected compiler, who had a plan for how he could educate a pastor in his region through a carefully crafted “miscellany” (2) the generally educated pastor, who had a variety of spiritual, communal, and practical responsibilities and was being provided a significant education in pastoral care through this compilation, and (3) the curious, pious, barely educated laity, who were learning theology in church while looking for some assurances and comforts both for this life and the next. The reformers expected all three groups to understand and live out Christian beliefs but each group was presented with different kinds of information in different ways and pastoral compilations are the key to understanding how this worked. The Carolingians used text collections like this one to meet their reform goals in the midst of building the infrastructure they knew they needed to carry it out long-term. As shown in Paris, BN lat. 2328, the Christianity that was to be passed down to rural pastors was rather broad and deep. Some of it was explained to them through popular texts, some of it was detailed in lengthier reference manuals like Isidore’s Sententiae or Alcuin’s De virtutibus et vitiis. The messages about Christianity that dominate the popular works, including the liturgical documents and the sermons, focus on the importance of: understanding the basics in regard to the character of God, the body, and the soul, memorizing the Creed and Lord’s Prayer, performing good works and charitable care, remembering the eternal consequences of their decisions on earth, committing to loyal membership in the church, and knowing key theology about the nature of Christ and of sin. This compilation
has shown that the Carolingians did not think that a successful reform movement was an overly simplified one as much as it was an overly explained one. While working to build up an established parish system, the Carolingians turned to texts to serve as schools and mentors outside of monastic and cathedral schools. They strategically copied, altered, and created compilations in order to educate educators. This is the key to understanding the implementation of Carolingian reform, and Paris, BN lat. 2328 provides a window into how local reform was accomplished.
Conclusion

As espoused by the legislation such as the *Epistola de litteris colendis* circular letter and the *Admonitio generalis* capitulary, the Carolingian court was calling for widespread spiritual and educational reform. This was an increasingly literate era in which texts were being copied, created, and circulated in large numbers. For the most part, Carolingian reformers were not prioritizing originality. Reformers and scribes were interested in orthodoxy; they valued collecting information and they valued variety. Miscellanies were an important part of the Carolingian reform movement because they encapsulated all of these copying tendencies. Purposefully assembled miscellanies contained excerpted materials that were practical and accessible and included a broad spectrum of sources with some serving as reference works and instructional manuals for continuing education and others serving as popular texts for the administration of pastoral care and preaching. Carolingian reformers had ambitious educational, theological and administrative goals and I have argued these miscellanies, with their multiple usages, were developed to serve as the key texts for diffusing reform throughout society.

In this dissertation I have attempted to uncover Carolingian reform in action on the local level. To this end, I have analyzed in detail two case studies: Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 and Paris, BN lat. 2328. These are both pastoral miscellanies, modest in appearance but filled with information that would have been useful to Carolingian pastors in charge of preaching and pastoral care. While over time additions were made to many miscellanies and thus their original form is impossible for modern scholars to decipher, these two miscellanies have been preserved in their ninth-century condition. The Laon codex was originally written in two different locations;
nevertheless, in its combined form, it can be situated at the cathedral school of Laon. It has a table of contents in the handwriting of Martin Hiberniensis, an important teacher with connections to the court of Charles the Bald in the mid-ninth century. The Paris codex is anonymous and cannot be situated to a particular school, church, monastery or scriptorium but it was all copied in the same hand, dating to the second quarter of the ninth century. I have argued that they represent two different kinds of pastoral miscellanies because of their intended audiences: one was used in a cathedral school, the other in a rural parish setting. This demonstrates the creative, practical, and flexible nature of this genre, created and relied upon for empire-wide reform. I have postulated that pastoral miscellanies are valuable sources for understanding the Carolingian reform movement because they were the tools that were being disseminated by reformers and scribes in order to educate pastors and help them learn how to educate the laity. These tools worked both inside of and instead of established schools.

In my study of these two miscellanies, I have especially focused on the popular texts in these compilations, in particular the sermons. I have argued that the sermons are particularly valuable to study because they represent sources that were meant to teach pastors how to teach the laity. Carolingian sermons have been regarded as derivative by many modern scholars, since they were often dependent on early church and late antique exemplars. My analysis has shown, however, that we need to give Carolingian compilers and reformers more credit. The sermons they included in pastoral miscellanies were customized in a number of subtle ways. Some sermons were abridged and refocused; some were given new introductions, conclusions and titles to complement the texts with which they were compiled. These sermons are the key to understanding how Carolingian reformers equipped pastors to Christianize the laity because they were the culmination
of diffused Christianization. In as much as miscellanies in general were meant to excerpt, collate, harmonize, and explain a variety of educational and theological materials, the sermons were the masterpieces of the miscellanies. They were the key vehicle of reform for the majority of the population: the laity. And, as I have argued, Carolingian reformers had a lot to say to those lay audiences, despite the fact that those messages were diffused in carefully formed, concise sermon packages.

Reformers had high but practical goals for the local pastors and their flocks. For the most part, ninth-century Carolingian Christianization was not the missionary work of the early Carolingians. In addition, they were a generation removed from the reform blueprints laid out in the *Epistola de litteris colendis* and the *Admonitio generalis*. Ninth-century reformers used miscellanies, and especially the sermons they contained, to spread intellectual and theological reform. They expected all members of society to understand scripture and theology: behavior, rituals, even participation in the administration of the sacraments needed to be understood in terms of their theological significance. Ninth-century Carolingian reformers no longer had to combat paganism; they were using miscellanies and sermons in their efforts to build Christian communities with deep roots.

I purposely chose two different types of pastoral miscellanies in order to analyze the dissemination of Carolingian Christianization on two different planes: the first a prominent cathedral school and the second a rural parish setting. The different audiences revealed some differences between the two miscellanies. The Laon codex, the cathedral school compilation, was lengthier. There was a pronounced focus on historical heresies, especially in the longer manuals.¹

¹ Statements against paganism were a part of one of the popular sermons, Sermon on Redemption but this was not a section that Martin Hiberniensis stressed as particularly urgent.
I argued that Martin Hiberniensis was using heresy as a foil for explaining orthodoxy. Heresiologies were also useful pre-requisites for reading the Church Fathers, who often wrote in response to heretics who, for the most part, had become extinct in the ninth-century west. In addition, I have argued that Martin may have been creating a sense of urgency for his pastors-in-training who had not yet experienced any “field work” and perhaps needed to be impressed with the seriousness of their vocation. As pastors they had to be safeguards of orthodoxy, watchmen against the machinations of the devil.

The miscellany created for a rural pastor was more multi-faceted. Even though it contained fewer sources than the Laon codex, every work in the Paris codex except for Isidore’s Sententiae, could have been used directly for the education of the pastor and for the laity. It was a ready-to-use compilation, meant to be self-explanatory and accessible. It contained a copy of the seven canonical letters but broke them up into easily read segments. It had two groups of sermons, a collection of moral sermons for everyday use and a series of sermons for Lent. It had a popular and easy to understand mass exposition and straight-forward baptismal instruction. And yet, despite the practicality of the compilation, it was still creatively compiled. There is a series of interesting texts explaining death, heaven and the separation of the body and soul; these include Alcuin’s poetic epitaph, a chart, and a prayer from the office of the dead, that was actually added in later. In the Paris compilation, we can see a rural pastor using a strategically self-sufficient and multi-faceted miscellany to teach himself. He even seems to have added to it himself! And yet, in some cases, potentially confusing materials seem to have been cut. While the Laon codex, for example, contains abridged but complex excerpts from Jerome’s commentary on the Antichrist, the Paris codex skips allusions to the Antichrist. Presumably, outside of the cathedral schools,
scribes and reformers were less apt to circulate texts that may have been more confusing and distressing than they were helpful. Thus, these two case studies give us a glimpse into how Carolingian reformers were using texts to educate pastors and their lay flocks, both inside and outside of the established schools, and they show that these miscellanies could be customized for each.

Despite the differences between these miscellanies, I also discovered many similarities between Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265 and Paris, BN lat. 2328. In both cases the compilers sought to be diverse more than comprehensive, although they do attempt to strike a balance between the two. For example, neither compilation provided the recipients with enough sermons for the entire liturgical year but both miscellanies offer a variety of sermons, often in groups, to teach how to preach certain sermons for certain occasions. And yet, both miscellanies also contained long reference works that were copied in full. The version of Isidore’s *Sententiae* in the Paris codex seems to have been created as an assimilated edition, since it contains chapters from a number of different ninth-century copies of the work. In the Laon codex, the compiler took the time to provide pastors with a customized compilation of capitularies on incest and marriage that stressed both variety, chronology and completeness.

In addition, the compilers of the Laon and Paris miscellanies had a similarly broad conception of what it meant to be a pastor. Both compilations contained pastoral materials on the duties of their office: expositions on the mass and baptism and model sermons. These were not, however, step-by-step instructionals outlining rote behaviors. They were primarily treatises on the theological logic, etymological origins, and scriptural support for these rituals. Pastors had to be learned figures in their community; in the chapters on the Paris codex I called this the “Carolingian
Pastors were to stand out as scholars as well as spiritual leaders, whether that meant they were aware of the appearance and powers of stones, familiar with the poetic epitaph of a famous reformer, schooled in Antichrist theories, or cognizant of the long history of heretical debates. They were also to be involved and conscientious authority figures in their communities. In particular, they were to be agents of justice, protecting the weak, vulnerable, poor and abused and encouraging their flocks, with the promise of eternal rewards, to do the same. They were to be story-tellers; both compilations contain interesting hagiographies filled with adventure tales and miracles. The Laon codex also contains an apocryphal narrative that fleshed out the events, summarized in the Creed, surrounding Christ’s trial, death and resurrection, with a particular focus on his dramatic harrowing of hell. On top of all of this, Carolingian pastors were to understand complex theology and exegesis. This was especially the case with the cathedral school miscellany that included Jerome’s well-respected commentary on Daniel, a complex text in terms of the dialectical, rhetorical, logical and exegetical skills it exhibited, even in its abridged form. The Paris miscellany provided information on difficult theology as well, albeit with some built-in study aids. A complicated message about the separation of the soul and body after death, for example, was paired with an explanatory chart. Thus, both miscellanies demonstrate that ninth-century pastors had many responsibilities, but they were being prepared for their respective roles as both miscellanies were customized for their individual settings.

I also looked at what both miscellanies can tell us about how and if the reform agenda reached the laity. This information is very difficult for modern scholars to glean from the extant sources. What did Carolingian reform in action look like on the local level? I have argued that the popular texts in these practical miscellanies can give us insights into actual reform. One key
message is that pastors and their flocks were expected to learn theology. In the legislation this is
the ideal, most often articulated though in terms of modest goals, which included memorizing the
Creed and Lord’s Prayer and understanding the power of baptism. The last chapter in the
Admonitio generalis, however, does list a number of topics that should be preached regularly
including the nature of the Trinity; the power of God as creator; the nature, incarnation, death,
resurrection and ascension of Christ; heaven and hell; the resurrection of the dead; the virtues and
vices; and the importance of community. My case studies have demonstrated that those goals were
being taken seriously by reformers and were being addressed.

For one, pastors needed to know their theology and were given sometimes lengthy
reference works to make sure that they were prepared to understand it and teach it. In sermons
from both compilations, the laity were to be instructed in theology as well. They had to understand
the gospel, the power of the Trinity, the dual nature of Christ, and they were to believe in the future
resurrection of the body. They were warned not to live in doubt or apathy, with specific
admonitions against those who came to church with empty minds. The popular works used a
variety of different techniques to teach theology. Pastors were to be story-tellers to grab the
attention of their flocks. Both compilations include hagiographical accounts, and the Laon codex
includes an apocryphal account of Christ’s trial, extra-biblical miracles, and the harrowing of hell,
which, though their form may have been entertaining, in content they were a supplement to the
Creed. These texts provided interesting details to satisfy the curiosity and stimulate the memory
of the audience. Some of the sermons were exegetical and some of them were thematic; some
emphasized eternal rewards, others eternal punishments. In all cases, however, building up an
understanding of essential theology was key, and that essential theology seems to have focused on
all of the subjects listed in the *Admonitio generalis* blueprint. Thus, Carolingian reformers were able to realize these ideals through the sermons they created and then disseminated, giving pastors practical tools for teaching theology to the laity.

Reform also entailed moral instruction. Interestingly, the laity were consistently exhorted to live moral lives in line with Christ’s precepts, rather than out of rote obedience. Theology and morality were linked in the sermons and the laity were consistently provided with scriptural reasons why they were to fulfill moral obligations. The laity were encouraged to live active rather than ascetic lives. Pious laymen were allowed to get married, accrue wealth, and serve in the military. Reformers did not force them into unrealistic standards but they encouraged laymen to live their lives in light of the authority of the church. Lay listeners were to give of their time and money, participate in the mass and sacraments, memorize the Creed and Lord’s Prayer, serve others in charity, and believe fully in the promises of God and miracles recounted in scripture. These ideas were also couched in terms of rewards and punishments, citing the eternal consequences of earthly actions.

Perhaps the most important message in both miscellanies was that pastors were to stress that the church would provide real, physical, beneficial community for the laity, both in this life and the life to come. Pastors were to use initiating rituals, such as baptism and the Eucharist, as well as the recitation of the Lord’s Prayer and Creed, and stories of the saints, in order to build a sense of community and bond people to the church and its benefits and power. Exhortations to avoid sin and repent are certainly in both compilations but there is much more of an emphasis on doing good works. Charity, love, and almsgiving are stressed in both the Laon and Paris codices. Pastors were to encourage community-building but the laymen were expected to respond and
participate as well. Reformers were calling on pastors to be both advocates for justice and charity and intellectual authorities. They were encouraged to recruit the laity to help each other, offering theological support, moral instructions and the threat or reward of eternal consequences.

These patterns demonstrate that reform ideals were being dispensed to local pastors and their flocks and that the expectations for both were actually quite high. My work shows that ninth-century Carolingian Christianization had moved beyond early missionary efforts that focused on moral rules, the vilification of paganism, and the omnipotence of a creator God. Ninth-century Christianization required the diffusion of theology, sometimes rather complex theology, on the local level; it required the participation and loyalty of the laity, encouraging them to look to the Carolingian church as the source of community, learning, charity, and supernatural power. The Carolingians diffused this multi-faceted reform to local pastors and the laity through carefully packaged and directed miscellanies. The real benefit to studying these miscellanies and the sermons they contained is in the details. Carolingian “copying” methods, though subtle, were strategic and nuanced. Carolingian reformers were not interested in “recreating the wheel;” they did not need to create new works from scratch. The miscellanies and sermons they produced were customized and practical vehicles of reform. The key to the Carolingian reform movement can be found in the subtleties of their copying novelties, and in the strategies of their compiling efforts, which allowed them to spread widespread and multifaceted reform.

**Avenues for Future Research**

There are many opportunities for future work on pastoral miscellanies. Scholars, such as Yizhak Hen and James McCune, have done some work on anonymous, pastoral miscellanies that appear, due to their modest appearance and size, to have functioned as reference works for rural
pastors. Both of their studies were limited by the length restrictions afforded to articles, but they did hint at some similar conclusions. Even though some guess work needs to be done with these anonymous miscellanies, I hope in the future to see more scholars give these valuable sources their due attention. Felice Lifschitz’s recent work on the miscellanies produced by two women’s houses in Francia demonstrates the potential for studying miscellanies that have a connection to certain monasteries or schools. Given the fact that she was able to trace these miscellanies back to female scribes, Lifschitz was able to draw interesting conclusions not just about scribal creativity but also about gender expression under the Carolingians. My hope is that similar studies will continue to shed light on the value of miscellanies.

As I mentioned in my introduction, in the future I would like to round out this analysis with a third case study from a monastic school setting. I have already identified St. Gall SB Cod. Sang. 124 as a possible candidate. It contains the annals of St. Gall, as well as a number of pastoral materials, including twelve unedited anonymous sermons, a baptismal tract, and works by Isidore, Augustine and some Pseudo-Jerome materials on the gospels. In addition, it was written in three, perhaps four, hands but all from the same region and around the same time, in the late eighth, early ninth century. This miscellany may represent an example of an educational manual made for a monk-priest which needs further study. The idea that monks were not strictly separated from preaching and pastoral care, despite the ninth-century legislation that demanded this restriction, has become more popular in recent scholarship. I believe that an analysis of pastoral miscellanies

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4 For a longer discussion of this debate about early medieval monk-priests, refer to my introduction, pages 35-38.
that can be connected to monasteries may be a fruitful way to analyze the role of monk-priests in the Carolingian reform movement.

Finally, although I chose to focus on two particular case studies in great detail in order to understand the realities of Carolingian reform, another avenue for future work would be to launch a more comprehensive survey of pastoral miscellanies. This would be a challenge. Library catalogue descriptions are notoriously vague or incomplete. In addition, anyone attempting this work would need to find compilations that are still in the same form in which they were used in the ninth century, which will require extensive archival work. I believe, however, that this kind of study would have far reaching benefits for the field. Susan Keefe laid the groundwork for this undertaking with her extensive research on baptismal instructions as well as, importantly, on the manuscripts in which they were contained. She herself has admitted, however, that more detailed work should be done on these compilations.

Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to demonstrate the value in studying pastoral miscellanies and the sermons they contained. My goal has been to establish that the copying strategies of Carolingian reformers and scribes were not derivative. The Carolingians were collectors and collators. Reformers had ambitious ideals but they also came up with practical solutions. This was an increasingly literate era of educational as well as spiritual reform. This movement centered on the education of pastors because it relied on them to diffuse Christian reform to society as a whole. I used a detailed analysis of two case studies in order to shed light on the creative and practical miscellanies and, in particular, the sermons, that reformers made and disseminated to actualize

reform ideals, both inside of and in lieu of, established schools. Miscellanies were the key vehicles for reform in action on the local level and are fascinating sources, full of hidden creativity and strategic nuance.
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