A Hagiocentric Early Middle Ages? Theodulf of Orléans' Theologies of *Res Sacratae* and Relics in the *Opus Caroli* as a Test of the Paradigm

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Abstract

The cult of saints dominates the modern study of the early Middle Ages. For the reign of Charlemagne (768-814) this preoccupation with hagiocentricism is often buttressed by references to the *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum* (OC). Written by Theodulf of Orléans in response to the iconodule Byzantine council of II Nicaea (787), the OC denied any comparability between the Greeks' manufactured images and those objects that did have an appropriate place in Latin devotional praxis. Studies of the OC's attitudes towards these other, holy objects have invariably become focussed upon saints' relics in particular. Such an emphasis in OC scholarship neglects the separate category of essential devotional objects which Theodulf labelled as *res sacratae* and, in so doing, reinforces the OC's use as a buttress for hagiocentric interpretations of Charlemagne and his court. Theodulf's *res sacratae* included the Ark of the Covenant, the eucharistic elements, the sign of the cross, liturgical vessels and Scripture, but crucially not saints' relics. By elucidating the place Theodulf envisioned for the *res sacratae* within his broader theology, how they differed not only from the Greek images, but also from other holy objects like saints' relics, this study seeks to nuance the hagiocentric interpretations of Carolingian religion that have hitherto been endorsed by OC scholarship. An alternative picture will emerge of Theodulf's fundamentally Christocentric attitude towards devotional objects, yet one that nonetheless admitted saints' relics and, thus, the cult of saints.

Contents:

Abbreviations

Arsenal		Paris, *Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*
BnF		Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale de France*
CAS		*Capitulare adversus synodum* ≈ Pope Hadrian I, *Ep.* 2, ed. Karl Hampe, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae 5 (Berlin, 1897), pp. 5-57
CCCM		*Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*
CCSL		*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*
CSEL		*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
DA		*Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*
FK		*Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794. Kristallisationspunkt karolingischer kultur*, ed. Rainer Berndt (Mainz 1997), 2 vols.
JML		*The Journal of Medieval Latin*
LC		*Libri Carolini*, ed. Hubert Bastgen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Concilia 2 Supplementum I (Hannover, 1924)
MGH		*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
	Capit. Episc.	*Capitula Episcoporum*
	Conc.	*Concilia*
	Epp.	*Epistolae*
	PLAC	*Poetae latini aevi Carolini*
	SrG	*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*
	SrM	*Scriptorum rerum Merovingicarum*
	SS	*Scriptores*
NA		*Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde zur Beförderung einer Gesamtausgabe der Quellenschriften deutscher Geschichten des Mittelalters*
NCMH		*The New Cambridge Medieval History*

OC	*Opus Caroli Regis contra Synodum (Libri Carolini)*, ed. Ann Freeman, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Concilia 2, Supplementum I (Hannover, 1998)
PL	*Patrologia Latina*
QFIAB	*Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*
RA	*Recherches Augustiniennes*
RB	*Revue bénédictine*
Vat.	Rome, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*
ZK	*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*

Acknowledgements

<u>Declaration</u>

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Introduction: the *Opus Caroli* in a 'hagiocentric' early Middle Ages?

On 3rd January 806 the bishop of Orléans, a Visigoth and former courtier of Charlemagne named Theodulf, celebrated mass in his newly-constructed oratory chapel near his villa at Germigny-des-Prés (Figure 1). Glittering in the apse above his head as he began the consecration of the eucharistic bread and wine were the predominantly golden and blue-green tesserae of an extraordinary mosaic (Figure 2). By the utterance of Christ's own words preceding and foreshadowing his passion, Theodulf discerned before himself no longer bread and wine, but the body and blood of Christ in spirit and truth. As he performed these actions, the mosaic above resonated ever more harmoniously with the elements upon the altar. Strangely, however, it did not overtly depict Christ. Yet, Theodulf had dedicated this church to the Holy Saviour. Not only was Christ not depicted, but no saints stole the limelight in either nominal or pictorial dedication. In fact, the mosaic depicted the Ark of the Covenant between two mighty angels whose wings met above the Ark and the altar where Theodulf now stood. At their intersection, a pierced hand pierced the starry sky. For Theodulf, the symbolism was clear: through Christ (the pierced, piercing hand), at the intersection of the Old and New Testaments (the mighty angels, the one on the right adorned with a crucifix in its halo), the mystery of the Ark of the Covenant had been fulfilled in the form of the eucharistic body and blood which now adorned the altar. Moreover, this symbolism brought back memories of a pivotal moment in Theodulf's life at the court of Charlemagne some sixteen years ago.

At that time, Theodulf, likely around thirty years old, after having already spent the best part of a decade in Charlemagne's entourage, had been commissioned by the king to compose the official Carolingian response to the iconodule, Byzantine council of II Nicaea (787). In his response, the *Opus Caroli Regis contra Synodum* (OC), Theodulf berated the Greeks, among other things, for their equation of images with a group of objects he described as *res sacratae* ('things made sacred'). Among these objects he enumerated both the Ark of the Covenant, now depicted above him, and the eucharistic elements laid out before him, as well as liturgical vessels, the sign of the cross and Scripture. He had also opposed the equation of images with the relics of saints. Yet, his *res sacratae* remained distinct from saints' relics; and the saints did not feature in this altarpiece scene. The *res sacratae* stood, quite literally in the architectural and artistic scheme here in the church of Germigny-des-Prés, at the heart of Theodulf's understanding of the Christian religion.

Over one thousand years later, on 24th January 1847, Maximilien Théodore Chrétien, a self-described 'mosaicist, painter, sculptor, architect and Don Quixote of

archaeology', wrote a letter to the Orléanais antiquary Charles-François Vergnaud-Romagnesi detailing an exciting series of discoveries he had made in Theodulf's church at Germigny-des-Prés.[1] Chrétien had recently arrived at Germigny-des-Prés, having been recruited by the government architect Albert Delton to carry out restoration work on the apse mosaic. The mosaic had first come to the attention of the *Commission des Monuments Historiques* as requiring repair work in 1840. Earlier attempts at restoration had been carried out on the mosaic by Ciuli, between 1843 and 1844. These works had, however, left much plaster covering the mosaic and now Ciuli was unwilling to undertake additional work for the low wages Delton could pay. A well-placed advert for his skills in the hall of the *Société des Architectes* in 1846 had secured this work for Chrétien. While removing the plaster from the mosaic, Chrétien discovered Theodulf's dedicatory verses. Spurred on by this discovery and the prospect of further work on the restoration, he turned his attention to an inscription on one of the church's central pillars. This gave the date of the church's dedication: 3rd January (Figure 3). Chrétien knew that, on a visit in 1843, Ferdinand de Guilhermy had observed a later inscription above the mosaic reading '*Sanctus spiritus anno 806*', which had probably replaced an original, now lost ninth-century inscription. To supplement his discovery of the dedicatory verses, Chrétien therefore resolved to 'discover' this original dedication inscription. This he carved himself on the pillar next to the 3rd January dedication inscription:

> ANO: INCARNIS: DOMINI: DCCC: ETVI: SUB: INVOCATIONE: SCTAE: GINEVRAE: ET: SCTI: GERMINI[2]

There were glaring problems with Chrétien's 'discovery'. Most obvious was the unprecedented use, at such an early date in the ninth-century, of a millenary number along with *et* between the 800 and the 6. For the purposes of the present thesis, however, the more interesting fabrication here was the supposed dedication to the saints Geneviève and Germinus. Saint Geneviève was, at least, a real saint; she was the patroness of Paris whose feast day falls on 3rd January (the day the church was dedicated). Germinus, however, was entirely invented by Chrétien in allusion to the name of the village. Theodulf had made no such saintly dedications: he had dedicated his church to the Holy Saviour and bestowed it with a focal apse mosaic that depicted a *res sacrata,* the Ark of the Covenant, and symbolically, through it, Christ as Saviour. Yet Chrétien's claims, initially, stuck. Vergnaud-Romagnesi was convinced by the letter detailing these findings and it was not until the

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[1] Letter in Paul Meyvaert, 'Maximilien Théodore Chrétien and the Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 137 (2001), pp. 214-215: 'mosaïste, peintre, statuaire, architecte et le donquichotte de archéologie'.
[2] Ibid., p. 209.

twentieth-century that this inscription came to be recognised as a forgery.[3] Chrétien's assumption here that Theodulf must have dedicated his church to some local saints, and the fact that these claims were largely accepted, speaks to the dominance of the cult of saints in modern understandings of the medieval mind. Nothing in either Theodulf's writings or the design of the church itself gave credence to these claims; they were born entirely out of the assumptions of the nineteenth-century minds of Chrétien and those who subscribed to his fabrication. Of course, Chrétien himself was no historian. Indeed, even with respect to those professions he did claim to be skilled in – mosaicist, painter, sculptor, architect and archaeologist – he was a notorious fraud.[4]

The distortion of the cult of saints in legitimate early medieval historiography is certainly less dramatic and more subtle than the fabrications of Chrétien. With regard to Theodulf's church at Germigny-des-Prés, for instance, there are still studies of the mosaic seeking to unearth a hidden saintly dedication, this time to Mary, from the iconography buttressed by the largely circumstantial evidence of notable contemporary dedications to Mary, such as Charlemagne's palace chapel at Aachen.[5] Although these claims clearly have more merit than the fictions of Chrétien, they nonetheless speak to a continued predilection to see the early medieval religious imagination, in this case, Theodulf's, as dominated by saints.

Academic interest in the cult of saints has enjoyed a transformative resurgence since the 1970s and 1980s, when intensified interdisciplinary dialogue opened up an innovative, new anthropological approach and attentiveness to the materiality of religious practices that was eagerly seized upon by medievalists in particular, most notably by Peter Brown and Patrick Geary.[6] Since their pioneering input, scholarship on the cult of saints has grown dramatically, becoming one of the most prominent facets of the study of medieval religion and society.[7] Historians of other eras and regions were slower to adopt

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[3] Aspersions initially targeted against Vergnaud-Romagnesi: Jacques Soyer, 'Les inscriptions gravées sur les piliers de l'église carolingienne de Germigny-des-Prés sont-elles authentiques?', *Bulletin archéologique du Comitédes travaux historiques* (1923), pp. 197-216.

[4] Chrétien had earlier notoriety for the Nérac forgeries: Michael Greenhalgh, *Destruction of Cultural Heritage in 19th-century France: Old Stones versus Modern Identities* (Leiden, 2015), pp. 150-151.

[5] Gillian Mackie, 'Theodulf of Orléans and the Ark of the Covenant: A New Allegorical Interpretation at Germigny-des-Prés', *RACAR: revue d'art canadienne/Canadian Art Revue* 32 (2007), pp. 45-53.

[6] For an overview of the growth of academic interest in relics, more generally, but with these medieval historians' leading roles, see: Alexandra Walsham, 'Introduction: Relics and Remains', in Alexandra Walsham (ed.), *Relics and Remains*, Past & Present Supplement 5 (Oxford, 2010), pp. 15-18. On the more general importance of approaching belief through materiality: David Morgan, 'Introduction: The matter of belief', in David Morgan (ed.), *Religion and material culture: the matter of belief* (Abingdon, 2010), pp. 1-17.

[7] A search for 'saint' in the RI-OPAC Literature Database for the Middle Ages (http://opac.regesta-imperii.de/lang_en/), currently yields 45,403 results (+4,016 for 'saints'), dwarfing returns for Trinitarian searches ('God' (3,319), 'Jesus'/'Christ' (5,658/3,881), 'Holy Spirit' (213)), in a way that would surely surprise Theodulf and many of his contemporaries for whom so much intellectual endeavour was consumed by

these approaches to comparable features of the cultures and religions they studied, although interest in relics in Buddhism and Islam has noticeably intensified, with the study of such features in early modern and modern Europe notably still lagging.[8] Of course, part of the reason for the ease with which Brown and Geary took up these methodological innovations was that – as shown by Chrétien's assumptions at Germigny-des-Prés – the significance of the cult of saints in medieval religious culture was already taken for granted. Brown and Geary did not so much aim to rectify any tangible neglect of the medieval cult of saints, but rather to challenge the way it was approached by historians; fundamentally, to approach with a medieval mindset.[9] Among medieval specialists today, the approach they sought to inculcate has certainly been influential.[10] However, the success of their approach in the realm of popular and public history has been more mixed. While the cult of saints remains an area of medieval religious devotion that still fascinates the public, this intrigue is arguably often still characterised by that vein of derision against which Brown and Geary intervened.[11] Thus, whether on account of the academic resurgence of interest generated by Brown and Geary, or on account of the lingering, popular strain of contempt, the impression of the medieval devotional universe and mind often remains – to use Geary's terminology – distinctly 'hagiocentric'.[12]

Of course, a reinvigorated interest in the cult of saints has been accompanied by a notable, although substantially smaller uptick in the study of scepticism and dialogue

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Trinitarian and Christological debates, most notably around the issue of Adoptionism. Of the 45,403 hits in the 'saint' search, 76% of the entries appear in the 40 years since the publication of Peter Brown's, *Cult of Saints* (1981).

[8] For the growth of interest in Buddhist relics: Robert Scharf, 'On the Allure of Buddhist Relics', *Representations*, 66 (1999), pp. 75-99; John Strong, *Relics of the Buddha* (Princeton, NJ, 2004). On Muslim relics: Brannon Wheeler, *Mecca and Eden: Ritual, Relics and Territory in Islam* (Chicago, IL, 2006).

[9] Peter Brown, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, IL, 1981, rev. 2014), xiv-xvi; Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra. Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ, 1978, rev. 1990), p. 4. The relationship of Brown and Geary's new approach to earlier scholarship can be seen especially in Geary's treatment of Richard Southern's *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (1970). In *Furta Sacra*, he endorsed Southern's classic line of saints' relics being the primary source of holiness in the medieval world, but expanded upon it to think about the mindset of the people interacting with the relics: Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 32-33.

[10] For medievalists continuing with this approach: Benedicta Ward, 'Relics and the medieval mind', *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church*, 10 (2010), pp. 274-286.

[11] In the UK, for instance, the persistence of this derisory fascination can be seen in popular history books, like the children's *Horrible Histories* series. In the *Measly Middle Ages*, the chapter on 'rotten religion' opens with the statement that 'people of the Middle Ages were pretty superstitious', with a first subsection then devoted to ridiculing an assortment of 'ropey relics': Terry Deary, *Horrible Histories: Measly Middle Ages* (London, 1996, 2007 edn.), pp. 112-114. If anything, the early-twentieth-century spiritual predecessor to *Horrible Histories*, Sellar and Yeatman's *1066 and all that*, was more in line with the approach to the medieval cult of saints later inculcated by Brown and Geary, the joke there – that St. Augustine's conversion of England (naturally having landed in Thanet) 'resulted in the country being overrun by a Wave of Saints' – being a mostly neutral affirmation of the centrality of the cult of saints to medieval Christianity: Walter Sellar and Robert Yeatman, *1066 and all that* (London, 1930, 1999 edn.), pp. 14-15.

[12] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 31: 'It appears that the religion of the majority of the semibarbarian inheritors of the empire in the West was hagiocentric... at the close of the eighth century Frankish religion was and had long been essentially one of mediation through the saints.'

surrounding the medieval cult.[13] There have even been some studies highlighting ambivalence.[14] Additionally, while in terms of sheer volume the study of medieval saints has become more substantial, Christocentric aspects of medieval devotion have not been entirely overlooked. While this is especially evident in scholarship on the late Middle Ages, where scholars like Miri Rubin are able to observe the co-option of Christ within the framework of the cult of saints in the development and popularity of the cult of Christ, replete with Corpus Christi festivals and guilds, Christocentric features of early medieval devotion have also received attention.[15] For the early Middle Ages, especially for the Carolingian period which will be the focus of the following thesis, one of the most vivid areas of scholarship focussed on a notably Christocentric theme surrounds the understanding, visual representation and devotional use of the cross.[16] These are, therefore, existing areas of scholarship upon which the following thesis will build, particularly in highlighting ambivalence towards the cult of saints and emphasising Christocentric features of early medieval devotion. Fundamentally, however, this thesis reacts against, I believe, an over-emphasis on the peculiarly hagiocentric nature of the early medieval religious imagination. I will offer an insight into an early medieval mind in which saints and their relics undoubtedly had a place, but one with a distinct degree of ambivalence, and an overall outlook that could certainly not be characterised as hagiocentric. Instead, the devotional universe of this early medieval mind will be seen to be fundamentally Christocentric, albeit admitting the saints and their relics a place (albeit secondary) and,

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[13] For more general studies of scepticism and debate: Gilbert Dagron, 'L'ombre d'un doute: l'hagiographie en question, Vie-XIe siècles', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 46 (1992), pp. 59-68; Marie-France Auzépy, 'L'évolution de l'attitude face au miracle à Byzance', in *Miracles, Prodiges et Merveilles au Moyen Âge: XXVe Congrès de la S.H.M.E.S., Orléans, juin 1994* (Paris, 1995), pp. 31-46; Matthew Dal Santo, *Debating the Saints' Cult in the Age of Gregory the Great* (Oxford, 2012). Specific late antique and early medieval sceptics have also attracted attention, including, of most relevance to this thesis, Vigilantius of Calagurris and Claudius of Turin: David Hunter, 'Vigilantius of Calagurris and Victricius of Rouen: ascetics, relics and clerics in late Roman Gaul', *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 7 (1999), pp. 401-430; Jean-Marie Sansterre, 'Les justifications du culte des reliques dans le haut Moyen Âge', in Edina Bozóky and Anne-Marie Helvétius (eds.), *Les reliques: Objets, cultes, symboles. Actes du colloque international de l'Université du Littoral-Côte d'Opale (Boulogne-sur-Mer) 4-6 septembre 1997* (Turnhout, 1999), pp. 81-93; Paolo Zanna (ed.), *Dungal, Responsa contra Claudium: A Controversy on Holy Images* (Florence, 2002), lxxxviii-xciii. Also see acknowledgement of medieval scepticism in studies more broadly devoted to the cult of saints: Arnold Angenendt, *Heilige und Reliquien. Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1994), pp. 81, 165; Anton Legner, *Reliquien in Kunst und Kult; zwischen Antike und Aufklärung* (Darmstadt, 1995), pp. 232, 242, 325-342.

[14] For instance, of particular pertinence to this thesis: J. W. Visser, *Parallel Lives: Alcuin of York and Thiofrid of Echternach on Willibrord, Sanctity and Relics* (Utrecht PhD Thesis, 2018).

[15] On the late medieval rise of the cult of Christ: Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991); Godefridus Snoek, *Medieval piety from relics to the Eucharist: a process of mutual interaction* (Leiden, 1995).

[16] In this area of scholarship art historians have been at the forefront, especially: Celia Chazelle, *The crucified God in the Carolingian era: theology and art of Christ's passion* (Cambridge, 2001); Beatrice Kitzinger, *The Cross, the Gospels and the work of art in the Carolingian age* (Cambridge, 2019).

thus, providing further nuance and qualification to the overly hagiocentric understanding of the general medieval mind that has become so influential.

But, which early medieval mind to turn to? Theodulf of Orléans, commissioner of the church and apse-mosaic that provided fertile ground for Chrétien to fictitiously read saints into its fabric, was also author of a substantial and wide-ranging theological treatise that has proven even more fruitful to the hagiocentric readings of credible modern scholarship: the *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum* (OC). This text, particularly the ideas about holy objects which Theodulf developed within it and, especially, the category of *res sacratae* which he differentiated from all else, will be the primary focus of the following analysis. The justification for this focus is three-fold. First, the OC is the most substantial and wide-ranging theological treatise emanating from the court of Charlemagne. In the Latin West, throughout the early Middle Ages, no other royal court was as active and significant not only in the shaping of Christian belief and praxis across the region, but also in expanding the frontiers of Latin Christianity itself through missionary endeavours.[17] The OC then, provides an invaluable window into the theological ideas percolating at the heart of the regime that, more so than any other, Christianised Europe. Second, the OC has been used as a key buttress to hagiocentric interpretations of Carolingian Christianity. This is especially prominent, for instance, in the works of Patrick Geary.[18] Third, and somewhat tied in to the second point, the OC's ideas about holy and devotional objects, especially surrounding the *res sacratae* category (although not always by that name), which did not include saints' relics, have been, at best overlooked and, at worst, completely misunderstood.[19]

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[17] Richard Fletcher, *The Conversion of Europe: From Paganism to Christianity 371-1386 AD* (London, 1997), pp. 193-195.

[18] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 36-37; Patrick Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, New York, 1994), pp. 165-166. This is not unique to Geary's work, see also: Max Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe A.D. 500 to 900* (Ithaca, New York, 1931, rev. 1966), p. 278.

[19] See Chapter 1. However, it is still pertinent here to point out the key historiography that has given consideration to the OC's *res sacratae*. The most important of these studies, which does observe that saints' relics were not *res sacratae* despite including them, uncritically, in the analysis of that category, is: Celia Chazelle, 'Matter, Spirit and Image in the *Libri Carolini*', *RA* 21 (1986), pp. 163-184. Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 293-294, uses *res sacratae* and refrains from attributing it to saints' relics, restricting its use to the mass prayers, Scripture, and the Ark of the Covenant. This has shades of Kristina Mitalaité, *Philosophie et théologie de l'image dans les Libri Carolini* (Paris, 2007), pp. 423-427, in which Theodulf's terminology of *res sacratae* are replaced by *res sacrae* and sacraments, placing the emphasis on rituals over objects. Earlier, Peter Brown, 'A Dark-Age Crisis: Aspects of the Iconoclastic Controversy', *The English Historical Review* 88 (1973), pp. 8-9, omitted the *res sacratae* label, but described a broader group: mass liturgy, church buildings, figure of the cross and Ark of the Covenant. Other studies that pay attention to Theodulf's *res sacratae* all focus upon saints' relics, despite their exclusion from the category, with Noble even adding churches: David Appleby, 'Holy Relic and Holy Image: Saints' Relics in the Western Controversy over Images in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries', *Word & Image* 8 (1992), pp. 335-336; Thomas Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 2009), p. 214 fn. 36. Other references to the OC's treatment of holy objects generally avoid the *res sacratae* label and, thus, also include saints' relics. However, some at least prioritise the eucharistic elements, the sign of the cross, Scripture and liturgical vessels (although

The *Opus Caroli*, Theodulf and the historiography

In June 794 Charlemagne presided over a grand council of bishops from all corners of his realm at Frankfurt. This diverse cast was supplemented by two Roman bishops, Theophylact and Stephen, sent by Pope Hadrian to observe the Frankish king's great synod. The principal theological disputation of this council centred on a Christological issue emanating from the Spanish frontier of Charlemagne's realm, namely, Adoptionism. Felix, bishop of Urgel in the Pyrenean foothills, had been espousing Adoptionist theology; downplaying the divinity of Christ and presenting him instead as the adopted son of God.[20] The task of doing theological battle with Felix's ideas on the king's behalf principally fell upon his most renowned court intellectual, Alcuin. Felix's heresy had already been condemned twice, indeed once in front of Pope Hadrian himself in 792. It would be condemned again after the staging of a true theological battle between Alcuin and Felix at Aachen in 799. For now, however, Felix's ideas were represented and rebutted in epistolary form, with Charlemagne nonetheless playing the role of *arbiter*.[21] Adoptionism was not the only theological issue on the docket, however. After recording the condemnation of the heresy of Felix at the great council and an out of sequence reference to the death and burial of Queen Fastrada at the nearby abbey of St Alban's in Mainz, the *Annales regni francorum* (ARF) include the following, enigmatic reference:

> The Greeks held a spurious council, which they falsely called the Seventh, concerning the worship of images. It was rejected by the popes.[22]

This reference was subsequently expanded in the revised ARF, produced sometime between 814 and 817:[23]

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their lists omit the Ark of the Covenant) in that order, above saints' relics: Alain Besançon, *The forbidden image: an intellectual history of iconoclasm*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Chicago, Illinois, 2000), p. 152; Jean-Claude Schmitt, 'L'Occident, Nicée II et les images du VIIIᵉ au XIIIᵉ siècle', in François Boespflug and Nicolas Lossky (eds.), *Nicée II: 787-1987: 12 siècles d'images religieuses* (Paris, 1987), p. 274.

[20] John Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West. Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785-820* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1993).

[21] The idea for Charlemagne to act as *arbiter* appears to have been encouraged by the Adoptionist Elipandus of Toledo: Rutger Kramer, 'Adopt, adapt and improve: dealing with the Adoptionist controversy at the court of Charlemagne', in Rob Meens, Dorine van Espelo, Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, Janneke Raaijmakers, Irene van Renswoude and Carine van Rhijn (eds.), *Religious Franks. Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong* (Manchester, 2016), p. 39; Janneke Raaijmakers and Irene van Renswoude, 'The ruler as referee in theological debates: Reccared and Charlemagne', in *Religious Franks. Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms,* pp. 51-71.

[22] *Annales regni francorum*, s.a. 794, trans. Bernard Scholz, *Carolingian Chronicles* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1970), p. 73.

[23] On the reviser's possible identities and revision's dating between the death of Charlemagne (814) and Einhard's *Vita Karoli* (post-817): Wilhelm Wattenbach, Wilhelm Levison and Heinz Löwe, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter. Vorzeit und Karolinger* II (Weimar, 1953), pp. 254-256. However, *Vita Karoli* date remains contested: (825/826) Heinz Löwe, 'Die Entstehungszeit der Vita Karoli Einhards', *DA* 39 (1983), pp. 85-103; (828/829) David Ganz, 'Einhard's Charlemagne: the characterization of greatness', in Joanna

> The synod which had been held a few years earlier in Constantinople under Irene
> and her son Constantine and which they called not only the Seventh but a general
> council was found and declared to be neither the Seventh nor universal and
> rejected as entirely invalid by all.[24]

The earlier Byzantine Synod, which had laid claim to universality, was the Second Council
of Nicaea (hereafter: II Nicaea). At this council, held some seven years earlier, in 787, and
not in Constantinople, but Nicaea, the principal issue under discussion had been the
restoration of images and image-veneration after an iconoclastic interlude. This iconoclastic
break, as II Nicaea presented it, had been initiated by the Emperor Leo III's destruction of
the Chalke Gate Christ and formally implemented at the Council of Hieria in 754.[25] The

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Story (ed.), *Charlemagne: empire and society* (Manchester, 2005), p. 41; (828/829) Hermann Schefer, 'Einhard und die Hofschule', in Hermann Schefer (ed.), *Einhard. Studien zu Leben und Werk* (Darmstadt, 1997), p. 93; Matthias Tischler, *Einharts Vita Karoli. Studien zur Entstehung, Überlieferung und Rezeption* I (Hannover, 2001), pp. 157-168; (823) Karl Krüger, 'Neue Beobachtungen zur Datierung von Einhards Karlsvita', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 32 (1998), pp. 124-145. McKitterick even advocates a pre-817 date: Matthew Innes and Rosamond McKitterick, 'The writing of history', in Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian culture: emulation and innovation* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 204-207; Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 11-14.

[24] *Annales regni francorum*, s.a. 794, trans. Scholz, *Carolingian Chronicles*, p. 73.

[25] Image-veneration in the Byzantine Empire before II Nicaea remains highly contested. The *Horos* of Hieria survives only in excerpts rebutted at II Nicaea. Many the documents in the iconophile *florilegium* presented at II Nicaea survive nowhere else. The is problematic, since II Nicaea sought to present image-veneration as long-established. Paul Speck muddied the waters further, claiming that the surviving Acts of II Nicaea were a ninth-century fabrication. Erich Lamberz dismissed this with reference to fragments from the Latin translation of II Nicaea in the OC. Although arguments are still advanced that challenge the traditional narrative by highlighting mediation of the eighth-century dispute through ninth-century discourse. The classic account of II Nicaea's reliability presents the gradual development of the Byzantine icon-cult from the sixth- to the eighth-century, halted by the iconoclasm of Leo III in the 720s and formalised at the Council of Hieria (754). This is based upon viewing the early Church as aniconic, which has also been challenged. On the traditional view of the early Church as aniconic: Ernst von Dobschütz, *Chistusbilder: Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende* (Leipzig, 1899); Hugo Koch, *Die Altchristliche Bilderfrage nach den Literarischen Quellen* (Göttingen, 1917); Walter Elliger, *Die Stullung der alten Christen zu den Bildern in den ersten vier Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig, 1930); Edwyn Bevan, *Holy Images: An Inquiry into Idolatry and Image-Worship in Ancient Paganism and in Christianity* (London, 1940); Paul Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 1-53; Theodor Klauser, 'Erwägungen zur Entstehung der altchristlichen Kunst', *ZK* 76 (1965), pp. 1-11; Henry Chadwick, *The Early Church* (London, 1967), p. 280; John Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (London, 1970), p. 37; Helmut Feld, *Der Ikonklasmus des Westens* (Leiden, 1990), pp. 2-6; Paul Corby Finney, *The Invisible God: The Earliest Christians on Art* (Oxford, 1994), esp. pp. 7-10. For the counter-argument: Charles Murray, 'Art and the Early Church', *Journal of Theological Studies* 28 (1977), pp. 303-345; Margaret Miles, *Image as Insight: Visual Understanding in Western Christianity and Secular Culture* (Boston, Massachusetts, 1985), pp. 43-48; Robin Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art* (London, 2000), pp. 8-31. For the traditional view of the post-sixth-century growth of the cult of images: Ernst Kitzinger, 'The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8 (1954), pp. 128-129; André Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin: dossier archéologique* (Paris, 1957), pp. 77-91; Brown, 'A Dark-Age Crisis', pp. 10-11; Averil Cameron, 'Images of Authority: Elites and Icons in Late Sixth-Century Byzantium', *Past & Present* 84 (1979), pp. 3-35; Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians*, p. 31. For the late-seventh-century development of the cult of images: John Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 405-424; Leslie Brubaker, 'Icons before Iconoclasm?', *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 45 (1998), pp. 1216-1217 (although Brubaker goes on to suggest that what might truly be characterised as the cult of images was actually born out of the iconoclasm debate itself in the eighth and ninth centuries, pp. 1253-1254); Leslie Brubaker and John Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclastic Era, c. 680-850: A History* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 51-63. For Speck's more extreme arguments: Paul Speck, *Ich bin's nicht, Kaiser Konstantin ist es gewesen* (Bonn, 1990); Paul Speck, 'Die Affäre um Konstantin von Nakoleia. Zum Anfang des Ikonoklasmus', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 88 (1995), pp. 148-154; Paul Speck, *Die Interpolationen in den Akten des Konzils von 787 und die Libri Carolini* (Bonn, 1998); Paul Speck, 'Bilder und

restoration of images at II Nicaea was presided over by the child-emperor, Leo III's great-grandson, Constantine VI and his mother the Empress-Regent Irene. Like Charlemagne's later synod at Frankfurt, there were papal legates in attendance at II Nicaea. Contrary to the claims of the ARF, Pope Hadrian had in fact endorsed the decision of II Nicaea, even supplying a letter to that effect which was read out at the second session of II Nicaea.[26] Indeed, it was via these legates, who had produced a Latin translation of the Acts of II Nicaea for Pope Hadrian, that knowledge of II Nicaea reached Charlemagne.

In the late 780s, Charlemagne's military focus lay on the south-eastern fringes of his territories. He had conquered Lombardy over a decade before, capturing the Lombard capital of Pavia after a siege in 774. Now, however, in the late 780s and into the early 790s, those territorial gains were bringing the Frankish king into increasing tensions with the Bavarian Duke Tassilo III, the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VI (who still held lands in southern Italy) and the mysterious, steppe nomads, the Avars, who had recently settled in Pannonia. His itinerant court was, thus, primarily based in the south-eastern palaces of Worms and Regensburg.[27] While his attentions were focussed, in this way, on or around the Italian peninsula, he encountered the Latin *Acta* of the Greek Church council held in the Bithynian city of Nicaea in 787. The *Acta* were most likely in circulation in Charlemagne's Italian territories. Although they had not come directly from Constantinople as Charlemagne appears to have believed, but via Rome. They were produced for Pope Hadrian by the legates he had sent to II Nicaea. That Charlemagne did not receive these *Acta* directly from Pope Hadrian himself is evident not least in his divergent response. Moreover, if the *Acta* had been sent by Hadrian, they would, presumably, have been accompanied by a cover letter, of which there is no trace in the Carolingian-papal correspondence.

However the *Acta* arrived in his hands, one thing is certain: Charlemagne was outraged. Moral indignation at what, to the Frankish court at least, amounted to idol-worship, was doubtless exacerbated by the political climate, especially the border frictions in Italy. An official rebuttal was needed. The man tasked with the job of crafting this response on behalf of the king was Theodulf of Orléans. A Visigoth, most likely from Zaragoza by way of Narbonne, Theodulf had been recruited to the court of Charlemagne

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Bilderstreit', *Varia VII* 18 (2000), pp. 53-74. For Lamberz' dismissal of Speck's claims: *Concilium universale Nicaenum secundum: Concilii actiones IV-V*, ed. Erich Lamberz (Berlin, 2012), ix. For eighth-century 'iconoclasm' as an invention of II Nicaean- and ninth-century iconodules: Marie-France Auzépy, 'La destruction de l'icône du Christ de la Chalcé par Leon III: Propagande ou réalité?' *Byzantion* 60 (1990), pp. 445-492; Jaś Elsner, 'Iconoclasm as Discourse: From Antiquity to Byzantium', *The Art Bulletin* 94 (2012), pp. 368-394.

[26] *Concilium universale Nicaenum secundum: Concilii actiones I-III*, ed. Erich Lamberz (Berlin, 2008), pp. 119-173.

[27] *Annales regni francorum*, s.a. 786-793, ed. Friedrich Kurze, MGH SrG 6 (Hannover, 1895), pp. 72-94.

in around 780.[28] Theodulf would go on to achieve a position of prominence within the court, no doubt contributing to his rivalry with fellow-high-flyer Alcuin.[29] It is Theodulf's eloquence that Charlemagne appears to have especially valued. Although most evident in his poetry, this way with words was not limited to such compositions.[30] Having been made bishop of Orléans and abbot of Fleury (later St Benoît-sur-Loire) by 798, it was Theodulf's eloquence in public-speaking that earned him the honorary title of archbishop from Pope Leo III after Charlemagne's imperial coronation in Rome on Christmas Day 800.[31]

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[28] Theodulf's Visigothic origins are provided by his poetry. For instance: Theodulf, *Carm. 25* (*Ad Carolum regem*), line 165, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH PLAC 1 (Berlin, 1881), p. 487: 'Quam Geta cum Scotto pia pacis foedera iungat'. For Theodulf's birth in Zaragoza c. 760: Ann Freeman, 'Theodulf of Orléans: A Visigoth at Charlemagne's court', in Jacques Fontaine and Christine Pellistrandi (eds.), *L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne visigothique* (Paris, 1992), p. 185; Charles Cuissard, *Théodulfe évêque d'Orléans. Sa vie et ses oeuvres* (Orléans, 1892), p. 46. His migration into the Carolingian orbit likely occurred in the context of Pippin/Charlemagne's campaigns in northern Iberia. Here, political instability was rife in the 760s/770s. With the collapse of the Umayyad Caliphate, replaced in Iberia by a weakened, Umayyad-ruled emirate of Cordoba under Abd al-Rahman I and exacerbated by Pippin's expansion into Aquitaine and Septimania by 768, local rulers sought to enhance their own positions. In the Pyrenees they turned to Charlemagne, sending emissaries in 777. Charlemagne launched a disastrous campaign into Muslim Iberia (798), failing to siege Zaragoza before being ambushed and humiliatingly defeated by Basque forces at Roncesvalles. Continued instability in the following years led many Christians to migrate to Frankish-controlled lands north of the Pyrenees: Cullen Chandler, *Carolingian Catalonia: Politics, Culture, and Identity in an Imperial Province, 778-987* (Cambridge, 2019), pp. 52-72. Theodulf alludes to this in *Contra iudices*, also reinforcing his Gothic/Iberian roots: Theodulf, *Carm. 28 (Versus Teudulfi episcopi contra iudices)*, lines 137-140, MGH PLAC 1, p. 497: 'Mox sedes, Narbona, tuas urbemque decoram / Tangimus, occurrit quo mihi laeta cohors, / Reliquiae Getici populi, simul Hespera turba / Me consanguineo fit duce laeta sibi.' Theodulf appears to have been part of these migrations, moving to Narbonne by c. 780, whence he was recruited by Charlemagne. Theodulf might have been educated at the nearby monastery of St Benedict at Aniane, since an epitaph – of unknown provenance – describes him as being 'nurtured' (*nutrire*) in Gaul: Alejandra de Riquier, *Theodulfo de Orleans y la epístola poética en literatura carolingia* (Barcelona, 1994), p. 28; Louis Baunard, *Théodulfe, évêque d'Orléans et abbéde Fleury-sur-Loire* (Orléans, 1860), pp. 7-13. On Charlemagne's court-recruitment strategy: Josef Fleckenstein, *Die Bildungsreform Karls des Grossen als Verwirklichung der "norma rectitudinis"* (Ruhr, 1953), p. 18; Josef Fleckenstein, 'Karl der Grosse und seine Hofgelehrten', *FK* I (Mainz, 1997), pp. 33-34; Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms 789-895* (London, 1977), p. 2.

[29] Alcuin joined Charlemagne's court in 782, quickly attaining prominence and especial favour, particularly for his role in the Carolingian reform movement, revising the liturgy and correcting the Bible: Josef Fleckenstein, 'Alcuin im Kreis der Hofgelehrten Karls des Grossen', in Paul Butzer and Dietrich Lohrmann (eds.), *Science in Western and Eastern Civilization in Carolingian Times* (Basel, 1993), p. 4; Cyrille Vogel, 'La réforme liturgique sous Charlemagne', in Bernard Bischoff (ed.), *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben* II: *Das Geistige Leben* (Düsseldorf, 1965), p. 227; Bonifatius Fischer, 'Bibeltext und Bibelreform unter Karl dem Grossen', in Bernard Bischoff (ed.), *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben* II: *Das Geistige Leben* (Düsseldorf, 1965), p. 159.

[30] Through his poetry, Theodulf shone as one of the brightest lights at court. While his earliest datable poems are all from the mid-790s, their nature – epitaphs for Queen Fastrada (d. 794) and Pope Hadrian (d. 795) and a poem praising Charlemagne's victory over the Avars (795) – indicate that he had already achieved considerable notoriety. Thus, his aptitude for poetry must have been sufficiently demonstrated through the 780s: Theodore Andersson, Åslaug Ommundsen and Leslie MacCoull, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse* (Tempe, Arizona, 2014), pp. 2-3.

[31] 798 date based on reference to Theodulf as bishop in: Alcuin, *Ep. 149*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Epp. 4 (Berlin, 1895), pp. 243-244. For earlier dates: Baunard, *Théodulfe, évêque d'Orléans*, pp. 39-40; Cuissard, *Théodulfe évêque d'Orléans*, pp. 62-64. General acceptance of 798: Andersson, Ommundsen and MacCoull, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, p. 3. Theodulf's appointment follows the same pattern of the other court intellectuals recruited in the 770s and 780s: McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 301 (although there is a typo in the date given for Theodulf's appointment here – '788' – which is evident from the correct date of pre-798 being given on p. 348). For Theodulf's simultaneous appointment as abbot of Fleury: Ann Freeman and Paul Meyvaert, 'The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés', *Gesta* 40 (2001), p. 125; de Riquier, *Theodulfo de Orleans y la epístola poética en literatura carolingia*, pp. 39-40; Baunard, *Théodulfe, évêque d'Orléans*, pp. 39-40. On 25th April 799, Pope Leo III was brutally attacked and imprisoned in an attempted coup: *Liber Pontificalis*, 98: *Leo*

Assiduous in his promotion of the reform ideals he had helped to shape whilst a member of the court, Theodulf established schools across his diocese, developed a scriptorium to produce his own recension of the Bible and penned a range of treatises designed to aid the parish priests, from his *De ordine baptismi* – drafted c. 812 in response to Charlemagne's baptismal inquiry – to his widely reproduced and imitated episcopal statutes.[32] His fortunes having been so closely linked to Charlemagne, Theodulf's fall from grace swiftly followed from Charlemagne's death in 814. In 817 Bernard of Italy attempted a rebellion against Louis. Theodulf was accused of complicity and exiled from his bishopric in 818 to see out the rest of his days imprisoned in Angers, dying in around 821. It was from this cell that, according to an apocryphal tale, he composed the hymn *Gloria laus et honor*, the best known of all his works.[33]

Theodulf had begun work on the OC by 790.[34] This early stage in the composition of the text is, however, known by a different name: the *Capitulare adversus synodum* (CAS). The work itself is not transmitted independently; its editorial name comes from Pope Hadrian's reply, in which the 85 chapter-headings are preserved. Judging from Hadrian's

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III, in Raymond Davis, trans. *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis)* (Liverpool, 1992), pp. 184-187. Theodulf also referred to these events in: Theodulf, *Carm. 32 (Ad regem)*, MGH PLAC 1, pp. 523-524. The pope fled Rome to petition Charlemagne, who came to the rescue, restoring Leo and, in return, receiving the imperial title. Theodulf was part of Charlemagne's entourage when he travelled to Rome. He also played an important role in the pope's reinstatement, acting as his advocate before the Roman crowds, for which, according to a letter from Alcuin, he received the honorary title of archbishop: Alcuin, *Ep. 225*, MGH Epp. 4, pp. 368-369.

[32] His embodiment of the Carolingian ideals of *emendatio* and *correctio* was also reflected in his activities as a *missus* to Provence in 798. In this role, he proved himself a staunch opponent of corruption, penning a poem lambasting the ubiquity of bribes in the legal system, and as an advocate of less punitive judicial punishments: Theodulf, *Carm. 28 (Versus Teudulfi episcopi contra iudices)*, MGH PLAC 1, pp. 493-517; Pierre Riché, *Daily Life in the World of Charlemagne*, trans. Jo Ann McNamara (Liverpool, 1978), pp. 253, 260. *Correctio* and *emendatio* were used in Carolingian legislation to refer to the program by which Carolingian rulers, especially Charlemagne, sought to reform church and state in order to bring about the salvation of as many souls as possible: Giles Brown, 'Introduction: the Carolingian Renaissance', in Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian culture: emulation and innovation* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 1-28. On Theodulf's establishment of schools in the diocese: Baunard, *Théodulfe, évêque d'Orléans*, pp. 56-70. There is a debate as to whether Theodulf's scriptorium was located Orléans or St-Mesmin-de-Micy. Bischoff situates the production of Theodulf's Bibles in Orléans, while Ganz opts for St-Mesmin-de-Micy: Bernhard Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, trans. Michael Gorman (Cambridge, 1994, repr. 2007), pp. 31-32; David Ganz, 'Mass production of early medieval manuscripts: the Carolingian Bibles from Tours', in Richard Gameson (ed.), *The Early Medieval Bible. Its Production, Decoration and Use* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 53. On Theodulf's Bible: Fischer, 'Bibeltext und Bibelreform', pp. 175-183. Theodulf's *De ordine baptismi,* although addressed to Magnus of Sens, responded to Charlemagne's inquiry (c. 812) and survives in at least 24 medieval manuscripts: Theodulf, *De ordine baptismi*, in Susan Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*, II: *Editions of the Texts* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 2002), pp. 279-321. Theodulf's 'first' episcopal statutes survive in at least 45 medieval manuscripts and were likely a catalyst for other bishops to produce similar statutes: Carine van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period* (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 32-36; Theodulf of Orléans, *Erstes Kapitular*, ed. Peter Brommer, MGH Capit. episc. 1 (Hannover, 1984), pp. 73-142.

[33] Theodulf, *Carm. 69 (Versus facti ut a pueris in die palmarum cantarentur)*, MGH PLAC 1, pp. 558-559. For the apocryphal story of this composition: Andersson, Ommundsen and MacCoull, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, pp. 161-162.

[34] In the OC preface, Theodulf refers to II Nicaea (787) as having taken place three years before: OC, *Praefatio*, p. 100.

reply, we can infer that the chapters were prefaced by the introduction that would become the OC's and then divided into two sections of 60 and 25 chapters, respectively.[35] Hadrian's response to the CAS was discovered by Karl Hampe in 1895.[36] It survives in the late-ninth-century Vat. Lat. 3827.[37] Initially, Hadrian's letter was thought to be a response to the OC itself, however, the work of Karl Hampe, Wolfram von den Steinen and, more recently, Ann Freeman, has put such claims to rest, allowing us to see this early stage in the OC's production represented in the CAS and Hadrian's reply.[38] An opportunity to send the CAS to Rome in order, Charlemagne must have thought, to secure papal censure of II Nicaea, arose early in 792. Angilbert, preparing to take Felix of Urgel to Rome to confess and recant his Adoptionist ideas before Pope Hadrian, was also tasked with taking a manuscript of the CAS to Rome.[39] Before sending the CAS to Rome, the king gathered his clergy to discuss their response to II Nicaea.[40]

Once the CAS had been sent to Rome, Theodulf began revising, rearranging and supplementing the CAS chapters to form what we now know as the OC. Certain shackles were now removed, however, as Theodulf could take issue with the statements made in Pope Hadrian's own letter to II Nicaea, which had been read out at the second session.[41]

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[35] Wolfram von den Steinen identified textual connections between the OC *Praefatio* and Hadrian's response to the CAS: Wolfram von den Steinen, 'Entstehungsgeschichte der Libri Carolini', *QFIAB* 21 (1929-30), pp. 46-47.

[36] Karl Hampe, 'Hadrians I. Vertheidigung der zweiten nicaenischen Synode gegen die Angriffe Karls des Grossen', *NA* 21 (1896), pp. 83-114. Hampe subsequently produced the MGH edition: Pope Hadrian I, *Ep. 2*, ed. Karl Hampe, MGH Epp. 5 (Berlin, 1899), pp. 5-57.

[37] Vat. Lat. 3827, ff. 49r-70v. Incidentally, it is followed in this manuscript, without separation, by Theodulf's first episcopal statutes, ff. 70v-74v.

[38] The claim that Hadrian responded to an intermediate stage in the OC's production, represented by the CAS, was initially Hampe's. It received strong resistance from Bastgen, who claimed that Hadrian responded directly to OC. Von den Steinen supported Hampe's position, but Bastgen's influence as editor of the original MGH edition of the LC, supplied his counter-argument with enough oxygen to keep the embers burning through the twentieth century. Thanks to Ann Freeman, however, Hampe's original claims have gained general acceptance: Hampe, 'Hadrians I. Vertheidigung der zweiten nicaenischen Synode gegen die Angriffe Karls des Grossen', pp. 84-102; von den Steinen, 'Entstehungsgeschichte der Libri Carolini', pp. 1-11; Ann Freeman, 'Carolingian Orthodoxy and the Fate of the Libri Carolini', *Viator* 16 (1985), pp. 68-75. For the direct OC response argument: Hubert Bastgen, 'Das Capitulare Karls d. Gr. Über die Bilder oder die sogenenannten Libri Carolini III', *NA* 37 (1912) pp. 475-490; Girolamo Arnaldi, 'La questione dei "Libri Carolini"', *La cultura* 17 (1979), pp. 3-19; Gervais Dumeige, *Nicée II* (Paris, 1978), p. 155. An alternate argument posits that Hadrian's letter responded to the CAS, but that the CAS was compiled after the OC: Albert Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* II (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 324-331.

[39] Angilbert's journey is recorded in the ARF, but CAS is not mentioned: *Annales regni francorum*, s.a. 792, MGH SrG 6, p. 90: 'Heresis Feliciana primo ibi condempnata est; quem Angilbertus ad praesentiam Adriani apostolici adduxit, et confessione facta suam heresim iterum abdicavit.'

[40] Angilbert taking the CAS to Rome is testified by the Paris Libellus of 825, which dealing once again with the Byzantine image question, recalled the earlier debate: *Concilium Parisiense*, ed. Albert Werminghoff, MGH Conc. 2.2 (Hannover, 1908), p. 481: 'Eandem porro synodum cum sanctae memoriae genitor vester coram se suisque perlegi fecisset et multis in locis, ut dignum erat, reprehendisset et quaedam capitula, quae reprehensioni patebant, praenotasset eaque per Angilbertum abbatem eidem Hadriano papae direxisset, ut illius iudicio et auctoritate corrigerentur, ipse rursus favendo illis, qui eius instinctu tam superstitiosa tamque incongrua testimonia memorato operi inseruerant, per singula capitula in illorum excusationem respondere quae voluit, non tamen quae decuit conatus est.'

[41] Freeman, 'Carolingian Orthodoxy and the Fate of the Libri Carolini', pp. 81-83.

But Theodulf faced a significant task: producing a coherent, ordered argument from the disorder of the CAS. Initially, this task must have been undertaken by Theodulf alone, inscribing his own Visigothic orthography upon *schedae* which he could continue to rearrange until the time came to compile these loose chapters into a single manuscript. At this point, Theodulf then worked with a single scribe to copy and compile the OC into Vat. Lat. 7207.[42]

Vat. Lat. 7207 now comprises 193 folia, with dimensions of 317mm x 220mm and a written space of 237mm x 140mm, divided into 25 quires. The primary scribe (Hand 1) produced a graceful early Caroline minuscule script; four subsequent minuscule scripts were employed by additional scribes (Hands 2-5) likely trained in the same scriptorium, but less skilful than Hand 1.[43] A four-book structure was chosen, with around 30 chapters in each book. However, Vat. Lat. 7207 does not transmit the entire OC. Instead, the text preserved in Vat. Lat. 7207 starts part way through OC I 1 and continues as far as the end of Book III.[44] Our sole witness to the entire text is, therefore, a mid-ninth century copy produced under the instruction of Hincmar of Reims (a. 854-882): Arsenal 663. This is a direct copy from Vat. Lat. 7207 made before the losses, composed of 244 folia split unevenly across 35 quires, with dimensions of 295mm x 207mm and a written space of 230mm x 131mm. The more than 20 Hands involved in its production change in accordance with the quire structure of Vat. Lat. 7207.[45] It is also from this manuscript that we get the modern title of the OC, which is abbreviated from the lengthier title given on f. 1r in alternating lines of red and green rustic capitals:

> IN NOMINE DOMINI ET SALVATORIS NOSTRI IESUS CHRISTI INCIPIT
> OPVS INLVSTRISSIMI ET EXCELLENTISSIMI SEV SPECTABILIS VIRI
> CAROLI NVTV DEI REGIS FRANCORVM GALLIAS GERMANIA
> ITALIAMQVE SIVE HARVM FINITIMAS PROVINTIAS DNO
> OPITVLANTE REGENTIS CONTRA SYNODVM QVE IN PARTIBVS

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[42] There are five identifiable hands in Vat. Lat. 7207. However, Hand 1 appears to be responsible for the initial stage of production, before a team of scribes (Hands 2-5) were drafted in during a major revision of the OC.

[43] Ann Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', in Ann Freeman (ed.), *Theodulf of Orléans: Charlemagne's Spokesman against the Second Council of Nicaea* (Aldershot, 2003), p. 56.

[44] Vat. Lat. 7207, ff. 3r, 191v-192r. Although the text on ff. 3r, 191v-192r was re-written in a fourteenth-century German hand, presumably at the Abbey of Marienfield, Westfalia, based on the thirteenth-century library mark on f. 1v: 'Liber Campi sancte marie seruanti benedictio'.

[45] Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra syndoum*: An Introduction', pp. 102-103; Hubert Bastgen, 'Das Capitulare Karls d. Gr. Über die Bilder oder die sogenenannten Libri Carolini II', *NA* 37 (1912), p. 33.

GRAETIAE PRO ADORANDIS IMAGINIBVS STOLIDE SIVE
ARROGANTER GESTA EST.[46]

The structure Theodulf devised to organise his critique of II Nicaea centred upon the primary rhetorical theme of the OC: sound interpretation of Scripture.[47] To this end, after four chapters directly critiquing the Byzantine Emperor Constantine and the Empress Regent Irene for the letter they had addressed to II Nicaea (OC I 1-4) and two chapters outlining the importance of Scripture (OC I 5) and of papal authority (OC I 6), the remainder of Book I and the first half of Book II were devoted to chapters disputing II Nicaea's interpretation of a string of biblical passages (OC I 7-30, OC II 1-12).[48] This was then followed by a similar treatment of patristic passages (OC II 13-25).[49] Book II was then closed out by chapters chastising II Nicaea for equating images with objects worthily at the heart of Christian worship – the *res sacratae* (OC II 26-30) – and a final chapter, disrupting the 30 chapters to a book pattern, advocating respect for one's forbears (OC II 31). Book III began with a confession of faith and criticism of the II Nicaean confession (OC III 1-10). The remainder of Books III and IV were then more loosely organised, constituting a more general censure of II Nicaean statements, largely following their order at the Greek council.

Whatever the exact structure Theodulf intended, at some point while the Hand 1 scribe was copying up Book III from Theodulf's *schedae*, a major editorial intervention occurred. The main intervention involved the discarding of all but one of Hand 1's Book II quires. These were replaced with new quires supplied by the Hand 2-4 scribes. The new Book II chapters, while retaining the same titles and number of chapters, are substantially shorter than other OC chapters, suggesting that the primary change was an abridgement of Theodulf's text rather than a total restructuring or a change in the selection of themes

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[46] Arsenal 663, f. 1r.

[47] Åslaug Ommundsen, 'The Liberal Arts and the Polemic Strategy of the Opus Caroli Regis Contra Synodum (Libri Carolini)', *Symbolae Osloenses* 77 (2002), pp. 175-200; Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, pp. 208-209.

[48] As will be shown in Chapter 3, I believe that OC I 7 and 8 might also have been considered by Theodulf to be introductory in a similar fashion to OC I 5 and 6, setting out one of the key ideas underpinning the OC argument – the matter-spirit separation and the nature of image, likeness and equality – through an analysis of Genesis 1:26. For the more traditional interpretation: Hampe, 'Hadrians I. Vertheidigung der zweiten nicaenischen Synode gegen die Angriffe Karls des Grossen', p. 96.

[49] Hampe limits the patristic analysis to OC II 13-20, with OC II 21-25 being characterised as more general. However, OC II 25 is evidently a mini-conclusion to the patristic analysis, while OC II 23, which was, in the CAS, combined into a single chapter with OC II 24, deals with a specific patristic authority: Gregory the Great. OC II 21 could also be characterised as a summary of the preceding chapters, leaving only OC II 22 as not specifically dealing with a patristic authority. Hampe, 'Hadrians I. Vertheidigung der zweiten nicaenischen Synode gegen die Angriffe Karls des Grossen', p. 96.

addressed.[50] Although the editing appears to have been less severe in Book III itself, part of the decline in quality evident in the work of the Hand 1 scribe from around f. 122 includes an increase in crossing out and erasures carried out with less care than had been the case in Book I.[51] Although, in many of these instances, the new text written over the erasure was compressed, suggesting that they were longer than the erased text they replaced.[52] The quality of Hand 1's initials, however, does not decline in grandeur and quality until after the 'I' on f. 145r.[53] That the interventions in Book III were less substantial, however, likely supports Freeman's suggestion that whoever the influential figure behind Book II's abridgment was, they made their mark swiftly before ceasing involvement in the continued production of the OC.[54]

As to who could have been behind this intervention, there are a couple of candidates who arrived at court in 793. The ARF entry for 793 records the arrival of papal emissaries bearing gifts.[55] While no mention is made of Hadrian's letter being among these gifts, it would be a reasonable assumption that it was. The papal emissaries themselves, however, likely lacked the relevant influence to implement the scale of changes carried out on Book II and Hadrian neither responded specifically to Book II nor to the style of Theodulf's writing in the OC, which appears to have been the main target of this Book II abridgement. The demoralisation that might have been caused by the pope's response could also have been anticipated earlier upon the return of Angilbert, who had surely been made aware of the pope's approval of II Nicaea. Alcuin also returned from England in 793.[56] He was certainly a figure with prominence at court sufficient to implement the scale of Book II's curtailment. He had also taken an interest in II Nicaea, having had the Latin

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[50] Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', pp. 54-60. Apart from the final quire, containing Book II Chapters 30 and 31, Hand 1's Book II quires do not survive. However, the abridgement of the chapters is especially evident when the length of the revised Book II chapters is compared with that of the other chapters of the OC, as highlighted by Freeman. Nonetheless, this was primarily an abridgement and likely did not impinge upon Theodulf's overall structure or themes addressed, as the Book II chapter titles mostly remained consistent with the earlier CAS. Furthermore, OC II 30 and 31 did not need to be renumbered, which would have been necessary, of course, if the number of chapters in Book II had been changed at this stage.

[51] Erasures: Vat. Lat. 7207, ff. 122v, 124r-125r, 128r-129r. Lengthy crossing out: Vat. Lat. 7207, ff. 125v-126r.

[52] E.g.: Vat. Lat. 7207, ff. 128r-129r.

[53] Freeman suggests that initial quality is the best indicator of Hand 1's demoralised decline. However, there is a delay between the decline in the neatness of the text and the decline in the initials. Also, Hand 5's involvement occurs in between the decline in the text and in the initials: Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', p. 55.

[54] Ibid., p. 59.

[55] *Annales regni francorum*, s.a. 793, MGH SrG 6, pp. 92-93: 'Rex autumnali tempore de Reganesburg iter navigio faciens usque ad fossatum magnum inter Alemana et Radantia pervenit, ibique missi tecta fuisset, ipse ob meritum fidei servatae monasterio sancti Dionysii donatus est, auctores vero coniurationis ut rei maiestatis partim gladio caesi, partim patibulis suspensi ob meditatum scelus tali morte multati sunt.'

[56] Donald Bullough, 'Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven: Liturgy, Theology, and the Carolingian Age', in Uta-Renate Blumenthal (ed.), *Carolingian Essays* (Washington, DC, 1983), p. 34.

translation sent to him, while in England in 792 and writing a letter to Charlemagne rejecting II Nicaea.[57] The problem with Alcuin, however, is that he did not, as far as we know, physically leave the scene again. Nonetheless, it is possible that, if Alcuin was responsible for this intervention, he then re-focussed his attentions away from alterations to Theodulf's OC and towards the preparations for the upcoming Synod of Frankfurt and the Adoptionist issue.

One of the most enigmatic features of Vat. Lat. 7207 are a series of Tironian *notae* distributed through the manuscript's margins. Each *nota* is associated with the erasure of a minuscule marginal remark. Debate over the function of the Tironian *notae* focussed upon their relationship with these erasures, deciphered under UV-light. The most compelling and widely accepted conclusion is that originally advocated by Wolfram von den Steinen: these are records of Charlemagne's comments upon the OC that were painstakingly transformed into their current form as part of the manuscript's preparations for archiving.[58] These *notae*, or rather the erased marginal comments they replaced, therefore testify to a reading of the OC completed in Charlemagne's presence. One must assume, however, that this reading occurred prior to the Council of Frankfurt in June 794. Although II Nicaea was discussed and rejected at Frankfurt, the official record suggests that the discussion on that occasion was limited to the unanimous rejection of the (alleged) Greek equation of adoration of images to adoration of the Trinity.[59] As seen above, the ARF account is similarly sparse, noting merely that II Nicaea was rejected, especially its claims of universality and of being

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[57] *York Annals*, s.a. 792, MGH SS 13 (Hannover, 1881), p. 155: 'Karolus rex Francorum misit sinodalem librum ad Britanniam sibi a Constantinopoli directum. In quo libro, heu pro dolor! multa inconvenientia et verae fidei contraria reperientes, maxime quod pene omnium orientalium doctorum non minus quam trecentorum vel eo amplius episcoporum unanima assertione confirmatum, imagines adorare debere, quod omnino ecclesia Dei execratur. Contra quod scripsit Albinus epistolam ex auctoritate divinarum scripturarum mirabiliter affirmatam illamque cum eodem libro et persona episcoporum ac principium nostrorum regi Francorum attulit.' On Alcuin's activities in England, 790-793: Donald Bullough, 'Alcuin before Frankfurt', *FK* II, pp. 580-582.

[58] Wolfram von den Steinen, 'Karl der Grosse und die Libri Carolini. Die tironischen Randnoten zum Codex Authenticus', *NA* 49 (1932), pp. 207-280. Tangl had already identified these as official judgements, but with Charlemagne directly: Michael Tangl, 'Die Tironischen Noten der Vatikanischen Handschrift der Libri Carolini', *NA* 36 (1911), p. 753. Bischoff (in correspondence with Freeman) expressed support for von den Steinen, motivating Freeman's study of the accompanying erasures under UV-light: Ann Freeman, 'Further Studies in the Libri Carolini III: The Marginal Notes in Vaticanus Latinus 7207', *Speculum* 46 (1971), pp. 597-612. Opposition to von den Steinen: Arthur Mentz, 'Die Tironischen Noten: Eine Geschichte der römischen Kurzschrift', *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 17 (1942), pp. 261-263; Heinrich Fichtenau, 'Karl der Grosse und das Kaisertum', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 61 (1953), pp. 276-287; Heinrich Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire,* trans. Peter Munz (Oxford, 1968), p. 30; Liutpold Wallach, *Diplomatic Studies in Latin and Greek Documents from the Carolingian Age* (Ithaca, New York, 1977), pp. 272-286.

[59] *Concilium Francofurtense*, ed. Albert Werminghoff, MGH Conc. 2.1 (Hannover, 1906), p. 165: 'Allata est in medio questio de nova Grecorum synodo, quam de adorandis imaginibus Constantinopolim fecerunt, in qua scriptum habebatur, ut qui imagines sanctorum ita ut deificam trinitatem servitio aut adorationem non inpenderent, anathema iudicaverunt: qui supra sanctissimi patres nostri omnimodis adorationem et servitutem rennuentes contempserunt atque consentientes condempnaverunt.'

the Seventh general council.[60] Doubtless, the discussion at Frankfurt was muted by the presence of papal envoys: their presence would surely have prohibited the OC having been read and commented upon so approvingly at that council. Papal support for II Nicaea must also have motivated the archiving of the OC around this same time.[61]

The medieval manuscript dissemination of the OC is limited.[62] In addition to Vat. Lat. 7207 and the above-mentioned Arsenal 663, the only other surviving medieval manuscript of the OC is a single fly-leaf fragment: BnF Lat. 12125, f. 157. It was produced at Corbie in the mid-ninth century. It transmits only a single leaf, preserving OC I 12 and OC I 13. The heading of OC I 13, however, demonstrates the impressive quality of this manuscript copy with its capitals in alternating lines of red and green. It appears to have remained intact up to at least 1200, being referenced as '*codex Karoli magni*' in a Corbie catalogue of around that date.[63] Testimony of medieval readership is similarly limited. Hincmar, who presided over the creation of the Arsenal 663 copy, claimed to have read the OC in his youth.[64] After Hincmar, however, the OC becomes silent in the historical record until the fifteenth century, when Nicholas of Cusa recalled reading the Arsenal 663 copy, then held in the library of Laon cathedral.[65] A 1481 Vatican inventory also refers to another now lost medieval manuscript, which Freeman surmises to have been copied from Vat. Lat. 7207.[66]

With the reformation, however, interest in the OC intensified. This included references to now lost medieval or early modern manuscripts. Johann Heigerlin cited the OC frequently in his *Malleus in haeresim Lutheranam* (Cologne, 1524) and recounted his having received a manuscript of the OC from a Roman cardinal.[67] Meanwhile, when Girolamo Aleander, once the Vatican librarian and later a cardinal, died in 1542, a record of the books known to be missing from his Roman library included a '*Liber Caroli Magni contra*

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[60] *Annales regni francorum*, s.a. 794, trans. Scholz, *Carolingian Chronicles*, p. 73.

[61] Paul Meyvaert, 'Medieval Notions of Publication: The "Unpublished" *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum* and the Council of Frankfort (794)', *JML* 12 (2002), pp. 85-86.

[62] It is hard to argue otherwise, particularly in light of the popularity of Theodulf's other works, most notably his episcopal statutes and *De ordine baptismi*. Nonetheless, Mitalaité offers an intriguing suggestion in an attempt to account for the 'unpublished' status of the OC. First, she rejects the notion that the OC had a limited manuscript dissemination when compared to other similar theological tracts, such as Alcuin's *Adversus Felicem* (2 manuscripts) or *Adversus Elipandum* (4 manuscripts). Second, she suggests that Theodulf's name in the Synod of Paris in 825 (and thus the OC) was deliberately suppressed because of his fall from grace under Louis the Pious in 817/818: Mitalaité, *Philosophie et théologie de l'image dans les Libri Carolini*, pp. 37-38.

[63] Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', pp. 106-107.

[64] Freeman, 'Carolingian Orthodoxy and the Fate of the *Libri Carolini*', pp. 96-99.

[65] Rudolf Schieffer, 'Nikolaus von Kues als Leser Hinkmars von Reims', in Helmut Wolff (ed.), *Studien zum 15. Jahrhundert. Festschrift für Erich Meuthen* I (Munich, 1994), p. 352.

[66] Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', pp. 107-108.

[67] Ibid., pp. 108-109.

Constantinum et Hirenen Imperatores, latine scriptus.[68] Neither of these manuscripts survive, however, perhaps owing to the OC's being placed on the Catholic Church's *libri prohibiti* list by 1550.[69] It was around this time also that the first edition of the OC was printed. Jean du Tillet, following a commission by Francis I published the *editio princeps* of the OC in Paris in 1549.[70] He based his text upon Arsenal 663, which he had previously shared with his friend Jean Calvin, who read and used the OC in his own works.[71] Until the twentieth century, all subsequent editions derived from du Tillet's.[72]

Over the course of the twentieth and twenty-first century, three editions have been produced. Two of these are complete editions based on the two principal manuscripts of the OC: Vat. Lat. 7207 and Arsenal 663. The first of these was Hubert Bastgen's MGH edition of 1924.[73] The edition which most closely follows these manuscripts, however, is Ann Freeman's MGH edition published in 1998.[74] This is generally considered the definitive edition of the OC and, indeed, has cemented the shift from *Libri Carolini* (as in Bastgen) to *Opus Caroli*.[75] Freeman's is the principal edition I will be using throughout this study and hence also I will employ the abbreviation OC rather than LC (except when referring specifically to Bastgen's edition). Acceptance of Freeman's edition has been almost universal. However, Liutpold Wallach, a vociferous critic of Freeman's OC scholarship more broadly, began to produce his own edition of the OC (or, as he remained insistent upon calling it, the LC). This incomplete edition was published after his death in 2017.[76]

Wallach's animus towards Freeman was engendered by their long-running disagreement in one of the major areas of debate in the twentieth-century OC scholarship. The search for the OC's author had its roots in the Protestant-Catholic polemic over the

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[68] Ibid., pp. 109-112.

[69] Bastgen, 'Das Capitulare Karls d. Gr. über die Bilder oder die sogenenannten Libri Carolini II', p. 20.

[70] Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra syndoum*: An Introduction', pp. 112-119.

[71] James Payton, 'Calvin and the Libri Carolini', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 18 (1997), pp. 467-480; Derek Wilson, *Charlemagne: Barbarian & Emperor* (London, 2006), p. 175.

[72] Bastgen, 'Das Capitulare Karls d. Gr. Über die Bilder oder die sogenenannten Libri Carolini II', pp. 24-29: Melchior Goldast, *Imperialia decreta de cultu imaginum* (Frankfurt, 1608); Philippus Pareus, *De imaginibus sacris veterum christianorum principum...* (Frankfurt, 1628); Christoph August Heumann, *Augusta Concilii Nicaenii II. Censura, hoc est Caroli Magni de impio imaginum cultu libri IV* (Hannover, 1731); Jacques-Paul Migne, PL 98 (1862). Hubert Bastgen, 'Das Capitulare Karls d. Gr. Über die Bilder oder die sogenenannten Libri Carolini II', *NA* 37 (1912) pp. 24-29.

[73] Hubert Bastgen (ed.), *Libri Carolini*, MGH Conc. 2 Supplementum (Hannover, 1924) [Hereafter = LC]. Freeman demonstrates doubts, however, over the extent to which Bastgen followed Vat. Lat. 7207 and even, Arsenal 663, suggesting that he had based his text on du Tillet's edition: Ann Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', p. 121.

[74] Ann Freeman (ed.), *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum (Libri Carolini)*, MGH Conc. 2 Supplementum 1 (Hannover, 1998) [Hereafter = OC].

[75] Thomas Noble, 'From the *Libri Carolini* to the *Opus Caroli Regis*', *JML* 9 (1999), pp. 131-147.

[76] Liutpold Wallach (ed.), 'Libri Carolini Sive Opus Caroli Magni Contra Synodum Auctore Alcuino Recensuit et Notis Instruxit', *Illinois Classical Studies* 42 (2017), pp. 319-468.

authenticity of the text. Amid Catholic protestations of forgery, the identification of an author was of paramount importance.[77] The first recorded claim for Alcuin's authorship came from Georg Cassander.[78] Doubts were raised against Alcuin's authorship, but, initially, these were not able to coalesce behind an alternative candidate.[79] As such, Alcuin's authorship became widely accepted, ultimately being cemented by Bastgen's endorsment in his LC edition.[80] The suggestion of Theodulf was first advocated by Hans von Schubert in 1921.[81] Von Schubert found support from Arthur Allgeier, who analysed the links between the OC's psalm citations and their form in the old Spanish psalter.[82] Although Allgeier's analysis received a stern rebuke from Donatien de Bruyne on the grounds that many of the psalm citations he had included were actually copied indirectly from the *Liber de divinis scripturis*, the Theodulfian camp gained the significant support of Wolfram von den Steinen.[83] That being said, the influence of Bastgen ensured that Alcuin's authorship remained prominent in the early twentieth century.[84] Through the second half of the twentieth century, however, Theodulf's authorship became firmly established through the research of Ann Freeman.[85] By the time she produced her edition of the OC in 1998, Theodulf's authorship appeared almost unquestioned.[86] Freeman's main opponent and the

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[77] Although August Reifferscheidt's discovery of Vat. Lat. 7207 in 1865 was what really proved such claims of Protestant forgery untenable: August Reifferscheidt, 'De Vaticano Librorum Carolinorum codice narratio', *Index scholarum in Universitate litterarum Vratislavensi* (1873/1874). Similar doubts surrounded Canon II of the Council of Frankfurt (794), which described a brief discussion of II Nicaea at Frankfurt and which Jean du Tillet had included in his 1549 edition of the OC. These, however, were dismissed by André Duchesne's publishing of the Frankfurt Canons in 1617: Hermann Josef Sieben, 'Das Frankfurter Konzil (794) in theologischen Auseinandersetzungen des 16.-18. Jahrhunderts', *FK* I, p. 418.

[78] Georg Cassander, 'Epistula 19', in *Cassandri Georgii opera omnia* (Paris, 1616), p. 1103.

[79] Karl Werner, *Alcuin und sein Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur chrstlich-theologischen Literägeschichte* (Paderborn, 1876), pp. 52-53; Hampe, 'Hadrians I. Vertheidigung der zweiten nicaenischen Synode', p. 101; Charles Gaskoin, *Alcuin: his life and his works* (Cambridge, 1904), p. 74.

[80] Carl Joseph von Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte* III (Freiburg, 1877), pp. 694-698; Bastgen, 'Das Capitulare Karls d. Gr. Über die Bilder oder die sogenenannten Libri Carolini III', pp. 491-533; LC, p. 27 n. 3.

[81] Hans von Schubert, *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche im Frühmittelalter. Ein Handbuch* (Tübingen, 1921), p. 386.

[82] Arthur Allgeier, 'Psalmenzitate und die Frage nach der Herkunft der Libri Carolini', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 46 (1926), pp. 333-353.

[83] Donatien de Bruyne, 'La composition des Libri Carolini', *RB* 44 (1932), pp. 227-234; von den Steinen, 'Entstehungsgeschichte der Libri Carolini', p. 72.

[84] Joseph de Ghellinck, *Littérature latine au moyen âge* (Paris, 1939), p. 95; François Ganshof, 'La révision de la Bible par Alcuin', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 9 (1947), p. 16. Others remained on the fence, being largely unconvinced by the Alcuinian or Theodulfian arguments: Wilhelm Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), p. 112; Gert Haendler, *Epochen karolingischer Theologie. Eine Untersuchung über die karolingischen Gutachten zum byzantinischen Bilderstreit* (Berlin, 1958), pp. 32-33; Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire*, p. 30 n. 3.

[85] The most important studies produced by Freeman which conclusively establish Theodulf's authorship of the OC are collected in: Ann Freeman (ed.), *Theodulf of Orléans: Charlemagne's Spokesman against the Second Council of Nicaea* (Aldershot, 2003). For Theodulf's authorship in particular, the most important works included in this volume are: Ann Freeman, 'Theodulf of Orléans and the *Libri Carolini*', *Speculum* 32 (1957), pp. 663-705; Ann Freeman, 'Theodulf of Orléans and the Psalm Citations of the *Libri Carolini*', *RB* 97 (1987), pp. 195-224.

[86] Elisabeth Dahlhaus-Berg, *Nova antiquitas et antiqua novitas. Typologische Exegese und isidorianisches Geschichtsbild bei Theodulf v. Orleans* (Köln, 1975), pp. 169-180; Paul Meyvaert, 'The Authorship of the Libri Carolini. Observations Prompted by a Recent Book', *RB* 89 (1979), pp. 29-57; Hans Georg Thümmel, 'Die Fränkische Reaktion auf das 2. Nicaenum 787 in den »Libri Carolini«', *FK* II, p. 967; Mitalaité, *Philosophie et théologie de l'image dans les Libri Carolini*, p. 11 n. 2; Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, pp. 1-2. In addition to

main proponent of Alcuin's authorship in more recent scholarship was Liutpold Wallach; as Theodulf's authorship became more widely accepted, the Wallach-Freeman dispute became increasingly bitter and personal.[87] Despite the continued resistance from the Wallach camp, it is clear that Theodulf's authorship of the OC is now beyond question.[88]

Aside from the question of authorship, the second most prominent area of debate in relation to the OC centres upon the Latin translation of the acts of II Nicaea. Traditionally, the OC has been viewed as an incoherent response to II Nicaea, which failed to grasp the complexity of Greek image theory.[89] The more charitable of such narratives present the key problem as being a dodgy Latin translation of the Greek acts of II Nicaea.[90] Stephen Gero went further, suggesting that the OC was written not only from a poorly translated text, but from a heavily excerpted text.[91] While it is possible that Theodulf spent some time working from excerpts (e.g. when the acts were sent to Alcuin in England), the breadth of the OC's coverage – all seven sessions of II Nicaea are represented in the OC – would indicate that the Franks did have access to a more complete text, albeit poorly translated and badly laid out such that quotes and commentary from II Nicaea became blurred at times.[92] The translation issue is often boiled down to a single conflation of terms: *proskynesis* and *latreia* both translated as *adoratio*.[93] The weight given to the role of the

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these OC-focussed studies, the acceptance of Theodulf's authorship has spread more broadly, for instance: Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751-987* (Harlow, 1983), p. 164; Pierre Riché, *The Carolingians: a family who forged Europe*, trans. Michael Idomir Allen (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1993), pp. 348-349; Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, p. 293; Roger Collins, *Charlemagne* (Basingstoke, 1998), p. 135; McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 313; Jennifer Davis, *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire* (Cambridge, 2015), p. 7 n. 25.

[87] Liutpold Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne: Studies in Carolingian History and Literature* (Ithaca, New York, 1968); Wallach, *Diplomatic Studies*. A more bitter tone is clearly discernible in Wallach's later work and those works on the subject by his widow, Barbara Wallach, after the publication of Freeman's MGH edition and Liutpold's death: Liutpold Wallach, Anthony Augoustakis and Barbara Wallach, 'Alcuin's Authorship of the *Libri Carolini*: Theodulfian Fictions and Elective Affinities', *Illinois Classical Studies* 42 (2017), pp. 279-317; Barbara Wallach, 'Liutpold Wallach: A Biography', *Illinois Classical Studies* 42 (2017), pp. 269-272.

[88] Noble, 'From the *Libri Carolini* to the *Opus Caroli Regis*', pp. 140-141.

[89] This was a characterisation that largely persisted throughout the twentieth-century. For instance, as early as 1973, Peter Brown highlighted the dearth of interest in the OC contribution to the iconoclasm debate (aside from a beginning to such an endeavour made by Haendler's *Epochen karolingischer Theologie*) with all other studies treating it 'as an ill-tempered and irrelevant intervention'. Yet, by the time Thomas Noble set out to remedy this situation in his 2009 study, he lamented the persistence of the same situation, only being able to add a few chapters from James Martin's 1930 *History of the Iconoclastic Controversy* alongside Haendler's already-mentioned study. Although, had he become aware of it earlier in the writing of his own book, Noble would surely have included Kristina Mitalaité's 2007 study of OC theology in this admittedly still small list: Brown, 'A Dark-Age Crisis', p. 4; Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, p. 2.

[90] Engelbert Mühlbacher, *Deutsche Geschichte unter den Karolingern* (Stuttgart, 1896), pp. 195-196; Albert Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, II, p. 327; Herbert Schade, 'Die Libri Carolini und ihre Stellung zum Bild', *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 79 (1957), pp. 69-78; Karl Baus, 'Libri Carolini', in Josef Höfer and Karl Rahner (eds.), *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 6 (Freiburg, 1961), p. 1021; Pierre Riché, *The Carolingians*, p. 349.

[91] Stephen Gero, 'The Libri Carolini and the image controversy', *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 18 (1973), p. 13.

[92] Marie-France Auzépy, 'Francfort et Nicée II', *FK* I, pp. 290-291.

[93] Schade, 'Die Libri Carolini und ihre Stellung zum Bild', p. 73; Gero, 'The Libri Carolini and the Image Controversy', p. 10; Walter Berschin, 'Die Ost-West-Gesandtschaften am Hof Karls des Grossen und

translation in this regard has, however, been challenged from two angles: observations that the Franks did use *adoratio* in an equivalent fashion to both *proskynesis* and *latreia* and that the Greeks also used *proskynesis* and *latreia* interchangeably; or that, as I will argue in Chapter 4, Theodulf would still have objected to the mere *veneratio* of images.[94]

Alongside the reduced emphasis upon the role of the translation in triggering Frankish ire with II Nicaea, there has also been a shift in the perception of and approach towards the OC. When the OC was viewed, fundamentally, as a cultural misunderstanding exacerbated by a poor translation, consideration of its own theology remained limited.[95] More recently, there has been a shift towards trying to understand the OC's ideas in their own right, rather simply observing the incomprehension of II Nicaea. This is, most notably the impetus behind the more detailed and theologically-focussed studies of Kristina Mitalaité and Thomas Noble.[96] This trend does have some earlier precedents in German scholarship, particularly in the works of Gert Haendler, Walther Schmandt and Elisabeth Dahlhaus-Berg.[97]

There is, however, one early English-language forerunner of this approach, whose article on the OC is pivotal to my own thesis. In 1986, Celia Chazelle published an article entitled 'Matter, Spirit, and Image in the *Libri Carolini*'.[98] Not only did she foreground the ideas of the OC over and above the questions of authorship and translation that had thus

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Ludwigs des Frommen (768-840)', in Paul Butzer, Max Kerner and Walter Oberschelp (eds.), *Karl der Grosse und sein Nachwirken. 1200 Jahre Kultur und Wissenschaft in Europa* I: *Wissen und Weltbild* (Turnhout, 1997), p. 159; Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: an Introduction', p. 1; Mühlbacher, *Deutsche Geschichte unter den Karolingern*, pp. 195-196; Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* II, p. 327.

[94] For the comparable Frankish use of *adoratio* to *proskynesis* and *latreia*: Erich Lamberz, 'Die Überlieferung und Rezeption des VII. Ökumenischen Konzils (787) in Rom und im lateinischen Westen', in *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente* II (Spoleto, 2002), pp. 1060-1064. For the interchangeability of the Greek *latreia* and *proskynesis*: Hans Georg Thümmel, 'ΤΙΜΗ und ΛΑΤΡΕΙΑ, oder: was heißt Bilderverehrung?', in Hans Georg Thümmel (ed.), *Bilderlehre und Bilderstreit* (Würzburg, 1991), pp. 101-114; Thümmel, 'Die fränkische Reaktion auf das 2. Nicaenum in den Libri Carolini', pp. 965-980; Auzépy, 'Francfort et Nicée II', pp. 292. On Theodulf's opposition to *veneratio* of images rendering the translation issue ultimately irrelevant: Haendler, *Epochen karolingischer Theologie*, pp. 67-73; Walther Schmandt, *Studien zu den Libri Carolini* (Mainz, 1966), p. 36.

[95] There were, of course, some notable exceptions to this, but these were generally scholars who disagreed with the undue emphasis that was placed upon the translation at the time: Haendler, *Epochen karolingischer Theologie*; Schmandt, *Studien zu den Libri Carolini*. Alternatively, the quest to definitively identify the author of the OC also led, albeit in a more indirect fashion, to some consideration of the ideas contained within the text. For instance: Ann Freeman, 'Scripture and Images in the *Libri Carolini*', *Testo e immagine nell'alto medioevo. Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 41 (1994), pp. 163-188.

[96] Mitalaité, *Philosophie et théologie de l'image dans les Libri Carolini*; Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*.

[97] Haendler, *Epochen karolingischer Theologie*; Schmandt, *Studien zu den Libri Carolini*; Dahlhaus-Berg, *Nova antiquitas et antiqua novitas*. In the case of Haendler and Schmandt, their theologically-focussed studies were based on their disagreement with the undue emphasis that many of their contemporaries placed upon the translation issue at the time, while Dahlhaus-Berg's approach was shaped by her belief in Theodulf's authorship of the OC, as her study was, more broadly about Theodulf's idea of history in his Bibles, the *De ordine baptismi* and the OC. In English-language scholarship, the quest to identify the author of the OC did also lead to some consideration of the ideas within the OC, but not to the same extent as in the German scholarship, until more recently.

[98] Chazelle, 'Matter, Spirit, and Image in the *Libri Carolini*', pp. 163-184.

far plagued English-language scholarship, but her study was also the first to cast light upon the particular things that mattered in the Latin West and, thus, the first to throw into relief the matter of the *res sacratae* and saints' relics. The key problem with her study, however, was that, despite noting early on how the OC did not consider saints' relics to be *res sacratae* – a category which, she rightly observed, to be limited to the Ark of the Covenant, the sign of the cross, the eucharistic elements, liturgical vessels and Scripture – she nonetheless proceeded to include her analysis of saints' relics alongside that of the *res sacratae*, without considering how the treatment of each differed in the text.[99] In itself, this oversight might not have caused such a distortion. But, no doubt under the influence of the ever-increasing strength of scholarship on the cult of saints through the 1990s and into the twenty-first century, this has led to a conflation of saints' relics into the *res sacratae* and an emphasis in subsequent scholarship, not upon the true *res sacratae*, but on saints' relics in particular. Thus, acknowledging the influence of Chazelle's study, David Appleby devoted his own article on the OC to its treatment of saints' relics.[100] More recently, in his otherwise excellent study not just of the OC but of the Western image debates more broadly, Thomas Noble, eschewing the *res sacratae* label entirely, considers an expanded list of seven 'holy things' which Theodulf deemed as having a place in Christian worship, including the five *res sacratae*, saints' relics and churches.[101] Reading the current scholarship on the OC's treatment of holy objects, therefore, one might quite reasonably interpret the text as evidence of the cult of saints' dominance in Carolingian Europe. The more specific aim of my thesis is, therefore, to correct this false impression by analysing in more detail how Theodulf's treatment of the *res sacratae* and other holy objects like saints' relics differs.

The structure of the thesis

Part I of this thesis is primarily devoted to my analysis of how Theodulf articulated the *res sacratae* and how he distinguished them, explicitly, from Byzantine images and, implicitly, from other holy things like saints' relics or churches. Each chapter concerns a different facet of Theodulf's understanding of *res sacratae* and holy objects more broadly. In each case, there will often be broader theological questions, Theodulf's response to which will need to be unpicked if we are to truly understand how he conceived of the special status of the *res sacratae* themselves. These range from his understanding of *sacramenta* through to the nature of the image relationship between man and God as the basis for the wider

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[99] Chazelle, 'Matter, Spirit, and Image in the *Libri Carolini*', pp. 165-166.
[100] Appleby, 'Holy Relic and Holy Image', pp. 333-343.
[101] Although his brief explanation of how these differed from Byzantine images did, in fact, almost unintentionally, treat the holiness of saints' relics and churches as differently constructed within the OC: Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, p. 214.

relationship between matter and spirit, to the more historiographically-contested question of which terms or forms of devotion he understood as uniquely owing to God. The broader questions which impinge upon Theodulf's construction of the *res sacratae* within the OC thus treat more widely the nature of man's relationship to God and the appropriate forms of Christian devotion.

In Chapter 1, the divergent terminology Theodulf uses in relation to the *res sacratae*, saints' relics and churches will be the primary focus. This analysis will also introduce elements of Theodulf's sacramental theology through the links between his use of the noun *sacramentum* and the past participle *sacratus*. Underpinning this chapter is the belief that Theodulf chose his words very carefully throughout the OC, especially given that he frequently berated the Greeks for the apparent lack of consideration given to the terminology used in the Latin acts of II Nicaea. This is especially significant in relation to his use of *sacratus* which I will demonstrate Theodulf to have used not simply as an indication of something having been consecrated, for which he had other more obvious terms available, but to be intrinsically linked with Christ.

This is an idea that will be developed further in Chapter 2, in which both the role of the sacerdotal act of consecration and the biblical institution of the *res sacratae*, especially by Christ, but also by God or Moses, will be elucidated. Theodulf's understanding of the interplay between the Old and the New Testaments will be essential to this analysis and, along with consideration of his emphases upon priestly power and divine words or names, will further help to differentiate the place of *res sacratae* and saints' relics within Theodulf's devotional economy.

In Chapter 3, Theodulf's interpretation of the image/likeness relationship between man and God will give us an insight into the macrocosmic separation he envisioned between the material and the spiritual. This will then serve as a springboard from which to understand the nature of both the *res sacratae* and saints' relics as holy objects; how they were either able to transcend their materiality in the case of saints' relics or, in the case of the *res sacratae* to perfect materiality by embodying the function of Augustinian signs.

The final aspect of the *res sacratae*, considered in Chapter 4, will be their devotional function. To address this, in addition to broader questions about Theodulf's understanding and terminology pertaining to devotional praxis, it will also prove essential to ask some significant palaeographical questions about Vat. Lat. 7207. Through this exacting scrutiny of the evidence, I have been able to identify the ideas and terminology that are definitively Theodulf's own and those that possibly bear the imprint of an unknown editor. Identifying

Theodulf's own devotional terminology will also require engagement with the scholarship surrounding the role of the Latin translation of II Nicaea in the inception of the OC, as these debates primarily centre around the use or, rather, the misuse of devotional terms in the translation from the original Greek.

The broader significance of Theodulf's ideas expressed in the OC, particularly those pertaining to the *res sacratae* and saints' relics, will be the focus of Part II. Having established, in Part I, that Theodulf articulated a unique position for the *res sacratae* in the OC that not only distinguished them from objects such as images, but also from objects he otherwise deemed holy, such as saints' relics and churches, the function of the Part II chapters will be to begin assessing whether these ideas had an impact beyond the OC itself. I say begin, here, because a more detailed study of the influence of the OC's ideas – including, but not limited to its treatment of the *res sacratae* and saints' relics – would be too broad for the constraints of a PhD thesis. These are, therefore, questions I should like to answer in more detail in subsequent research.

For the present study, however, the question of influence will be limited to two chapters. The first grapples with a more conceptual notion about the role of official publication and manuscript dissemination in the spread of ideas. In particular, it considers the extra-textual spread of ideas in the vibrant intellectual milieu of Charlemagne's court in the 790s. The final chapter of my thesis will then use the example of Theodulf's later ministry and writings as bishop of Orléans to consider how, more generally, ideas generated and discussed at that court proceeded to shape practice across the realm and, more specifically, to assess how far Theodulf retained the ideas he had espoused about the *res sacratae* and saints' relics and set about propagating them amongst the clergy and laity under his charge.

By analysing Theodulf's construction of the *res sacratae* and his understanding of saints' relics in relation to all the above aspects in the OC and his later, episcopal ministry, I do not aim to simply re-hash the old characterisation of Theodulf as one of the so-called Spanish rationalists.[102] My aim is to provide more nuance, not less. The Theodulf whose thoughts are revealed in the following study will be a complex figure: an advocate of the

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[102] The scholars identified by this Spanish rationalist theory were Theodulf, Agobard of Lyons and Claudius of Turin. As Fichtenau stressed, however, he was not presenting Theodulf or Agobard, at least, as 'rationalists' in an anachronistic post-Enlightenment sense, which does seem to be the implication of Janet Nelson's quip that these where not Carolingian Martin Luthers: Hans Liebeschütz, 'Wesen und Grenzen des karolingischen Rationalismus', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 33 (1951), pp. 17-44; Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire*, p. 34. For the dismissal of these arguments: Dahlhaus-Berg, *Nova antiquitas et antiqua novitas*, pp. 224-225; Janet Nelson, 'Opposition to Pilgrimage in the Reign of Charlemagne?', in Valerie Garver and Owen Phelan (eds.), *Rome and Religion in the Medieval World. Studies in Honor of Thomas F.X. Noble* (Abingdon, 2016), pp. 69-72.

western cult of saints, yet whose faith and practice cannot be characterised as 'hagiocentric'. Instead, through his physical focus upon the *res sacratae*, Theodulf will testify to the existence of a more securely Christocentric devotion in Carolingian Europe, which, nonetheless, was capable of accommodating relics and saints' cults as a benign appendage. Whether Theodulf was an outlier in this regard will, however, have to wait for a future study.

PART I: Sanctity in the *Opus Caroli*: *res sacratae*, relic and image

1: What are the *res sacratae*? Defining Theodulf's lexicon of sanctity: *sanctus, sacramentum, sacratus.*

At a surface level, the OC might be viewed as a treatise about images. Certainly, images were at the centre of the debates at II Nicaea (787) which triggered Charlemagne's displeasure and encouraged him to commission a response: the OC. Yet, in this response, Theodulf went far beyond the bounds of a limited discussion about the role of art and even of material objects within Christian religious devotion more broadly. Indeed, fundamentally, the Word rather than images lie at the heart of the OC. Not only is it an extraordinarily verbose rebuttal of II Nicaea (despite, as I shall show, the best efforts of a mysterious editor to curtail Theodulf's natural wordiness), but it positions at the heart of its four books – the number itself a clear reference to the four Gospels – chapters on Scripture and the Trinitarian Creed.[103] Nonetheless, while word and image are frequently opposed within the OC's rhetorical framework of binary opposition, it is not a resolutely anti-materialistic work. Theodulf and his co-editors were keen to contrast certain material objects starkly against Byzantine images – emphasising that the former were, unlike images, worthy of a prominent position in Christian devotional praxis.[104] In English, such objects might be ascribed the particular quality of sanctity or holiness. Hence, to understand the way Theodulf valorised and categorised these material objects, it will be essential to start with a close study of his terms and concepts.

Certainly, Theodulf does apply the closest cognates of *sanctus* and *sanctitas* to some of these objects defined in opposition to images. There were, however, still other terms Theodulf deployed to privilege the special status of certain devotional objects above others. At the heart of the reassessment of Carolingian piety put forward here is his label of *res sacratae*: 'things made holy'.[105] As will be demonstrated in Chapter 2, unlike images, the objects Theodulf deemed to be *res sacratae* were not understood in opposition to words, but in fact derived their privileged position and thus their sanctity from words, especially the

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[103] Ann Freeman, 'Further Studies in the *Libri Carolini*', *Speculum*, 40 (1965), p. 216; Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 46-47.

[104] Ommundsen, 'The Liberal Arts and the Polemic Strategy of the *Opus Caroli Regis Contra Synodum*', pp. 175-200.

[105] Despite the evident importance of this group of objects, the term appears only four times throughout the OC. The forms in which it appears – always in the ablative, as either *sacratis rebus* or *sacratissimis rebus* – are especially revealing, as these four occurrences are always stipulating that manufactured images, or other things without sanctity, are not to be equated <u>with</u> these sacred, or most sacred, objects. For instance, it is used in the preface of Book II to indicate those chapters which respond against those 'quo res sanctitate sive auctoritate carentes **sacratissimis rebus** et ab ipso Domino institutis aequiperare nituntur...' [who labour to equate things without sanctity or authority with the most holy things instituted by the Lord himself]: OC II, *Praefatio*, p. 233. In this respect, like the word, the Carolingians' *res sacratae* are consistently employed as completely oppositional to the Byzantines' manufactured images.

Word. Words were thus central to both the authorisation and consecration of these objects; for Theodulf, the power of words – in particular divine names – could make sanctity.

Before analysing such facets of Theodulf's *res sacratae* doctrine in more detail, however, it will first be necessary to clearly define the use of this designation within the OC: the objects it applied to, but also, crucially, those that it did not. To unearth the *res sacratae* we must first dig through the accrued layers of lexical ambiguity that have served to obfuscate the objects to which Theodulf actually ascribed that label. The root of these accretions lies, not in Theodulf's OC and use of the term *res sacratae*, but rather in two key conflations of meaning applied by modern historians of the OC.

Both in the OC and in the relevant secondary scholarship *res sacratae* is not a common term. Only one article, by Celia Chazelle in 1986, analyses the OC's *res sacratae* doctrine in any detail, with subsequent mention of the idea being refracted through her study. Chazelle correctly identified five objects falling within the *res sacratae* grouping: the Ark of the Covenant, the eucharist, the sign of the cross, liturgical vessels and Scripture.[106] Nonetheless, she then proceeded to add saints' relics into her analysis of the *res sacratae*, noting that the OC equated them with the *res sacratae* despite her and the OC both refraining from actually applying that label to them.[107] As a result, subsequent discussion of the OC's *res sacratae* has been largely concerned with saints' relics in particular, with any awareness of their exclusion abandoned.

The consequences of the assimilation of saints' relics into the category of *res sacratae* has shaped virtually all subsequent scholarship. David Appleby, for instance, picked up Chazelle's interpretation and honed in on saints' relics.[108] More recently, Thomas Noble – eschewing the term *res sacratae* – accused Chazelle of being far too limited in her identification of Theodulf's holy objects, stating that he had counted at least seven (adding saints' relics and churches to the list).[109] A similarly loose notion of Theodulf's holy things appeared in Kristina Mitalaité's 2007 study of the OC's philosophy and theology.[110] While Mitalaité refrained from assimilating saints' relics to the category, she labelled and analysed the grouping as sacraments, thus focussing on the eucharist and adding the rite of baptism.[111]

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[106] Chazelle, 'Matter, Spirit, and Image in the *Libri Carolini*', pp. 165-166.
[107] Ibid., pp. 165-166.
[108] Appleby, 'Holy Relic and Holy Image', pp. 335-336.
[109] Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians*, p. 214.
[110] Mitalaité, *Philosophie et théologie de l'image dans les Libri Carolini*, pp. 423-427.
[111] While Chazelle's 'Matter, Spirit and Image' article does appear in the bibliography to this work, there is – rather surprisingly – no reference to it in the section dealing with the 'sacraments', perhaps explaining the absence of the *res sacratae* label: Mitalaité, *Philosophie et théologie de l'image dans les Libri Carolini*, pp. 423-427.

The aim of this chapter will therefore be to uncover and clarify the distinctions between the terms *sanctus*, *sacramentum* and *res sacratae* implicit in Theodulf's lexical usage and thought. Not only will this enable us to securely classify Theodulf's *res sacratae* referents, but by creating a degree of separation from these oft-equated terms, it will also facilitate the treatment, in the subsequent chapters of Part I, of the conception of the *res sacratae* as a fully-rounded doctrine.

1.1: Describing holiness: *sanctus*

The first and, perhaps, easier corollary term to dismiss is the adjective *sanctus*. As noted above, the root of the assumed equation between *sanctus* and *sacratus* rests on the question of whether saints' relics are in fact to be included amongst Theodulf's *res sacratae*. Whereas Chazelle quite rightly pointed out that saints' relics were not enumerated amongst Theodulf's *res sacratae*, the fact that she then proceeded to analyse them alongside relics led Appleby and Noble to drop the label of *res sacratae* and then to either opine upon the OC's stance on holy objects in general (as in the case of Noble), or to focus upon the OC's treatment of saints relics' in particular (as in the case of Appleby).[112] Indeed, Noble went even further down the path of diminishing the *res sacratae* as a meaningful category, by suggesting the addition of churches, nowhere mentioned in that category by Theodulf.[113] The inclusion of churches in Noble's list alongside his and Appleby's use of 'holy' to

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Mitalaité's use of 'sacrements' seems to be a feature of Francophone scholarship. To understand this, I first turned to Cabrol and Leclercq's *DACL* 15, 1 (Paris, 1950) to locate a passage on the sacraments. The only entry for 'Sacrement', however, concerned Saint-Sacrement (col. 345-349). I therefore changed tack to look for the 'Eucharistie' entry: *DACL* 5, 1 (Paris, 1922), col. 681-692. The entry did not give any definitive answers, but did provide a further example of sacrament's ambiguous usage (i.e. sacrament ambiguously referring to the object and/or rite of the Lord's body and blood): [col. 688] 'Mais bientôt chacun des termes prit un sens determine. L'*eucharistie* s'appliqua plus spécialement au **sacrament** du corps du sang du Christ et à la pière de consécration; *eulogia* désigna surtout les fragments de l'*eucharistie* qui étaient envoyés aux évêques avec qui on était en communion et, par extension, le pain bénit et tous les présents que les chrétiens s'envoyaient entre eux'; [col. 690] 'Mais si en grec, comme nous l'avons vu, le nom employé comme verbe et comme substantif, a produit de nombreux dérivés, en latin au contraire aucune dérive ne fut formé du mot *eucharistia*, pas plus du reste qu'en français pour le mot *eucharistie*. En tout cas, il eut la rare fortune en occident de désigner, presque à l'exclusion de tout autre, dans la langue théologique aussi bien que dans la langue populaire, le **sacrement** et le sacrifice du corps et du sang du Christ.' My next port of call was Albert Blaise, *Le vocabulaire latin des principaux thémes liturgiques* (Turnhout, 1966), especially pp. 387-388. Blaise's analysis of the use of the term *sacramentum* in relation to the eucharist is particularly interesting insofar as it does not seem characterised by the same rite/object ambiguity inherent in the Francophone use of sacrament in lieu of *res sacratae*. Whereas Leclercq had distinguished the sacrament from the sacrifice/rite (esp. col. 690), Blaise appears to equate *sacramentum* with the 'rite sacré' (in which the object obviously plays a part, but is not itself the sacrament). Blaise is equally quick to point out, however, that the more concrete theological concept of the sacrament of the eucharist (i.e. as one of the Seven Sacraments) is actually a very modern one, with *sacramentum* in the medieval context having a far broader set of meanings attached to it, but often being best translated into modern parlance as 'mystery': [p. 387] '...le sacrement de l'eucharistie, est une expression plus moderne... *sacramentum* est un des mots du latin chrétien les plus riches de significations diverses (v. le Dict.). Il signifie en particulier signe sacré et mystique... Quand il s'agit du saint sacrifice, le mot *sacramentum* se traduit ordinairement par «mystère», surtout au pluriel, et moins souvent par «sacrement»'.

[112] Chazelle, 'Matter, Spirit, and Image in the *Libri Carolini*', pp. 165-166; Appleby, 'Holy Relic and Holy Image', pp. 335-336; Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians*, p. 214.
[113] Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians*, p. 214.

designate the group of Theodulf's approved objects suggests a Latin corollary of *sanctus*. Theodulf consistently used *sanctus*, for instance, in relation to the holy church (*sancta ecclesia*).[114] Certainly, neither Noble nor Appleby mention Theodulf's specific use of the phrase *res sacratae*. Although neither scholar actually applies the Latin adjective *sanctus* to the extended group of objects they identify with Theodulf's and Chazelle's *res sacratae* they instead stick to the English adjective 'holy'. Nonetheless, in order to redefine the *res sacratae* as a distinct group meaning something more complex and profound than simply 'holy objects', we must first analyse the use of the adjective *sanctus* as compared with the noun and past participle combination *res sacratae* throughout the OC. Our second task will then be to unpick the distinctions Theodulf conceived of between the *res sacratae* on the one hand and churches or saints' relics, on the other.

To begin our analysis of Theodulf's use of *sanctus* we first turn to the relevant entry in the *Wort- und Sachregister* of Ann Freeman's MGH edition of the OC.[115] From this entry we see that the adjective *sanctus* is common in Theodulf's lexicon. However, we can also see that it most commonly occurs as the noun *sanctus* (saint), rather than the adjective *sanctus* (holy). In fact, Freeman only includes six instances of the adjectival *sanctus* in three forms: 'the holy way of life'; 'holy body'; 'holy images'.[116] Certainly, my own reading of the OC suggests that there are many more instances of the adjectival *sanctus* than the *Wort- und Sachregister* enumerates.[117] Nonetheless, Freeman's apparatus here does at least reveal Theodulf's predilection for using *sanctus* nominally for the English saint or holy man.

This favoured usage makes it all the more surprising that Theodulf in fact never uses the adjective *sanctus* to describe saints' relics. The closest he comes to speaking of 'holy relics' is, thus, a reference in OC III 24 to 'the holy body of the prophet [Joseph]'.[118] In the same chapter, although relics themselves are never described as *sanctus*, the various persons – martyrs, confessors, saints – whose relics survive are frequently designated with the adjective *sanctus*, used nominally. Indeed, descriptions of such people as *sanctus* occur six times in OC III 24 alone.[119] Even if we proceed to the next chapter for the sake of

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[114] A brief search for *sancta ecclesia* on the digitised MGH version of the OC returns 168 hits, of which the following selection of pages do include *sancta* being used to describe the church in the OC text itself (i.e. excluding references in Freeman's introduction and apparatus as well as any instances where *sancta* was not describing *ecclesia*): OC, pp. 132, 135, 149, 159, 163, 180, 225, 301, 325, 333, 414, 417, 429, 490, 492, 530. Actually, Theodulf's usage of the adjective *sanctus* appears to be primarily for describing institutions, places or people: e.g. *sancta ecclesia, sancta loca, sanctus martyr*.

[115] OC, *Wort- und Sachregister*, pp. 656-657.

[116] OC, *Wort- und Sachregister*, pp. 656-657.

[117] As mentioned above, Theodulf frequently uses *sancta ecclesia*, while other common couplings include *sanctus martyr* and *sancta loca*.

[118] OC III 24, p. 451: 'sanctum corpus prophetae'.

[119] OC III 24, pp. 448-452.

comparison, we find *sanctus* once again being used primarily of people: for example, 'the holy servants of God', through whom his miracles occur and, in superlative form, to describe 'the most holy Augustine'.[120] This usage thus points unambiguously towards Theodulf's notion that *sanctus* describes a quality of persons more so than things. In addition to designating the agency of the holy men themselves – they become *sanctus* by their actions and way of life – this stronger link between *sanctus* and people will harmonise with Theodulf's understanding of the relationship between matter and spirit explored below, in Chapter 3.

A similar pattern can, perhaps, be discerned in relation to Theodulf's use of *ecclesia*. In Theodulf's usage, *ecclesia* appears especially to have designated the Church as the collective body of all Christian people (its etymological sense of those called together) as opposed to a church building, for which he more often used *basilica*. Of these two terms *basilica* and *ecclesia*, it is *ecclesia*, not *basilica*, which Theodulf frequently pairs with *sanctus*.[121] This, therefore, reinforces the link in Theodulf's lexicon between *sanctus* and people: the adjective is, thus, also a clue to agency behind holy status.

Of course, saints' relics are a particular class of objects with a strong connection to exactly those kinds of people whom Theodulf frequently makes use of *sanctus* to describe: martyrs, confessors, saints and other holy men. Used nominally, *sanctus* clearly has a strong and stable meaning as 'saint'.[122] Theodulf's link between the adjective *sanctus* and people, especially martyrs and Church Fathers might have been shaped by liturgical usage.[123] Consulting Lewis & Short's *Latin Dictionary*, another noun is provided to designate the quality of holiness described by the adjective *sanctus*: *sanctitas*.[124] This link is pivotal. Although there is only the one above-mentioned instance of a bodily relic – the corporal remains of the prophet Joseph – being described by *sanctus*, there are no mentions in the OC of any other relics, nor of relics more broadly being described as such. Theodulf does

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[120] OC III 25, p. 453: 'Sanctissimus quoque Augustinus a daemonibus miracula fieri, similia miraculis, quae fiunt per sanctos servos Dei, his verbis testatur.'

[121] A brief search for *sancta ecclesia* on the digitised MGH version of the OC returns 168 hits, of which the following selection of pages do include *sancta* being used to describe the Church in the OC text itself (i.e. excluding references in Freeman's introduction and apparatus as well as any instances where *sancta* was not describing *ecclesia*): OC, pp. 132, 135, 149, 159, 163, 180, 225, 301, 325, 333, 414, 417, 429, 490, 492, 530. The same search for *sancta basilica* yields no results, while Freeman's *Wort- und Sachregister* offers no references to the adjective *sanctus* describing *basilica* anywhere in the OC.

[122] For the truth of this statement in relation to Theodulf's own OC usage, one has only to consult the already-mentioned entry for *sanctus* in Freeman's *Wort- und Sachregister*, where the only noun-form *sanctus* reference that does not translate as saint is a reference to the holy of holies: OC, *Wort- und Sachregister*, pp. 656-657.

[123] Alexander Souter (ed.), *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.* (Oxford, 1949), s.v. 'sanctus', p.363: 'prefixed as a sort of praenomen to names of Church Fathers, etc., in the liturgy [saec. vi]'.

[124] Charlton Lewis and Charles Short (eds.), *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1879, repr. 1975), s.v. 'sanctus', p. 1626.

however describe the transmission of sanctity (*sanctitas*) from the martyrs, confessors and saints – all people to whom Theodulf readily applied the adjective *sanctus* – to their relics (corporeal and contact). Such a statement is to be found, for example, in OC III 24:

> Therefore, since they strive to equate those [images] of theirs, which have been formed by certain artificers, whether painted, engraved or even sculpted or cast, with the bodies of the saints or certain relics of the bodies as well as the garments or things like these, which the saints, while they lived mortally, made use of, [they] reveal an immoderate injury to be inflicted on the saints, especially for the reason that the garments of the saints and things like these must be venerated because they have either been upon the bodies of the same saints or around the bodies and are believed to **have secured sanctification from them** on account of which they ought to be venerated, as well as the bodies of saints or indeed the relics of the bodies, because, although now falling apart having been reduced to dust, near the end of the world they are going to be resurrected with glory and will reign perpetually with Christ.[125]

This passage suggests that Theodulf did not directly attribute the quality of sanctity as conveyed by the adjective *sanctus* to saints' relics. Instead, he preferred to reserve it for the persons themselves rather than the objects or bodily remains they left behind. Yet, he did nonetheless view the particular quality of sanctity transferred from those people to certain relics (body parts or contact relics) as transmitting something akin to that quality which could be characterised by *sanctus*. As such, we should hesitate to jump to conclusions about this lacuna as regards the use of *sancta reliquia* in the OC. While it could be reflective of Theodulf's preference to reserve *sanctus* for people, it does not entirely preclude his understanding of relics as being *sanctus*. For him, they had received the equivalent quality of sanctity (*sanctitas*) from the martyrs, confessors and saints whom he more willingly described as *sanctus*. And yet, the fact that he did not refer to *sancta reliquia*, but instead merely to *reliquia* without that adjective is worth remembering as a clue to how our usage of this term, or at least its English equivalent, goes against the grain of Theodulf's practice and his underlying assumptions and categories.

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[125] OC III 24, pp. 448-449: 'Cum ergo sanctorum corporibus aut certe corporum reliquiis necnon et vestibus aut his similibus, quibus sancti, dum mortaliter viverent, usi sunt, isti picutras aut caelaturas sive sculptilia vel conflatilia quaeque ab artificibus quibusque formata coaequare in honore moliuntur, non modicam sanctis iniuriam inferre monstrantur, cum praesertim sanctorum vestes et his similia ideo veneranda sint, quia aut in corporibus eorundem sanctorum aut circa corpora fuisse et ab his sanctificationem, ob quam venerentur, percepisse credantur, necnon et sanctorum corpora vel etiam corporum reliquiae, quoniam, quamquam nunc in pulverem redacta fatescant, iuxta mundi terminum cum gloria sunt resurrectura et cum Christo perpetim regnatura...'

Let us now test whether Noble's next addition to the category, namely, churches, will throw up a similar issue. As noted above, *ecclesia* is frequently accompanied by *sanctus* in the OC. However, *ecclesia* is typically – and indeed always, when accompanied with *sanctus* – used to refer to the Church as an institution or, rather, the community of all Christians. This characteristic usage of *sancta ecclesia* occurs, for instance, twice in OC I 11:

> Therefore, because **the holy church**, following the instruction of the holy fathers, accepts all which is irreproachable, but truly casts aside everything which is reprehensible, likewise that, in this synod, which is everywhere reprehensible is rejected. And if what is reprehensible, is not rejected, [nevertheless] it does not accept those things which are irreproachable. However, it accepts these things that are irreproachable; therefore, thorough support ought not be given to this because it is open to reproach. Indeed, **the holy and universal church** accepts those synods which are permitted by no means to deviate from those that have been conducted by learned and catholic men with sane and sober doctrine for the purpose of spreading the faith or the cause of religion across diverse locations or times.[126]

In Vat. Lat. 7207, the second half of this passage – from *Suscipit autem eas* ('However, it accepts these things...') – is written over an erasure. It is thus an addition or correction apparently incorporated to provide greater consonance with the conciliar theory advanced in OC IV 28.[127] Indeed, this later chapter appears to have been a late revision to replace Theodulf's original conclusion (at OC IV 13). That first version of the conclusion (OC IV 13) had tied up the strands of his argument running through the OC (significantly, for this thesis, including the significance of the *res sacratae*) through a characteristically binary contrast of the First and 'Second' Councils of Nicaea.

This new conclusion (OC IV 28), in contrast, advocated a conciliar theory derived from Alcuin's thought in order to pave the way for the Franks to designate their own upcoming Synod of Frankfurt (794) as a universal church council.[128] While some have argued that this new concluding chapter was written by Alcuin himself, the lack of

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[126] OC I 11, pp. 159-160: 'Cum ergo sancta ecclesia secundum sanctorum patrum institutionem omne, quod inrepraehensibile est, recipiat, omne vero quod repraehensibile, abiciat, hanc quoque eorum synodum, quae utique repraehensibilis est, abicit. Et si hanc, quae reprehensibilis est, non abicit, neque eas, quae inreprehensibiles sunt, suscipit. Suscipit autem eas, quae inrepraehensibiles sunt; hanc igitur, quia repraehensioni patet, penitus suscipere non debet. Illas enim synodos sancta et universalis recipit ecclesia, quae pro diversis fidei sive religionis causis diversis locis seu temporibus a doctis et catholicis viris celebratae a sana sobriaque doctrina nullatenus deviare perhibentur.'

[127] Vat. Lat. 7207, ff. 29r-29v; OC I 11, p. 160 fn. 1.

[128] Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', pp. 65-70.

Alcuinian traces (beyond the conciliar theory it expressed) supports Freeman's argument that, although essentially representing Alcuin's thought, OC IV 28 was nonetheless written by Theodulf.[129] Although the sentiment of the revised second half of the above-quoted passage was thus Alcuin's, the wording was most likely Theodulf's. Both instances here can, thus, be taken as reflective of Theodulf's characteristic pairing of *sancta* and *ecclesia*, with *ecclesia* not referring to a church as a physical building, but to the church as the universal community of believers.

Of course, in a treatise concerning the place of images within devotional praxis, Theodulf did consider churches as buildings too. When talking about church buildings, however, Theodulf tended to employ *basilica*. Indeed, his references to *basilicae* provide Noble's justification for the inclusion of churches within the category of holy objects on an equal footing with the *res sacratae*.[130] Certainly, passages such as those quoted below treat church buildings as equivalent to saints' relics:

> **OC III 16:** And so, honour appropriately shown to the bodies of the saints, their relics or basilicas, remains pleasing to omnipotent God and to his saints; truly, inadequate and indecent [honour] remains pleasing neither to God nor his saints. [...] For while we despise nothing in images besides [their] adoration, we who permit images of the saints to be placed in basilicas not for the purpose of adoration, but the memory of past things and the attractiveness of the walls, truly they place almost all the hope of their belief in images, [so] it remains that we venerate the saints in their bodies or rather the relics of their bodies or even [their] garments according to the tradition of the ancient fathers, [while] they truly adoring the walls and tablets think them to have great benefit to their faith, since they have been exposed to the works of painters.[131]

> **OC IV 3:** But perhaps those desiring to reject this our assertion might say: 'Why do you deride those arranging lights and burning tapers for images without sense, when we also arrange lights and burn tapers in basilicas equally without sense?' To

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[129] Advocates of Alcuin's authorship of OC IV 28: Dahlhaus-Berg, *Nova antiquas et antiqua novitas*, pp. 206-212; Hermann Sieben, *Die Konzilsidee des lateinischen Mittelalters* (Paderborn, 1984), p. 93. On Theodulf's authorship of OC IV 28: Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', pp. 69-70.
[130] Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, p. 411 fn. 36.
[131] OC III 16, pp. 409-411: 'Honor itaque digne sanctorum corporibus, reliquiis sive basilicis exhibitus et omnipotenti Deo et sanctis eius manet acceptus; inconpetens vero et indecens nec Deo nec sanctis eius manet acceptus... Nam dum nos nihil in imaginibus spernamus praeter adorationem, quippe qui in basilicis sanctorum imagines non ad adorandum, sed ad memoriam rerum gestarum et venustatem parietum habere permittimus, illi vero pene omnem suae credulitatis spem in imaginibus conlocent, restat, ut nos sanctos in eorum corporibus vel potius reliquiis corporum seu etiam vestimentis veneremur iuxta antiquorum patrum traditionem, illi vero parietes et tabulas adorantes in eo se arbitrentur magnum fidei habere emolumentum, eo quod operibus sint subiecti pictorum.'

whom an objection is easily able to appear, since one is to light throughout with lights places surrendered to divine worships and in the same places for the smoke of both prayers and tapers to be offered to God, and the other [is] to offer a light to images having eyes and discerning nothing, and to burn tapers to [images] having noses and smelling nothing; one is to venerate places surrendered to the divine cult, the other [is] to offer lights and tapers to pictures arranged with whatever colours; one is to solemnly venerate the house of the majesty of the Lord built by certain of the faithful and dedicated by a bishop, and long and far off [is] to irrationally kiss images constructed by any painters with gifts having been presented.[132]

The essential point here is that Theodulf does not refer to the church building (i.e. the *basiclica*) as *sancta* in either passage. As with saints' relics, then, he does not explicitly refer to church buildings as holy. Unlike with saints' relics, however, Theodulf does not even make use of the nominal form – *sanctitas* – to describe the transference of holiness from saints to the churches dedicated in their names. In other respects, however, he characterises church buildings here in ways that resemble aspects of his treatment of saints' relics. The question then remains: are these similarities enough to suggest that the same *sanctitas* inheres in the church building as in the relics even though Theodulf does not state that?

In OC III 24, Theodulf observed the transmission of *sanctitas* to corporeal and contact relics from their respective saints, even while those saints lived mortally.[133] Most basilicas, of course, had not received such closeness to the living saints for whom they were dedicated. At most, they would house relics of their namesake within altars.[134] Although, as Theodulf remarks in the OC IV 3 passage quoted above, basilicas were distinguished from

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[132] OC IV 3, p. 494: 'Sed fortassis hanc nostram assertionem frustrari cupientes dicent: "Cur eos imaginibus sensu carentibus luminaria concinnantes et tymiamata adolentes subsannatis, cum et nos in basilicis aeque sensu carentibus et luminaria concinnemus et tymiamata adoleamus?" Quibus facilis potest oboriri obiectio, quoniam aliud est loca divinis cultibus mancipata luminaribus perlustrari et in eisdem locis et orationum et tymiamatum Deo fumum offerri, et aliud imagini oculos habenti et nihil cernenti lumen offerre, et naros habenti et nihil odoranti tymiamata adolere; aliud est loca divino cultui mancipata venerari, aliud picturis quibuslibet coloribus comptis luminaria et tymiamata offerre; aliud domum maiestatis Domini a fidelibus quibusque aedificatam et a pontifice dedicatam sollempniter venerari, atque aliud et longe aliud imagines a pictoribus quibusque conpositas oblatis muneribus inrationabiliter osculari.'

[133] See above and OC III 24, pp. 448-449.

[134] As indicated in the oft-cited second canon of the Synod of Chelsea (816). Arthur Haddan and William Stubbs (eds.), *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland* III (Oxford, 1872), p. 580: 'Ubi aecclesias aedificentur, a propriae diocesi Episcopo sanctificatur; aqua per semetipsum benedicatur, spargatur, et ita per ordinem completa, sicut in libro ministeriale habetur. Postea Eucharistia, quae ab Episcopo per eodem ministerium consecratur, cum aliis reliquiis conditur in capsela, ac servetur in eodem basilica. Et si alii reliquias intimare non potest, tamen hoc maxime proficere potest, quia Corpus et Sanguis est Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Seu etiam praecipimus unicuique Episcopo, ut sciat depictum in pariete oratorii, aut in tabula, vel etiam in altaribus, quibus sanctis sint utraque dedicata.'

images by episcopal dedication.[135] Nonetheless, OC III 16, especially, presents the church building as an equally worthy conduit of honour and veneration to the saints and God.

Theodulf's devotional lexicon and the role he sees for the different objects discussed in the OC will be treated in more detail in Chapter 4. There, I will demonstrate that veneration (*veneratio*) and honour (*honoratio*) were, for Theodulf, clearly lesser forms of devotion than those reserved for God (*adoratio* and *cultus*). A key distinction, in Theodulf's mind, between the *res sacratae*, relics and basilicas, is that the former were essential conduits for the *adoratio* and *cultus* of God. As we can see in OC III 16, Theodulf equally distinguished relics and basilicas from images as conduits of those lesser forms of *veneratio* and *honoratio* towards God and the saints. The Greek churchmen at II Nicaea, of course, envisioned a similar function for images, drawing upon Basil of Caesarea's oft-quoted remark that 'the honour paid to the image passes over to the archetype.'[136] This line of argument is what Theodulf disputes in OC III 16 by stating that 'honour' must be exhibited appropriately – that is to say, through relics or basilicas – to reach God and the saints; honour exhibited indecently or inadequately – read, through images – is not received. What the OC III 16 passage demonstrates, therefore, is a clear equivalence between the devotional function of relics and basilicas, which images lacked. What we are still lacking, however, is a clearly identifiable designation for that shared quality which Theodulf evidently perceived in both relics and basilicas.

Although the OC represents a considerable proportion of Theodulf's surviving writing (at least in terms of word-count), we nevertheless have access to a wide variety of Theodulf's other works. While he may never have termed the church building as *sanctus* in the OC, there is a more explicit reference to the church as a 'holy place' in his first episcopal capitulary:

> It ought to be agreed not to enter a church for any other reason except praising God and serving him. Truly, disputes and commotions and idle talk and other activities ought to be entirely forbidden from that holy place.[137]

As Rob Meens observes, there is a striking similarity in both the tenor and terminology of this passage with the epistolary record of Theodulf's 801/802 dispute with Alcuin over a

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[135] OC IV 3, p. 494. The theme and importance of sacerdotal, but especially episcopal, consecration will be treated in more detail in relation to the *res sacratae* especially in Chapter 2.

[136] Basil of Caesarea, *On the Holy Spirit*, 18.45, quoted in *The Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787)*, trans. Richard Price (Liverpool, 2020), p. 313.

[137] Theodulf of Orléans, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. episc. 1, p. 110: 'Non debere ad ecclesiam ob aliam causam convenire nisi ad laudandum deum et eius servitium faciendum. Disceptationes vero et tumultus et vaniloquia et ceteras actiones ab eodem sancto loco penitus prohibenda sunt.'

runaway cleric who had taken refuge in the basilica of St Martin in Tours.[138] The record of the dispute itself has been transmitted to us through the survival of five letters between Alcuin, his friends at court and Charlemagne.[139] Although Charlemagne's angry reply to Alcuin makes it clear that Theodulf had written to him concerning this controversy, his correspondence has sadly not survived.[140] The sanctity of the church building and whether the need to preserve that sanctity overrode the right of the most heinous criminals to seek sanctuary lay at the heart of Theodulf and Alcuin's dispute.[141] While we may regret the absence of a fuller, direct statement from Theodulf about the sanctity of basilicas in this dispute, Meens offers the intriguing suggestion that the wording of this passage from Theodulf's first episcopal capitulary may in fact have been coloured by his conflict with Alcuin.[142] These conclusions derive principally from the capitulary-passage's use of *disceptatio* and *tumultus*. The use of *disceptatio* in particular seems telling, since it featured in two of Alcuin's surviving letters pertaining to this dispute (245 and 246), yet was never used by Theodulf in the whole of the OC, written a decade or so earlier.[143] Yet, if this was written soon after the Alcuin-Theodulf dispute (perhaps in 802 as McKitterick suggests)[144] can we be sure that Theodulf's position on the sanctity of church buildings – and his resultant use of *sanctus locus* – was not similarly coloured by this experience? While Theodulf's position on the sanctity of the church building might have been intensified by his experience of that heated, highly public and thus, one would imagine, bitter dispute with Alcuin, we can in fact find more than just the kernels of this position in the OC. If we instead return to the OC casting our net more widely to incorporate implied descriptions of basilicas as holy places – in the same vein as the statement in Theodulf's first episcopal capitulary – our nets will not return empty. In OC II 28, for instance, while rejecting the II Nicaean equation of the devotional utility of images with liturgical vessels, Theodulf remarks:

> Indeed, without images, both the water of baptism and the anointing of holy liquid
> can be perceived and incense can be offered as a sacrifice and holy places (*loca*

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[138] Rob Meens, 'Sanctuary, Penance, and Dispute Settlement under Charlemagne: The Conflict between Alcuin and Theodulf of Orléans over a Sinful Cleric', *Speculum* 82 (2007), pp. 293-294.

[139] Alcuin, *Ep. 245-249*, MGH Epp. 4, pp. 393-404.

[140] Charlemagne references his correspondence with Theodulf at the start of his reply to Alcuin, *Ep. 247*, MGH Epp. 4, pp. 399-400: 'Pridie, quam ad nostram praesentiam a vobis missa venisset epistola, adlatae nobis sunt litterae a Theodulfo episcopo missae, quaerimonias continentes de inhonoratione hominum suorum; et non tam illorum quam episcopi huius civitatis, vel contemptu iussionis imperii nostri.'

[141] Samuel Collins, *The Carolingian Debate over Sacred Space* (New York, 2012), pp. 1-4.

[142] Meens, 'Sanctuary, Penance, and Dispute Settlement under Charlemagne', pp. 293-294.

[143] Ibid., p. 294, fn. 92.

[144] McKitterick's date of 802 is endorsed by Meens' argument: McKitterick, *The Frankish Church*, p. 52; Meens, 'Sanctuary, Penance, and Dispute Settlement under Charlemagne', p. 294, fn. 92.

sancta) can be illuminated all over with lights and the consecration of the Lord's body and blood can be effected, without vessels, truly, never.[145]

While we can see that the implications of this passage suggest that Theodulf did regard churches as holy places (*sancta loca*), it is nonetheless worth noting that in the text of the OC passage quoted here and elsewhere (for instance, the previously-quoted OC IV 13 passage), he does not actually use the adjective *sanctus* to modify church buildings (*basilicae*). Despite this restraint, we can still conclude that Theodulf did see *sanctus* as the appropriate description of the holy nature of such buildings.

What his treatment of relics and basilicas in the OC does allow us to conclude is that both were held in a similar level of regard by Theodulf: both had a place within devotional praxis; both were objects worthy of honour and veneration; and both could transmit honour and veneration to God and his saints. The closest term Theodulf offered to describe the quality that relics and basilicas possessed, which allowed them to play that role prohibited for images, was *sanctitas*. While the closest adjective – *sanctus* – was primarily reserved to describe people in the OC, Theodulf clearly viewed church buildings as holy places (*sancta loca*) – although his position may have intensified in a subsequent dispute with Alcuin – and, given the similar position relics enjoyed within his understanding of religious devotion, he likely viewed them as *sanctus* too. As will be shown below, the *res sacratae* would be qualified by a richer and more complex selection of terms than either the *sanctus* or *sanctitas* that Theodulf appears to have associated with saints' relics and church buildings. While the *res sacratae* did, for Theodulf, share that *sanctitas* with relics and churches, they also, crucially, superseded it.

1.2: Sacramental terminology and thought: *sacramentum*

Another term which has been conflated with Theodulf's category of *res sacratae* is *sacramentum*.[146] As will become apparent throughout the ensuing analysis of Theodulf's *res sacratae* doctrine in the subsequent chapters of Part I, this conflation has a superficial validity. For Theodulf, the *res sacratae* and *sacramenta* clearly shared certain features. However, there were also crucial differences. As was the case with *sanctus*, *sacramentum* did feature in Theodulf's OC lexicon. Theodulf even used it of two *res sacratae*: 'the sacrament

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[145] OC II 28, p. 302: 'Denique sine imaginibus et lavacri unda et sacri liquoris unctio percipi et timiamata adoleri et luminaribus loca sancta perlustrari et corporis et sanguinis Dominici consecratio effici potest, sine vasis vero numquam.'
[146] Mitalaité, *Philosophie et théologie de l'image dans les Libri Carolini*, pp. 423-427.

of the Lord's body and blood' and 'the sacrament of the cross'.[147] Nonetheless, Theodulf's use of *res sacratae* and *sacramentum* were not coextensive. Both in the OC and his later *De ordine baptismi*, for instance, Theodulf used *sacramentum* in relation to the ritual of baptism, but never applied the label *res sacrata* to any aspect of that rite. Conversely, the sole designation that Theodulf applied to the group of objects treated in OC II 26-30 (namely, the Ark of the Covenant, the eucharistic body and blood, the sign of the cross, liturgical vessels and the Bible) was *res sacratae*. This divergence in usage indicates that, while there was clearly some overlap, for Theodulf the *res sacratae* and *sacramenta* were two different categories. From our modern vantage point, the crucial distinction might appear to be the difference between ritual and object. After all, *res* implies a 'thing' or 'object', while our understanding of the sacraments, conditioned through later medieval Church Councils and fully codified at the Council of Trent, is of seven sacred rites in the Catholic Church.[148] While this may well prove to be the fundamental point of differentiation, the influence of such a seemingly secure anachronistic category is dangerous. By the time Theodulf wrote the OC *sacramentum* already had a long history, but it was a resolutely fluid one. Accordingly, it will be necessary now to outline the historical development of sacramental thought and usage of the term *sacramentum*, before elucidating Theodulf's own thought. In order to understand Theodulf's thought, in particular, it will also be essential to make use of his *De ordine baptismi*.

Let us begin by surveying the prior development of the meaning of *sacramentum*. The earliest recorded use of sacramentum appears in Varro's *De lingua latina*, to describe the 'sacred deposit': money deposited at the temple by plaintiffs and defendants in a legal dispute.[149] Although this is the earliest recorded use of *sacramentum*, it does, of course, point to an established legal usage by the time Varro was writing in the 1st century BC. By no later than the second century AD, Varro's more narrow legal usage – referring specifically

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[147] OC II 27, p. 290: 'corporis et sanguinis Dominici sacramentum'; OC IV 13, p. 516: 'corporis et sanguinis Dominici sacramento'; OC II 30, p. 303: 'qui corporis et sanguinis sui mysterium sive crucis sacramentum nostrae saluti congruum concessit'.

[148] Although the groundwork for the Council of Trent's definition of the sacraments was mostly set forth in the doctrinal statements of the Council of Florence (1439-1443), in its Bull of Union for the Armenian Church (1439). This Bull had already codified the seven sacraments that would be codified again at the Council of Trent: Peter Walter, 'Sacraments in the Council of Trent and Sixteenth-Century Catholic Theology', in Hans Boersma and Matthew Levering (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Sacramental Theology* (Oxford, 2015). In fact, the identification of these seven sacraments can be seen even earlier in the Second Council of Lyons (1274): Clarence McAuliffe, *Sacramental Theology: A Textbook for Advanced Students* (Freiburg, 1958). However, in early Christian and Carolingian texts the most frequent number of sacraments is just 3 (baptism, anointing and the mass).

[149] Varro, *On the Latin Language*, ed. and trans. Roland Kent (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1938), 5. 180, pp. 166-168: 'Si es[t] ea pecunia quae in iudicium venit in litibus, sacramentum a sacro; qui petebat et qui infitiabatur, de aliis rebus ut [e]rque quingenos aeris ad pont[ific]em deponebant, de aliis rebus item certo alio legitimo numero actum; qui iudicio vicerat, suum sacramentum e sacro auferebat, victi ad aerarium redibat.'

to the deposit itself – had been expanded to refer both to the money and to the oath it implied. The first such expanded use can be found in the second century jurist Gaius' *Institutiones*.[150]

However, this shift of emphasis most likely predates the second century and perhaps even existed in Varro's own day. Even when Varro wrote, *sacramentum* had broken the bounds of legal terminology to become used more widely in a military context. In its military context, *sacramentum* referred to an oath of allegiance. The earliest recorded military usage can be found in Julius Caesar's *De bello Gallico*.[151] As to whether this shift towards a military usage predated and, therefore, influenced the expansion of the legal definition to incorporate not only the money but also the accompanying oath, we can do no more than speculate. To do otherwise, would be to risk a descent into tautology.

Nonetheless, the widening currency of *sacramentum*, beyond its original legal setting was significant insofar as it facilitated the wider use of the term in analogous fashion in a variety of social and religious contexts. For the subsequent adoption of *sacramentum* by patristic theologians, the most important writer who utilised *sacramentum* analogies was Apuleius in his *Metamorphoses*.[152] In Book 11, Lucius, having been restored to human form after seeing Isis in a dream and pledging himself (by an 'oath': *sacramentum*) to the goddess, encountered a priest of Isis who admonished him to commit fully to the cult (or 'holy army': *sanctae militiae*) of Isis, reminding him of his former oath.[153] Here, Apuleius was one of the first to articulate the idea of the *sacramentum* as an initiation oath into a religious cult.

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[150] Gaius, *Institutiones*, ed. Emil Seckel and Bernhard Kuebler (Leipzig, 1935), 4. 13, pp. 195-196: 'Sacramenti actio generalis erat. de quibus enim rebus ut aliter ageretur, lege cautum non erat, de his sacramento agebatur: ea que actio proinde periculosa erat falsi atque hoc tempore periculosa est actio certae creditae pecuniae propter sponsionem, qua periclitatur reus, si temere neget, et respoitulationem, qua periclitatur actor, si non debitum petat. nam qui uictus erat, summam sacramenti praestabat poenae nomine; ea que in publicum cedebat praedes que eo nomine praetori dabantur, non ut nunc sponsionis et restipulationis poena lucro cedit aduersarii, qui uicerit.'

[151] Julius Caesar, *Gallic War*, ed. and trans. H. J. Edwards (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1917), 6. 1, pp. 316: 'MVLTIS de causis Caesar maiorem Galliae motum exspectans per Marcum Silanum, Gaium Antistium Reginum, Titum Sextium legatos delectum habere instituit; simul ab Gnaeo Pompeio proconsule petit, quoniam ipse ad urbem cum imperio rei publicae causa remaneret, quos ex Cisalpina Gallia consulis sacramento rogavisset, ad signa convenire et ad se proficisci iuberet, magni interesse etiam in reliquum tempus ad opinionem Galliae existimans tantas videri Italiae facultates ut, si quid esset in bello detrimenti acceptum, non modo id brevi tempore sarciri, sed etiam maioribus augeri copiis posset. Quod cum Pompeius et rei publicae et amicitiae tribuisset, celeriter confecto per suos dilectu tribus ante exactam hiemem constitutis et adductis legionibus duplicatoque earum cohortium numero, quas cum Quinto Titurio amiserat, et cleritate et copiis docuit, quid populi Romani disciplina atque opes possent.'

[152] Owen Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe: The Carolingians, Baptism, and the Imperium Christianum* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 12-14.

[153] Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, ed. R. Helm (Leipzig, 1955), 11. 15, pp. 277-278: 'quo tamen tutior sis atque munitior, da nomen sanctae huic militiae, cuius non olim sacramento etiam rogabaris, te que iam nunc obsequio religionis nostrae dedica et ministerii iugum subi uoluntarium. Nam cum coeperis deae seruire, tunc magis senties fructum tuae libertatis.'

Even before moving on to the Christian use of *sacramentum* in relation to baptism, especially, the resonance of Apuleius' use of the term in this passage with that sacrament, at least, appears stark. It is not difficult to see how Apuleius' analogous use of the metaphor of the military oath would have appealed to the patristic theologians who similarly redirected the term towards the Christian initiation rite of baptism. These analogous uses, which extended beyond the works of Apuleius alone, liberated *sacramentum* from its previously legal and military definitions.[154] In so doing, the door was opened for early Christian writers to do likewise. Brian Stock characterised this classical Latin origin of *sacramentum* as one of two streams of meaning underlying the early Christian use of the term: it gave the Christian *sacramentum* the meaning of a solemn oath of commitment.[155] However, the second stream of meaning was altogether more mysterious, both in etymological roots and meaning. It came from the translation of the Greek μυστήριον (*mysterion*) as *sacramentum*, giving the meaning of a spiritually significant action.[156] As argued by Christine Mohrmann, the decision to use *sacramentum* in place of the more obvious *mysterium* likely stemmed from the greater aversion in early Christian Latin to terms infested by pagan connotations: within the Latin tradition *mysterium* had far stronger associations with mystical pagan practice than the more neutral legal or military term *sacramentum*.[157] This translation is reputed to have taken place in north Africa early in the third century AD in the *Vetus Latina* version of the Pauline Epistles.[158] In the work of Tertullian these two strands of meaning underpinning *sacramentum* were first merged in a Christian text.

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[154] Other *sacramentum* analogies of a social or religious nature, can be found, for instance, in the works of Petronius, Seneca and Silius Italicus. In his *Satyricon*, Petronius spoke of the sacrament of friendship (*amicitiae sacramentum*): Petronius, *Satyricon*, ed. K. Mueller (Leipzig, 1995), pp. 78-79. Silius Italicus, on the other hand recounted how the Roman people, terrified of the approach of Hannibal, had been made to swear an oath to the gods (*iurant sacramenta deis*): Silius Italicus, *Punica*, ed. and trans. James Duff (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1927), 10. 447-448, p. 82. Finally, in his *Dialogues*, Seneca described the philosopher's submission to the innate suffering of his life as a *sacramentum*: Seneca, *Dialogues*, ed. E. Hermes (Leipzig, 1923), 7. 15. 5-7, pp. 212-213.

[155] Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1983), p. 254.

[156] Ibid., p. 254.

[157] Notwithstanding, of course, the already cited analogous usage of *sacramentum* for pagan religious oaths in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. On the case of *sacramentum* in particular: Christine Mohrmann, 'Sacramentum dans les plus anciens textes chrétiens', *The Harvard Theological Review* 47 (1954), pp. 141-152, esp. pp. 143-144. For a more general treatment of this phenomenon within early Christian Latin translations: Christine Mohrmann, 'Linguistic Problems in the Early Christian Church', *Vigiliae Christianae* 11 (1957), pp. 11-36, esp. pp. 28-31.

[158] Caution is advisable with these claims, however, as they are unable to be proven categorically as the primary evidence for the existence of such translations is the use of *sacramentum* in passages quoted by Tertullian. Arguing against this thesis, therefore, some scholars present these as Tertullian's own translation directly from the Greek. For scholars advocating the *Vetus Latina* translation wholeheartedly: Mohrmann, 'Sacramentum dans les plus anciens textes chrétiens', p. 141; Phelan, *The Carolingians, Baptism, and the Imperium Christianum*, p. 19. A more cautious acceptance of the *Vetus Latina* translation can be found in: E. de Backer, *Sacramentum. Le mot et l'idée représentée par lui dans les oeuvres de Tertullien* (Louvain, 1911); P. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à l'invasion arabe* I: *Tertullien et les origines* (Paris, 1901), pp. 110-118. Meanwhile advocates of Tertullian's own translation directly from the Greek include: H. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament. A Guide to its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts* (Oxford, 2016), p. 6; Theodore Foster, '"Mysterium" and "Sacramentum" in the Vulgate and Old Latin Versions', *American Journal of Theology* 19 (1915), p. 410.

Tertullian's treatise *Adversus Marcion*, is the landmark since he includes the earliest classification of baptism and the mass as sacraments.[159]

Mostly, however, when Tertullian employed *sacramentum* throughout his entire *oeuvre* he did so not to refer to these rituals as sacraments, but to indicate realities concealed and typologically revealed in Scripture.[160] This meaning is essentially equivalent to the translation of μυστήριον (*mysterion*) as *sacramentum* in the Pauline Epistles. Indeed, it is in Tertullian's discussion of *sacramentum*, illustrated by relevant passages from the Pauline Epistles in which μυστήριον (*mysterion*) has indeed been translated as *sacramentum* rather than *mysterium*, that we first encounter the alleged *Vetus Latina* translation of μυστήριον (*mysterion*) as *sacramentum*. It is this fact which leads some scholars to claim that this innovation did not originate in the *Vetus Latina* translation itself, but was of Tertullian's doing.[161] Regardless of whether or not Tertullian did introduce this innovation, his influence on the early Christian use and understanding of *sacramentum* was profound.[162] In addition to being the first to apply the initiatory-oath-meaning to the rituals of baptism and mass, he also popularised the practice of deploying the term to evoke hidden, mystical realities, which ultimately became fused into the understanding of the sacramental rites themselves.

After Tertullian, a series of patristic authors continued and expanded upon the semantic developments he had inaugurated: both in terms of his identification of baptism and mass as *sacramenta* and the broader understanding and use of the term itself. Through the third and into the early fourth century, the development and use of the term *sacramentum* remained especially concentrated in north Africa, principally in the works of

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[159] Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, ed. and trans. Ernest Evans (Oxford, 1972), 4. 34. 5, p. 450: 'Aut si omnino negas permitti divortium a Christo, quomodo tu nuptias dirimis, nec coniungens marem et feminam, nec alibi coniunctos ad sacramentum baptismatis et eucharistie admittens nisi inter se coniuraverint adversus fructum nuptiarum, ut adversus ipsum creatorem?' On this being the earliest reference to baptism and mass as *sacramenta*: Phelan, *The Carolingians, Baptism, and the Imperium Christianum*, pp. 17-18.

[160] T. Lang, *Mystery and the Making of a Christian Historical Consciousness. From Paul to the Second Century* (Boston, Massachusetts, 2015), pp. 221-247. Although Stock seems to arrive at the completely opposite conclusion that Tertullian used *sacramentum* more for oath than for a religious mystery (134 versus 84 times): Stock, *The Implications of Literacy*, p. 256. Phelan appears to offer support for Lang's claims, by noting Tertullian's consistent use of *sacramentum* to translate the Greek μυστήριον (mysterion): Phelan, *The Carolingians, Baptism and the Imperium Christianum*, p. 19. Short of going through Tertullian's entire *oeuvre* personally, it would seem that the scholarly consensus among theological specialists is for Lang and Phelan. Nonetheless, this disagreement between specialists and non-specialists, highlights the fact that the history of the term *sacramentum* is far from simple and, thus, worthy of the attention applied to it here.

[161] Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, p. 6; Foster, '"Mysterium" and "Sacramentum" in the Vulgate and Old Latin Versions', p. 410.

[162] Indeed, although he offers a completely different assessment of the emphasis of Tertullian's use of *sacramentum* as favouring the oath over the mystery (i.e. the rite over the symbol), Stock extends to Tertullian the epithet of 'the father of sacramental terminology in the west': Stock, *The Implications of Literacy*, p. 257. De Ghellinck, on the other hand, extends a similarly exalted position to the African church fathers more broadly, saying 'le groupe africain peut revendiquer pour lui le rôle décisif dans l'évolution de cette terminologie': Joseph de Ghellinck, 'Conclusion', in Joseph de Ghellinck *et al.* (eds.), *Pour l'histoire du mot "sacramentum"* 1: *Les anténicéens* (Louvain/Paris, 1924), p. 310.

Cyprian of Carthage, Novatian, Arnobius of Sicca and Lactantius. While these scholars did follow Tertullian's (or, perhaps, the North African *Vetus Latina*'s) *sacramentum*-μυστήριον equivalence, their usage centred on the idea of *sacramentum* as an initiation ritual, with the concept of *sacramentum* as a sacred sign slowly rising to prominence after the third century.[163] Cyprian of Carthage introduced a significant innovation of his own. He emphasised the sacraments' importance for the unity of the church, that is for the horizontal bonds of a community of worshippers, rather than just as an instance of vertical sanctification.[164] As Owen Phelan has shown, this notion of the horizontal power of the sacraments would prove to be the major fault line in Paschasius Radbertus' and Ratramnus of Corbie's ninth-century eucharistic controversy.[165]

By the fourth century, the distinctive Christian use of the term *sacramentum* had reached Europe. However, as will be demonstrated in more detail below, the secular meaning of *sacramentum* as 'oath' appears to have persisted more strongly in Europe than it had in North Africa. Although this could, of course, be due to the survival of texts where the discussion of oaths in Latin was relevant. Despite adopting and building upon the Christian concepts of *sacramentum* developed by their North African predecessors, both Hilary of Poitiers and Ambrose of Milan, therefore, used *sacramentum* more frequently as the secular oath.[166] Nonetheless, each introduced his own particular innovations. Hilary united the two meanings (i.e. 'rite' and 'sacred sign') by describing the eucharist as the *sacramentum* communicating everlasting life to the faithful.[167] Ambrose, on the other hand, expounded the relationship between the visible rite of the *sacramentum* and the hidden power (*mysterium*) that lay beneath it, with both facets necessary for the believer to receive salvation.[168] Although at other times, Ambrose did deploy *sacramentum* and *mysterium* interchangeably.[169]

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[163] Mohrmann, 'Sacramentum dans les plus anciens textes chrétiens', pp. 145-147.

[164] Cyprian of Carthage, *De catholicae ecclesiae unitate*, ed. M. Bévenot (Turnhout, 1972) 7, p. 215: 'unitatis sacramentum'.

[165] Owen Phelan, 'Horizontal and Vertical Theologies: "Sacraments" in the Works of Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus of Corbie', *The Harvard Theological Review* 103 (2010), pp. 271-289.

[166] Joseph Huhn, *Die Bedeutung des Wortes Sacramentum bei dem Kirchenvater Ambrosius* (Fulda, 1928), p. 10.

[167] Robert Dodaro, 'Sacramentum', *Augustinus-Lexicon*; Hilary of Poitiers, *De Trinitate*, ed. P. Smulders CCSL 62 (Turnhout, 1979-1980) 7. 15-17.

[168] Ambrose, *De mysteriis*, ed. O. Faller CSEL 73 (Vienna, 1955) 4. 20, pp. 96-97: 'ideo que legisti, quod tres testes in baptismate unum sunt, aqua, sanguis, et spiritus. Quia, si unum horum detrahas, non stat baptismatis sacramentum. quid est enim aqua sine cruce Christi nisi elementum commune, sine ullo sacramento profectu? nec iterum sine aqua regenerationis mysterium est. nisi enim quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu, non potest introire in regnum dei. credit autem etiam catechumenos in crucem domini Iesu, qua et ipse signatur; sed nisi baptizatus fuerit in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, remissionem non potest accipere peccatorum nec spiritalis gratiae munus haurire.'

[169] Mohrmann, 'Sacramentum dans les plus anciens textes chrétiens', p. 152.

In terms of the patristic inheritance that Theodulf would have associated with *sacramentum*, our brief overview has now reached its apices: Augustine and Isidore of Seville.[170] Aside from Tertullian, Augustine is invariably the patristic theologian who looms largest in the philological history of *sacramentum*. Augustine, in particular, used *sacramentum* extensively throughout his *oeuvre*: about 2,030 times.[171] Given such an extensive usage, the ways in which Augustine understood *sacramentum* were inevitably diverse. In his seminal 1953 study, Charles Couturier loosely categorised these understandings into three broad groups as references to: rites, symbols, or mysteries.[172] Underpinning all of these understandings in Augustinian thought, however, is Augustine's classic definition in *De civitate dei* of *sacramenta* as *sacra signa*: 'thus the visible sacrifice is the sacrament, the sacred sign, of the invisible sacrifice.'[173] This understanding was clearly strongly influenced by his teacher Ambrose. However, Augustine did treat extensively upon the topic of signs and their relationships to things, particularly in *De magistro* and *De doctrina christiana*, going far beyond the classical definitions maintained by Ambrose, especially in terms of his application of the notion of signification to the theory of language.[174] Furthermore, it was Augustine's articulation of Ambrose's notion that became fundamental.

But the key influence upon Theodulf's sacramental theology, according Kristina Mitalaité, was Isidore of Seville.[175] Isidore's sacramental theology, however, does not substantially differ from the earlier tradition up to and including the work of Augustine. It would, therefore, be difficult to prove a definitive link between the sacramental thought of Isidore and Theodulf, given the former's minimal deviation from Augustinian ideas. Nonetheless, as I shall highlight below, Theodulf's sacramental theology as expounded in

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[170] It is, of course, unsurprising that these scholars should loom largest in Theodulf's own understanding of *sacramentum*, given not only the oft-noted Carolingian penchant for Augustinian thought, but also the increasingly recognised tendency for such theologians in their own writings and sermons not to promote the name of Augustine above all others, but instead to seek out the *consensus patrum* in the Augustine-influenced works of later writers, such as Isidore of Seville. For a recent summary of the previous scholarship and an articulation of the latter idea: Josh Timmermann, 'An authority among authorities: knowledge and use of Augustine in the wider Carolingian world', *Early Medieval Europe* 28 (2020), pp. 532-559.

[171] This figure is provided by Dodaro in the *Augustinus-Lexicon*, based on the digital database of the *Corpus Augustinianum Gisennse*. However, Couturier, in his otherwise seminal survey of *sacramentum* in the works of Augustine seems to arrive at a slightly different figure to Dodaro, with a combined count of Augustine's use of *sacramentum* and *mysterium* arriving at 2,279 times compared to the *Corpus Augustinianum Gisennse*'s combined figure of 2,570: Dodaro, 'Sacramentum', *Augustinus-Lexicon*; Charles Couturier, '"Sacramentum" et "mysterium" dans l'oeuvre de saint Augustin', in H. Rondet *et al.* (eds.), *Études augustiniennes* (Paris, 1953), pp. 164-165; Joseph Leinhard, '*Sacramentum* and the Eucharist in St. Augustine', *The Thomist* 77 (2013), p. 178.

[172] Charles Couturier, '"Sacramentum" et "mysterium" dans l'oeuvre de saint Augustin', in H. Rondet *et al.* (eds.), *Études augustiniennes* (Paris, 1953), pp. 169-171.

[173] Augustine, *The City of God*, trans. Henry Bettenson (London, 1972, rep. 2003) 10. 5, p. 377.

[174] Robert Markus, 'St. Augustine on Signs', *Phronesis* 2 (1957), pp. 60-83, esp. pp. 64-65.

[175] Mitalaité, *Philosophie et théologie de l'image dans les Libri Carolini*, p. 424.

the OC and *De ordine baptismi* scarcely differs from that articulated by Isidore in his *Etymologiae*:

> A 'sacrament' takes place in a particular liturgical rite when an action is performed in such a way that it is understood to signify something that ought to be received in a holy way. Sacraments, then, are baptism and unction, and the body and blood [of the Lord]. These things are called sacraments for this reason, that under the covering of corporeal things the divine virtue very secretly brings about the saving power of those same sacraments – whence from their secret (*secretus*) or holy (*sacer*) power they are called sacraments. Sacraments are fruitfully performed under the aegis of the Church because the Holy Spirit dwelling in the Church in a hidden way brings about the aforesaid effect of the sacraments. Hence, although they may be dispensed through the Church of God by good or by bad ministers, nevertheless because the Holy Spirit mystically vivifies them – that Spirit that formerly in apostolic times would appear in visible works – these gifts are neither enlarged by the merits of good ministers nor diminished by the bad, for (I Corinthians 3:7), "neither he that planteth is any thing, nor he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase." For this reason in Greek a sacrament is called a 'mystery,' because it has a secret and recondite character.[176]

Isidore's definition of a *sacramentum* overlaps significantly with Augustine's characterisation of a sacrament as a sign, as well as with the Ambrosian concept – echoed in Augustine's own formulation – of an interplay between the outer ritual and the inner spiritual reality underneath it. Augustine was, of course, the most heavily used patristic authority in Isidore's *Etymologiae*.[177] Furthermore, Isidore's aim was not to innovate, but to transmit patristic authority – represented above all by Augustine – to his readers.[178]

If an Isidorian innovation in the understanding of *sacramentum* is to be found, however, it is in his notion that the legal and theological etymologies of the term are complementary.[179] For instance, Isidore explained that baptism was done in the name of Father, Son and Holy Spirit so that, 'just as every statement is confirmed by three

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[176] Isidore, *Etymologies*, trans. Stephen Barney (Cambridge, 2006) 6. 19, pp. 148-149.

[177] Jacques Elfassi, 'Isidore of Seville and the *Etymologies*', in Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood (eds.), *A Companion to Isidore of Seville* (Leiden, 2020), p. 268.

[178] Although O'Loughlin offers a convincing rebuttal to the resultant tendency among historians to characterise him not as a 'thinker', but as merely a 'writer': Thomas O'Loughlin, 'Isidore of Seville as a Theologian', in Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood (eds.), *A Companion to Isidore of Seville* (Leiden, 2020), pp. 135-151.

[179] Phelan, *The Carolingians, Baptism, and the Imperium Christianum*, pp. 27-28.

witnesses, so the threefold number of divine names confirms this sacrament'.[180] Thus, not only did Isidore transmit the secular understandings of *sacramentum* (treating the military context in Book 9, Chapter 3 and the civil/legal context in Book 5 Chapter 24), but he also emphasised the importance of secular etymologies to the understanding of that Christian *sacramentum*.[181]

Theodulf did not need Isidore's *Etymologiae* to understand the secular usages of *sacramentum*. S*acramentum* as oath – either in a military or political context – continued into Carolingian usage. The continuity of the secular usage alongside the religious is evident in Gregory of Tours' *Libri historiarum decem*. His account of the political turmoil of sixth-century Gaul is peppered by myriad uses of *sacramentum*. These represent the full gamut from informal oaths sworn by Clotilde's co-conspirators in an attempted coup at the convent of the Holy Cross in Poitiers, to more formal oaths exchanged (along with hostages) in the signing of a peace treaty between the kings Theuderic and Childebert.[182] Yet, Gregory also applied *sacramentum* to the ritual of baptism, as in his account Saint Avitus' baptism of a Jewish convert in Clermont-Ferrand.[183] While Theodulf had likely read Gregory of Tour's *Libri historiarum decem*, as a courtier in the 790s, he would surely also have had first-hand acquaintance with the full semantic range of *sacramentum* through the capitularies requiring oaths of allegiance to Charlemagne between 789 and 802. *Sacramentum* designated these oaths in the capitularies.[184] Indeed, the *sacramentum* as an oath of allegiance played a central role in one of the more prominent political crises occurring at Charlemagne's court in the late 780s and into the 790s, when Theodulf wrote the OC: the *sacramentum* oaths extracted from – and allegedly transgressed by – Tassilo of Bavaria. These contemporary uses of *sacramentum* cannot be neatly designated as 'secular', since the political use of the term was enjoined by theological implications, within the *imperium christianum*.[185] Indeed, these sacramental oaths would have been sworn upon gospels, altars or relics.[186]

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[180] Isidore, *Etymologies*, trans. Stephen Barney, 6. 19, p. 149.

[181] Isidore, *Etymologies*, trans. Stephen Barney, 9. 3, pp. 202-203: 'There are three kinds of military service: by oath, by call to arms, and by communal oath. In service by oath (*sacramentum*) each soldier after his election swears not to quit his service until after his hitch has been completed, that is, his period of service – and those are the ones who have a full service record, for they are bound for twenty-five years'; and 5. 24, p. 121: 'A *sacramentum* is a bond given in support of a promise, and it is called a *sacramentum* (lit. "holy thing") because to violate a promise is a breach of faith.'

[182] Gregory of Tours, *Libri historiarum decem*, ed. Bruno Krusch MGH SrM 1 (Hannover, 1961) 3. 15 and 9. 39, pp. 112-116 and 460-463.

[183] Gregory of Tours, *Libri historiarum decem*, MGH SrM 1, 5. 11, pp. 205-206.

[184] Matthias Becher, *Eid und Herrschaft. Untersuchungen zum Herrscheretheos Karls des Grossen* (Sigmaringen, 1993), p. 94.

[185] Phelan, *The Carolingians, Baptism, and the Imperium Christianum*, pp. 31-32.

[186] M. David, 'Le serment du sacre du IXe au XVe siècle', *Revue du Moyen Âge Latin* 6 (1950), p. 67.

Before moving on to an analysis of Theodulf's use of *sacramentum* a couple of points must be made by way of summary of the preceding survey. First, Theodulf clearly had at his disposal a broad range of semantic possibilities when using the term *sacramentum*. While these could have been derived from both secular and theological roots, in the Carolingian context, the secular usage – of *sacramentum* as an oath of loyalty – was heavily imbued with a religious significance. Second, even amongst the Church Fathers themselves when using *sacramentum* in a religious context, there was a general dual usage: *Sacramentum* (as if capitalised, in our modern usage), to refer in a narrow sense to specific liturgical rites (especially, baptism and mass); and *sacramentum* in a broader, almost adjectival sense, more akin to the *mysterion-sacramentum* translation, or, as if by analogy to the liturgical rites, to describe things which share characteristics with them. After Augustine, especially, chief among those characteristics, was a symbolic quality.

Having briefly surveyed the historical development of the word *sacramentum* up to Theodulf, I will now evaluate his own use and understanding of *sacramentum*. In addition to the OC itself, another text subsequently composed by Theodulf will be especially useful: *De ordine baptismi*. Before turning to the latter, however, there is a great deal to be gleaned by examining how Theodulf used and, thus, understood *sacramentum* from a thorough examination of the OC itself.

As detailed above, *sacramentum* had a long association with the Greek loan-word *mysterium*, which principally stemmed from the use of *sacramentum* to translate the Greek *mysterion* of the Pauline Epistles in either the third-century north African *Vetus Latina*, or in Tertullian's loosely-quoted Pauline passages.[187] Since that decision, *sacramentum* and *mysterium* had become closely interwoven in much of the subsequent patristic and early medieval theological discourse. It will be of little surprise, therefore, to find a similar association in Theodulf's OC. Accordingly, it will be important to open up the following survey of the OC's sacramental lexicon to include not only *sacramentum*, but also *mysterium*.

Let us begin with *sacramentum*. It occurs twenty-five times in the OC. Since we are assessing Theodulf's usage, however, we can discount the three instances which occur in

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[187] Mohrmann, 'Sacramentum dans les plus anciens textes chrétiens', p. 141; Phelan, *The Carolingians, Baptism, and the Imperium Christianum*, p. 19; de Backer, *Sacramentum. Le mot et l'idée représentée par lui dans les oeuvres de Tertullien*; Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à l'invasion arabe* I: *Tertullien et les origines*, pp. 110-118; Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, p. 6; Foster, '"Mysterium" and "Sacramentum" in the Vulgate and Old Latin Versions', p. 410.

lengthy quotations.[188] This leaves twenty-two instances in Theodulf's own words.[189] By contrast, *mysterium* features at least seventy-five times. As with *sacramentum*, however, we can discount three instances appearing in quotations.[190] For *mysterium*, then there are almost three times as many uses as compared to *sacramentum*. Incidentally, this relative usage of *mysterium* and *sacramentum* is roughly the inverse of Augustine's.[191]

The prevalence of *mysterium* over *sacramentum* in Theodulf's writing is reflected in how each term is generally used. *Mysterium* has a broader range of applications in the OC. Theodulf appears to have especially favoured that word for more abstract articles of faith. Most frequently, these are such general references to 'the mysteries', or, especially, to 'the arcane mysteries', that they are difficult to neatly characterise. There are, however, some clearer references to specific articles of faith or doctrine. Most significantly, Theodulf uses *mysterium* at least nine times to refer to aspects of Christ's incarnation, passion and resurrection.[192] Perhaps tied to these references are the ten times *mysterium* is used in relation to the cross and six times in relation to the body and blood of Christ.[193] Another article of doctrine frequently identified as a *mysterium* is the Trinity; Theodulf designates it as such four times.[194] *Sacramentum*, on the other hand, is never applied to the Trinity, nor to

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[188] A reference from Bede's *De templo Salomonis* to the 'sacraments of the gospel' (*sacramenta evangeli*) and two references to the 'sacrament of the incarnation' (*incarnationis sacramentum*) in a passage from Ambrose's *De spiritu sancto*: OC II 5, pp. 247-248; OC II 26, p. 288.

[189] Or at least, twenty-two instances that most likely reflect Theodulf's own words, since, as will be explained in more detail below, there is some manuscript evidence pointing to alternative editorial influences, even if Theodulf is now almost universally accepted as the principal author of the OC. This is especially true, for instance, in Book II.

[190] Quotations from Bede's *De templo Salomonis*, Jerome's *In Esaiam* and what Theodulf passes off as a quotation from the Latin translation of II Nicaea. The specific quotation Theodulf gives is not found in the existing Latin translation of II Nicaea, however, that text was subsequently emended by the Papal Librarian Anstasius in the late-ninth-century. OC I 20, pp. 202-203; OC II 11, p. 257; OC II 27, p. 290. On the possibility that Theodulf in fact fabricated some of his 'quotations' from the Acts of II Nicaea for polemic effect: Lamberz, 'Die Überlieferung und Rezeption des VII. Ökumenischen Konzils (787) in Rom und im lateinischen Westen', pp. 1060-1064. I am not convinced by Lamberz's argument, however, as there are passages where *veneratio* is used in the II Nicaean quotation yet Theodulf emphasises *adorare* in his own prose (e.g. in the already-mentioned quotation on OC II 27, p. 290). Surely, if Theodulf had fabricated such a passage for polemic effect he would have done a better job ensuring that it perfectly fitted his rebuttal and offered the most offensive position possible, which, as will be shown in Chapter 4, would be to use *adorare* rather than *venerari*.

[191] Dodaro, 'Sacramentum', *Augustinus-Lexicon*: *sacramentum* (c.2030 times), *mysterium* (c.540 times).

[192] OC I 29, p. 228: 'mysterium incarnationis'; OC II 21, p. 275: 'salutis mysteria peragere'; OC III 13, p. 390: 'sacratissimae resurrectionis gloriosum mysterium'; OC III 13, p. 391: 'mysterium incarnationis'; OC III 18, p. 417: 'mysterium incarnationis'; OC III 21, pp. 432-433: 'mysterium incarnationis'; OC IV 2, p. 492: 'redemptionis mysteria celebrare'; OC IV 3, p. 494: 'salutis mysteria celebrare'. Although he sometimes omits the direct as in 'the mystery of our redemption' (*mysterium nostrae redemptionis*): OC III 24, p. 448.

[193] OC II *Capitulae*, p. 238: 'mysterium Dominicae crucis'; OC II 27, p. 296-297: 'mysterium Dominicae crucis' and 'crucis mysterium' (x4); OC II 28, p. 300: 'crucis mysterium'; OC II 29, p. 301: 'mysterium Dominicae crucis'; OC II 30, p. 303: 'corporis et sanguinis Christi mysterium' and 'mysterium crucis' (x2); OC III 11, p. 379: 'crucis mysterium'; OC III 28, p. 470: 'crucis mysterium'; OC IV 14, pp. 523-524: 'corporis et sanguinis Dominici mysterium' (x2); OC IV 14, p. 524: 'corporis et sanguinis Christi mysterium'.

[194] OC *Praefatio*, p. 98: 'mysterium sanctae Trinitatis'; OC III 7, pp. 366-367: 'summi et ineffabilis mysterii Trinitatis'; OC IV 13, p. 516: 'mysterium sanctae Trinitatis'; OC IV 13, p. 521: 'mysterium sanctae Trinitatis'.

Christ's incarnation, passion or resurrection. However, there is one reference to the eucharistic body and blood as Christ's 'most apt sacrament for our salvation', as well as one instance in which Theodulf does employ *sacramentum* in a more doctrinal fashion:

> Since they rave that it is a crime not to adore these [images], that to adore them is among the first sacraments of the faith instituted by the apostles, let them ponder, since the same *vessel of election* [Paul] does not enumerate despising these [images] amongst the sins, when he says: *Now the works of the flesh are made manifest, which are fornication, uncleanness, immodesty, luxury, the service of idols, witchcrafts, enmities, contentions, emulations, wraths, quarrels, dissensions, sects, heresies, envies, murders, drunkenness, revelling, and similar things, of which I forewarn you, just as I have foretold, since they, who do such things, shall not obtain the kingdom of God,* nor does he enumerate adoring these [images] amongst the spiritual fruits, when he says: *But the fruit of the spirit is charity, joy, peace, patience, longanimity, goodness, benignity, faith, modesty, continence. Against such there is no law. And they that are Christ's have crucified their flesh with the vices and concupiscences.*[195]

This particular instance has the connotation of *sacramentum* in the sense of a founding tenet of the Christian faith.[196] This is, however, an outlier. For Theodulf, *sacramentum* was, above all, his term for more concrete as opposed to abstract things, especially the rituals of mass (nine times) and baptism (six times).[197] Interestingly, *mysterium* is used for this purpose too, typically in relation to the 'sacrament/mystery of the Lord's body and blood' when

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[195] OC II 25, pp. 284-285: 'Quia ergo has non adorare scelus, has autem adorare inter prima fidei sacramenta ab apostolis institutum esse delerant, perpendant, quoniam idem *vas electionis* nec eas spernere inter scelera enumerat, cum dicit: *Manifesta sunt autem opera carnis, qua sunt fornicatio, inmunditia, inpudicitia, luxoria, idolorum servitus, veneficia, inimicitiae, contentiones aemulationes, irae, rixae, dissensiones, sectae, hereses, invidia, homicidia, aebrietates, comesationes et his similia, quae praedico vobis, sicut praedixi, quoniam, qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non consequentur*, nec eas adorare inter spiritales fructus enumerat, cum dicit: *Fructus autem spiritus est caritas, gaudium, pax, patientia, longanimitas, bonitas, benignitas, fides, modestia, continentia. Adversus huiusmodi non est lex. Qui autem sunt Christi, carnem suam crucifixerunt cum vitiis et concupiscentiis.*'

[196] Although, Christianity did not really have founding tenets. Instead, such tenets emerged later in the transition of Christianity from groups defined by a shared worship and community to groups defined by a list of beliefs which emerged from the successive winnowing out of diverse alternate possibilities. Yet for Theodulf, sitting towards the latter end of this development, there were clearly doctrinal beliefs he perceived as fundamental to being a Christian which – he believed – were present from the outset: Robert Markus, 'The Problem of Self-Definition: From Sect to Church', in Albert Baumgarten and Alan Mendelson (eds.), *Jewish and Christian Self-definition*, I (London, 1980), pp. 1-15.

[197] OC I 21, pp. 204-205: 'sacramentum baptismi' (x3); OC I 23, p. 211: 'sacramentum baptismatis'; OC II 27, p. 290: 'corporis et sanguinis Dominici sacramentum'; OC II 27, pp. 293-294: 'corporis et sanguinis Dominici sacramentum' (x2); OC II 29, p. 301: 'corporis et sanguinis Dominici sacramentum'; OC II 30, p. 303: 'corporis et sanguinis Dominici sacramentum'; OC II 31, pp. 322-323: 'sacramentum baptismi'; OC III 6, p. 361: 'sacramentum baptismatis'; OC IV 13, p. 516: 'corporis et sanguinis Dominici sacramentum'; OC IV 14, pp. 523-524: 'sanguinis et corporis Christi sacramentum' (x2). My use of 'concrete' here is much in the same sense (although inverted) as employed by Christine Mohrmann when commenting upon the early Christian Latin translators of the Bible employing Greek loanwords as 'early termini technici for concrete Christian affairs and institutions of the first centuries' as opposed Latin neologisms for more abstract terms: Mohrmann, 'Linguistic Problems in the Early Christian Church', p. 29.

sacramentum had already been used in an earlier sentence.[198] Similarly, while the cross is typically described as a *mysterium*, on one occasion, Theodulf does season his text with a dash of variety by switching to *sacramentum crucis* after an earlier *mysterium crucis*, alongside the reverse swap for an accompanying *sacramentum Dominici coporis et sanguinis*:

> If this error, by which they strive to equate images to the books of the divine Scriptures, should be placed alongside their other errors, between each should be something of great enormity, that [error] having truly been held to be the same as the others, by which they have struggled to equate these [images] to the Ark of the Lord and to the sacrament of the body and the blood of the Lord and to the mystery of the cross, is without doubt discovered [to be] lesser, especially because rightly they should be able neither to be equated to the former nor to the latter; because clearly these [the divine Scriptures, the Ark of the Lord, the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord and the mystery of the cross] have been predestined before the ages by the deepest arcane and prophetic judgement of God alone and are held to have been given by a merciful example through the motion of the ages towards the benefit of human salvation and [to have been advanced by] the holy authors and venerable men reflecting [them] with the lanterns of virtues and the emblems of miracles or surely the Lord himself, who fittingly gave for our salvation the mystery of his body and blood and the sacrament of the cross, and truly those [images] have been advanced by the vanity of pagan authors and induce no example of salvation, no prerogative of any sacrament for mortals, but merely favour the eyes, through which, as if through certain envoys, they deliver the memory of past things to hearts.[199]

For Theodulf, then, the semantic fields of these terms are capacious enough to admit some overlap between *mysterium* and *sacramentum*, at least for rhetorical variation. Although this semantic overlap is primarily only in one direction: some *sacramenta* are also *mysteria*, but not all *mysteria* are *sacramenta*. That said, there are other instances in which Theodulf uses

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[198] OC IV 14, pp. 523-524.

[199] OC II 30, p. 303: 'Si hic error, quo divinae Scripturae libris imagines aequiperare nituntur, ceteris eorum erroribus conparetur, quamquam erga se sit magnae enormitatis, aliis vero conparatus, quibus eas et arcae Domini et corporis et sanguinis Dominici sacramento et crucis mysterio aequiperare nisi sunt, minor procul dubio reperitur, praesertim cum nec illis nec istis rite aequiperari possint; cum videlicet illae solius Dei altissimo archanoque ac praesago iudicio sint ante saecula praedestinatae et per momenta saeculorum ad humanae salutis emolumenta clementi exhibitione concessae habeantque auctores sanctos ac venerabiles viros virtutum lampadibus et miraculorum insignibus coruscantes vel certe ipsum Dominum, qui corporis et sanguinis sui mysterium sive crucis sacramentum nostrae saluti congruum concessit, istae vero et gentilium auctorum vanitate prolatae sint et nullam salutis exhibitionem, nullam sacramenti alicuius mortalibus praerogativam adducant, sed oculis tantummodo faveant, per quos quasi per quosdam legatos gestarum rerum memoriam cordibus mandent.'

sacramentum more inclusively, often alongside *mysteria*. When used in this way, *sacramentum* and *mysterium* appear to have the meaning of unspecified spiritual truths or secrets. This usage is especially prevalent in relation to the Ark of the Covenant. However, the relevant passages describe the Ark of the Covenant not so much as either a singular *mysterium* or *sacramentum*, but instead as being almost radioactively full and overflowing with mysteries and sacraments:

> For while those [images] might signify nothing else except occasionally the order of things that were done, occasionally they may falsely assert the error of things not done but fabricated, truly these [the decorations of and contents of the Ark of the Covenant] always radiate with the holy and excellent mysteries and redly glow with the sacraments.[200]

> [Moses], who made an image out of whichever material, which overflows with so many mysteries and abounds in sacraments, so that awe-inspiring prophecies should be heard in its surface...[201]

These examples bring up another important distinction between *mysteria* and *sacramenta* for Theodulf: the correlation between *mysteria* and the Old Testament, on the one hand, and between *sacramenta* and the New Testament, on the other. Whereas the foregoing examples do show *sacramentum* used in relation to certain artefacts associated with the Old Testament (e.g. the Ark of the Covenant), more frequently, *sacramentum* is linked to New Testament institutions, such as mass and baptism. *Mysterium* on the other hand is often used in relation to the Old Testament, especially when coupled with *arcanus* (or, in Theodulf's orthography: *archanus*).[202] One instance, despite lacking the *arcanus*, can illustrate this usage for us:

> For they [Abel, Noah and Abraham] were not presenting to God pagan sacrifices, but rather sacrifices full of mysteries, because rustics were not yet so called *from the lands of the Athenian pagans*, since the sacrifice was already offered by them to God, and, as I have thus said, neither had the city of the Athenians been founded nor had Cecrops yet bequeathed to the gentiles the institution of sacrifices being offered and altars being erected and the naming of demons, when Abel and Noah and Abraham had offered sacrifices to God. These holy men presented, I say,

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[200] OC I 15, p. 170: 'Nam dum istae nihil aliud innuant nisi interdum rerum gestarum ordinem, interdum non gestarum sed fictarum mentiantur errarem, illa vero semper sanctis et excellentibus radiant mysteriis et rutilant sacramentis.'

[201] OC II 26, p. 288: '...qui faciat ex qualibet materia imaginem, quae tot redundet mysteriis et exuberet sacramentis, ut in eius superficie tremenda audiantur oracula...'

[202] E.g.: OC IV 21, p. 539; OC III 21, p. 432; OC III 26, pp. 463-464; OC II 12, pp. 382-383; OC II 9, p. 253; OC II 4, p. 245; etc.

whether before the law or under the law sacrifices foreshadowed in typological mysteries, which have been fulfilled in the New Testament through the *Mediator of God and man* with the prefigured foreshadowings cast aside and fulfilled and passed on to the church, by which with the same [*Mediator of God and man*] aiding they will be preserved all the way to the end.[203]

Throughout the OC Theodulf insisted on typological exegesis of the Old Testament. He frequently denounced what he saw as the child-like, excessively literal exegetical approach of II Nicaea. This was a key feature of his exegetical program, as Elisabeth Dahlhaus-Berg emphasised in her seminal study: Theodulf sought out the symmetries between the two Testaments by attending to the symbolic way they pointed towards something that would be revealed by Christ in the New Testament rather than through a fixation upon the literal (historical) meaning of passages in the Old Testament.[204] In the above passage, too, Theodulf advocates a typological reading of the Old Testament accounts of allegedly pagan-style sacrifices offered by Abel, Noah and Abraham to God.[205] This was a response to a statement made by Epiphanios at the Sixth Session of II Nicaea. In turn, Epiphanios had been rebutting a statement from the *Horos* of the iconoclast Council of Hieria (754), that had articulated a middle path between Judaism and paganism, in which the rituals of both were rejected: the bloody sacrifices of Judaism and the pagan worship of idols. Epiphanios responded:

The old covenant which the Israelite people possessed was a tradition from God, while the traditions of the pagans came from demons. So in this matter they have listed and combined with God-given commandments those of demons, in that they have asserted that the image of the Lord is like the images of demons. They must therefore accuse Abel, Noah and Abraham because of the animal sacrifices they offered, and also Moses, Samuel, David and the other patriarchs, because they offered strange and pagan sacrifices to God, although scripture contains testimony to their sacrifices: 'The Lord smelt a pleasing odour'. Would that they had known the truth, that offerings to God are acceptable to him (for scripture says, 'They

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[203] OC IV 18, p. 534: 'Non enim illi offerebant Deo sacrificia pagana, sed mysteriis plena, quia necdum *a pagis Atheniensium pagani* nuncupabantur, quando iam ab illis Deo sacrificium offerebatur, et, ut ita dixerim, necdum Athenarum urbs condita erat nec Crecrops offerendorum sacrificiorum institutiones et ararum erectiones et daemonum appellationes gentilibus tradiderat, cum iam Abel et Noe et Abraham Deo sacrificia optulerant. Offerebant, inquam, sancti sive ante legem sive sub lege sacrificia typicis mysteriis obumbrata, quae in novo Testamento per *Mediatorem Dei et hominum* expulsis obumbratis praefigurationibus sunt conpleta et aecclesiae tradita, quibus usque in finem ipso auxilliante erit contenta.'

[204] Dahlhaus-Berg, *Nova antiquitas et antiqua novitas*, esp. pp. 217-220.

[205] Abel's sacrifice: Genesis 4:4. Noah's sacrifice: Genesis 8:20-22. Abraham's sacrifice: Genesis 22.

sacrificed to the Lord'), while those to demons are abominable and detestable (for scripture says, 'They sacrificed to demons and not to God').[206]

Theodulf's response is, essentially, to say that Epiphanios has taken a far too literal approach to interpreting the Old Testament accounts of the animal sacrifices offered by Abel, Noah and Abraham (he does treat the sacrifices offered by Moses, Samuel and David elsewhere in the chapter). He begins with a more literal criticism: that these sacrifices cannot have been pagan since, borrowing his definition of pagan from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, he churlishly observes that none of them were from the *pagus* of Athens.[207] In a similar vein, likewise continuing the anti-Greek sentiment, he then observed – again emphasising a literal interpretation – that the patriarchs' sacrifices had been offered before the Athenian king Cecrops had instituted pagan idolatry.

In a literal sense, therefore, the contingencies of time and place prevented the designation as pagan of the sacrifices of Abel, Noah and Abraham. However, the fundamental extenuating factor for each Old Testament figure, was to be found in a typological interpretation of their sacrifices. Here *mysterium* plays its starring role. Theodulf clearly links *mysteria* to prefiguration: what made these sacrifices important and, crucially, not pagan, was their function as foreshadowings or prefigurations of the sacrifices of Christ (i.e. his sacrifice upon the cross and the daily offering made to God in the mass). Alongside the frequent occurrences of *mysterium* with this meaning throughout the OC, this gives us a clear indication that Theodulf deployed *mysterium* to indicate a prefigurative, typological, symbolic quality. Yet we should acknowledge that – as with the Church Fathers – Theodulf is not consistent in this usage of *mysterium*. *Sacramentum* is occasionally used in this way, and *mysterium* is also used proleptically in relation to New Testament institutions: most notably, the cross as well as Christ's incarnation, passion and resurrection.

Although *sacramentum* occurs more frequently in relation to the eucharist, there are at least six instances where Theodulf uses *mysterium* in relation to the Lord's body and blood. Two of these instances occur in OC IV 14, alongside another three instances of *sacramentum* which offer the distinction of *sacramentum* as specifically referring to the ritual. In OC IV 14, Theodulf was responding to a statement made at the Sixth Session of II Nicaea by Gregory of Neocaeseria. Or, at least, Theodulf appears to have thought that the statement he was rebutting was Gregory's. However, what Gregory was tasked with at the

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[206] *The Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787)*, trans. Price, p. 485.

[207] Isidore, *Etymologiae*, trans. Stephen Barney, 8. 10, p. 183: 'Pagans (*paganus*) are named from the districts (*pagus*) of the Athenians, where they originated, for there, in rural places and districts, the pagans established sacred groves and idols, and from such a beginning pagans received their name.'

Sixth Session was not issuing his own proclamations, but instead reading out excerpts from the *Horos* of the iconoclastic Council of Hieria (754), whereas the rebuttal of these passages fell primarily to Epiphanios. Accordingly, in this instance, Theodulf's misunderstanding of the passage results from misunderstanding the nature and context of Gregory's recorded words, rather than from a mistranslation of the Greek.[208] The specific proclamation which Theodulf took on was:

> Let those who create, love and worship the true image of Christ in the purity of their souls rejoice, exult and be filled with confidence, and offer it for the salvation of soul and body. This was given to his initiates at the time of his voluntary passion as a translucent type and memorial by the hierophant who is God and who took from us our compound in its fullness.[209]

Because he misattributed this statement to Gregory himself, Theodulf evidently interpreted this reference to the true image of Christ – at least at first – as an icon of Christ.[210] If Theodulf had correctly recognised this as a statement from Hieria, he could have understood this reference to an image of Christ as designating the eucharistic body and blood; he would then have been able to endorse the statement. Instead, even upon eventually accepting that this could be a reference to the eucharistic body and blood, Theodulf proceeded with a line of argument with some striking similarities to that advanced by Epiphanios.[211] It is in arguing this same point – that the eucharistic body and blood cannot be called an 'image' of what they are in truth – that Theodulf makes use of

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[208] Indeed, in the footnotes to her edition, Freeman highlights Theodulf's failure to understand the nature of the Sixth Session of II Nicaea (as a session in which passages from the *Horos* of the iconoclastic council of Hieria were read out and rebutted) as indicating that he was not working from a complete translation, but rather an excerpted text which offered no distinction between Hierian and II Nicaean proclamations: OC IV 14, p. 523, fn. 201.

[209] *The Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787)*, trans. Price, p. 476.

[210] OC IV 14, p. 523: 'O demented utterance of the bishop and worthy of laughter, which, as he said "the true image of Christ", does not clearly reveal! Which if it is called "true", which is made by artists from diverse materials, has been uttered most absurdly and incompetently, especially because it should be clear that no mortal [person] is able to form the "true image of Christ". Indeed, because it is called "true", many are removed from this, which has been formed by artists; because as much as truth differs from falsity, so much the true image of Christ stands apart from that, which the skilled or unskilled hand of the artist formed according to the capacity to deceive.'

[211] For comparison with Theodulf's own statement, see: *The Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787)*, trans. Price, p. 479: 'But these fine fellows, wishing to abolish the sight of the sacred images, have introduced another image, which is not an image but body and blood; possessed by wickedness and criminality, deceiving themselves by fraudulent sophistry, they have used the term "by designation" to describe this divine offering. Just as saying this is indubitable madness, so too saying that the body and blood of the Lord is an image is equally insane, and shows impiety even more than stupidity. Then, leaving the lie, they touch, to a small extent, on the truth, saying that it becomes a divine body. So, as they stray hither and thither, what they prattle remains totally inconsistent. For just as an eye when troubled does not see correctly, so they too, troubling and obscuring their minds by a fusion of wicked arguments, experience the same as madmen, with their ever-changing fantasies, sometimes saying that our rational sacrifice is an image of Christ's holy body and at others that it is a body by designation.'

mysterium and *sacramentum* in a way that is particularly illustrative of the specific meaning applied to the latter as distinct from the former:

> If he truly wished to speak about the mystery of the Lord's body and blood, which is daily received by the faithful in the sacrament – which he almost revealed even among the conglomeration of their trifles, when he says: "as the same performer of the sacrifice and God taking our burden from all of us at the time of his willing passion gave it to his disciples in a sign and manifest memory" – and in this, likewise, he did not err moderately. For not an image or some prefiguration, but himself [Christ] offered to God the Father as a sacrifice for us and he, who would [subsequently] be offered was formerly prefigured under the shade of the law in the sacrifice of the lamb or in certain other imaginary things, truly fulfilling that, which had been prophesied about him in the prophecies of the Fathers, has been offered to God the Father as a saving sacrifice and did not bestow for our crossing from the shadow of the law certain evidence of images, but the sacrament of his body and blood. Indeed, the mystery of the Lord's body and blood ought now today not be called an image, but the truth, not a *shadow*, but the body, not an example of *future [things]*, but that, which was prefigured by examples. Now according to the Song of Songs, *daylight has breathed, and the shadows have been banished,* now *Christ has arrived at the end of the law to [bring] justice for all believers*, now *he has fulfilled the law*, now he, *who remained in the region of the shadow of death, has seen a great light*, now the veil of the face of Moses has fallen and *the curtain of the temple being torn* he has revealed to us anything secret and unknown, now the true *Melchisedech*, clearly Christ, *the just king, the king of peace*, has given to us, not the offerings of goats, but the sacrament of his body and blood. And he does not say: "This is the image of my body and blood", but: *This is my body, which is given for you*; and: *This is my blood, which is shed for many for the forgiveness of sins*.[212]

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[212] OC IV 14, pp. 523-524: 'Si vero de corporis et sanguinis Dominici mysterio, quod cotidie in sacramento a fidelibus sumitur, dicere voluit – quod inter ipsam quidem suarum nugarum conglomerationem pene patefecit, cum ait: "Quam ipse sacrificii perfector et Deus nostram ex nobis ex toto suscipiens massam saecundum tempus voluntariae passionis in signum et in memoriam manifestam suis tradidit discipulis" – et in hoc quoque non mediocriter erravit. Non enim imaginem aut aliquam praefigurationem, sed semetipsum Deo Patri pro nobis in sacrificium obtulit et, qui quondam sub umbra legis in agni immolatione sive in quibusdam rebus imaginariae praefigurabatur offerendus, veraciter ea consummans, quae de se vatum oraculis prophetata sunt, Deo Patri est victima salutaris oblatus nec nobis legis transeuntibus umbris imaginarium quoddam indicium, sed sui sanguinis et corporis contulit sacramentum. Non enim sanguinis et corporis Dominici mysterium imago iam nunc dicendum est, sed veritas non *umbra*, sed corpus, non exemplar *futurorum*, sed id, quod exemplaribus praefigurabatur. Iam saecundum Canticum canticorum *adspiravit dies, et amotae sunt umbrae,* iam *finis legis ad iustitiam omni credenti Christus* advenit, iam *legem adimplevit*, iam, *qui sedebat in regione umbrae mortis, lucem magnam vidit*, iam velamen faciei Moysi decidit et *velum templi scissum* archana nobis et ignota quaeque ostendit, iam verus *Melchisedech*, Christus videlicet, *rex iustus, rex pacis*, non pecudum victimas,

When viewed in the context of Theodulf's tendency to use the word *sacramentum* to denote the eucharistic body and blood and baptism, the first occurrence of the word *sacramentum* in the above passage lends weight to the interpretation of *sacramentum* as designating, in Theodulf's lexicon, primarily these two rituals: the eucharist and baptism. The body and blood are received in the context of the mass ritual; and that ritual is what Theodulf designates here as *sacramentum*.

Despite having at least the appearance of an alteration between *sacramentum* and *mysterium* when referring to 'the Lord's body and blood', each occurrence of *sacramentum* in the above passage, more clearly refers to the mass ritual. By contrast, *mysterium* retains a more fluid semantic field; the mystery of the Lord's body and blood could refer to eucharistic ritual or object, yet it could equally refer to the *mysterium*-quality of either the rite or object. Unlike the Old Testament *mysteria*, this *mysterium*-quality is not something prefigurative and veiled, as Theodulf goes on to stress in the above passage, in instituting the sacrament of his body and blood Christ broke that veil of mystery present throughout the Old Testament. Rather, it is a revealed, yet still unfathomable truth. It is not a *mysterium* on account of having been veiled, but on account of the limits of human comprehension. Likewise, this *mysterium* does not point towards future things. It is the fulfilment of those Old Testament prophecies and *mysteria* which prefigured it: the prophecy of the Song of Songs; the prefiguration of Melchisedech's offering of bread and wine to Abraham; and the breaking of the veil placed over Moses' face after he came down from Mount Sinai and that had been placed in the temple.[213]

In Theodulf's lexicon, then, the nuance of *mysterium* depends on context: in relation to the Old Testament, it denotes veiled symbols that are to be interpreted particularly through a typological lens; in relation to the New Testament, and, thus, in Theodulf's historical imagination, also to the church of his own day, it denotes a revealed truth, formerly prefigured in the Old Testament, whose only mysterious quality now is the veil of human understanding. *Sacramenta* thus contain that latter *mysterium*-quality, hence Theodulf's readiness to switch between the two terms, since it properly refers to those rituals instituted by Christ in the New Testament in fulfilment of Old Testament prophecies and *mysteria*.

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sed sui nobis corporis et sanguinis contulit sacramentum. Nec ait: "Haec est imago corporis et sanguinis mei", sed: *Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur*; et: *Hic est sanguis meus, qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum.*'
[213] Song of Songs prophecy: Song of Songs 2:17. For Paul's prefigurative interpretation of Melchisedech's offering: Hebrews 7. On Moses' veil: Exodus 34:33.

Having established the nuance and interplay between Theodulf's use of *mysterium* and *sacramentum* in the OC and seeing how the use of *mysterium* especially is filtered through the differently tinted lenses of the Old and New Testaments, it will now be helpful to turn our attention to *De ordine baptismi* in order to shed light on Theodulf's sacramental theology. Written during his later episcopacy in Orléans, this baptismal treatise addressed his metropolitan, Archbishop Magnus of Sens, in around 812 and responded, indirectly, to an enquiry by Charlemagne, soliciting from the bishops of his realm statements outlining their understanding of the rite of baptism.[214]

Since the treatise treats a single *sacramentum* – baptism – this shift of source will enable us to focus our attention upon Theodulf's use of *sacramentum* in a proper sense: as if capitalised and thus referring more specifically to 'sacrament' as rite, rather than as an entity with sacramental qualities. One chapter of this treatise, in particular – Chapter 13 – details the key features that Theodulf perceived as fundamental to the sacrament of baptism:

> Therefore, because it is fitting for the agreements of believers to be twofold – one
> in which the devil and his ostentations and all his works are renounced, the other
> by which they confess that they do believe in the Father and the Son and the holy
> Spirit – it is right for those agreements to be held by the attention of an unwavering
> disposition, and so that they might be held inviolately, to always seek the assistance
> of the one who granted the sacrament of baptism for the salvation of the human
> race, whose mystery both in the Old Testament has been prefigured through Moses
> – when the people were baptised in the cloud and in the sea – and in the New
> Testament has been demonstrated most clearly to us through the mediator of God
> and man. Indeed he said: "Unless one is born again from the water and the holy
> Spirit, he will not be able to enter into the kingdom of heaven". And concerning
> this John said: "I baptise you in water in penitence, however standing among you is
> one who you do not know, who will baptise you in the holy Spirit and in fire".[215]

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[214] Indeed, as Susan Keefe points out, the chapter titles of Theodulf's *De ordine baptismi* almost match, albeit rearranged, those sent out in Charlemagne's questionnaire: Susan Keefe, *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire* I: *A Study of Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 2002), pp. 62-65.

[215] Theodulf of Orléans, *De ordine baptismi* ed. Keefe, c.13, pp. 300-301: 'quia igitur constat pactiones credentium esse duas, unam in qua renuntiatur diabolo et pompis eius et omnibus operibus eius, altera quae se credere confitetur in patrem et filium et in spiritum sanctum, oportet has inconvulse mentis intentione tenere, et ut intemeritate custodiri possint, illius semper adiutorium quaerere qui baptismi sacramentum ad salutem generis humani contulit, cuius mysterium et in veteri testamento per moysen praefiguratum est, cum populus in nube et in mari baptizatus est, et in novo nobis per mediatorem dei et hominem apertissime demonstratum. ipse enim ait quoniam, "nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu sancto, non poterit introire in regnum caelorum." (*cf.* Io. 3:5) et iohannes de eo ait: "ego baptizo in aqua in penitentia; medius autem vestrum stat, quem vos non scitis, ipse vos baptizabit in spiritu sancto et igni." (*cf.* Io. 1:26; Mt. 3:11)'

This passage reaffirms the respective roles of the Old and New Testament in relation to *mysteria* and *sacramenta* as we have already seen in the OC. However, the duality of *mysterium* and its relationship to *sacramentum* can, perhaps, be seen more clearly here in *De ordine baptismi*. This was, after all, written to elucidate doctrine to a less theologically-minded audience and with no desire to demonstrate intellectual superiority. Here, Theodulf more clearly characterises *mysterium* in this context as a certain quality of *sacramentum*, as opposed to overlapping completely: the *mysterium* he speaks of in this passage grammatically *belongs* to the *sacramentum* of baptism. The precise nature of the *mysterium*-quality itself is also determined by the Testament in which it appears. Theodulf's reference to the Old Testament here is, in fact, borrowed from Paul's typological interpretation (1 Corinthians 10:1-4) of Moses leading his people across the Red Sea (Exodus 14:22) and, while leading them through the wilderness, drawing water from a rock (Numbers 20:11).[216] These Old Testament *mysteria* merely prefigure (*praefigurare*). By contrast, in the New Testament, Christ himself ('the mediator of God and man' as Theodulf – borrowing from 1 Timothy 2:5 – is oft want to refer to Christ) explains these *mysteria* most clearly (*apertissime*) through his words. Yet an element of *mysterium* clearly remains; while the New Testament passages do not need any typological interpretation – they refer directly, not allegorically, to the sacrament – and they offer an explanation of what occurs in the sacrament, a *mysterium*-quality is retained in terms of the precise mechanics of the sacrament. Through Christ's words, instituting the sacrament of baptism, it is made clear what that ritual achieves: entry into the kingdom of heaven. From John's words, too, it is clear that the holy Spirit plays a role. Nonetheless, the precise mechanics at the heart of the sacrament maintain that *mysterium*-quality to some degree. That element of the unfathomable *mysterium*-quality of the revealed *sacramentum* is maintained, although Theodulf does continue to flesh out that which can be comprehended:

> Through this we who are born in the world, are born again in God; and we who through sin have been made sons of wrath, through grace are made sons of God. Indeed by this wetting and this bath the Church is invigorated. From the bones of the sleeping first created man woman was made, from the flank of the sleeping Christ on the cross the Church has been formed. Indeed, from his flank blood and water flowed, the two especial sacraments of the holy Church, so that in one consecration, in the other cleansing is given to the same Church. Inasmuch as we are born again from the bath, so we are also consecrated by the blood. Whence also the people crossed over the Red Sea, because baptism is consecrated by the blood

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[216] 1 Corinthians 10:1-4; Exodus 14:22; Numbers 20:11.

of Christ. Therefore, because the element of water is more fitting with grace than all the [other] elements on account of cleansing, vivifying [and] restoring, not unjustly to the same [element of water] the dignity of baptism is conferred, because it [water] both conceived the accomplishment of mankind being regenerated, when the spirit of God in the beginning of the world was produced over it, and seized the dignity of mankind being cleansed, when it flowed from the flank of Christ. And indeed through this visible element invisible things are signified, so that just as the exterior body is cleansed by the water, thus secretly by its mystery the soul is also purified through the holy Spirit. For with God having been invoked the Spirit descends to the holy from heaven and with the waters having been sanctified gives the strength of purification to the same holy people.[217]

Two key features of Theodulf's concept of *sacramentum* stand out in this passage: the emphasis upon the vertical role of the sacrament and the relationship between visible *sacramentum* and the symbolised, yet hidden *mysterium* contained within it. This passage also gives us a clear identification of the two principal sacraments: the rituals of baptism and the eucharist. As we have already seen, however, Theodulf did not restrict his use of *sacramentum* to these two rites. Indeed, elsewhere in *De ordine baptismi* he also speaks of the 'sacrament of ointment', although this is technically part of the baptismal rite, whereby typologically following the Old Testament examples of kings and priests being anointed all newly baptised heads receive the sacrament of ointment.[218] Nonetheless, in the above passage – through the designation of 'the two especial sacraments of the holy Church' – Theodulf demonstrates that, in its narrowest sense, *sacramentum* referred to these two rites. Thus, when Theodulf thought of sacraments in a restricted sense, it would be these two rituals that would first come to mind. His broader usage of the term *sacramentum* as a more capacious word reflects the wider semantic range still available to Carolingian theologians. It also overlaps with his understanding of those two sacramental rites.

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[217] Theodulf of Orléans, *De ordine baptismi* ed. Keefe, c.13, pp. 301-302: 'per hoc qui nascimur mundo renascimur deo. et qui per peccatum eramus filii irae, per gratiam efficimur filii dei. hac enim tinctione et hoc lavacro ecclesia vegetatur. ex osse dormientis protoplasi mulier aedificata est; ex latere christi in cruce dormientis ecclesia formata est. profluxerunt enim ex eius latere sanguis et aqua, duo sanctae ecclesiae praecipua sacramenta, ut in altero consecratio, in altero mundatio eidem tribueretur ecclesiae. regeneramur namque ex lavacro, consecramur ex sanguine. unde et populus mare rubrum transiit, quia baptismus christi sanguine consecratur. quia ergo elementum aquae in hoc mundo omnibus elementis purgandi, vivificandi, recreandi gratia aptius est, non inmerito ei baptismi dignitas confertur, quia et regenerandorum hominum efficatiam, cum spiritus dei in mundi primordio super id ferretur, concipiebat, et purgandorum cum ex latere christi proflueret, dignitatem capiebat. per hoc etenim visibile elementum res illa invisibilis signatur, ut sicut aqua purgatur exterius corpus, ita latenter eius mysterio per spiritum sanctum purificetur et animus. invocato namque deo descendit spiritus sanctus de caelis et sanctificatus aquis tribuit eis vim purgationis.'
[218] Theodulf of Orléans, *De ordine baptismi* ed. Keefe, c.15, p. 307: 'unguenti sacramentum'.

Turning to the key features of those two sacraments as set out in the above passage, let us begin by considering the vertical emphasis. Borrowing terminology from Owen Phelan's study of the differing sacramental theologies of Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus of Corbie, Theodulf's statement here places most emphasis upon the vertical function of the *sacramentum* of baptism: rather than stressing the strengthening of communal bonds (a horizontal sacramental theology, like Paschasius'), Theodulf consistently emphasises the salvific function of the *sacramentum* (a vertical sacramental theology, like Ratramnus').[219] As with Paschasius and Ratramnus, this is not to say that Theodulf did not recognise and value the communal aspect of the sacrament. Indeed, he consistently uses 'we' to describe the recipients of these salvific benefits of baptism and does state that the salvific cleansing is given to the holy Church, not merely to individual Christians. Nonetheless, the emphasis remains strongly upon salvation rather than communal unity: the eucharist offers consecration, while baptism confers a spiritual cleansing. Moreover, later in the same chapter, Theodulf stressed a vertical unity: through baptism, the baptised are not merely cleansed but also united with Christ into his death and resurrection.[220] For Theodulf, therefore, the function of the *sacramentum* of baptism was salvific: stressing a spiritual cleansing and unity with Christ.

How was this effect achieved? Theodulf's answer offers a more detailed insight into the relationship, within sacraments, between the *sacramentum* and the *mysterium*. He provides an explanation of this relationship in terms of the visible and the invisible: 'through this visible element [water] invisible things are signified, so that just as the exterior body is cleansed by the water, thus secretly by its mystery the soul is also purified through the holy Spirit'.[221] This pairing of the external, visible *sacramentum* with an internal, invisible *mysterium* effected by the action of the holy Spirit is especially reminiscent of the sacramental theology of Isidore of Seville.[222] It also has parallels, within Theodulf's own thought, to his use of *mysterium* in relation to the Old Testament. Whereas things described as *mysteria* in the Old Testament had – Theodulf repeatedly stressed – to be interpreted typologically as prefigurations of things instituted or revealed in the New Testament, especially of the

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[219] Phelan, 'Horizontal and Vertical Theologies: "Sacraments" in the Work of Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus of Corbie', pp. 278-282.

[220] Theodulf of Orléans, *De ordine baptismi* ed. Keefe, c.13, pp. 302-303.

[221] Theodulf of Orléans, *De ordine baptismi* ed. Keefe, c.13, p. 302: 'per hoc etenim visibile elementum res illa invisibilis signatur, ut sicut aqua purgatur exterius corpus, ita latenter eius mysterio per spiritum sanctum purificetur et animus.'

[222] Isidore, *Etymologies*, trans. Stephen Barney, 6. 19, pp. 148-149: 'These things are called sacraments (*sacramentum*) for this reason, that under the covering of corporeal things the divine virtue very secretly brings about the saving power of those same sacraments – whence from their secret (*secretus*) or holy (*sacer*) power they are called sacraments. Sacraments are fruitfully performed under the aegis of the Church because the Holy Spirit dwelling in the Church in a hidden way brings about the aforesaid effect of the sacraments.'

sacramenta, the *mysteria* contained as it were within those *sacramenta* are likewise hidden and only understood through typological consideration of the material, outer aspect of the sacrament: the water cleanses the physical body and thus symbolises the hidden cleansing of the soul effected within the sacrament of baptism.

This, then, appears to be the crux of what *mysteria* were for Theodulf: things that were hidden unless viewed through the lens of typology. *Sacramenta*, in the definite sense (i.e. the rituals of baptism and the mass) both: are typologically prefigured in the *mysteria* of the Old Testament, yet revealed by Christ in the New Testament; and contain hidden actions of the holy Spirit (*mysteria*), that are revealed symbolically by the actions and objects involved in the sacramental rituals themselves.

Before returning to the OC and the *res sacratae* to consider how far they are distinct from, or shaped by Theodulf's sacramental theology, the remainder of *De ordine baptismi* Chapter 13 affords a glimpse of a couple of other important elements of that sacramental theology that will in turn produce parallels with the *res sacratae*:

> Thence man having been restored towards the image of the holy Trinity, and the ancient one who had entered the same man through the sin of the first man against whom man had been preserved was expelled, the new [man] comes out from them through the grace of Christ, having been changed in goodness by the spirit of grace, brought about to have been made far different than the other. Indeed, ugliness was from the deformity of sins: thereupon beauty is restored by the whitewashing of powers. And thus in no way is the mystery of baptism able to be effected, except through the invocation of the holy Trinity, because the Lord also said to the apostles: "Go and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, Son and holy Spirit". And the same Lord established this sacrament, when in his baptism the Father was revealed in voice, the Son in body, and the holy Spirit in the appearance of the dove. O radiant and wonderful sacrament, which makes from the sons of wrath, sons of God, from the ancient people, new people, from ugly people, beautiful people, in which also we are regenerated, and we are cleansed, and we imitate the example of the death of Christ.[223]

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[223] Theodulf of Orléans, *De ordine baptismi* ed. Keefe, c.13, pp. 302-303: 'inde homo ad imaginem reparatus sanctae trinitatis, ad quam conditus fuerat expellitur, et qui vetus in eas per peccatum primi hominis intraverat, novus ex eis per christi gratiam egreditur, et spiritu gratiae in melius inmutatus, longe aliud quam fuerat efficitur. fedus enim erat deformitate peccatorum; ibi redditur pulcher dealbatione virtutum. nullatenus itaque baptismi mysterium perfici potest, nisi sub invocatione sanctae trinitatis, quia et dominus ad apostolos dixit: "ite, docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti." (*cf.* Mt. 28:19) et idem dominus hoc sacramentum firmavit, cum in suo baptismate pater declaratus est in voce, filius in corpore, spiritus sanctus in columbae ostensione. o praeclarum et admirabile sacramentum, quod de filiis irae

Here, Theodulf provides a kernel of explanation as to how the *mysterium* is effected within the *sacramentum* of baptism: through the invocation of the divine name of the Trinity. In Chapter 17 of *De ordine baptismi*, Theodulf coupled this invocation with the importance of the imposition of priestly and, especially, episcopal hands.[224] These two emphases reveal once again the influence of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* upon Theodulf's sacramental theology. In his discussion of the sacrament of baptism, Isidore likewise stressed the affective power of the invocation of the name of the Trinity and even justified it with the same Scriptural passage as Theodulf (Matthew 28:19).[225] Later in the same chapter of the *Etymologiae*, Isidore alluded to the importance of the sacramental laying on of hands in a similar fashion to Theodulf.[226] As well as providing the clearest links with Isidore of Seville's sacramental theology, these facets of Theodulf's sacramental theology will also have particular resonance with his *res sacratae* doctrine as I shall demonstrate in the following chapters.

Theodulf and his contemporaries had inherited a wide semantic range for *sacramentum*. This range even extended to secular usage, with a particular contemporary political resonance in the context of the oaths of loyalty demanded by Charlemagne through successive capitulary legislation. However, given the theological nature of the Theodulfian works considered in this chapter – the OC and *De ordine baptismi* – the sematic range was limited to religious understandings. In line with Theodulf's cultural background and the pattern of influence upon his wider theology, Isidore of Seville exhibited a strong – but by no means hegemonic – influence upon Theodulf's *sacramentum*. As was the case for his patristic influences, Theodulf used *sacramentum* in both a definite sense – to refer to the liturgical rituals instituted by Christ in the New Testament – and a broader, more adjectival sense, as if describing things other than those specific rituals as having sacramental

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facit filios dei, de veteribus novos, de fedis pulchros, in quo et regeneramur, et purgamur, et exemplum mortis christi imitamur. quomodo ergo hoc exemplum imitemur dicat apostolus: "an ignoratis," inquit, "quia quicumque baptizati sumus in christo iesu, in morte ipsius baptizati sumus? consepulti ergo sumus illi per baptismum in mortem, ut quemadmodum resurrexit christus a mortuis per gloriam patris, ita et nos in novitate vitae ambulemus." (*cf.* Rom. 6:3-4) morimur ergo peccato quando abrenuntiamus diabolo et omnibus quae eius sunt; consepelimur christo cum sub invocatione sanctae trinitatis sub trina mersione, in fontem lavacri quasi in quoddam sepulchrum descendimus; consurgimus christo cum exuti omnibus peccatis, de fonte quasi de sepulchro egredimur.'

[224] Theodulf of Orléans, *De ordine baptismi* ed. Keefe, c.17, pp. 309-319.

[225] Isidore, *Etymologies*, trans. Stephen Barney, 8. 19, p. 149: 'The mystery of baptism is not completed unless one is named, accompanied by the naming of the Trinity, that is, of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, as the Lord said to the apostles (Matthew 28:19), "Go, teach ye all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." Thus, just as every statement is confirmed by three witnesses, so the threefold number of divine names confirms this sacrament.'

[226] Isidore, *Etymologies*, trans. Stephen Barney, 8. 19, p. 149: 'The sacramental laying on of hands (*manus ipositio*) is done to bid the Holy Spirit come, invoked by means of a blessing, for at that time the Paraclete, after the bodies have been cleansed and blessed, willingly descends from the Father and as it were settles on the water of baptism, as if in recognition of its settling on its original seat – for it is read that in the beginning the Holy Spirit moved over the waters (Genesis 1.2).'

qualities. Admittedly, this was less true for Theodulf than for a theologian like Augustine, since Theodulf was far more likely to employ *mysterium* for the broader uses. Yet even *mysterium* had a more defined usage for Theodulf: it referred, especially, to Old Testament prefigurations of New Testament sacraments; or, it referred to the hidden, spiritual component of those sacraments. Whereas the Old Testament *mysteria* had, before the New Testament, been veiled and arcane, the *mysteria* enacted in the sacraments were revealed and symbolised by the material context of the liturgical rituals. The enaction of these *mysteria* was enabled especially – in Theodulf's understanding – by the invocation of the divine name of the Trinity and the imposition of priestly hands. In terms of the effect of the *sacramenta*, Theodulf's primary emphasis was upon their vertical, salvific powers. It is exactly these qualities of *sacramenta* that will be important to keep in mind throughout the ensuing exploration of Theodulf's *res sacratae* doctrine.

1.3: The objects in question: *res sacratae*

Having defined Theodulf's use of the sometimes-conflated terms *sanctus* and *sacramentum*, we now turn to the objects of the present study, specifically to the label Theodulf applied to them: *res sacratae*. In agreement with Chazelle, I believe that Theodulf applied this label to five objects: the Ark of the Covenant, the eucharistic elements, the sign of the cross, liturgical vessels and Scripture.[227] However, as I have made clear above, Theodulf did not extend this label to either saints' relics or church-buildings, as Noble and Appleby asserted.[228] Nor should Theodulf's *res sacratae* be directly equated with *sacramentum* as Mitalaité claims; not least because that would necessitate the inclusion of the rite of baptism among the *res sacratae*, which Theodulf does not advocate.[229] Undoubtedly, Theodulf did envision some shared characteristics between the *res sacratae*, and holy things such as saints' relics and church-buildings, and *sacramenta*. The function of the *res sacratae*, saints' relics and church-buildings in the OC was, after all, to stand in opposition to Byzantine images as appropriate devotional objects. While *sacramenta* were not given such a prominent role in the OC, they too shared many other features with the *res sacratae*. The primary concern of this section of the present chapter, however, will be to demonstrate the conceptual distinctiveness of the *res sacratae* in Theodulf's thought and to begin to identify

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[227] Chazelle, 'Matter, Spirit, and Image in the *Libri Carolini*', pp. 165-166.
[228] Appleby, 'Holy Relic and Holy Image', pp. 335-336; Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians*, p. 214.
[229] Mitalaité, *Philosophie et théologie de l'image dans les Libri Carolini*, pp. 423-427. Although there is one reference to 'the most sacred sacrament of baptism' (*baptismi sacratissimum sacramentum*) in OC I 21, p. 205. However, as I will set out below, while Theodulf's understanding of the *res sacratae* is informed by his wider use and understanding of *sacratus*, this does not mean that anything that is described even once as *sacratus* in the OC are *res sacratae*; although some of the *res sacratae* – namely the Ark of the Covenant, liturgical vessels and the cross – are also described by the adjective *sacratus*: OC I, p. 169 (x3); OC II *Capitulae*, p. 238; OC II 28, p. 300; OC II 29, p. 300; OC IV 16, p. 528 (x2).

those crucial characteristics, which set them apart from relics, church-buildings and *sacramenta*. To this end, I will examine Theodulf's usage of the words *res sacrata* and *sacratus* throughout the OC. It will also be instructive to assess the lexical roots and contemporary trends that informed his understanding of *sacratus*, and thus also his conception of the *res sacratae*.

The clearest indication of what things Theodulf understood to be *res sacratae* (the Ark of the Covenant, the eucharistic elements, the sign of the cross, liturgical vessels and Scripture), rather than merely the other holy things he nonetheless did not consider as *res sacratae* (saints' relics and church-buildings), occurs in the preface to OC II, where he explained that chapters would be included in the work specifically to correct the error of those people who:

> strive to equate things without sanctity or authority with the *res sacratae* instituted by the Lord himself.[230]

The structure of the OC II chapters reveals directly which objects Theodulf intended here. In OC II 1 to OC II 12, Theodulf concerned himself with II Nicaea's misuse of a string of biblical passages; in so doing he continued an argument first introduced in OC I. In OC II 13 to OC II 25, Theodulf then proceeded to do likewise for statements from patristic authorities deployed at II Nicaea. The only chapters that specifically deal with *res* ('things') in OC II are OC II 26 to OC II 30, which treat the Ark of the Covenant, the eucharistic elements, the sign of the cross, liturgical vessels and Scripture.[231] These are followed by a final chapter on the importance of respect for one's forebears. OC II thus has no chapters specifically treating church-buildings or saints' relics. In light of the above-quoted passage from the preface to OC II, therefore, the structure offers a clear delineation of those things Theodulf deemed to be *res sacratae* and those other objects, which, though holy, he did not. Three of those *res sacratae*, the Ark of the Covenant, the cross and the eucharistic elements were directly designated as such in OC IV 13:

> This [Council of I Nicaea] differs by far from that [Council of II Nicaea] far indeed beyond what can be said, especially because it [I Nicaea] brought the catholic

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[230] OC II *Praefatio,* p. 233: 'quo res sanctitate sive auctoritate carentes sacratissimis rebus et ab ipso Domino institutis aequiperare nituntur'.

[231] Although as Chazelle points out, strictly-speaking, Theodulf does not treat the *res sacrata* sign of the cross as an object in OC II 28, but rather as the sign made by the hand in the act of blessing and considered inwardly (i.e. *ex opera operatur*). In fact, Theodulf had treated physical representations of the cross as other images – thus not *res sacratae* – in OC I 19 and nowhere cited cross relics or reliquaries, either as *res sacratae* or otherwise. Nonetheless, since the use of *res* within the *res sacrata* label does lend itself to a description of the *res sacratae* as objects, which usage I shall follow throughout this thesis: Chazelle, 'Matter, Spirit, and Image in the *Libri Carolini*', pp. 167-168.

church back from error; this other [II Nicaea] may on the contrary lead it into error [...] that one [I Nicaea] affirms the Son according to the coequal divinity of the Father, the other [II Nicaea] deliriously declares whatever pictures to be coequal with the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, the cross of the Lord, the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood or other *res sacratae*.[232]

Indeed, it is worth remarking here upon the significance of such a reference to the *res sacratae* in OC IV 13. Theodulf appears to have originally intended OC IV 13 as the conclusion of the OC; it was drafted as a final assault upon II Nicaea which contrasted every facet of that council and its decisions against the perfection of I Nicaea. At a late stage, with plans underway for the Franks' own universal synod at Frankfurt (794), Theodulf's intended conclusion was moved, and inserted amongst the other chapters of OC IV rather than being placed at the end as the conclusion.[233] It was replaced by a brief conclusion (OC IV 28).[234] The new conclusion advocated a conciliar theory derived from Alcuin in support of Frankfurt's claims to universality.[235] It has been suggested that this new conclusion may have been written by Alcuin, rather than Theodulf.[236] While the words of OC IV 28 are likely Theodulf's own, the chapter certainly lacks Theodulf's panache and flair; its contrasting style and especially brevity suggest the intervention of an external agent imposing these changes upon Theodulf's composition. Not only did Theodulf deign to name the *res sacratae* in his own, originally intended conclusion (now OC IV 13), but he also included this reference to the *res sacratae* in the midst of his treatment of pressing doctrinal concerns such as the consubstantial nature of Father and Son within the Trinity.[237] Indeed, the disrespect shown by II Nicaea to the *res sacratae* is presented as a direct counterweight to I Nicaea's correct understanding of the consubstantiality of Father and Son. Despite the imposition of the editorial changes which saw this conclusion replaced, however, Theodulf's valorisation of the *res sacratae* is still borne out by their placement within the structure of the OC. They are literally at the heart of the work, in the centre, at the end of OC II. The other side of that heart – the start of OC III – was taken up by a suitably consubstantiality-affirming confession of faith.[238] As this structure demonstrates, for

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[232] OC IV 13, p. 516: 'Longe quippe ultra, quam dici potest, longe ab illa haec distat, praesertim cum illa ecclesiam catholicam ab errore reducat, ista e contrario in errorem inducat [...] illa secundum divinitatem coaequalem Patri Filium adfirmet, ista quaslibet picturas arcae testamenti Domini, cruci Dominicae, corporis et sanguinis Dominici sacramento vel ceteris sacratissimis rebus coaequales esse deleret'.
[233] OC IV 13, pp. 515-522.
[234] OC IV 28, pp. 557-558.
[235] Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', pp. 65-70.
[236] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, p. 169; Dahlhaus-Berg, *Nova antiquitas et antiqua novitas*, p. 208; Sieben, *Die Konzilsidee des lateinischen Mittelalters* (Paderborn, 1984), p. 93.
[237] On the Carolingian adoptionism controversy: Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West*.
[238] OC III, pp. 336-340.

Theodulf, the *res sacratae* were not an unimportant afterthought. II Nicaea had conflated worthless images with the *res sacratae*. This confusion was no trivial matter; it was as heinous and concerning as the Greek failure to affirm the consubstantiality of Christ and God.

The preface to OC II reinforces the close relationship between Christ and the *res sacratae*. Here, Theodulf gives us the first clue as to what was special about them: they are objects 'instituted by the Lord'.[239] In OC III 24, he elucidated this important facet further:

> Therefore, just as images must by no means be regarded as equal with the *res sacratae* – either those which have been sanctified by the law-giver, or those which have been made holy by the Mediator of God and humankind, or, indeed, those which are daily consecrated through the invocation of the divine name by the priests and are taken up in the mystery of our redemption – thus, indeed, neither are images believed to be equated with the relics of the holy martyrs or confessors, which have been among the faithful on account of love of the same for the purpose of veneration. Which certain of them, who have become inflamed with the adoration of these images because they labour to equate them with all the *res sacratae* and with the full mysteries also insolently and even absurdly labour to equate them with the relics of the holy martyrs.[240]

To institution by Christ, therefore, Theodulf added institution by the law-giver, Moses, and daily consecration by priests. These additional features relate to the Ark of the Covenant and the eucharistic elements, respectively. The roles of both institution and consecration in the making of the *res sacratae* are thus fundamental and will be analysed in more detail in Chapter 2.

Theodulf's emphasis on consecration, of course, reflects his choice of terminology. *Sacratus* is the past participle form of *sacro* (to set apart/consecrate) and so the choice of the participle *sacratus* as opposed to the adjective *sacer* will always evoke the action that made a thing sacred.[241] At this point, it would be useful to consider the history of the usage of *sacratus* up to Theodulf and the OC. Not least because, unlike for *sacramentum*, there are

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[239] OC II *Praefatio*, p. 233: 'Domino institutis'.

[240] OC III 24, p. 448: 'Sicut igitur sacratis rebus – sive quae per legislatorem sive quae per *Dei et hominum Mediatorem* sacratae sunt, sive etiam quae quotidie a sacerdotibus divini nominis invocatione sacrantur et in mysterium nostrae redemptionis sumuntur – imagines nequaquam coaequandae sunt, ita etiam nec sanctorum martyrum seu confessorum reliquiis, quae apud fideles ipsorum amore venerationi habentur, coaequandae creduntur. Quas quidem illi, qui in earum adorationem exarserunt cum omnibus sacratis rebus et mysteriis plenis aequiperare nitantur, reliquiis etiam sanctorum martyrum insolenter atque absurde aequiperare nituntur.'

[241] Lewis and Short (eds.), *A Latin Dictionary*, p. 1613.

currently no such studies and the findings of this survey will be crucial to the arguments advanced here.

In contrast to *sacramentum*, *sacratus* had much longer-lasting pagan associations.[242] While Tertullian or the translators of the north African *Vetus Latina* had been busy co-opting the pagan *sacramentum* as a description of the Christian mysteries, particularly in the Pauline Epistles, *sacratus* had remained firmly attached to pagan religious cult. Tertullian, for instance, used *sacratus* once in his *Apologeticus adversus gentes*, to describe the 'sacred blood' offered by the priests of Bellona as part of their cult to that goddess.[243] The point of such a reference, of course, was clearly to defend the eucharistic practices of Christians in the face of accusations of unique barbarity. Nonetheless, it is significant that Tertullian deployed *sacratus* for a pagan cult and did not apply it to any aspect of his own Christian community's devotional praxis.[244]

Ambrose of Milan appears to have been among the earliest Christian writers to adapt the pagan *sacratus* to characterise intangible aspects of the Christian religion.[245] In *De*

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[242] The following survey is based primarily upon my own lemmatised search of the Zürich *Corpus Corporum repositorium operum Latinorum apud universitatem Turicensem* database (http://mlat.uzh.ch/MLS/). Turning to this method was in itself a response to the overwhelmingly classical and pagan *exempla* given for *sacratus* by Lewis & Short. Indeed, even their later examples (e.g. Augustine, *De civitate dei* 2.26) were describing pagan cults rather than anything Christian: Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. 'sacratus' p. 1613. This lack of more explicitly Christian and patristic/early medieval usage of *sacratus* informed my decision to turn to the Zürich *Corpus Corporum* database and set up my own lemmatized search for the years 100 AD to 900 AD. This returned 416 hits for me to work though, classify and identify patterns or shifts in the use of *sacratus* in the following analysis. Although I am aware that lemmatized searches of the Zürich *Corpus Corporum* database will not have yielded every instance of *sacratus* in the patristic and early medieval period, it is the best option to survey such a broad span of usage without devoting the entirety of my time on the PhD to conducting such a manual search. Although (below) I will analyse Theodulf's use of *sacratus* throughout the OC based upon my own manual survey of that treatise (i.e. I printed out a copy of all c. 500 pages of the MGH edition of the OC and scanned through it line by line to pick up all variants of *sacratus* – justified time-wise on the grounds of it being my primary text, of course). In doing this survey of the OC I have uncovered far more instances of *sacratus* (44) than were returned by my lemmatized search of the Zürich *Corpus Corporum* (8), giving me some indication as to the potential scale of missed references even in works covered by the *Corpus Corporum* search database. In the case of the OC, for instance, the failure to pick up so many references is likely due to the database's reliance upon the fuzzy printing *Patrologia Latina* edition, rather than the clearer MGH edition.
[243] Tertullian, *Apologeticus adversus gentes*, PL 1, XI, 321A: 'Hodie istic Bellonae sacratos sanguis de femore proscisso parmula exceptus et suis datus signat'.
[244] At least according to the results of the lemmatized search of the *Corpus Corporum* which I have run as the basis for this survey, with the dictionary *exempla* being overwhelmingly classical and pagan. In this search Tertullian only showed up once in the above-discussed example concerning the pagan cult of Bellona.
[245] Technically, the earliest instance I can find of *sacratus* being used in a specifically Christian context in a lemmatized search of the *Corpus Corporum* is in Constantine I's *Letter to the Synod of Nicaea* on Easter. However, since this is preserved in Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*, this was originally a Greek text. Since I am unsure of the date of the Latin translation, I have discounted it from consideration here. Another contender for the earliest single use of *sacratus* in a Christian context is another late convert to Christianity, Marius Victorinus. As well as a secular reference to *sacratus* in his *Ars grammatica* (I.25), Victorinus also included a single reference to the 'sacratis verbis' of the Gospels in his *Adversus arium* [PL 8, 1123A]. However, since he was a essentially a lifelong pagan, converting to Christianity only in his old age, and this is the only such reference in his *oeuvre*, this could well be considered a vestige of his former, pagan lexical usage, only cosmetically modified to the context of his new religion. Discounting these two (potentially) earlier examples, thus leaves Ambrose of Milan's uses of *sacratus* as the first securely Christian applications of *sacratus*.

virginibus, Ambrose used *sacratus* twice: once to describe the state of virginity and once to describe the Christian religion: abstractions, not objects that could be ceremonially consecrated.[246] Such abstract associations of *sacratus* would continue through to Theodulf's own day.[247] The striking use of *sacratus* to describe conceptual, rather than concrete things, evinced in Ambrose's usage is also evident in Jerome. *Sacratus* occurred multiple times in Jerome's commentaries on Ezekiel and Job, as well as individually in other treatises and letters. Jerome used *sacratus* variously to describe the 'delight in more sacred knowledge' (*delectatio sacratioris scientiae*), a 'sacred number' (*sacratus numerus*), the 'more sacred mysteries' (*sacratiora mysteria*), 'more sacred understanding' (*sacratior intelligentia*) and Daniel's 'most sacred vision' (*sacratissima visio*).[248] Jerome, in other words, used *sacratus* most often about knowledge and understanding, and in the comparative and superlative degree. As will be evident in the continued analysis here, that comparative or superlative degree was a frequent fixture in Christian writers' usage of *sacratus*, including Theodulf's own usage in the OC.[249] That use of the word to modify mysteries and divine understanding is even more marked in John Cassian's *Collationes*. He employed *sacratus* four times in this treatise to describe 'the revelation of the most sacred understandings' (*revelatio sacratissimorum intellectuum*), 'the knowledge of the most sacred senses' (*sacratissimorum sensuum cognitio*), 'the more sacred secrets of the heavens' (*sacratiora coelorum secreta*) and 'the beauty of more sacred understanding' (*sacratioris intelligentiae pulchitudo*).[250]

The use of *sacratus* to modify mysteries and divine knowledge continued through to the works of early medieval theologians up to and including Theodulf and the OC. However, another association that came to the fore, particularly in the writings of Pope Leo I, was between *sacratus* and especially revered people, festivals and canon law. Yet Leo maintained the association between *sacratus* and divine knowledge. In *De haeresi et historia*

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[246] Ambrose, *De virginibus* PL 16, 201B and 201D.

[247] On virgins/virginity as *sacratus*, which appears to have been especially prominent among Anglo-Saxon theologians, see for instance: Albericus, *Sermo in s. scholasticam*, PL 66, 947D; Aldhelm, *De laudibus virginitatis*, PL 89, 132B, 276A; Bede, *Epistolae*, PL 94, 663C; Bede, *Historiae ecclesiastica*, PL 95, 128B; Bede, *Martyrologium*, PL 94, 886A; Boniface, *Epistolae*, PL 59, 758B; Benedict the Deacon, *Collectio capitularum*, PL 97, 800B. In a similar vein, of course, are references to Mary as *sacratus*, as in: Pope Leo I, *Sacramenta romanae ecclesiae*, PL 55, 142C; Pope Gregory I, *Benedictiones*, PL 78, 619B; Louis the Pious, *Diplomata ecclesiastica*, PL 104, 1289C. Meanwhile for references to the Christian religion itself as *sacratus*, this is principally the case if we take a broader approach by incorporating references to the faith, doctrine, or perhaps even the Church as such, examples of which can be seen in the continued analysis below, particularly in the works of Pope Leo I.

[248] Jerome, *Commentaria in Ezecheliem*, PL 25, 385C; Jerome, *Commentaria in Job*, PL 26, 637B, 749D; Jerome, *Epistolae*, PL 22, 542; Jerome, *Homilarium in Jeremiam et Ezechielem*, PL 25, 721C.

[249] In the OC, for instance, 29 out of a total 44 occurrences of *sacratus* are in the superlative form: OC I 9, p. 149; OC I 15, p. 169 (x3); OC I 18, p. 190; OC I 21, p. 205; OC II *Praefatio*, p. 233 (x2); OC II 1, p. 239; OC II 27, p. 291; OC II 27, p. 293; OC II 30, p. 304; OC III 9, p. 372; OC III 13, p. 390 (x2); OC III 24, p. 449; OC III 26, p. 463; OC IV 2, p. 492; OC IV 4, p. 496 (x2); OC IV 4, p. 497; OC IV 5, p. 500; OC IV 13, p. 516; OC IV 13, p. 518 (x2); OC IV 13, p. 520 (x2); OC IV 13, p. 521; OC IV 20, p. 538.

[250] John Cassian, *Collationes*, PL 49, 836A, 955A, 963B, 972B.

manichaeorum, for instance, Leo used *sacratus* twice, both times to describe 'the very sacred mysteries of the catholic faith' (*sacratiora fidei catholicae mysteria*).[251]

But *sacratus* also had an older history as one of the epithets of imperial entitulature, and could be part of epistolary address-formulae. Accordingly, in his imperial correspondence, Leo maintained an ancient secular use of *sacratus* as part of the imperial address.[252] Indeed, the persistence of this secular usage, of *sacratus* as an honorific, could perhaps have contributed towards its use towards other people or indeed beings of special significance to Christianity. Leo, for instance, used *sacratus* to describe Mary and the Fathers at the Council of Nicaea.[253] The association with Mary, in particular, would become standard. The link to the Fathers at the Council of Nicaea, meanwhile, especially since it was framed as part of a wider reference to the doctrine they established, might well have shaped Leo's and subsequent theologians' predilection for describing canonical and divine laws as not just *sacratus*, but often *sacratissimus*.[254]

Leo used *sacratus* not only for the holiest persons and beings, but also for the holiest festal days: specifically, for the Easter celebrations. Thus, in his letters, he referred to Easter (*Pascha*) as both 'the most sacred day' (*sacratissima dies*) and 'the time of the most sacred solemnity' (*tempus sacratissimae solemnitatis*).[255] Meanwhile, his sermons on Lent (*Quadragesima*) present that period of preparation for Easter as *sacratissimus* itself.[256] Subsequent writers followed his lead. Thus, Pope Gregory I used *sacratissima quadragesima* twice in his *Benedictiones*, while also extending the adjective *sacratissimus* to Christmas (*eius sacratissimae Nativitas*).[257] *Sacratissimus* also came to designate the most important events in Christ's life: the incarnation, passion and resurrection.[258]

Nonetheless, the pagan and secular use of *sacratus* persisted well into the patristic and early medieval periods. Augustine, for instance, drew upon Virgil's use of *sacratus* in the opening chapters of *De civitate dei*. In *De civitate dei* I.1, Augustine employed *sacratus* to describe the basilicas of the martyrs and apostles in which the people of Rome – both

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[251] Pope Leo I, *De haeresi et historia manichaeorum*, PL 55, 821B, 927B.
[252] Pope Leo I, *Epistolae*, PL 54, 859A, 861B: 'domine sacratissime pater et venerabilis imperator'; 'domine sacratissime filii venerabilis imperator'.
[253] Pope Leo I, *Epistolae*, PL 54, 1042A; Pope Leo I, *Sacramenta romanae ecclesiae*, PL 55, 142C.
[254] This was especially prevalent, for instance, in the works of Cassiodorus and Pope Gregory I. Cassiodorus spoke of 'the most sacred laws' (*leges sacratissimae*) four times in his *Variae*, PL 69, 631D, 693A, 730D, 769D. Meanwhile, in Gregory's letters, he twice refers to 'the most sacred canons' (*sacratissimos canones*): *Epistolae*, PL 77, 772A, 1261B.
[255] Pope Leo I, *Epistolae*, PL 54 1055B, 1102A.
[256] Pope Leo I, *Sermones*, PL 54, 264C, 273D.
[257] Pope Gregory I, *Benedictiones*, PL 78, 629B, 602B, 627B.
[258] For instance: Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalterium*, PL 70, 143D, 194B, 321B: 'adventum sacratissimae incarnationis'; 'Tempus significat sacratissimae passionis'; 'sacratissimae incarnationis'.

Christian and pagan – had secured refuge during Alaric's sack of Rome in 410 AD.[259] That this was a Virgilian allusion becomes clear a few chapters later in I.4, where Augustine deployed *sacratus* to describe the temple of Juno in Troy. Unlike the Christian basilicas, however, Augustine noted that – if Virgil told the truth – the Trojan temple had offered no refuge to the city's beleaguered inhabitants. Indeed, the conquering Greeks had no qualms using the temple as a prison.[260] Of course, Augustine did employ *sacratus* to denote Christian things in his *oeuvre*.[261] Here in *De civitate dei*, however, Augustine appears to contest and even subvert the historical association of *sacratus* with pagan cult: something made sacred in a pagan context was meaningless; true sacredness belonged to the Christian basilicas.[262] That this persistent pagan association centred upon Virgil's *Aeneid* and was specifically echoed in Augustine's *De civitate dei* must have maintained the awareness of these pagan meanings for Theodulf and his fellow courtiers. It is certainly hard to imagine any other double-act that would have held as much significance as these two texts/authors for a Carolingian audience.

A similar awareness and play upon the secular usage of *sacratus* can be seen into the early medieval period. Gregory of Tours, for instance, adapted such forms of imperial address incorporating *sacratus* – 'O most sacred Augustus' (*sacratissime Auguste*) and 'O most sacred emperor' (*imperator sacratissime*) – and redirected them towards Christ.[263] These more conscious adaptations of the secular *sacratus*, Gregory coupled with more overtly Christianised references to the 'sacred Trinity' (*sacrata Trinitas*) and the 'power of the most sacred cross' (*crucis sacratissimae virtus*).[264] As with Augustine playing upon the Virgilian *sacratus*, Gregory demonstrated his and his readers' awareness of secular forms of imperial address to express the reverence due to Christ, the Trinity and even the cross. The examples of Gregory and Augustine, therefore indicate that the full semantic range of *sacratus* – also incorporating pagan and secular usage – could still influence and shape the Christian use and understanding of *sacratus*.

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[259] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, PL 41, I.1, 14.

[260] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, PL 41, I.4, 17.

[261] Such as references to the 'sacratum lignum' of the cross, Christ's 'sacrati sanguinis' and the 'Evangelio sacratissime', which will be considered in more detail below for their potential influence upon Theodulf's *res sacratae* doctrine: Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, PL 36, 494; Augustine, *Sermones 2*, PL 47, 1146B; Augustine, *Sermones de Scripturis*, PL 38, 485.

[262] Indeed, we might see Augustine's actions here, making use of the language of Virgil, in this instance *sacratus*, and redirecting it to the Christian context as a continuation of the fourth-century Christian poetic tradition of pagan-Christian syncretism, given the limited Christian application of *sacratus* before Augustine wrote *De civitate Dei*. Within the vogue for pagan-Christian poetic syncretism Virgil was, inevitably, the most used: Pierre Courcelle, *Lecteurs païens et lecteurs chrétiens de l'Énéide* (Paris, 1984).

[263] Gregory of Tours, *Libri miraculorum*, PL 71, I.xli, 742B; Gregory of Tours, *Libri miraculorum*, PL 71, I.ciii, 794C.

[264] Gregory of Tours, *Libri miraculorum*, PL 71, I.cvii, 800C; Gregory of Tours, *Vitae patrum*, PL 71, IX, 1053C.

The most extensive pre-Carolingian use of *sacratus* in the *oeuvre* of any single theologian belongs to Bede.[265] Although extensive, Bede's usage of *sacratus* largely reflects the patterns evident in the term's use by previous theologians; it is primarily in his peculiar predilection for *sacratus* that he stands out. Bede uses *sacratus* mostly to describe mysteries and divine knowledge,[266] virgins,[267] the feast days of Easter and Christmas, as well as the authorising events of Christ's life.[268] He thus largely continues the trends we have already observed for Ambrose, John Cassian, Pope Leo I, Cassiodorus and Pope Gregory I. However, Bede's increased use of *sacratus* to describe such things as his predecessors had already occasionally described as *sacratus*, could have exercised a considerable influence upon the veritable explosion of the use of *sacratus* evident among Carolingian theologians.[269] Among the first Carolingian theologians to employ *sacratus* frequently was Alcuin.[270] Bede's influence upon Alcuin and, in turn, Alcuin's role in spreading Bede's works and thought across the Continent are both well-attested.[271] However, since Bede did not innovate in his use of *sacratus*, it would be hard to claim a direct link between Alcuin and Bede in this regard. For instance, as is certainly true for Bede, but also for much of the preceding patristic and early medieval usage, Alcuin most frequently used *sacratus* to describe things that might also be described as *mysteria*.[272] Indeed, for the purposes of this study, Alcuin's references to the mass and the eucharistic elements as *sacratus* – which, also,

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[265] Based upon a lemmatised search for 'sacratus' in the Zürich *Corpus Corporum* database, yielding 27 hits in works by Bede, compared to 20 for Pope Leo I, 15 for Cassiodorus and 13 each for Augustine and Gregory the Great. Although I should stress here that this search did not find all the instances of *sacratus* that I know to be in the OC.

[266] Bede, *Allegorica expositio in Esdram et Nehemiam*, PL 91, 912B: 'mysterii sacratioris intelligentia'; Bede *Allegorica expositio in Samuelem*, PL 91, 579D: 'sacratiora Christi et Ecclesiae mysteria'; Bede, *Homilia*, PL 94, 296A: 'sacratiore autem intellectu'; Bede, *Homilia*, PL 94, 501A: 'sacratiore autem intellectu'; Bede, *In Evangelium Sancti Lucae*, PL 92, 450D: 'sacratiora mysteria'; Bede, *In Evangelium Sancti Lucae*, PL 92, 470C: 'sacratiore autem intellectu'; Bede, *In Evangelium Sancti Lucae*, PL 92, 487A: 'intelligentiae sacratioris arcana'; Bede, *In Evangelium Sancti Marci*, PL 92, 194C: 'sacratiora mysteria'.

[267] Bede, *Epistolae*, PL 94, 663C: 'ipsis sacratis Deo virginibus'; Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, PL 95, 128B: 'propinqua Aedilbergae sacratis Deo virginibus'; Bede, *Martyrologium*, PL 94, 886A: 'sacratis virginibus'.

[268] Bede, *Homiliae*, PL 94, 133C: 'sacratissimae noctis' [Vigil of Easter]; Bede, *Homiliae*, PL 94, 138C: 'sacratissimae noctis' [Vigil of Easter]; Bede, *Homiliae*, PL 94, 296A: 'sacratissimae solemnitatis gaudia' [Christmas Day]; Bede, *In Evangelium Sancti Marci*, PL 92, 173A: 'sacratissimae passionis'.

[269] Of the 412 hits returned by my Zürich *Corpus Corporum* search for 'sacratus' between AD 100 and 900, about half appear in the works of Carolingian theologians.

[270] 13 times: Alcuin, *Carmina*, PL 101 773D; Alcuin, *Confessio fidei*, PL 101, 1092A; Alcuin, *De fide sanctae Trinitatis*, PL 101, 23C; Alcuin, *De incarnatione Christi*, PL 101, 298B; Alcuin, *De ratione animae*, PL 101, 649C; Alcuin, *De usu Psalmorum*, PL 101, 504D; Alcuin, *Epistolae*, PL 100, 289C; Alcuin, *Epistolae*, PL 100, 341B; Alcuin, *Epistolae*, PL 100, 379B (x2); Alcuin, *In Evangelium Ioannis*, PL 100, 739A; Alcuin, *Liber sacramentorum*, PL 101, 460A; Alcuin, *Officia per ferias*, PL 101, 601D.

[271] Douglas Dales, *Alcuin: Theology and Thought* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 19-27.

[272] These range, for instance, from 'the of the most sacred beauty [of God]' through the divine wisdom of 'the most sacred sermons of the Lord' to the traditions, doctrine and faith of the Church: Alcuin, *De fide sanctae Trinitatis*, PL 101, II.*Praefatio*, 23C: 'huius sacratissimae beatudinis visionem'; Alcuin, *De incarnatione Christi*, PL 101, 298B: 'sacratissimae doctrinae'; Alcuin, *De ratione animae*, PL 101, 649C: 'sacratissimos mores'; Alcuin, *Epistolae*, PL 100, 341B: 'sacratissimae fidei vestrae'; Alcuin, *Epistolae*, PL 100, 379B: 'sacratissimos sermones Domini'; Alcuin, *In Evangelium Ioannis*, PL 100, 739A: 'sacratissimae lectionis'.

of course fit in the category of things able to be described as *mysteria* – are especially significant.[273] This specific usage of *sacratus*, at least, does not appear to be rooted in the works of Bede.

Alcuin's letter containing a reference to the eucharistic elements as *sacratus* was written in the 790s.[274] This was, of course, around the same time as Theodulf was working on the OC. Given Theodulf's inclusion of the eucharistic elements amongst his *res sacratae*, there could be a common source of Theodulf's and Alcuin's designation. Looking for a potential source that could have been especially prescient in the 790s the most obvious candidate is the supposedly Gregorian *Liber Sacramentorum*. Amongst the mass liturgies in the *Liber Sacramentorum* are references to the eucharistic elements as 'sanctified food' (*sacrati cibi*) and 'sanctified chalice' (*sacratum calicem*).[275] As part of Charlemagne's reform of the liturgy, Pope Hadrian sent him a copy of this sacramentary – which he attributed to Gregory – some time between 784 and 791.[276] The manuscript which Hadrian sent was then deposited in the palace library for copies to be made and disseminated.[277] Although hopes of disseminating the text in its purest form may have been dashed by its specificity to the Roman context and its focus on feast days, Charlemagne nonetheless had his theological advisers – chiefly Benedict of Aniane – work to adapt it to the everyday Frankish context, resulting in the production of the *Hadrianum*.[278] Against this backdrop, the Gregorian Sacramentary likely elicited much discussion amongst the court theologians in the late 780s/790s. Whilst he ransacked the palace libraries for authoritative sources to power the OC's argument against II Nicaea, it is tempting to imagine that Theodulf might also have consulted the manuscript of the Gregorian Sacramentary.[279] Certainly, that Sacramentary's use of *sacratus* in relation to the eucharistic elements stands a potential –

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[273] One of these instances appears to be in a quote – perhaps from a liturgical text (?) – in the *Confessio fidei*, although the *Patrologia Latina* edition does not give any indication of where this passage is quoted from. Alcuin, *Confessio fidei*, PL 101, 1092A: 'Manditur alma caro, sanguis bibturque sacratus Integer ipse tamen vivit, ubique manens.' The other reference is more securely Alcuin's own. Alcuin, *Epistolae*, PL 100, XC, 289C: 'Huius vero sacratissimae oblationis figura in Melchisedech praecessit qui vinum et panem Deo summo offerre solebat'.

[274] Alcuin, *Epistolae*, PL 100, XC, 289C.

[275] Pope Gregory I, *Liber Sacramentorum*, PL 78, 82C; Pope Gregory I, *Liber Sacramentorum*, PL 78, 159B.

[276] Eric Palazzo, *A history of liturgical books from the beginning to the thirteenth century*, trans. Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1998), pp. 50-51.

[277] Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. William Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington, D.C., 1986), pp. 80-82.

[278] Palazzo, *A history of liturgical books*, pp. 52-53. On the debate over the authorship of the *Hadrianum* (primarily between Alcuin and Benedict of Aniane): Jean Deshusses, 'Le supplément au sacramentaire grégorien: Alcuin ou saint Benoît d'Aniane?' *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 9 (1965), pp. 48-71.

[279] There is, however, no direct proof of this, as the OC does not include such quotations from the Gregorian Sacramentary. Moreover, it is a pivotal feature of Freeman's successful identification of Theodulf as the author of the OC that he made heavy use of his native Mozarabic liturgy: Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', pp. 30-33.

although admittedly circumstantial – impetus for Theodulf's use of *sacratus* to describe his *res sacratae*, which included those same eucharistic elements.

Of course, the *res sacratae* in the OC were not limited to the eucharistic elements. We must, therefore, look elsewhere for sources that potentially shaped Theodulf's use of *sacratus* and his concept of sacralisation. Certainly, there was no complete precedent for Theodulf's *res sacratae*; no theologian before him expounded a fully-fledged conceptual category encompassing the group of objects he described as *res sacratae* in the OC. In the works of Augustine, however, we see the earliest descriptions – although not all explicit – of objects Theodulf would later designate *res sacratae* as *sacratus*. Yet Augustine's references are scattered and not part of a single constellation, and certainly do not point to an emerging category of analysis. They are scattered widely throughout Augustine's *oeuvre*. In his *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, for instance, there is a reference to 'the sanctified wood' of the cross (*sacratum lignum*).[280] Meanwhile, *Sermo* III (*De evangelio ubi Dominus de aqua vinum fecit*) refers to receiving and drinking 'the sanctified blood' (*sacratus sanguis*); in another Augustine speaks of 'the most sanctified Gospel' (*Evangelium sacratissimum*).[281] Theodulf probably knew these passages. OC I 24, for instance, was largely interspersed with quotations from the same chapter of Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*.[282] Nonetheless, especially when compared with his use of *sacramentum* (discussed above), it is hard to characterise these solitary descriptions as part of any coherent, Augustinian proto-*res sacratae* category lying behind Theodulf's project in the OC.

Before Theodulf, references to the *res sacratae* as *sacratus* were scattered and sparse: there was no established conceptual category of *res sacratae*. Theodulf's choice of the word *sacratus* to designate this category of objects was, therefore, fundamentally his own. Given the more prevalent associations of the term with *mysteria* and with the pagan traditions – transmitted in the works of Virgil and Ovid – of *sacratus* as designating something offered to the gods, these were just as likely the understandings behind Theodulf's decision.[283] Indeed, by considering Theodulf's usage of the word *sacratus* throughout the OC, not just in relation to the *res sacratae* category, we will be better able to understand how the evolution of the word *sacratus* (as analysed above) related to Theodulf's usage and also why he chose *sacratus* to characterise this group of objects.

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[280] Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, PL 36, XLIV, 494.
[281] Augustine, *Sermones* 2, PL 47, 1146B; Augustine, *Sermones de Scripturis*, PL 38, 485.
[282] OC I 24, pp. 213-216.
[283] On Virgil and Ovid's use of *sacratus*: Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, p. 1613.

Sacratus occurs 44 times throughout the OC.[284] However, six instances cannot be taken as representative of Theodulf's own usage because they occur in passages quoted from, paraphrasing, or directly responding to II Nicaea.[285] Nonetheless, from these instances, we can infer the importance Theodulf placed upon the link between the participle/adjective *sacratus* and the verb *sacrare* (to consecrate). In both passages where Theodulf identified a misuse of *sacratus* at II Nicaea, his criticism was grounded in what he saw as the Greek inability to understand the fundamental link between *sacratus* and *sacrare*. Theodulf weaponised this participle-adjective polyvalence to attack the Greeks. In one passage, the II Nicaean acta appeared – from the Latin translation Theodulf had to hand – to be stating that many things that are *sacratus* 'have by no means been consecrated' (*minime sacrantur*).[286] In the other such instance he took issue with the description of images as both *sanctus* and *sacratus*, when images – to Theodulf's mind – should never be consecrated.[287] Dealing with the latter passage, in OC IV 26, Theodulf offered little expansion upon *sacratus*. Instead, here he focussed his attack upon the disrespect that the Greeks exhibited towards these so-called holy images by parading them around polluted streets.[288] Responding to the earlier quotation in OC IV 16, however, Theodulf honed in on the overlap between *sacrare* and *consacrare*:

> But if it is thus, just as it may be able to be true, it does not explain sufficiently; since whatever things are sanctified in the church: whether the ecclesiastical orders or the dedications of temples that must be made sacred, or the other arrangements of this kind, are by ecclesiastical custom consecrated through priests, because of

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[284] This figure is based on my own manual search through the OC, as neither Freeman's index nor the Zürich *Corpus Corporum* database pick up all instances: OC I 5, p. 130; OC I 9, p. 149; OC I 15, p. 169 (x3); OC I 18, p. 190; OC I 21, p. 205; OC II *Praefatio*, p. 233 (x2); OC II *Capitula*, p. 238; OC II 1, p. 239; OC II 27, p. 291; OC II 27, p. 293; OC II 28, p. 300; OC II 29, p. 300; OC II 30, p. 304; OC III 9, p. 372; OC III 13, p. 390 (x2); OC III 24, p. 448 (x3); OC III 24, p. 449; OC III 26, p. 463; OC IV *Capitula*, p. 487; OC IV *Capitula*, p. 488; OC IV 2, p. 492; OC IV 4, p. 496 (x2); OC IV 4, p. 497; OC IV 5, p. 500; OC IV 13, p. 516; OC IV 13, p. 518 (x2); OC IV 13, p. 520 (x2); OC IV 13, p. 521; OC IV 16, p. 526; OC IV 16, p. 527 (x2); OC IV 16, p. 528 (x2); OC IV 20, p. 538; OC IV 26, p. 554.

[285] There are three direct quotes of the same passage from the Latin translation of II Nicaea (in the title to OC IV 16, thus also in the contents to book IV, and in the text of OC IV 16 itself): 'Multa, quae in nobis sacrantur orationem, sacrata non suscipiunt'. Although, in the Latin translation the crucial, second *sacrata* was evidently altered in the ninth-century revisions: *Concilium universale Nicaenum secundum: Concilii actiones VI-VII*, ed. Erich Lamberz (Berlin, 2016), p. 681: 'Multa quae in nobis sacrata sunt, orationem sacram non recipiunt'. The other three instances are two paraphrases of this II Nicaean statement and one parody of it. The way in which Theodulf parodied this passage, however, does stress the importance of consecration to Theodulf's understanding of *sacratus* through its link to the verb *sacrare*, OC IV 16, p. 527: 'Multa sunt in nobis sacrata, quae per sacerdotis orationem vel manus impositionem minime sacrantur.' Like the direct quote, Theodulf's paraphrase of a II Nicaean statement using *sacratus* also occurs in a title and thus appears twice in the same form (in the contents and chapter title), OC IV 26, p. 554: 'Contra eos, qui imagines sanctas et sacratas dicunt'.

[286] OC IV 16, p. 526.

[287] OC IV 26, p. 554.

[288] OC IV 26, pp. 554-555.

course the same nobility of the Christian faith may be arrived at, through which it is added to the other grades, in the same early training of infancy through the imposition of the hand of the priests and prayers to God. If he had truly wished to speak about the places or vessels or whichever utensils are delivered over to [the varieties of] divine worship, in this (regard) his utterance is of no effect because there is almost nothing among these [things], which we have enumerated, that is not consecrated through the prayers and consecrations of priests.[289]

Theodulf's reference to the things 'which we have enumerated' could, of course, be interpreted as a reference to the *res sacratae*. As will be shown in Chapter 2, consecration was pivotal to Theodulf's *res sacratae*. This feature inescapably separated the *res sacratae* from saints' relics, since Theodulf never tried to distinguish the latter from images on account of any consecration (either through priestly hands or even metaphorically). Nonetheless, the above references to places given over to the varieties of divine worship and temples as having to be consecrated offers the closest parallel between church-buildings and the *res sacratae*. However, as I will show in the other chapters of Part I, there was enough distinction in other aspects for Theodulf to refrain from explicitly including them among the *res sacratae*.

Despite the implications of the above-quoted passage, Theodulf did not understand *sacratus* as meaning 'consecrated' exclusively. Doubtless, the actions of consecration were essential to the *res sacratae*. However, strikingly, Theodulf did not pair *sacratus* with other objects which he identified as having been consecrated. This implies a more complex understanding of *sacratus*. In addition to church-buildings in the foregoing passage (which are nowhere else so closely linked to *sacratus*), there is also the case of the holy oil (used in post-baptismal anointing). Throughout the OC, Theodulf always refers to this as *sacrosanctus unguinis liquor* or *sacrosanctum charisma*.[290] Theodulf, thus, had a wider range of terms at his disposal if he had wished to define the *res sacratae* merely as a group of objects that were

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[289] OC IV 16, p. 527: 'Quod si ita est, qualiter verum esse possit, non satis elucescit; quoniam quaecumque in ecclesia sacrantur: sive ecclesiastici ordines sive sacrandorum templorum dedicationes sive ceterae huiuscemodi constitiones, per sacerdotales ecclesiastico more consecrationes fiunt, quippe cum ad ipsam christianae fidei nobilitatem, per quam ad ceteros gradus acceditur, in ipsis infantiae rudimentis per sacerdotum manus impositiones et ad Deum orationes veniatur. Si vero de locis sive vasis vel quibuslibet utensilibus divinis cultibus mancipatis dicere voluit, in hoc eius dictio frustrari potest, quoniam paene nihil est in his, quae enumeravimus, quod non per sacerdotum orationes et consecrationes consecretur.' A quick note on my translation of *divinis cultibus*: as this is plural, I have decided to render this as a reference to the variety of different forms which divine worship could take (e.g. the different possible forms of the Mass or other liturgical rites).
[290] OC I 21, p. 205; OC I 23, p. 211; OC I 26, p. 220; OC II 16, p. 266.

distinct from Byzantine images only insofar as they had been consecrated. The broader semantic range of *sacratus* must point to the greater significance of Theodulf's choice.

Indeed, the most frequent occurrences of *sacratus* in the OC relate to the most important events of Christ's life: the incarnation, passion and resurrection and his ministry (i.e. his words).[291] This usage is akin to that of Cassiodorus' in his *Expositio in psalterium*.[292] But Theodulf's usage could also reflect the broader trend towards identifying the Christian festivals most closely associated with Christ's life as *sacratus*, as we have seen with Popes Leo and Gregory. The focus of the OC, however, did not permit any occasion for Theodulf to designate such festivals as *sacratus*.

The use of *sacratus* to describe Christ's words, however, could also be linked to an association between *sacratus* and spiritual understanding or teaching. As we have seen, this link was evident earliest in the works of Jerome and became one of the more common associations of *sacratus* through the early middle ages, especially in the works of Bede and Alcuin.[293] This same usage can be found throughout the OC.[294] Closely linked to this is the *mysterium-sacratus* relationship.[295] Accordingly, we might include among these kinds of uses of *sacratus* Theodulf's references to the Ark of the Covenant as 'the most sacred prefiguration of future mysteries' (*futurorum mysteriorum sacratissimam praefigurationem*) and of the prophets and patriarchs who saw 'the most sacred mysteries in dreams' (*sacratissima mysteria in somnis*), or even his description of baptism as 'the most sacred sacrament' (*baptismi sacratissimum sacramentum*) and ruminations upon 'the most sacred number' (*sacratissimo numero*) three of the Trinity, both of which (the Trinity and baptism) he elsewhere described as mysteries.[296] In this light, *sacratus* almost seems to have, for Theodulf, the sense of the miraculous revelation of otherwise unfathomable mysteries: knowledge and understanding that transcends human understanding. Thus, like Christ, the

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[291] Seven instances: OC I 9, p. 149; OC II 27, p. 291; OC II 27, p. 293; OC III 13, p. 390 (x2); OC IV 2, p. 492; OC IV 5, p. 500.

[292] Cassiodorus, *Expositio in psalterium*, PL 70, 143D, 194B, 321B: 'adventum sacratissimae incarnationis'; 'Tempus significat sacratissimae passionis'; 'sacratissimae incarnationis'.

[293] Jerome, *Commentaria in Ezecheliem*, PL 25, 385C: 'delectatio sacratioris scientiae'; Jerome, *Homilarium in Jeremiam et Ezechielem*, PL 25, 721C: 'sacratiore intelligentia'; Bede, *Allegorica expositio in Esdram et Nehemiam*, PL 91, 912B: 'mysterii sacratioris intelligentia'; Bede, *Homilia*, PL 94, 296A: 'sacratiore autem intellectu'; Bede, *Homilia*, PL 94, 501A: 'sacratiore autem intellectu'; Bede, *In Evangelium Sancti Lucae*, PL 92, 470C: 'sacratiore autem intellectu'; Bede, *In Evangelium Sancti Lucae*, PL 92, 487A: 'intelligentiae sacratioris arcana'; Alcuin, *De incarnatione Christi*, PL 101, 298B: 'sacratissimae doctrinae'; Alcuin, *Epistolae*, PL 100, 379B: 'sacratissimos sermones Domini'; Alcuin, *In Evangelium Ioannis*, PL 100, 739A: 'sacratissimae lectionis'.

[294] OC I 5, p. 130: 'sacratis sensibus'; OC I 15, p. 169: 'sacratissimorum sensuum'; OC III 9, p. 372: 'sacratissimorum sensuum'; OC IV 13, p. 518: 'quia duodecim apostolorum sacratissima praedicatione sive auctoritate' [of I Nicaea]; OC IV 13, p. 521: 'sex sacratissimis synodis'; OC IV 20, p. 538: 'eorum sacratissimis praedicationibus'.

[295] Albert Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens* (Turnhout, 1954), p. 731: 'sacratus, -a' 4. mystique, mystérieux, symbolique.

[296] OC I 15, p. 169 (x2); OC III 26, p. 463; OC I 21, p. 205; OC II *Praefatio*, p. 233.

things which Theodulf describes as *sacratus*, have in common the role of bridging the gap between man and God.

The second most common use of *sacratus* in the OC is to describe the Old Testament Temple in Jerusalem.[297] As demonstrated by Elisabeth Dahlhaus-Berg, Theodulf's view of history was staunchly-Isidorian, divided according to the two Testaments. Between the two ages he envisioned a symmetry, whereby the Old Testament was full of typological prefigurations of the things to be fulfilled in the New Testament.[298] Through this historical lens, we can better understand Theodulf's references to both the Ark of the Covenant and the Temple in Jerusalem as *sacratus*. In the era of the Jewish covenant with God these objects, according to Theodulf, made God immanent (and yet at a distance; covered by the veil of mystery); their true importance, however, was as veiled foreshadowings of the truths to be revealed by Christ at the institution of the age of the New Testament and covenant.[299]

Theodulf's references to the Ark of the Covenant and the Temple of Jerusalem as *sacratus* fall into this conceptual mode. Half of the references to the Temple as *sacratus* occur in OC IV 4.[300] In this chapter, Theodulf responded to a passage from the Fifth Session of II Nicaea in which Christian iconoclasts were equated with Nebuchadnezzar, who had destroyed the Temple (2 Kings 25) and suffered the divine retribution of being expelled from his kingdom and forced into the desert for seven years (Daniel 4:32).[301] Theodulf did not dispute the wickedness of Nebuchadnezzar's actions, nor the justice of his punishment. But he did object to the equation of Nebuchadnezzar with the modern, Christian iconoclasts. As part of this argument, Theodulf twice referred to the Temple itself as *sacratissimus* and once to its doors as such. The destruction of this most sacred Temple was, he agreed, utterly contemptible; but it bore no comparison to the removal of images from

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[297] Six instances, although these could be supplemented by the already-mentioned two instances of *sacratus* used in relation to the Ark of the Covenant, since this lay at the heart of the Temple: OC II 1, p. 239; OC IV 4, p. 496 (x2); OC IV 4, p. 497; OC IV 13, p. 520 (x2).

[298] Dahlhaus-Berg, *Nova antiquitas et antiqua novitas*.

[299] Among the best articulations of this thought on Theodulf's part is in OC IV 14, p. 524: 'Indeed, the mystery of the Lord's blood and body ought not even now be called an image, but truth, not the shadow, but the body, not an example of future things, but that, which was prefigured by examples. Now according to the Song of Songs, *daylight has breathed, and the shadows have been banished*, now *Christ has arrived at the end of the law to [bring] justice for all believers*, now *he has fulfilled the law*, now he, *who remained in the region of the shadow of death, has seen a great light*, now the veil of the face of Moses has fallen and the curtain of the temple being torn he has revealed to us anything secret and unknown, now the true Melchisedech, clearly Christ, the just king, the king of peace, has given to us, not the offerings of goats, but the sacrament of his body and blood.'

[300] Three of the six: OC II 1, p. 239; OC IV 4, p. 496 (x2); OC IV 4, p. 497; OC IV 13, p. 520 (x2).

[301] *Concilium universale Nicaenum secundum: Concilii actiones IV-V*, ed. Lamberz, pp. 535-537; 2 Kings 25; Daniel 4:32.

churches.[302] In his reference to the most sacred doors under enemy attack, however, Theodulf reveals why he regarded the Temple as *sacratissimus*: because it housed the Holy of Holies (and, thus, the Ark of the Covenant).[303] Indeed, the II Nicaean passage had specifically remarked upon the destruction of the cherubim upon the Ark of the Covenant in particular (although this act of destruction is not mentioned in 2 Kings 25).[304] Both Theodulf's designation of the Temple as *sacratissimus* and his refusal to draw an equivalent between Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of the Temple and cherubim with the contemporary iconoclastic destruction in Greek churches, speaks to the special status, for Theodulf, of the Ark of the Covenant, extending to its material trappings. Theodulf's use of *sacratissimus* in OC I 15 holds the key. For Theodulf, the Ark of the Covenant itself, even with its contents and ornamentation was not intrinsically most sacred. Rather, it exhibited 'the most sacred prefiguration of future mysteries' (*futurorum mysteriorum sacratissimam praefigurationem*), for it vouchsafed to the Old Testament era a glimpse of 'the most sacred understanding' (*sacratissimorum sensuum*) that would be revealed with Christ's initiation of the New Testament age.[305] Even in the era of the Old Testament, then, *res sacratae* had divinely-ordained power to reveal God's truth.

For Theodulf, *sacratus* clearly had a broad semantic range. It retained a connection to its nature as the past participle of *sacrare*. Although Theodulf could use other terms to denote consecration, most frequently *consecrare*, still consecration was one layer of meaning that he also associated with *sacrare* and thus also *sacratus*. But such a limited definition cannot encompass Theodulf's understanding of *sacratus*. Nor did he describe all things which he agreed had been consecrated with *sacratus*. While consecration – both literal in the sense of consecration by priests and metaphorical at the initial institution – undoubtedly played a part in defining the *res sacratae*, Theodulf must have understood something more by that label. Indeed, this greater significance which he ascribed to the *res sacratae* than merely being consecrated objects is much the same as their greater significance, for him, than being considered holy. Clearly, there was a fuller overlap between Theodulf's understanding of *sacramentum*, *mysterium* and *sacratus*. The greatest areas of agreement between Theodulf's understanding of each of these terms appear to be in their relationship

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[302] OC IV 4, p. 497: 'Unde liquido patet maiores eorum, quamquam in abolendis a basilicarum ornamentis imaginibus quodammodo fuerint incauti, subversioribus tamen sacratissimi ac reverentissimi illius templi nequaquam sunt coaequandi, quoniam in istis quidem fuit levitas, in illis vero atrocitas; in istis inperitia, in illis nequitia; isti Deo se obsequium praestare arbitrantes eas ab ornamentis basilicarum abstulerunt...'

[303] OC IV 4, p. 496: 'Nec pictorum ianuas sive quorundam artificum vel etiam pictarum tabularum materias securibus et asciis deiectas fuisse, sed templi Domini, in quo erant sancta sanctorum, sacratissimas ianuas hostilibus cuneis incisas deflet...'

[304] *Concilium universale Nicaenum secundum: Concilii actiones IV-V*, ed. Lamberz, pp. 535-537; 2 Kings 25.

[305] OC I 15, p. 169.

to Christ and divine knowledge. Those rites and things which Theodulf deems either *sacramenta* or *res sacratae*, therefore, likely earn that distinction through their ability to operate vertically, connecting believers to God.[306] Moreover, it is the relationship of these *sacramenta* and *res sacratae* to Christ that confers this special status and power.[307] Indeed, while it might be claimed that the word lies at the heart of the OC, it is, in truth, the Word. Theodulf's most oft-cited biblical passage is an epithet for Christ from 1 Timothy 2:5: 'Mediator between God and man.'[308] This form is abbreviated, however, with the fuller passage reading: 'For there is one God, and one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus.'[309] In light of Theodulf's penchant for this passage, the significance of his decision to use *sacratus* to designate the *res sacratae* must be understood: these were the objects most closely linked to Christ and, thus, through him they were the objects that bridged the gap between man and God.

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[306] See Chapter 3.
[307] See Chapter 2.
[308] OC *Anhang: I. Charakterische Wendungen*, p. 565, nr. 17: 'Mediator Dei et hominum'; 1 Timothy 2:5.
[309] OC *Anhang: I. Charakterische Wendungen*, p. 565, nr. 17: ''Unus enim Deus, unus et mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Iesus'.

2: Creating *res sacratae*: holy things, holy Word(s)

As we have seen in the preceding chapter, a wide semantic range was implied by Theodulf's use of *sacratus* to designate the *res sacratae*. At its most basic level, of course, *sacratus* did imply the act of consecration. The root of *sacratus*, after all is in in *sacro* and Theodulf used this fact in his critique of II Nicaea. There were, however, other terms at Theodulf's disposal to describe objects as merely having been consecrated. While the act of consecration was, accordingly, important to the *res sacratae* (and will, therefore, be treated in more detail in the second half of this chapter), it alone could not distinguish them from other nonetheless consecrated objects, such as the consecrated oil used in post-baptismal anointing. Although, on a literal level, it does offer one strand of differentiation between the *res sacratae* and, for instance, saints' relics. Indeed, Theodulf does not even make the case for a metaphorical consecration of saints' relics.[310] It is another facet of *sacratus*, however, that offers a greater distinction between Theodulf's understanding of the *res sacratae* and saints' relics: namely, the association inherent to Theodulf between *sacratus* and Christ. As will be demonstrated in the first half of the ensuing chapter, the relationship of the *res sacratae* to Christ, especially, but also to God and Moses, formed an integral component of their original consecration: their biblical institution.

2.1: Institution and authority: the Word at the centre

> Therefore, because the practice of that most evident and most holy mystery is
> clearly supported both through the mystical figures of the Old Testament and
> through the saving instruction of the New Testament and by the light of instruction
> from the church, it is not comparable with that most insolent practice of those who
> adore images, which truly, indeed, both in the page of the Old Law is forbidden,

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[310] The closest statement to this effect posits that relics have 'secured holiness' from being upon or around saints' bodies while they were alive, but Theodulf does not season this with any terms implying consecration, nor does he employ the metaphorical trope correlating the act of martyrdom with the act of consecration as appears, for instance in Victricius of Rouen's, *De laude sanctorum* (Gillian Clark, 'Victricius of Rouen: "Praising the Saints": Introduction and Translation', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 7 (1999), p. 382): 'O how precious in the sight of God is the death of his saints, those on whom a menacing persecutor confers more! The torturer shuddered, [the saint] laughed as he was put to the question; the executioner trembled, and he, on the point of death, helped the right hand of the trembling man. The wild beast refused and the martyr thrown to it incited it, not because nature had lost the bodily penalty, but because the Savior, presiding over this great contest, was offering victory, brandishing the palm of immortality. But even though this is so, your bodies still endured the contest with you, in that suffering of the limbs. Then let us, prostrate on the ground and drenching the earth with our tears, cry with one voice that you who always possess the consecrated relics should purify our bodies.' OC III 24, p. 449: 'quia aut in corporibus eorundem sanctorum aut circa corpora fuisse et ab his sanctificationem'. There is a line in one of Theodulf's poems that, perhaps, comes close to hinting at a metaphorical consecration, through a reference to the wounds of martyrdom, which bring honour to the saints, being made in the name of the Lord. As we will see in this chapter, the invocation of the divine name was integral to Theodulf's descriptions of consecration. Theodulf, *Carm. 11 (Quamobrem cicatrices quas dominus in passione suscepit, in resurrectione obducate non sint)*, lines 1-2, MGH PLAC 1, p. 465: 'Namque cicatrices domini pro nomine factae/Martyribus sanctis causa decoris erunt.'

and in the order of the New Testament not once is it permitted, indeed, it is truly blamed.[311]

In this passage from OC II 27, Theodulf situates the special status of the eucharist within the context of two sources of authority: the Bible and the Church. This passage offers the first and clearest glimpse into how biblical authority in particular functioned in relation to a *res sacrata*. While the eucharist enjoyed the threefold promotion of the Old Testament, the New Testament and ecclesiastical instruction, images received merely censure from each of these sources.[312] Here, the significance of the mass and the eucharistic elements were enhanced not only by institution in the New Testament, but also by mystical or typological prefiguration in the Old Testament. In the following analysis it will need to be established whether the above-quoted ideas concerning the different sources of authority at play in sanctifying the eucharist were, likewise, active in relation to the other *res sacratae* (the Ark of the Covenant, the cross, liturgical vessels and Scripture). By considering how far shared sources and processes of authorisation were believed to operate in relation to the *res sacratae*, and, especially, how these processes differed in relation to other devotional objects discussed in the OC (particularly saints' relics), the following analysis will begin to bring into sharper focus the doctrine by which Theodulf believed the *res sacratae* to have been set apart from all other material things.

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[311] OC II 27, p. 292: 'Cum ergo istius evidentissimi et sacrosancti mysterii et per veteris Testamenti mysticas figuras et per novi institutionem salutiferum et luce clarius teneat ecclesia documentum, adorandum imaginum huic non est coaequandus insolentissimus usus, qui videlicet non solum fieri non iubetur, verum etiam et per paginam veteris Instrumenti interdicitur et in novi serie Testamenti non solum non conceditur, verum etiam repraehenditur.'

[312] Although some modern scholarship is starting to take issue with the term 'Old Testament' on account of its implied supersession of the Judaic corpus of texts by the Christian (preferring instead to use the more neutral term 'Hebrew Bible'), I shall stick to a more literal translation of Theodulf's own lexicon by continuing to use 'Old Testament' in both my translations and text. Another terminological choice here, is my use of eucharist to signify the body/bread and blood/wine, with mass used to designate the ritual. Although host would be a clearer alternative, it is too strongly associated with later theological developments, particularly the doctrine of transubstantiation. Interpreting Theodulf and the OC's ideas about what happened to the bread, wine and water used in the mass as directly akin to transubstantiation would be anachronistic. In OC II 27, the only explicit statement to the effect that the consecration of the bread and the wine in the mass rite leads to a change of state from matter to spirit, comes from the mouths of the II Nicaea synod, where it was stated that the body and blood cross over from the fruits of the earth into the manifest mystery: *corpus Dominicum et sanguis a fructibus terrae ad insigne mysterium transit* (OC II 27, p. 290). Although Theodulf tacitly accepted this part of the statement, as it was only the extension of the body and blood's ability to cross between matter and mystery to images that he disputed, one must turn to another of Theodulf's works for a similar statement issued from his own mouth. In the final chapter of *De ordine baptismi*, Theodulf addressed the eucharistic body and blood. As part of the ensuing discourse, he remarked that the sacrificial mystery is celebrated 'so that through the visible offering of the priests, and the invisible consecration of the holy spirit, bread and wine might cross over into the excellence of the body and blood of the Lord' (*ut per visibilem sacerdotum oblationem et invisibilem sancti spiritus consecrationem, panis et vinum in corporis et sanguinis domini transeant dignitatem*): Theodulf of Orléans, *De ordine baptismi*, ed. Keefe, c.18, p. 320. Even if not explicitly expressed in the OC, therefore, Theodulf does appear to have held a particularly realistic, as opposed to figurative, view of the nature of the eucharistic elements.

Biblical authority was central to the *res sacratae*. This much is, perhaps, unsurprising in an age in which the Bible enjoyed 'absolute primacy', not just as the most authoritative Christian text, but even as a piece of literature more generally.[313] More intriguing, however, is the differing role attributed to the Old and New Testaments in the above-quoted passage concerning the eucharist. This pattern of Old Testament prefiguration and New Testament institution was also exhibited in much the same manner in relation to liturgical vessels and the sign of the cross, while the Ark of the Covenant and its associated imagery was itself viewed as a prefiguration. The final source of authority referenced in the above passage – instruction from the church – was especially pertinent to the eucharist, Theodulf's discussion of which in the OC utilised not only frequent citations of Old and New Testament Scripture, but also numerous citations from eucharistic prayers. Indeed, such eucharistic prayers were themselves advocates of sacrifices and offerings of the Old Testament as eucharistic prefigurations. For instance, the canon of the Roman mass liturgy included the following:

> The above which things, deign to behold with gracious and kindly serenity, and to hold acceptable, just as you deigned to hold acceptable the gift of your just boy Abel, and the sacrifice of our Patriarch Abraham, and that which your high priest Melchisedech gave to you, a holy sacrifice, an immaculate offering.[314]

The Old Testament sacrifices and offerings alluded to by this passage from the Roman mass liturgy included: Abel's offering of the fat and firstborn lamb from his flock which the Lord favoured more than the gift given by Cain;[315] Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his own son, Isaac, until the intervention of an angel, whereupon he instead offered a ram that had been caught in a bush;[316] and Melchisedech bringing bread and wine for Abraham and blessing him.[317] OC II 27 likewise included three references to prefigurative passages from the Old Testament. The first of these references was to the above-mentioned passage concerning Melchisedech: 'For it is read that *Melchisedech, king of Salem, priest of God most high,* gave, in the figure of the Lord's body and blood, not a certain image, but bread and wine.'[318] However, since the subsequent Old Testament passages employed do not match

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[313] Guy Lobrichon, 'Making sense of the Bible', in Thomas F.X. Noble and Julia M.H. Smith (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, III: *Early Medieval Christianities, c. 600 – c. 1100* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 531.

[314] Dom. Bernard Botte, *Le canon de la messe romaine* (Louvain, 1935), p. 42: 'Supra quae propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris et accepta habere sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui IUSTI ABEL et sacrificium patriarchae nostri abrahae et quod tibi obtulit sumus SACERDOS TUUS MELCHISEDECH sanctum sacrificium immaculatam hostiam.'

[315] Genesis 4:3-5.

[316] Genesis 22.

[317] Genesis 14:17-20.

[318] OC II 27, p. 291: 'Nam *Melchisedech rex Salem, sacerdos Dei summi,* in typo Dominici corporis et sanguinis non imaginem quandam, sed panem et vinum legitur optulisse.' Although similar to the description of

those of the above-quoted mass rite, they invite further consideration as to why these specific passages were chosen in the OC.[319] The other Old Testament references in OC II 27 were to: the prescription in Mosaic law that on the tenth day of the month of Nisan a lamb was to be taken, then eaten by each family on the fourteenth day; Psalm 77, on the bread of angels which was to be eaten by mankind.[320]

The story of Melchisedech giving bread and wine, along with a blessing, to Abraham does appear to have been a favourite of Theodulf's. He also employed it in *De ordine baptismi*, although it was the only eucharistic prefiguration included in that tract:

> It is indeed a saving sacrifice, which both in the Old Testament was offered by Melchisedech king of Salem in the figure of the body and blood of the Lord, and was fulfilled in the New Testament by the Mediator of God and humankind after he had been betrayed, when, taking the bread and the chalice, and blessing them, and handing them to his disciples, he instructed them to do these things in remembrance of him.[321]

Freeman, as part of her effort to identify the Iberian influences on the OC, suggested a link to Isidore's *De fide catholica contra iudaeos*.[322] The wording in Isidore, however, does not match that of the OC as well as *De ordine baptismi*; Isidore's discussion of the Melchisedech prefiguration was also considerably lengthier than in either of Theodulf's treatises, bringing in Psalm 109 on the eternal priestly order of Melchisedech.[323] Nonetheless, like Isidore, for

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Melchisedech in Genesis 14:18, this quote is in fact taken from the New Testament, from Hebrews 7:1, as the Genesis description includes *altissimi* in lieu of *summi*. My own consultation of the most complete Bible produced by Theodulf, which accordingly includes both the passages from Genesis and Hebrews, confirmed that Theodulf was, in this instance actually citing from the New Testament passage, rather than Genesis, since his Bible likewise included *altissimi* in the passage from Genesis and *summi* in the passage from Hebrews: *Codex Mesmianus*, Paris BnF Lat. 9380, ff. 7r, 303v. On Theodulf's Bibles, see Chapter 4.

[319] There is some debate as to the source of Theodulf's liturgical citations in the OC. While in the case of these citations from the eucharistic prayer of the mass, Freeman does generally offer a comparison with the Roman Rite, represented by Botte's edition, there are some instances where Theodulf's citations are clearly more closely linked to another Rite. Before this reference to the prefigurative sacrifices, for instance, Theodulf included what appears to be a direct quotation from a eucharistic prayer: OC II 27, p. 291: 'memoriam faciat Dominicae passionis et ab inferis resurrectionis necnon et in caelos gloriosissimae ascensionis'. The canon of the Roman Rite has *gloriosae*: Dom. Bernard Botte, *Le canon de la messe romaine* (Louvain, 1935), p. 40. As such, Wallach suggests the Ambrosian Rite as a potential source, while Freeman points to the (more likely, given Theodulf's own background) Mozarabic rite: Wallach, *Diplomatic Studies*, p. 288; OC II 27, p. 291 fn. 1.

[320] OC II 27, p. 291; Exodus 12:1-8; Psalm 77:25.

[321] Theodulf of Orléans, *De ordine baptismi*, ed. Keefe, c.18, p. 319: 'est enim sacrificium salutare, quod in veteri testamento melchisedec rex salem in typo corporis et sanguinis domini optulit, et in novo idem mediator dei et hominum antequam traderetur adimplevit, cum, accipiens panem et calicem et benedicens eis et tradens discipulis suis, haec in sui commemorationem fieri praecepit.'

[322] OC II 27, p. 291, fn. 3. For Freeman's effort to identify the Iberian influences on the OC: Freeman, 'Theodulf of Orléans and the *Libri Carolini*', pp. 674-695; Freeman, 'Theodulf of Orléans and the Psalm Citations of the *Libri Carolini*', pp. 195-224; Freeman, 'Scripture and Images in the *Libri Carolini*', pp. 163-188.

[323] Isidore, *De fide catholica contra iudaeos*, PL 83 (Paris, 1830) 2. 27, 535BC: 'Et quia panis et calicis sacramentum Deo placitum esset in holocausto, Scripturarum testimoniis non tecetur. Hujus enim sacrificii

whom Melchisedech was employed as the principal eucharistic prefiguration, Theodulf clearly saw it as the most important of the Old Testament prefigurations, as shown by its prominence in OC II 27 and its use alone in *De ordine baptismi*. On one level, of course, it offered the most literal and visible resemblance to the eucharistic offering: Melchisedech's offering featured bread and wine.[324] That might explain its employment as the only Old Testament prefiguration in *De ordine baptismi*, given its respective intended audience as compared to the OC. While *De ordine baptismi* technically addressed Archbishop Magnus of Sens, indirectly it constituted a response to Charlemagne's c. 812 questionnaire enquiring how bishops taught baptism to their priests. Accordingly, the intended audience for this treatise, albeit indirectly and imagined, comprised the priests of Theodulf's diocese.[325] In OC II 27, however, more figurative allusions were also included, such as the provision of Mosaic law regarding the Passover lamb. Of more importance, therefore, seems to be Melchisedech's status as the originator of the priestly order, particularly given the importance to Theodulf of the priestly powers of consecration.[326]

The allusion to the Mosaic law provision regarding the Passover lamb is best explained with regard to the function of OC II 27's discussion of the eucharist as well as the wider role of the *res sacratae*. Fundamentally, the point of discussing the *res sacratae* in the OC was to offer a polar contrast to manufactured images.[327] As Theodulf remarked, the sacrifice of the lamb was ordered by Mosaic law, yet everywhere within Mosaic law the practice of worshipping or adoring images was rejected.[328] Mosaic law contained in the first five books of the Old Testament (the Pentateuch) does indeed feature numerous prohibitions against image worship.[329] Psalm 77 appears to have been chosen for a similar reason, with an allusion included to Psalm 134 which bemoaned the idolatry of the gentiles,

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praefiguratio in sacerdotio Melchisedech antea fuit expressa. Iste enim sacerdos Dei excelsi, cum benediceret Abrahae, ob mysterium futuri holocausti panem et vinum in sacrificio Domino obtulit. Hoc enim ille primum in typo Filii Dei expressit: ad quem Psalmista ex persona Patris sic dicit: *Ante luciferum genui te. Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech* (Psal. CIX, 3). Hic est juxta ritum hujusmodi sacrificii, quod et in passione sua perficiens Christus implevit, quodque etiam apostolia in commemorationem suam fieri jussit.'
[324] Genesis 14:18-20.
[325] Susan Keefe, 'Carolingian Baptismal Expositions: A Handlist of Tracts and Manuscripts', in Uta-Renate Blumenthal (ed.), *Carolingian Essays: Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in Early Christian Studies* (Washington, D.C., 1983), pp. 189-192.
[326] This will be discussed below in Chapter 2.2.
[327] On the OC's polarising rhetorical strategy more widely: Ommundsen, 'The Liberal Arts and the Polemic Strategy of the *Opus Caroli Regis Contra Synodum*', pp. 175-200.
[328] OC II 27, p. 291: 'Nam Mosaico ore in praefiguratione nostri Redemptoris, cuius carnem in remissionem peccatorum sumimus et sanguinis tinctione percutientis angeli impetum evadimus, agnus per familias comedi iubetur et colendarum vel adorandarum imaginum usus omnino abdicatur.'
[329] For instance: Exodus 20:5, 20:21, 23:13, 23:33; Leviticus 19:4, 20:23, 26:1; Deuteronomy 7:2, 7:25-26, 12:2, 13:9-14.

equating them with the dumbness of their idols.[330] Both of these Old Testament prefigurations of the eucharist, therefore, were primarily selected for their relationship to condemnation of image-worship. While the Old Testament supports (*teneat*) the eucharistic mystery through typological allusions, image worship is forbidden (*interdicitur*).[331]

Of the other *res sacratae*, the Ark of the Covenant holds the most interesting position in relation to the Old Testament, being itself viewed as a prefiguration of the later (New Testament) *res sacratae*. Meanwhile, the authority underpinning the place of liturgical vessels within that category was most clearly developed along the same lines as for the eucharist. There was also a substantial overlap between the Old Testament allusions and references discussed for the Ark of the Covenant and liturgical vessels. Introducing his biblical allusions in OC II 29, Theodulf emphatically remarked that the superiority of liturgical vessels over images was evident from the divine laws.[332] The most prominent Old Testament allusions that followed were to the construction, fitting out and incorporation of the Ark of the Covenant into the Tabernacle of Moses and the Temple of Solomon.[333] In OC I 15, the foreshadowing symbolism of the Ark of the Covenant – of its material composition and its contents – had already been resolutely established:

> For while those [images] of yours nod to nothing else if not sometimes to the order
> of things having been done, sometimes they invent the error not of things having
> been done but of things having been made up, truly these [the material setting and
> contents of the Ark of the Covenant] always radiate with the holy and excellent
> mysteries and redly glow with the sacraments.[334]

In the exposition on the different facets of the Ark's symbolism, Theodulf drew heavily from Bede's *De templo Salomonis* and Augustine's *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, particularly from his discussion of Exodus 25. A lengthy excerpt from Bede was employed and expanded in this chapter to show the Ark as a prefiguration of Christ, particularly on account of the Ark's housing of the two tablets of the law (which were in turn taken as prefiguring the two Testaments of the Bible) and the staff of Aaron and of Aaron's being

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[330] OC II 27, p. 291: 'Psalmografus quoque et panem angelorum, Christum videlicet, ab hominibus manducandum et imaginum conditores similes his, quae conduntur, imaginibus fieri suavisona modulatione cantavit'; Psalm 134:15-18.
[331] OC II 27, p. 292.
[332] OC II 29, p. 301: 'Quanta ergo excellentia vasa divino cultui mancipata imaginibus emineant, divinae legis instrumena demonstrant'.
[333] OC II 29, p. 301; Exodus 25; 2 Paralipomenon 5.
[334] OC I 15, p. 170: 'Nam dum istae nihil aliud innuant nisi interdum rerum gestarum ordinem, interdum non gestarum sed fictarum mentiantur errorem, illa vero semper sanctis et excellentibus radiant mysteriis et rutilant sacramentis.'

described as both king and priest, distributing the manna from heaven.[335] The Ark of the Covenant was, thus, for Theodulf, the ultimate prefiguration of the Old Testament, acting as signifier to Christ and, as the allusions in OC II 29 reiterate, to the mysteries and liturgical rites associated with him.

In relation to the sign of the cross in OC II 28, explicit reference to, or direct quotation from, the Old Testament was sparse. Nonetheless, through the mediation of Cassiodorus' *Expositio Psalmorum*, Psalm 4 was engaged as a prophetic allusion to the cross. Cassiodorus' exposition on Psalm 4:7, which treats the sign of the Lord, did incorporate some elements military phraseology that might have influenced the tone of OC II 28.[336] For instance, Cassiodorus described the cross as a fortification (*munimen*).[337] However, Theodulf took these military metaphors much further, describing the cross as a banner (*vexillum*), weapons (*arma*), an emblem (*insignis*), a standard (*signum*), a fortification (*munitio*), a helmet (*cassis*), a shield (*clypeus*) and a breastplate (*t[h]orax*).[338] The notion of the cross as bodily armour has obvious parallels with the notion of the armour of God found in both the Old and New Testaments in Wisdom (5:17-20) and Ephesians (6:10-18).[339] The most complete Theodulfian Bible – the *Codex Mesmianus* – does include both passages. However, in this manuscript, the passage from Ephesians employed neither *cassis*, *clypeus* nor *thorax*; *lorica*, *galea* and *scutum* were employed instead.[340] The Theodulfian version of the passage from

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[335] OC I 15, pp. 170-171: '*Arca* namque *foederis* secundum quosdam *Dominum et Salvatorem* nostrum, *in quo solo foedus pacis apud Patrem habemus, designat, qui post ressurrectionem suam ascendens in caelum carnem, quam adsumpserat ex Virgine, in Patris dextera conlocavit*, in quo sunt duae tabulae legis, duo videlicet Testamenta, in quo est virga Aaron, quae fronduerat ei, quia ipse est rex et sacerdos – rex, quia de eo scriptum est: Virgam virtutis suae emittet Dominus ex Sion et dominabitur in medio inimicorum surorum, sacerdos vero, quia de eo scriptum est: Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech – in quo est manna, caelstis videlicet pabuli edulium, de quo edulio David aegregius propheta dicit: Panem de caelo dedit eis, panem angelorum manducavit homo, sicut it ipse in evangelio dicit: Ego sum panis vivus, qui de caelo descendi.'
[336] Psalm 4:7.
[337] Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, ed. M. Adriaen CCSL 97 (Turnhout, 1958), Ps. 4:7, pp. 59-60, esp. p. 60: 'Quia sicut nummus imperatoris portat imaginem, ita et fidelibus signa caelestis Principis imprimuntur: hoc munimine diabolus multiformis expellitur, et fraudulenta machinatione non praeualet superare tentatum, quem habuit primi hominis suasione capitum. Crux est enim humilium inuicta tutio, superborum deiectio, uictoria Christi, perditio diaboli, infernorum destructio, caelestium confirmatio, mors infidelium, uita iustorum.'
[338] OC II 29, pp. 296-297.
[339] Wisdom 5:17-20: 'ideo accipient regnum decoris et diadema speciei de manu Domini quoniam dextera sua teget eos et brachio suo defendet illos accipiet armaturam zelus illius et armabit creaturam ad ultionem inimicorum induet pro torace iustitiam et accipiet pro galea iudicium certum sumet scutum inexpugnabilem aequitatem'; Ephesians 6: 10-18: 'de cetero fratres confortamini in Domino et in potentia virtutis eius induite vos arma Dei ut possitis stare adversus insidias diaboli quia non est nobis conluctatio adversus carnem et sanguinem sed adversus principes et potestates adversus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum contra spiritalia nequitiae in caelestibus propterea accipite armaturam Dei ut possitis resistere in die malo et omnibus perfectis stare state ergo succincti lumbos vestros in veritate et induti loricam iustitiae et calciati pedes in praeparatione evangelii pacis in omnibus sumentes scutum fidei in quo possitis omnia tela nequissimi ignea extinguere et galeam salutis adsumite et gladium Spiritus quod est verbum Dei per omnem orationem et obsecrationem orantes omni tempore in Spiritu et in ipso vigilantes in omni instantia obsecratione pro omnibus sanctis'.
[340] *Codex Mesmianus*, BnF Lat. 9380, f. 298v.

Wisdom did employ *thorax*, but neither *cassis* nor *clypeus*.[341] Although the exact source of OC II 28's military metaphors will therefore require further digging, these were certainly ideas reminiscent of passages from the Old Testament.[342] As Cassiodorus' exposition was used to indicate, however, these could be read in the vein of prophetic allusions to the cross.

Despite being somewhat concealed by a veil of obscurity in relation to the cross, therefore, the Old Testament performed a largely consistent role by providing an authority that underpinned the *res sacratae*. For the present-day *res sacratae* – the eucharist, liturgical vessels and the cross – this authority was largely built upon the typological power of prefiguration and prophecy. In keeping with the perfect participle form of the term *sacratus*, this was ultimately, therefore, an authority of antiquity. Indeed, respect for the authority of the past – in the form of ancestors and parents – was a recurring theme throughout the OC.[343] Age alone, however, would not have provided such secure and authoritative foundations. Even more importantly, the location of these origins within a textual history – and particularly in what the Carolingian churchmen considered to be the original written history – provided the most secure testimony in support of the validity of these objects.[344] This significance of this particular textual history's authority was developed in OC II 30. Scripture was, Theodulf stated, preordained by God before the ages.[345] This written text – initiated by Moses – was, Theodulf continued, the unique way in which the people of God preserved things of importance; at the same time as Moses initiated the writing of the holy law, the gentiles – under Cecrops – developed artistic forms.[346] From this, Theodulf's conclusion was unequivocal:

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[341] *Codex Mesmianus*, BnF Lat. 9380, f. 211v.

[342] Another potential source of these military metaphors is Jeremiah (c. 6) e.g. via Isidore, *Etymologiae*. For instance, *vexillum* was used in this way by Elipandus his letter of the Spanish bishops despite the dangerous links of *vexillum* to the dangerous legacy of Constantine and the Chi-Rho vision: Rutger Kramer, 'Adopt, adapt and improve: dealing with the Adoptionist controversy at the court of Charlemagne', pp. 38-40.

[343] The Greek churchmen of II Nicaea are continually rebuked for anathematising their parents (i.e. the iconoclastic churchmen at Hieria) and for failing to live up to the example of their more distant forebears at the original council of Nicaea: esp. OC II 31, pp. 322-328; OC IV 13, pp. 515-522.

[344] On the more general significance of history transmitted textually to the Carolingians: Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 218-244. On the superiority of Scripture as a written record in the OC: Haendler, *Epochen karolingischer Theologie*, pp. 80-83.

[345] OC II 30, p. 303: 'cum videlicet illae solius Dei altissimo archanoque ac praesago iudicio sint ante saecula praedestinatae'.

[346] OC II 30, pp. 303-304: 'Eo etenim tempore, quo Moyses cum populo Dei in heremo morabatur et praecipiente Domino sacrae legis doctrinam et caerimoniarum sacratissimos ritus populo tradebat et genus humanum ad divini cultus eruditionem informabat, Cecrobs, quidam rex Atheniensium, daemonico inlectus veneno rudes gentilium mentes ad imaginum simulacrorumque et ad vanorum deorum culturas excitavit'.

> Whence the use of images, which grew from the traditions of the gentiles, neither ought nor is powerful enough to be equated to the books of the holy laws, because in books, not in images, we discover the knowledge of spiritual doctrine.[347]

Of course, for most of the *res sacratae* the Old Testament only constituted one half of the Scriptural underpinnings. The eucharist, liturgical vessels and cross also drew significant authority from the New Testament. In part, Theodulf and his co-editors viewed this as a continuation of the textual tradition from the Old Testament. Continuing from Moses' initiation of the Old Testament, OC II 30 traced a genealogy of the textual tradition through Joshua, Samuel and David, before linking Jesus – and, therefore, the New Testament – to David by noting the latter's appearance within Jesus' human genealogy.[348] More accurately, the New Testament was considered the perfecting expansion of the Old 'because the page of the Old Testament has the strictness of irreproachable severity, truly the page of the New has a convoking and tenderness, through which wanderers are set straight and the conversion of souls towards the grace of Christ takes place.'[349] Indeed, it was this focus upon Christ himself, and especially the preservation of his words, that most significantly imbued Scriptural authority upon the *res sacratae*.

The New Testament features heavily in OC II 27. The first quotation – the words of institution – was not strictly-speaking from the New Testament. This was largely derived from the New Testament, but in the form in which it appears in OC II 27, the closest resemblance is to part of the eucharistic prayers:

> Take, he said, and eat: This is my body. And likewise, after he had eaten, taking the chalice, he gave it to his disciples, saying: Take and drink. This is indeed the chalice of my blood, of the new and eternal covenant, which shall be shed for you and for many in the remission of sins. Whenever you do this, you will do it in remembrance of me.[350]

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[347] OC II 30, p. 304: 'Unde imaginum usus, qui a gentilium traditionibus inolevit, sacrae legis libris aequiperari nec debet nec valet, quia in libris, non in imaginibus doctrinae spiritalis eruditionem discimus.'

[348] OC II 30, pp. 305-307.

[349] OC II 30, p. 319: 'quoniam veteris Testamenti pagina rigorem habet inrepraehensibilis severitatis, novi vero convocationem et mansuetudinem, per quam errantes corrigantur et ad Christi gratiam animarum conversio fiat.'

[350] OC II 27, p. 292: 'Accipite, inquit, et manducate: Hoc est corpus meum. Similiter et calicem, postquam caenavit, accipiens dedit discipulis suis dicens: Accipite et bibite. Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei, novi et aeterni Testamenti, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Haec quotiescumque feceretis, in mei memoriam facietis.' Cf. Dom. Bernard Botte, *Le canon de la messe romaine*, pp. 38-40: 'Qui pridie quam pateretur ACCEPIT PANEM in sanctas ac uenerabiles manus suas ELEUATIS OCULIS in caelum ad te deum patrem suum omnipotentem tibi GRATIAS AGENS BENEDIXIT FREGIT DEDIT DISCIPULIS SUIS DICENS ACCIPITE et MANDUCATE ex hoc omnes HOC EST enim CORPUS MEUM. SIMILI MODO POSTEAQUAM CAENATUM EST accipiens et hunc praeclarum calicem in sanctas ac uenerabiles manus suas item tibi GRATIAS AGENS benedixit dedit discipulis suis dicens accipite

Nonetheless, the way that these words were framed in OC II 27 indicate their centrality to the progression from the Old to the New Testament. In the words themselves, and included in the OC's quotation, this transitional moment was signified by the cup of Christ's blood being referred to as the cup of the new and eternal testament.[351] But, more significantly, Theodulf reinforced this interpretation through his framing of the passage, remarking that Christ, when he spoke those words of institution to his disciples, 'divinely established that saving beginning, both at the end of the Old Testament and with the approaching of the New (Testament) on account of his most holy suffering, connecting two walls with himself as the cornerstone'.[352] Another of the *res sacratae* – liturgical vessels – was described in a similar fashion as having been integral to Christ's mediation between the two Testaments: 'the author of our salvation, when he both put an end to the Old Testament and a beginning for the New, is asserted to have done so, not through an image, but by accepting the chalice'.[353] While the cross was not described in such strikingly similar terms as being positioned at the bridge between the two Testaments, it was attributed a mediating role like Christ himself, 'who triumphing through the cross united earth with the heavens'.[354] In the OC doctrine, therefore, the eucharist, liturgical vessels and, perhaps, the cross held special places, not only being affirmed by Scripture, but also being integral to Christ's mediation between the Old and the New Testaments. In short, these were objects which, like Christ himself, stood at what Theodulf viewed as the historical mid-point between the ancient and the new.[355]

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et BIBITE EX EO OMNES HIS EST enim CALIX SANGUINIS MEI NOUI et aeterni TESTAMENTI mysterium fidei qui PRO UOBIS et PRO MULTIS EFFUNDETUR IN REMISSIONEM PECCATORUM. Haec quotiescumque feceretis IN MEI MEMORIAM FACIETIS.' [Who, on the day before that on which he suffered, took bread in his holy and venerable hands, having elevated his eyes towards heaven, to you God, his all-powerful father, he gave thanks to you, blessed it, broke it, and gave it to his disciples, saying: Take and eat from this all of you. This is indeed my body. In a similar way, after he had had dinner, taking also this chalice of brilliance into his holy and venerable hands, likewise, giving thanks to you, he blessed it, and gave it to his disciples, saying: Take and drink from this all of you. This is indeed the chalice of my blood, of the new and eternal covenant: the mystery of faith, which shall be poured out for you and for many in remission of sins. As often as you will do this, you will do it in remembrance of me.]

[351] OC II 27, p. 292: 'calix... novi et aeterni Testamenti'; Dom. Bernard Botte, *Le canon de la messe romaine*, p. 40.

[352] OC II 27, pp. 291-292: 'Ipse namque Auctor humani generis, qui pro salute nostra carnem nostri causa non est dedignatus accipere, **cum et veteris Testamenti terminum et novi adpropinquante suae sacratissimae passionis die salutiferum constitueret initium et in se lapide angulari duos ex adverso parietes conectens** et secundum Apostolum faciens utraque unum, accepto pane, benedicto ac fracto, hoc salutare discipulis dedit praeceptum.'

[353] OC II 28, p. 302: 'nostrae salutis auctor, cum et veteri Testamento terminum et novo initium poneret, non imaginem sed calicem accepisse perhibetur'. On Christ as the 'mid-point' between the two Testaments in the OC's theology: Haendler, *Epochen karolingischer Theologie*, pp. 84-86.

[354] OC II 29, p. 300: 'qui per crucem triumphans terrena caelestibus sociasti'.

[355] The key study of Theodulf's salvation-historical system in which the ancient is represented by the Old Testament and the modern by the New Testament is by Dahlhaus-Berg. Her discussion of the use of that idea of history in the OC does not discuss the *res sacratae* and instead focusses upon the way in which Theodulf dismissed II Nicaea's literal approach to passages in the Old Testament that they believed supported the worship of images, as well as utilising that historical framework to fashion political statements

Mostly, the Gospel quotations in OC II 27 took the form of statements by Jesus – almost exclusively from his address to crowds on the shore of Lake Galilee the day after having fed the five-thousand in John 6 – to the effect that his flesh is food and his blood drink which will grant eternal life to the believers who consume them.[356] The most obvious function of these Scriptural quotations was, as with the latter two of the Old Testament allusions, to demonstrate that the eucharistic oblation was repeatedly affirmed as salvific food and drink, while Jesus never made such statements about images. Unlike the Old Testament passages, however, these sayings of Jesus did not offer a definite renunciation of images. Instead, the fact that no such things were read in the Gospels about images was the primary rebuttal.[357] In instances where these statements regarding images were lacking, Theodulf obliged by fashioning such statements with the evident intent of ridicule. To this end, for instance, John 6:56, became 'My image is truly life, and the picture with my name inscribed on it is truly saving'.[358] The only direct condemnation of idolatry supplied from the New Testament in OC II 27 came, not from Jesus, but from Paul. Theodulf observed that Paul viewed the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood as being almost above all other sacraments,[359] before including a suitable quotation from Paul concerning its potency

that promoted the Franks and belittled Byzantine imperial authority. The same exegetical processes, however, are clearly utilised in Theodulf's discussion of the *res sacratae*, with his emphasis on the typological approach in dealing with Old Testament passages, viewing them as prefigurations of these devotional objects subsequently instituted at the initiation of the New Testament: Dahlhaus-Berg, *Nova antiuitas et antiqua novitas*, esp. pp. 35-37 and 190-201.

[356] OC II 27, pp. 292-293: 'Caro mea vere est cibus et sanguis meus vere est potus' [John 6:56] '... Qui manducat meam carnem et bibit meum sanguinem, in me manet et ego in illo' [John 6:57] '... Nisi manducaberitis carnem Filii hominis et biberitis eius sanguinem, non habebitis vitam in vobis' [John 6:54] '... Ego sum panis vivus, qui de caelo descendi' [John 6:51]; 'si quis ex ipso manducaberit, non morietur, sed habebit vitam aeternam' [John 6:50]; 'et ego suscitabo eum in novissimo die' [John 6:44] '... Sicut misit me vivens Pater, et ego vivo propter Patrem, et qui manducat me, ipse vivit propter me' [John 6:58] '... Hic est verus panis Dei, qui de caelo descendit et vitam tribuit mundo' [John 6:33]. 'Qui manducaverit ex eo, permanet in aeternum, et panis, quem ego dabo ei, caro mea est pro mundi vita' [John 6:52]. 'Qui credit in me non esuriet neque sitiet umquam' [John 6:35] '... si manseritis in me, et verba mea in vobis manserint' [John 15:7] [My flesh is truly food and my blood is truly drink ... He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood shall remain in me and I in him ... If you will not eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink of his blood, you will not have life in you ... I am the living bread, which descends from heaven; if anyone will eat from the same bread, he will not die, but will have eternal life; and I will awaken him in the endmost day ... Just as the living Father sent me, and I live on account of the Father, and he who eats me, himself lives on account of me ... This is the true bread of God, which came down from heaven and granted life to the world. He who shall eat from it, will endure in eternity, and the bread, which I will give to you, is my flesh for the life of the world. He who believes in me will never, at any time, be hungry or thirsty ... if you shall remain in me, and my words shall remain in you.]

[357] OC II 27, p. 293: 'nihil tale uspiam de imagine legitur dixisse'.

[358] OC II 27, p. 292: 'Imago mea vere est vita, et pictura nomini meo adscripta vere est salus.' This statement, of course, reflects OC IV 16's dismissal of the ability of inscriptions to add sacral power to images, which has been discussed above.

[359] OC II 27, pp. 293-294: 'corporis et sanguinis Dominici sacramentum non omni sacramento aquiperandum, sed paene omnibus praeferendum esse conspiciens'. The use of *sacramentum* in the OC, particularly in relation to the 'sacrament of the Lord's body and blood', has been discussed in my preceding chapter. There I noted that some of the French-language historiography – in particular Kristina Mitalaité – has discussed the *res sacratae* as sacraments (without using the term *res sacratae*). However, only one of the *res sacratae* was ever given the label of sacrament (although others are described as mysteries) and Theodulf does

(1 Corinthians 11:28).[360] This was followed by a quotation from Paul's letter to the Romans in which he recounted the foolishness of those who had turned away from God and towards idolatry (Romans 1:23).[361] Overall, the intended effect of these New Testament passages, coupled with those Old Testament passages discussed earlier, was evidently to demonstrate how vociferously all of Scripture testified to the sanctity of both the mass sacrament and the object – the eucharistic body and blood – at its heart. Images, by contrast, are, at best, never mentioned and, at worst, condemned outright.

Another important feature of these biblical references used in relation to the eucharist resonated with the treatment of the other *res sacratae*: these statements were mostly viewed as the words of Christ himself. The significance of the voice of Christ was more emphatically stipulated in relation to the cross:

> We ought to come to the Lord, we ought to sit with Mary at his feet, we ought to hear the words from his mouth, we ought to hear him in himself, who we have heard in the speech of the acts of the apostles! Therefore, we have heard what the teacher of the gentiles has said about the cross – we ought to listen to what the Creator of the gentiles says; we have heard the eminent pre-dedicator – we ought to listen to the Maker of all things![362]

Admittedly, isolated from the words introduced by this statement, it appears to refer not to Christ, but rather to God. The fact that labels such as Creator and Maker were employed here to refer to Christ, should be read, alongside the promotion of the *filioque* clause, as part of the Carolingian theologians' anti-Adoptionist endeavours, as they equally imply the consubstantiality of God the Father and Son.[363] This exhortation, then, could simultaneously have urged that the reader listen to God or Christ. In this instance, however, the voice of Christ (Matthew 16:24) followed: 'If any man, he said, wishes to

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use *sacramentum* to refer to the ritual of the Lord's body and blood (i.e. the mass) which contained a *res sacrata* (the body and blood itself).

[360] OC II 27, p. 294: 'Probet enim se homo et sic de pane illo manducet et de calice bibat. Qui autem manducat et bibit indigne, iudicium sibi manducat et bibit.' [Let a man prove himself and so eat of that bread and drink of the chalice. For, indeed, he who eats and drinks unworthily, eats and drinks judgement upon himself.]

[361] OC II 27, p. 294: 'Et mutaverunt gloriam incorruptibilis Dei in similtudinem corruptibilis hominis, et cetera.' [And they changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of a corruptible man, etc.]

[362] OC II 28, p. 299: 'Veniamus ad Dominum, sedeamus cum Maria ad pedes eius, audiamus verbum ex ore eius, audiamus eum in seipso, quem actenus in Apostolo loquentem audivimus! Audivimus ergo, quid de cruce dixerit doctor gentium – audiamus, quid dicat Creator gentium; audivimus aegregium praedicatorem – audiamus rerum omnium Conditorem!'

[363] On the *filioque* clause in the OC: Anthony Siecienski, *The Filioque: History of a Doctrinal Controversy* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 91-93.

follow after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me'.[364] Taking up one's cross is an ambiguous phrase, insofar as it could be interpreted in a literal or metaphorical sense; Theodulf's rumination cut somewhere between the two.[365] In a metaphorical sense, he spoke of the need to take up one's cross and be crucified to the world.[366] But, expanding upon this passage, alongside another statement issued by Christ in Matthew 22:21 ('Render [...] that which is Caesar's to Caesar and that which is God's to God'), Theodulf described the cross as a great mystery testifying to Christ's redeeming love and stated that the name (*nomen*) of the cross should daily be carried towards Christ.[367] The implication of this second divine statement was, further, that images are not things of Christ, but of Caesar.[368] As with the selection of Old Testament passages, the words of Christ and God were thus used to contrast the supreme authority underlying the *res sacratae* with the rejection of images or with the absence of support for them.

The word of God, of course, was not only to be found in the New Testament passages. In OC II 29, for instance, the word of the Lord was identified through Isaiah 52:11 as endorsing the sanctity of liturgical vessels, yet lending no such authority to images: 'the Lord did not say, through the prophet: Be clean, you who carry images, but *Be clean you who carry the vessels of the Lord*.'[369] Such prescriptions of purity concerning those who handle objects used within devotional practices were commonplace in contemporary priest

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[364] OC II 28, p. 299: 'Si quis, inquit, vult post me venire, abneget semetipsum et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me.'

[365] This ambiguity can be seen, for instance, in the ninth-century debate between Claudius of Turin and Dungal. Claudius, evidently responding to people in his diocese who had taken such injunctions to endorse adoration of the cross, remarked that God had commanded the cross to be carried and that people should not, therefore, worship what they were not able to bear spiritually or corporeally: Claudius of Turin, *Apologeticum atque rescriptum Claudii episcopii adversus Theutmirum abbatem*, ed. Paolo Zana, *Dungal: Responsa contra Claudium: A Controversy on Holy Images* (Florence, 2002), p.282.

[366] OC II 28, p. 299: 'tollamusque unusquisque crucem suam et mundo crucifigamur mundusque nobis crucifigatur'.

[367] OC II 28, p. 299: 'Reddite [...] quae sunt Caesaris Caesari, et quae Dei Deo'; OC II 28, p. 299: 'et tanto mysterium crucis extulisti, ut et tu per eam principatus et potestates et omnem inflationem mundi evacuares et in crucis nomine, quae quotidie te sequuturis portanda est, ardorem tuae dilectionis vel ceterarum virtutum emolumenta designares!' An interesting possibility here, is of the name of the cross linking in with the power of names attested especially in relation to the cult of saints, or in relation to the devotional practice of graffiti (e.g. inscribing one's name in sacred spaces, especially on altars). In relation to OC doctrine itself, this idea of the power of names is especially evident in relation to the notion which is developed of the separation between the spiritual and material aspect of the human (reflecting the universal matter-spirit division in microcosm), with the name -whether written on spoken – being something that represents the spiritual aspect of the human – which is considered the only part to be made in the image of God – in a way that images cannot. The use of *nomen* here, might therefore be tapping into this idea of the name as the representation that is most able to represent the spiritual aspect.

[368] This was what Theodulf took from the verse, explaining that images, being of the world, should accordingly be abandoned to it: OC II 28, p. 299: 'non sunt imagines cruci aequiperandae, non adorandae, non colendae, sed huic mundo cum ceteris, quae mundi sunt, relinquendae'.

[369] OC II 29, p. 302: 'per prophetam Dominus non ait: Mundamini, qui fertis imagines, sed *Mundamini, qui fertis vasa Domini*.'

manuals – including in Theodulf's own episcopal statutes – and clearly ascribe those objects with a sanctified power.[370]

This authority to sanctify, however, might not have been considered as purely limited to God or Christ. A third authority can, perhaps, be discerned in the brief description of the *res sacratae* that opened OC III 24: 'either those things which have been made holy by the law-giver, or those things which have been made holy by God and the Mediator of mankind'.[371] Indeed, this translation of *sacratae sunt* could be alternatively rendered: 'those things which have been **declared** to be holy'.[372] That law-giver, of course, was Moses. OC II 26 and OC II 30 afforded Moses a major role in the creation of two *res sacratae*: the Ark of the Covenant and Scripture. In each instance, however, the authority of voice does seem to have been limited to God. For instance, OC II 26 described the *res sacratae* as 'those things which have been seasoned/made by the imperial voice of the Lord'.[373] The verb used here could either be *condire* or *condere*. This gives a possible dual meaning of seasoning or making.[374] Perhaps, Theodulf played on this link later in the chapter by contrasting the seasoning of the Lord's voice to the making of images by artificers.[375] Nonetheless, the translation as seasoning implies something akin to the *res sacratae* being embalmed with sanctity, as if it were a spiritual spice, by the voice of the Lord. Moses' role in the creation of the Ark of the Covenant was presented as a tangible, rather than a vocal one. While the ambiguous verbs (*condire*/*condere*) were carried over into the sentence comparing the role of Moses in the Ark's creation to the artificers of images, the focus was on the holy man as opposed to the holy voice.[376] Similarly, in relation to the initiation of Scripture in OC II 30, Moses was described as merely delivering or relating the doctrine of holy laws and the most holy rites of ceremonies to the people of God; the vocal authority of commanding was the Lord's.[377] The consecrating, authorising voice behind all the *res sacratae*, therefore, was that of the consubstantial Father and Son.

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[370] Theodulf stipulated that the eucharistic bread ought to be made by the priests themselves (or in their sight by servants) and that the bread, wine and water should be kept most clean and handled carefully: 'Panes, quos deo in sacrificium offertis, aut a vobis ipsis aut a vestris pueris coram vobis nitide ac studiose fiant. Et diligenter observetur, ut panis et vinum et aqua, sine quibus missae nequeunt celebrari, mundissime atque studiose tractentur. Et nihil in his vile, nihil non probatum inveniatur iuxta illud' Theodulf, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. episc. 1, c.5, p. 107.

[371] OC III 24, p. 448: 'sive quae per legislatorem sive quae per Dei et hominum Mediatorem sacratae sunt'.

[372] OC III 24, p. 448; Charlton Lewis and Charles Short (eds.), *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1879, repr. 1975), p. 1613.

[373] OC II 26, p. 286: 'quae condita est Dominicae vocis imperio'.

[374] Lewis and Short (eds.), *A Latin Dictionary*, pp. 408-409.

[375] OC II 26, p. 286: 'Siquidem illa condita est Domino imperante, istae conduntur artis industria iuvante'.

[376] OC II 26, p. 286: 'illa a sancto viro Moyse, istae a quolibet opifice'.

[377] OC II 30, pp. 303-304: 'Moyses cum populo Dei in heremo morabatur et praecipiente Domino sacrae legis doctrinam et caerimoniarum sacratissimos ritus populo tradebat'.

Besides images, the *res sacratae* were not the only devotional objects discussed in the OC. Saints' relics, for instance, like the *res sacratae* were discussed in opposition to images. Nonetheless, despite fulfilling much the same rhetorical function within the polemic of the OC, saints' relics were not considered *res sacratae*. Relics were discussed at most length in OC III 24. In this chapter biblical authority played a significantly different role than it had in the *res sacratae* chapters: prefiguration was not provided by the Old Testament; the institution of the cult of saints was not pin-pointed to the temporal shift between the Old and New Testaments; and the voices of God and Christ stayed silent.

OC III 24 featured only one (apparently) direct biblical quotation. This quotation from the New Testament (1 Timothy 2:5) described Christ as 'the Mediator of God and humankind'.[378] Variants of this phrase, ostensibly quoted from the Bible, were employed twenty-one times throughout the OC.[379] Even this verse, however, was used here in relation to the *res sacratae* rather than relics, with Theodulf remarking that the *res sacratae* 'had been made holy by the Mediator of God and humankind'.[380] In relation to saints' relics themselves, OC III 24 included no direct Scriptural passages. Indirectly, the Old Testament featured prominently, as the origins of the cult of saints were shown to derive from the burial arrangements of the patriarchs in and around the cave of Arbee.[381] However, whereas the Old Testament exempla used in relation to the *res sacratae* had been interpreted typologically – as mystical prefigurations of objects that would be instituted in the New Testament – in relation to the cult of saints these appear to have been viewed as literal exempla, devoid of any prophetic allusion to a New Testament institution.

Furthermore, Theodulf appears to have derived the material for his discussion of these burial practices not from the Old Testament itself, where the discussion was scattered over numerous books, but instead from Isidore's *De ortu et obitu patrum*.[382] No claims were made to the effect that these passages had been derived from Scripture. Unlike in OC II 27 where biblical testimony had been attested as such, the exempla furnished in OC III 24 were described as being derived from antiquity (ambiguously referring either to Isidore or to the patriarchs themselves): 'Accordingly, not in vain antiquity urged that the bodies of

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[378] OC III 24, p. 448: 'Dei et hominum Mediatorem'. This does not quite match up with the passage as it appears in Theodulf's Bible, but this is at least partially explained by *mediatorem* in the OC being modified by *per*. *Codex Mesmianus,* Paris BnF Lat. 9380, f. 301r: 'Unus enim d[eu]s unus & mediator d[e]i & hominum'.

[379] OC, *Anhang,* I 17, p. 565.

[380] OC III 24, p. 448: 'sacratis rebus [...] quae per Dei et hominum Mediatorem sacratae sunt'.

[381] OC III 24, pp. 449-450.

[382] Isidore, *De ortu et obitu patrum*, PL 83 (Paris, 1830), I (Adam), VI (Abraham), VII (Isaac), pp. 131-133; OC III 24, pp. 449-450.

the saints are to be venerated and honour is to be exhibited with respect to their relics.'[383] That the passages derived from Isidore, rather than the Bible itself, can also be seen through a comparison of the selected passages with *De ortu et obitu patrum* and the relevant section from a Theodulfian Bible:

> **OC III 24:** 'Nam <u>Abraham, pater gentium</u>, vir fide plenus, devotione summus, <u>obedientia praecipuus</u>, in praeceptis Domini strenuus'.[384]
>
> **Isidore, *De ortu et obitu patrum*:** '<u>Abraham pater gentium</u>, filius Thare, de stirpe Sem, natione Chaldaeus, fide primus, exsul spontaneus, <u>obediens in praeceptis</u>'.[385]
>
> **Ecclesiasticus 44:20, *Codex Mesmianus*:** '<u>Abraham pater</u> magnus multitudinis <u>gentium</u> et non est inventus similis illi in gloria qui conservavit legem excelsi et fuit in testamento cum illo'.[386]

Of course, given Theodulf's already noted biblically-derived idea of human history divided according to the two Testaments, antiquity was a label which referred to the time of the Old Testament as opposed to the New.[387] The authority of antiquity alone, was still something that, Theodulf argued, did not extend to devotion towards images. Concluding his discourse on the exempla from Isidore, he expressed his doubts that his Byzantine interlocutors could furnish even a single example of antiquity that urged similar veneration of images.[388] Theodulf clearly considered antiquity to be authoritative; parents and forebears were to be accorded due respect.[389] But this authority was, nonetheless, weaker than the authority of the Old and New Testaments combined.

Without reference to the New Testament, in particular, the institution of saints' relics could not be situated – like the eucharist, liturgical vessels and the cross – at the crucial moment of salvation history that sat between the two Testaments. Furthermore, key authoritative voices remained silent. These were the sanctifying voices of God and Christ. As demonstrated above, these voices – or, perhaps more accurately, this voice – played a pivotal role in the designation of the *res sacratae*. Without the support of these two fundamental sources of authority – institution at the pivotal position in divine history and

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[383] OC III 24, p. 449: 'Sanctorum itaque corpora venerari eorumque reliquis honorem exhibere non sine causa vestustas admisit.' Cf. OC II 27, p. 292: 'per veteris Testamenti mysticas figuras'.
[384] OC III 24, p. 449.
[385] Isidore, *De ortu et obitu patrum*, PL 83, VI, p. 133A.
[386] *Codex Mesmianus*, BnF Lat. 9380, f. 227r.
[387] Above and Dahlhaus-Berg, *Nova antiuitas et antiqua novitas,* esp. pp. 35-37 and 190-201.
[388] OC III 24, p. 451: 'Ecce quibus exemplis, ut cetera taceamus, monstratum est, sanctorum cineribus venerationem exhiberi debere! Dicant illi, ubi umquam iubeamur imagines adorare?'
[389] For instance, Theodulf berated the Byzantine churchmen for anathematizing their parents at Hieria and for failing to live up to their forebears at I Nicaea: esp. OC II 31, pp. 322-328; OC IV 13, pp. 515-522.

through the word of God or Christ – saints' relics thus, in Theodulf's estimation, fell short of being classed as *res sacratae*.

The present analysis has been concerned with establishing which authorities Theodulf and the co-editors of the OC believed to have instituted and set the *res sacratae* apart from other devotional objects. Departing from, and indeed contesting, the existing historiography on the *res sacratae*, the further aim has been to show that those same authorities were not believed to have promoted saints' relics in a comparable fashion. Biblical endorsement was clearly crucial to the *res sacratae* designation. However, especially when set against the OC's discussion of saints' relics, two features of this biblical support appear to have been paramount: institution at the transitional moment in history between the two ages represented by the Old and New Testaments and through the command – and indeed the voice – of God or Christ. For Theodulf, saints' relics, by contrast, enjoyed merely the straightforward authority of antiquity through deep roots in the age of the Old Testament. Examining the role of biblical authority in relation to the *res sacratae* and saints' relics in the OC has, therefore, begun to illuminate the separation that Theodulf and the co-editors of that Carolingian treatise envisioned between these devotional objects.

2.2: Making sanctity: sacerdotal power and the Word invoked

Because, of course, the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, for the commemoration of his passion and the salvation having been granted to us by him, *the Mediator of God and humankind*, is made through the hand of the priest and the invocation of the divine name [...] and, without doubt, at the time of consecration, the priest, having put on vestments, mixing the prayers of the people standing around with his prayers, with an inward bellowing, *should produce the memory of the Lord's passion and resurrection from hell and also (his) most glorious ascent into heaven* and *this should be earnestly requested to be carried up through the hands of an angel onto the sublime altar of God and into the sight of (his) majesty*.[390]

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[390] OC II 27, pp. 290-291: 'cum scilicet corporis et sanguinis Dominici sacramentum ad commemorationem suae passionis et nostrae salutis nobis concessum ab eodem *Mediatore Dei et hominum* per manum sacerdotis et invocationem divini nominis conficiatur [...] et nimirum ad horum consecrationem sacerdos infulatus circumstantis populi deprecationes suis precibus miscens cum interno rugitu *memoriam faciat Dominicae passionis et ab inferis reusrrectionis necnon et in caelos gloriosissimae ascensionis* et *haec preferri per manus angeli in sublime altare Dei et in conspectum maiestatis* deposcat'. The second and third italicised sections of this quotation (which are italicised by Freeman's edition) reflect two passages of the Roman Mass rite. Dom. Bernard Botte, *Le canon de la messe romaine* (Louvain, 1935), pp. 41-42: 'Unde et memores sumus domine nos tui serui sed et plebs tua sancta christi filii tui domini dei nostri tam beatae passionis necnon et ab inferis resurrectionis set et in caelos gloriosae ascensionis' [Wherefore, O Lord, we are your servants, but also your holy people, and mindful of Christ, your son, our Lord God, of his such blessed suffering, and, in fact, of his resurrection from the grave, but also of his glorious ascension into the heavens...]; 'Supplices te rogamus omnipotens deus iube haec

At least on account of the perfect passive participle form, *res sacratae* have, embedded in that label, having been **made** holy, set apart or consecrated. This notion, implicit within the *res sacratae* label, is apt for the manner in which Theodulf emphasised their distinctiveness from manufactured Byzantine images. Indeed, highlighting their contrasting creation processes was a consistent strategy by which Theodulf staunchly argued against attempts to equate *res sacratae* with manufactured objects. This approach, of course, reflected his well attested interest in and patronage of artistic endeavours.[391]

This strategy is most evident in OC II 26. Here, Theodulf suggested that 'they who strive to equate material images, having been made by whichever workman, to the Ark of the Lord's Covenant, which was made with commanding by the Lord and obedience by Moses, should discover, if they are able, a workman who they would be able to compare to the merits of Moses', before listing twenty-four of Moses' attributes which this fictitious workman would have to match or surpass, taking up most of the remainder of the chapter in so doing.[392] Although not referenced in OC II 26, an earlier chapter had similarly emphasised how distinct from any other artisan Bezalel – Moses's craftsman – was, observing that he was filled with the Holy Spirit and that he and his works prefigured Christ.[393] For Theodulf, therefore, one way in which the *res sacratae* could have been set apart from merely material objects was by the processes involved in their creation. With the Ark of the Covenant, the qualities of those who commissioned, designed and crafted it were deemed most significant. Indeed, the transcendent, divinely inspired qualities of Moses and Bezalel were such that no contemporary artisan could hope to match them.

In the case of the eucharist, as seen in the above passage from OC II 27, the most significant aspect of its creation was not deemed to be the material manufacture of the

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preferri per manus angeli tui in sublime altare tuum in conspectu diuinae maiestatis tuae' [Kneeling, we beg you, all-powerful God, to command this to be carried by the hands of your angel onto your sublime altar].

[391] On Theodulf's artistic patronage: Freeman, 'Theodulf of Orléans and the *Libri Carolini*', pp. 695-703. Although Wallach, of course, argued against Freeman on the extent to which the OC was a text written by someone with such an interest in Carolingian art: Liutpold Wallach, 'The Unknown Author of the Libri Carolini: Patristic Exegesis, Mozarabic Antiphons, and the Vetus Latina', in Sesto Prete (ed.), *Didascaliae: Studies in Honor of Anselm M Albareda Prefect of the Vatican Library* (New York, 1961), pp. 512-513.

[392] OC II 26, p. 287: 'Qui ... materiales imagines a quibuslibet opificibus conditas arcae testamenti Domini, quae Domino imperante, Moyse oboediente condita est, aequiperare contendunt, inveniant, si queunt, opificem, qui Moysi meritis aequiperari queat ...'; OC II 26, pp. 287-289.

[393] OC I 16, pp. 178-179: 'Nam dum iste Beseleel, quem Christi figuram gestasse diximus, tantis virtutum praerogativis ornetur, ut et a Deo electus et ex nomine vocatus et Spiritu sancto repletus et, cuius filius vel de qua stirpe sit, describatur, incassum ob imaginum adorationem firmandam in exemplum trahitur, cum videlicet cunctis pictoribus excellentior cuntisque artificibus imagines formantibus credatur fuisse praestantior.' [Since, then, this Bezalel, who we have said had worn the figure of Christ, was adorned with the possession of such virtues, that he was chosen by God and called by name and filled with the Holy Spirit and whose parentage and race have been peculiarly pointed out, he is brought forward as an instance in favour of image-worship in vain, because, clearly, he was far more excellent than any painter and far superior to any maker of images.]

objects involved. That is not to say that Theodulf was not concerned with the physical preparation of the bread, wine and water used in the churches of his Orléans diocese; such instructions featured prominently among his statutes.[394] Far more important for setting the eucharistic elements apart from mere matter was their consecration in the mass ritual. The outline of the consecration process in OC II 27, especially when considered alongside other OC passages touching upon consecration, as well as ordinances in Theodulf's precepts and the eucharistic prayers, indicates the perceived conduits of sacral power. The key elements of consecration become most apparent when brief descriptions from elsewhere in the OC are collated. For instance, OC III 24 refers back to the eucharist as 'those (things) which are daily consecrated through the invocation of the divine name by the priests and are taken up in the mystery of our redemption'.[395] Similarly, a discussion of *res sacratae* consecration occurs in OC IV 16: 'while images [...] are dedicated by no prayers or imposition of hands, the sign of the cross, wherever it is put upon, is put upon with the invocation of the divine name and [...] this was truly consecrated to such a degree by the Redeemer of the world, that it does not need the consecration of anything else, but with the invocation of the divine name and it being placed upon them, it can consecrate and bless other things.'[396] These processes can be split into broader categories of the actions of the priest and congregation, followed by the words of prayer and processes occurring under the veil of the mystery.

Two consistent actions appear: prayers and the imposition of priestly hands. For Theodulf, the mixing (*miscens*) of the congregation's prayers (*circumstantis populi deprecationes*) with those of the appropriately attired priest (*sacerdos infulatus*) was clearly a key feature of the eucharistic prayers.[397] The requisite composition of the congregation is unclear,[398] but

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[394] Theodulf, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. epsic. 1, c.5, p. 107: 'Panes, quos deo in sacrificium offertis, aut a vobis ipsis aut a vestris pueris coram vobis nitide ac studiose fiant. Et diligenter observetur, ut panis et vinum et aqua, sine quibus missae nequeunt celebrari, mundissime atque studiose tractentur. Et nihil in his vile, nihil non probatum inveniatur iuxta illud, quod ait scriptura: *Sit timor domini vobiscum, et cum diligentia cuncta facite*.'

[395] OC III 24, p. 448: '...sive quae per legislatorem sive quae per Dei et hominum Mediatorem sacratae sunt, sive etiam quae quotidie a sacerdotibus divini nominis invocatione sacrantur et in mysterium nostrae redemptionis sumuntur...'

[396] OC IV 16, p. 528: '...dum imagines ... nulla oratione vel manus impositione sacrentur, crucis signum, ubicumque ingeritur, divini nominis invocatione infertur et ... illud vero adeo est a Redemptore mundi sacratum, ut non solum cuiuspiam consecratione indigeat, sed divini nominis invocatione inlatum alia quaeque consecret et benedicat.'

[397] OC II 27, pp. 290-291.

[398] The extent of lay participation in the early medieval liturgy is an enduring mystery, see: Julia Smith, 'Religion and lay society', *NCMH* II, pp. 662-663; Celia Chazelle, 'Mass and the Eucharist in the Christianizing of early medieval Europe', in Juliet Mullins, Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh and Richard Hawtree (eds.), *Envisioning Christ on the Cross: Ireland and the Early Medieval West* (Dublin, 2013), p. 164. Even in Theodulf's statutes, despite prohibiting the priest from celebrating Mass alone (see below), it is not clear that those people had to be the laity, rather than other clerics. Indeed, the prescription for priests travelling to synods to bring with them the vestments, books and liturgical utensils to perform the holy office, as well as two or three

the importance of that interaction between the priest and the gathered participants is evident. Indeed, this interaction was so important in Theodulf's mind that he included an ordinance concerning it in his episcopal statutes:

> Let a priest never celebrate Mass alone, because as it cannot be celebrated without the salutation of a priest, the response of the people, the admonition of the priest, and again the response of the people, thus it ought never to be celebrated by one man alone. For there should be people to stand around him, to receive his salutation, to give responses to him, and to recall that saying of the Lord: 'Wherever two or three shall be gathered in my name, there also am I in their midst.'[399]

The weight that Theodulf placed upon the communal aspect of the eucharistic prayer is, perhaps, reflective of a similar weight placed upon the bonds of ecclesiastical unity. For Theodulf, there was something powerful, even sacrosanct, about the Church; it is described in almost saint-like terms in the OC's preface as immaculate (*inmaculata*), bright-shining (*praeclara*), incorruptible (*incorrupta*) and fertile (*faecunda*).[400] Indeed, paralleling Mary herself, the church's virginity is marvelled at since, despite it, she does not cease to produce sons (*quae et virginitatem amittere nescit et filios generare non desinit*).[401] In fact, the most serious charge against II Nicaea, sustained from the preface's opening battle-cry, was that it had violently attacked that ecclesiastical unity – a unity founded, moreover, upon the sacraments of mass and baptism.[402] Perhaps drawing impetus from the verse in Matthew immediately prior to that cited above in Theodulf's statute, the Carolingian age increasingly esteemed communal

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clerics so that they can properly perform the Mass, does suggest that clerics could perform the function of a congregation in his mind: Theodulf, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. epsic. 1, c.4, p. 106.

[399] Theodulf, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. epsic. 1, c.7, p. 108: 'Sacerdos missam solus nequaquam celebret, quia sicut illa celebrari non potest sine salutatione sacerdotis, responsione plebis, admonitione sacerdotis, responsione nihilominus plebis, ita nimirum nequaquam ab uno debet celebrari. Esse enim debent, qui ei circumstent, quos ille salutet, a quibus ei respondeatur. Et ad memoriam illi reducendum est illud dominicum: *Ubicumque fuerint duo vel tres in nomine meo congregati, et ego in medio eorum.*' Translation from George McCracken and Allen Cabaniss (trans.), *Early Medieval Theology* (London, 1957), p. 384.

[400] OC *Praefatio*, p. 98.

[401] OC *Praefatio*, p. 98.

[402] OC *Praefatio*, p. 97: 'Ecclesia mater nostra, petiosissimo sponsi Christi saguine redempta et regeneratione salutaris gurgitis lota et salutifero edulio corporis et haustu sanguinis satiata et nectarei liquoris unguine et per universum orbem terrarum in pace diffusa, aliquando externa, aliquando intestina perpetitur bella, aliquando exterorum concutitur incursibus, aliquando civium pulsatur tumultibus. Ninnumquam videlicet incredulorum vel hereseorum inpellitur infestationibus, nonnumquam vero scismaticorum vel arrogantium turbatur simultatibus.' [Our mother church, having been redeemed by the most precious blood of Christ's covenant and having been washed by the rebirth of the raging water of salvation, and having been filled with the health-giving foodstuff of the body and with the drinking of the blood, and having been anointed with the anointment of nectared wine, and having been spread forth throughout the whole globe of the earths in peace, once (she was) outside, once she steadfastly endured internal war, once she was struck by the attacks of outsiders, once she was battered by the tumult of (her) citizens. Clearly, not at any time, has she been (so) struck by the attacks of unbelievers and heretics, truly, not at any time, has she been (in such) disorder through the dissension of schismatics and arrogant people.]

prayer, building up monasteries with extensive networks of prayer.[403] While the monastic proliferation and the stock placed in the communal prayer of those living according to monastic discipline, led to a decline in the popularity of communal masses celebrated as the number of votive masses rose, in Theodulf's mind the communal aspect of the eucharistic prayers – regardless of who was acting as the congregation – held a sacral power to summon the presence of the Christ.[404]

Theodulf's precept also highlights the incongruously sensory nature of the actions envisioned in the eucharist's consecration. Although accompanying an internal bellowing (*interno rugitu*), the participation of the congregation was evidently intended to produce an audible, responsory composition.[405] This sensory element continues in the stress Theodulf placed on the imposition of the priest's hands (*per manum sacerdotis* or *manus impositione sacrentur*).[406] The significance, for Theodulf, of the priest's hands is indicated in his first statute, in which he urged his priests to be ever mindful of their great authority, their consecration and the holy unction (*sacrae unctionis*) which they had received in their hands (*quam in manibus susceptis*).[407] He continued this admonition with warnings against actions that could lessen this authority, nullify their consecration, or pollute with sin those anointed hands (*manus sacro unguine delibutas peccando polluatis*), before a more general admonition to preserve the purity of heart and body (*cordis et corporis munditiam conservantes*).[408] From this, it is clear that Theodulf perceived some degree of holiness not just in the priest himself, but specifically in his hands, that reflected both an ideal of virtuous behaviour and a direct blessing of holy oil.[409] In the OC doctrine, therefore, a proportion of the sacred power with which the eucharistic elements were imbued came from the physical interaction with the

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[403] Matthew 18:19: 'iterum dico vobis quia si duo ex vobis consenserint super terram de omni re quacumque petierint fiet illis a Patre meo qui in caelis est'; Mayke de Jong, 'Carolingian monasticism: the power of prayer', *NCMH* II, pp. 647-651.

[404] On the rise of votive Masses: Arnold Angenendt, 'Missa specialis. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Entstehung der Privatmessen', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 17 (1983), p. 179.

[405] OC II 27, p. 291. Although the lack of missals in the early Middle Ages makes it difficult to see this back-and-forth interaction throughout the mass liturgies, as Sacramentaries generally only record the words of the presiding priest, it can certainly be seen in the back-and-forth imperatives and first-person plural responses of the preface to the eucharistic prayer. Dom. Bernard Botte (ed.), *Le canon de la messe romaine*, p. 30: 'Per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen. / Dominus uobiscum. / Et cum spiritu tuo. / Sursum corda. / Habemus ad dominum. / Gratis agamus domino deo nostro. / Dignum et iustum est.' [Through all ages of ages. Amen. / The Lord be with you. / And with your spirit. / Lift up (your) hearts. / We have (lifted them) to the Lord. / Let us give thanks to the Lord our God. / It is fitting and just.]

[406] OC II 27, p. 290; OC IV 16, p. 528. As pointed out by Carine van Rhijn, the term *sacerdos* does not just mean priest but rather encompasses bishops and priests who perform sacred duties like presiding over the mass. But since Theodulf's statutes are addressed to the priests under his authority as bishop, rather than to other bishops, I will translate the term as priest. Carine van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 53-54.

[407] Theodulf, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. epsic. 1, c.1, pp. 104-105.

[408] Theodulf, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. epsic. 1, c.1, p. 105.

[409] That this was only an ideal of virtuous behaviour ought to be stressed here given the extent of modern scholarly scepticism regarding the adherence of most priests to such statutes and the blurred lines between them and the laity: Carine van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 212-217.

hands of the priest as he conducted the mass, touching the bread and the chalice of wine and water.

Having touched upon the actions of the priest and the powers of the eucharistic prayers more generally, attention must now be given to the particular words employed and the processes perceived under the veil of mystery. In *De doctrina christiana,* Augustine observed the preeminent power of words above all other signs.[410] While the passage in question does not feature among the OC's six quotations from *De doctrina christiana*,[411] Theodulf evidently subscribed to such a view. This is most apparent in his continual presentation of the superiority of words over images, as with Scripture over images.[412] Names were often viewed as a particularly potent subset of words; in the ninth century, their power to bring a person to mind, contributed to the wide proliferation of *libri memoriales* as monastic networks of prayer webbed across the continent.[413] In OC IV 16, Theodulf recognised this nominal power to induce thoughts of the people signified and the subsequent dangers of misapplied superscriptions accompanying images, such as ambiguous depictions of a woman that could either be Mary or Venus.[414] But, while he emphasised the power of written words to influence the mind of the observer, Theodulf downplayed the power of those written words to link an image and its prototype; he maintained that images could not be transformed from their mere materiality by the inscription of written names.[415]

However, the same chapter echoed the refrain, heard in OC II 27, that the invocation of the divine name (*divini nominis invocatione*) played a pivotal role in the consecration of certain *res sacratae* (namely the eucharist, liturgical vessels and the sign of the cross).[416] Many divine and saintly names were invoked in eucharistic prayers, but the repeated refrain to which this seems to refer, is 'through Christ our Lord' (*per christum dominum nostrum*) at the end of each prayer.[417] Alongside the invocation of Christ's name, wherein communicants were made mindful of him (*memores sumus*), his words of institution were repeated and his blessed suffering (*beatae passionis*), resurrection from the dead (*ab*

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[410] Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, ed. Joseph Martin CCSL 32 (Turnhout, 1962), II.3, p. 34: 'Verba enim prorsus inter homines obtinuerunt principatum significandi quaecumque animo concipiuntur [...] Sed innumerabilis multitudo signorum, quibus suas cogitationes homines exerunt, in uerbis constituta est. Nam illa signa omnia, quorum genera breuiter attigi, potui uerbis enuntiare, uerba uero illis signis nullo modo possem.'
[411] OC, *Stellenregister*, p. 600.
[412] For instance: OC III 23, pp. 440-447.
[413] Otto Oexle, 'Memoria und Memorialüberlieferung im früheren Mittelalter', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 10 (1976), pp. 79-86.
[414] OC IV 16, p. 529.
[415] OC IV 16, p. 528.
[416] OC IV 16, p. 528; OC II 27, p. 290.
[417] For instance: Dom. Bernard Botte (ed.), *Le canon de la messe romaine*, p. 32.

inferis resurrectionis), and glorious ascension into the heavens (*in caelos gloriosae ascensionis*) recalled.[418] These recollections were also referenced in OC II 27.[419] The invocation of Christ's name and other words to produce the memory of his actions, clearly held a special, even sanctifying power in the OC doctrine.

How, then, could the invocation of these words exhibit such sacral power when superscriptions and inscriptions of saints' names upon images were so impotent? OC IV 16 emphasised that the distinction stemmed from the directionality of making irrational objects holy. In the case of liturgical vessels, it is explained that 'sanctification does not come to men through vessels, but to vessels through men by the invocation of the divine name and the celebration of the holy mysteries'.[420] On its own, however, this distinction does not separate a superscription or inscription and an invocation; each is applied by humans to the objects. An alternate explanation could refer back to the authority of whoever applied the words: the inscription imagined in OC IV 16 is applied by an artisan, while the invocation involved in the eucharist's consecration in OC II 27 is applied by a priest and a congregation of communicants, representing the Church as a whole. Further, the specific words were likely significant, although this would be difficult to verify, as OC IV 16 does not mention inscriptions of Christ's name. Combined with the authority of the inscriber or invoker, this distinction most likely reflects the contrasting form of the words: written and spoken.

Another significant aspect of the eucharistic prayer highlighted in OC II 27 is the entreaty that God should order an angel to carry the oblation onto his heavenly altar, so that when the communicants partake of the body and blood on their earthly altar, they shall receive heavenly blessings.[421] Given the centrality, observed by Chazelle, of the Augustinian understanding of images and likenesses in the OC doctrine of images and the *res sacratae*,[422] this passage could have been included to indicate that a spiritual image of the oblation was transferred, as part of its consecration, into the heavenly sphere. In fact, this might not only constitute an image, but also a likeness and an equality, therefore creating the strongest link between prototype and image. The only example Augustine furnished of such an image, likeness and equality existing is in the relationship between God the Father and the Son

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[418] Dom. Bernard Botte (ed.), *Le canon de la messe romaine*, pp. 38-40.
[419] OC II 27, p. 291.
[420] OC IV 16, p. 529: 'Non enim ad homines per vasa, sed ad vasa per homines divini nominis invocatione et sacrorum mysteriorum celebratione sanctificatio venit.'
[421] OC II 27, p. 291; Cf. Dom. Bernard Botte (ed.), *Le canon de la messe romaine*, p. 42: 'Supplices te rogamus omnipotens deus iube haec perferri per manus angeli tui in sublime altare tuum in conspectu diuinae maiestatis tuae ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum filii tui corpus sanguinem sumpserimus omni benedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur per christum dominum nostrum'.
[422] Chazelle, 'Matter, Spirit, and Image in the *Libri Carolini*', pp. 170-173.

because, having been established outside of time, their equality was unaffected by temporal distinction.[423] While this is evidently not the case for the link established between the earthly and heavenly eucharistic oblations, the link does seem less temporally affected than in the next strongest example put forward by Augustine of the relationship between parent and child, which almost constituted that of an image, likeness and equality, but for the difference in age.[424] The OC's indebtedness to Augustinian ideas, therefore, invests a great deal of sanctifying power in the words of the eucharistic prayer, the fact that they are spoken by priest and communicants, and in actions perceived under the veil of the mystery.

As observed above, in OC III 24 saints' relics are likened to the *res sacratae* and set against images as objects of sanctity worthy of veneration.[425] The holiness of saints' relics is shown to be derived through different means from the *res sacratae*, which are summed up as receiving their sanctity from the law-giver (*per legislatorem*), God and Christ (*Dei et hominum Mediatorem*), or through the daily invocation of the divine name and being taken up in the mystery of redemption (*quotidie a sacerdotibus divini nominis invocatione sacrantur et in mysterium nostrae redemptionis sumuntur*).[426] Secondary relics such as clothing worn by the saints while they were living (*vestibus aut his similibus, quibus sancti, dum mortaliter viverent, usi sunt*), are deemed worthy of veneration on account of the proximity which they enjoyed with the holy bodies of the saints, from which some of their sanctity was transferred (*quia aut in corporibus eorundem sanctorum aut circa corpora fuisse et ab his sanctificationem, ob quam venerantur*).[427] Whole body (*sanctorum corporibus*) or partial bodily relics (*certe corporum reliquiis*) are also deemed worthy of veneration because, despite being currently eroded to dust, at the end of the world they are going to be resurrected and will reign with Christ in perpetuity (*quoniam, quamquam nunc in pulverem redacta fatescant, iuxta mundi terminum cum gloria sunt resurrectura et cum Christo perpetim regnatura*).[428] While the relics of saints are thus deemed worthy of veneration on account of contact they had with those saints, or contact with them and Christ that they

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[423] Augustine, *De diuersis quaestionibus octaginta tribus,* ed. Almut Mutzenbecher CCSL 44A (Turnhout, 1975) 74, p. 214: 'in deo autem quia condicio temporis uacat non enim potest recte uideri deus in tempore generasse filium, per quem condidit tempora, consequens est ut non solum imago eius sit, quia de illo est, et similtudo, quia imago est, sed etiam aequalitas tanta, ut nec temporis interuallum impedimento sit.'

[424] Augustine, *De diuersis quaestionibus octaginta tribus,* ed. Almut Mutzenbecher CCSL 44A (Turnhout, 1975) 74, p. 214: 'potest ergo esse aliqua imago in qua sit etiam aequalitas, ut in parentibus et filiis inueniretur imago et aequalitas et similtudo, si interuallum temporis defuisset; nam et de parente expressa est similtudo filii, ut recte imago dicatur, et potest esse tanta, ut recte etiam dicatur aequalitas, nisi quod parens tempore praecedit.'

[425] OC III 24, pp. 448-452.

[426] OC III 24, p. 448. Although these explanations are, of course, neither exhaustive nor exclusive, as can be seen in the forgoing and following discussion of the means by which the eucharist receives its sanctification according to the OC doctrine. To offer another example, liturgical vessels as shown in OC II 29 (p. 301) to have been consecrated by Moses (the law-giver), God and Christ, while in OC IV 16 (p. 529) they are also shown to receive sanctification from the invocation of the divine name and celebration of sacred mysteries.

[427] OC III 24, pp. 448-449.

[428] OC III 24, pp. 448-449.

will have in the future, it is notable that the OC does not stress present contact; they are never explicitly portrayed as immediate channels to the saint to whom they were once and will be in the future (at least in the case of primary relics) proximate. This is, of course, quite different to the immanence of the connection to the spiritual, heavenly altar, perceived in the case of the eucharistic oblation. Here, then, is one of the distinctions evident in the OC between an object included under the label of *res sacratae* and one that, although evidently perceived as worthy of veneration, fall outside that designation.

Moreover, while Theodulf does refer to relics as having 'secured holiness' from being upon or around the bodies of the living saints (*quia aut in corporibus eorundem sanctorum aut circa corpora fuisse et ab his sanctificationem*), he does not explicitly present this as a kind of metaphorical consecration.[429] By contrast, we have already seen that not only by Theodulf's choice of *sacratus*, but also by his description of the *res sacratae*, consecration was an important facet of that grouping. In his treatment of saints' relics in the OC we find none of the particular emphasis upon the consecrating power of martyrdom found in, for instance, Victricius of Rouen's *De laude sanctorum*. Victricius, even using the label *sacratus* to describe them, graphically remarks upon how the 'consecrated relics' of the martyrs (*sacratas reliquias*) received their consecration:

> O how "precious in the sight of God is the death of his saints," those on whom a menacing persecutor confers more! The torturer shuddered, [the saint] laughed as he was put to the question; the executioner trembled, and he, on the point of death, helped the right hand of the trembling man. The wild beast refused and the martyr thrown to it incited it, not because nature had lost the bodily penalty, but because the Savior, presiding over this great contest, was offering victory, brandishing the palm of immortality. But even though this is so, your bodies still endured the contest with you, in that suffering of the limbs. Then let us, prostrate on the ground and drenching the earth with our tears, cry with one voice that you who always possess the consecrated relics should purify our bodies.[430]

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[429] OC III 24, p. 449. As noted in Chapter 1, Theodulf does not use *sacratus* to describe relics, with the one exception of a single instance in which he described the bodies of saints as *sacratissimus*. In this instance, however, it is ambiguous as to whether he was referring to their living and complete bodies alone, as it specifically refers to the bodies from which the relics have derived their own sanctity, rather than to the relics themselves (i.e. the bodies as saints rather than the bodies as relics). OC III 24, p. 449: 'imagines vero, quas illi inani voto his quae praemisimus, coaequare contendunt, ideo his minime coaequari queunt, quia neque in eorum corporibus vel circa eorum sacratissima corpora fuere, sed pro captu uniuscuiusque ingenii vel instrumentis artificii modo formosae, modo deformes, plerumque etiam rebus inpuris fiunt.'
[430] Victricius of Rouen, *De laude sanctorum* PL 20 (Paris, 1845), 6, 447B-448D. Translation from Gillian Clark, 'Victricius of Rouen: Praising the Saints", *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 7 (1999), p. 382.

It is only at this point, when discussing the act of martyrdom, that Victricius explicitly describes the relics as 'consecrated' using *sacratus*. By this usage, Victricius was surely framing the act of martyrdom as an act of consecration. It was after all, the suffering endured by those martyrs' limbs (alongside the martyrs themselves) that immediately precedes his description of their relics as consecrated. By contrast, Theodulf did not present relics themselves as consecrated and furnished no comparable description of the metaphorical consecrating power of martyrdom. For Theodulf, saints' relics were neither literally, nor metaphorically consecrated like the *res sacratae*.

2.3: Conclusion

Although consecration was by no means the primary lens through which Theodulf understood the term *sacratus*, the role of consecration was undoubtedly central to his conception of the *res sacratae*. While this included the literal consecration, most obviously in relation to the eucharistic elements daily consecrated in the mass, by which the *res sacratae* were clearly distinguishable from saints' relics, there was also an element of metaphorical consecration. This was bound up in the biblical institution of the *res sacratae* and was especially linked to Theodulf's more regular use of *sacratus* throughout the OC. As seen in Chapter 1, Theodulf especially paired *sacratus* with things pertaining to Christ: his words; his incarnation, passion and resurrection; and, indeed, the *res sacratae*. Accordingly, Christ played a central role in the institution of Theodulf's *res sacratae*, further distinguishing them from saints' relics which received merely the institution of antiquity. This was especially true of the eucharistic elements, liturgical vessels and cross. Yet, even those *res sacratae* that had been instituted in era of the Old Testament (the Ark of the Covenant and Scripture) were linked to that power of Christ through typology. In the case of the Ark of the Covenant, this was most clearly through the typological link between Moses, the creator of the Ark of the Covenant, and Christ.

3: The nature of holiness: matter, spirit and *res sacratae*

In the wake of the material turn, any study of holy objects must inevitably engage with questions of the materiality or nature of the objects it treats. Yet when engaging with ideas of holiness, we must also engage with the inherent oxymoron. Some degree of dualism – the belief in distinct material and spiritual planes of existence – is fundamental to any belief in holy objects; the special power of these objects thus derives from their transcendence of the perceived matter-spirit divide.[431] How exactly such objects were believed to truly embody those two dimensions is thus a central question; one any analysis of ideas about the nature of holiness must grapple. The dual aim of the present study is simultaneously to understand Theodulf's *res sacratae* and, in so doing, to throw into sharp relief their distinction from the other objects he nonetheless deemed 'holy', particularly saints' relics. This might afford lesser significance to the question at the heart of this chapter. Fundamentally, questions about the relationship between matter and spirit are at the heart of any understanding of holy objects. Such questions may thus shed more light upon Theodulf's broader understanding of holiness, without necessarily offering significant separation between mere holy objects – like saints' relics – and the *res sacratae* (the Ark of the Covenant, the eucharistic elements, the sign of the cross, liturgical vessels and Scripture). Nonetheless, any account of the *res sacratae* that does not address their holy nature would, necessarily be incomplete. In the only study previously dedicated to the OC's *res sacratae*, Celia Chazelle identified Theodulf's understanding of the universal separation between matter and spirit as central to the distinction between *res sacratae* and image.[432] Indeed, Chazelle presents the context of Theodulf's notion of a universal separation between matter and spirit extending even to the fundamental division between the inner and outer man as crucial to any understanding of the *res sacratae*:

> The concepts of what constitutes an image, of the division of matter from spirit, and of the Christian's inner ability to contemplate the sacred in a direct, unmediated fashion, together form the framework of ideas within which the attitudes expressed in the LC towards *res sacratae* must be situated. Leaving aside for the moment Scripture and the Ark of the Covenant, the spiritual qualities and significance of the other holy things named in the LC serve on one level simply to distinguish them from unconsecrated works of art; on another they are, along with the belief in Christ's nearness to earth, a reason it is possible to argue that a pure, immediate

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[431] Howard Robinson, 'Dualism', in Edward Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2020 Edition), URL = https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2020/entries/dualism/.

[432] Chazelle, 'Matter, Spirit, and Image in the *Libri Carolini*', pp. 170-183.

experience of the holy is easily within the Christian's grasp. As things sanctified by God the eucharist, liturgical vessels, the cross, and the relics of the saints are loci of the spiritual on earth. Through them the sacred is made immanent to mortals, so that by means of them the confrontation with the holy which the Christian so ardently wishes for can take place. For the most part they offer a contact with the sacred undisturbed by the Christian's physical contact with them as material objects [...] The external, material qualities of these Christian *res sacratae* neither increase nor diminish the impact of their spiritual attributes on the faithful, while they do not affect the relationship of the same objects to the sacred realm and to the Divine.[433]

Here, Chazelle places Theodulf's understanding of a universal, cosmic and human separation between matter and spirit at the heart of her analysis of the *res sacratae*. In so doing, she does Theodulf's ideas about the *res sacratae* a disservice by more or less equating that label with holy things and, in turn, omitting to account for why Theodulf did not consider saints' relics *res sacratae*.[434] As we have seen in the analysis of Theodulf's lexicon of sanctity in Chapter 1, *res sacratae* and 'holy things' were not equivalent.[435] Instead, the *res sacratae* were holy and *sacratus*. Given that Chazelle's analysis does not afford any discernible difference here between *res sacratae* and saints' relics, one might imagine that Theodulf's understanding of the matter-spirit divide impinges more upon his understanding of holiness than his understanding of the *res sacratae*. Nonetheless, this relationship between the matter-spirit divide and the *res sacratae* will be the analytical frame for the following chapter; after all, holiness remains one characteristic of Theodulf's *res sacratae*, even if it did not fully define them. Chazelle's study provides a useful framework for this analysis.

In this chapter, I will first assess Theodulf's broader ideas about the universal relationship between matter and spirit from the cosmic to the human level. In the second part of the chapter, I will deviate from Chazelle's framework by considering not only how the ideas elucidated in the first half of the chapter relate to the *res sacratae*, but also if there are any differences in Theodulf's application of those ideas to the *res sacratae* versus saints' relics. Those differences will be especially pronounced in the third section of the chapter in which I will assess the possibility of Theodulf's understanding of the *res sacratae* being shaped not so much by Augustinian image theory, but by his broader classifications of *res*

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[433] Chazelle, 'Matter, Spirit, and Image in the *Libri Carolini*', pp. 180-181.

[434] This is a fact that Chazelle herself acknowledges early on in her study, but does not frame her analysis in such a way as to unpick that distinction, leaving the space for the subsequent co-option of saints' relics into the *res sacratae* by the likes of Appleby and Noble: Chazelle, 'Matter, Spirit, and Image in the *Libri Carolini*', pp. 165-166; Appleby, 'Holy Relic and Holy Image', pp. 335-336; Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians*, p. 214.

[435] See above, Chapter 1.

('things') and *signum* ('signs'). This relationship to Augustinian sign theory is, I will argue, a key point of distinction between holiness and the status of the *res sacratae* in Theodulf's mind.

3.1: Matter-spirit: a fundamental separation?

The theme of the matter-spirit relationship is introduced early on in OC I 7. It forms part of what, at first glance, appears to be a wider refutation of the II Nicaean interpretation of Genesis 1:26 ('God said: "Let us create man towards our image and likeness"'); this refutation extends into OC I 8, where Theodulf discusses the philosophical distinctions between image, likeness and equality.[436] Genesis 1:26 had been quoted at the sixth session of II Nicaea by the Epiphanios, as part of the reading and rebuttal of the *Horos* of the earlier, iconoclastic Council of Hieria.[437] The section of that earlier *Horos* which prompted Epiphanios' use of Genesis 1:26 did not, however, address that verse itself. Instead, the *Horos* had described the sending of Christ according to the hypostatic union of flesh and spirit as occurring in order to save the human race from the worship of idols and restore veneration 'in spirit and truth' (John 4:24).[438] Epiphanios wilfully misinterpreted the *Horos'* position. He presented the iconoclastic bishops of Hieria as claiming to bring about a new redemption for mankind by the destruction of images, restoring the perfection of creation. In so doing, Epiphanios also discussed Christ's role in restoring and even improving upon the perfection of God's original creation of mankind by promoting the devotional use of images. Most of Epiphanios' focus was, thus, on the recreation of mankind by the grace of Christ; in his brief treatment of the original creation, he cited Genesis 1:26, and noted the great dignity of the creation of mankind that this indicated, since 'though born of earth, he was honoured with the image of God.'[439]

However, these assertions by Epiphanios were not actually the arguments Theodulf responded to in OC I 7 and OC I 8. At the start of OC I 7, Theodulf offered no quotation or critique of Epiphanios' argument. Instead, Theodulf emphatically remarked that he could not imagine any rational argument in favour of the adoration of images that could be grounded in Genesis 1:26, before proceeding to consult Ambrose and Augustine as to what wisdom ought to be derived from that biblical passage.[440] When, at the end of OC I 7,

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[436] OC I 7, pp. 138-145; OC I 8, pp. 145-148; Genesis 1:26: 'et ait faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram...'.

[437] *Concilium universale Nicaenum secundum: Concilii actiones VI-VII*, ed. Lamberz, p. 615-617.

[438] *Concilium universale Nicaenum secundum: Concilii actiones VI-VII*, ed. Lamberz, p. 615-617; John 4:24: 'spiritus est Deus et eos qui adorant eum in spiritu et veritate oportet adorare'.

[439] *Concilium universale Nicaenum secundum: Concilii actiones VI-VII*, ed. Lamberz, p. 615; Price (trans.), *The Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787)*, p. 446.

[440] OC I 7, p. 138.

Theodulf appears to respond to an iconophile argument derived from Genesis 1:26, it is categorically not the argument that Epiphanios had actually made at II Nicaea:

> Behold, how subtly and how salubriously these holy men [Ambrose and Augustine], understanding, have explained that man is made towards the image and likeness of God, the image clearly in the soul, in which is the mind, free-will and memory, the likeness in the behaviour, that is in charity, justice, goodness and holiness, which are all incorporeal! How greatly from the understanding and teaching of whom stand apart those who adapt this testimony [Genesis 1:26] to images fashioned by the hands of artificers, ought not be set out by our speech, but ought to be preserved by the judgement of the reader, so that the magnitude of the frenzies in this region might be thoroughly admonished, not by our pen, but through his understanding. Therefore, whoever thus believes that man came to be fashioned into the image and likeness of God, just as the image formed by the artist into the image of a man, shows himself to believe to some extent in a corporeal God, which is sinful to believe. For if that, which has made man towards the image and likeness of God, is consistent with manufactured images, man has been made in the image of God according to a bodily likeness; and if man has been made in the image of God according to a bodily likeness, God is corporeal. However, God is incorporeal, therefore, that, which has made man towards the image and likeness of God, is not consistent with manufactured images.[441]

Clearly, this was not the context in which Epiphanios had adduced Genesis 1:26 at II Nicaea. That Theodulf seems to have imagined this to have been Epiphanios' argument lends credence to the idea that the Franks were not only working from a poorly translated Latin version of the Acts of II Nicaea, but in fact a largely excerpted and thus incomplete copy.[442] Had Theodulf simply seen the reference to Genesis 1:26, devoid of the context in

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[441] OC I 7, pp. 144-145: 'Ecce quam subtiliter quamque salubriter sancti viri hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei factum esse, imaginem videlicet in anima, in qua est intellectus, voluntas et memoria, similitudinem in moribus, id est in caritate, iustitia, bonitate et sanctitate, quae omnia incorporea sunt, intellegentes disseruere! A quorum sensu et doctrina quantum distent, qui hoc testimonium imaginibus artificum manu formatis adcommodant, non nostro est disserendum eloquio, sed lectoris reservandum iudicio, ut quantae in hac parte sint vecordiae, non nostereum stilus, sed suus permoneat sensus. Quisquis igitur ita hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei factum, sicut ad imaginem hominis imaginem ab artifice formatam esse credit, aliquid in Deo corporeum, quod credere nefas est, credere se ostendit. Nam si id, quod homo ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei factus est, manufactis imaginibus convenit, secundum corpoream speciem homo ad imaginem Dei factus est; et si homo secundum corpoream speciem ad imaginem Dei factus est, corporeus est Deus. Incorporeus autem Deus est, non igitur id, quod homo ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei factus est, manufactis imaginibus convenit.'

[442] The loudest proponent of this argument is Stephen Gero, but it has also received the support of Ann Freeman, with an especially intriguing reflection upon the original uncertainty the Franks had as to where the Greek synod of II Nicaea was held. In Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 13v, the title of OC I 5 had originally stated that the council had taken place in Thracea, which had later been erased and replaced with the correct location of

which Epiphanios had brought it forward, and assumed that he had advanced the passage to make such an argument about images of men being able to capture that aspect of man which was made in God's image and likeness? Or, was this a conscious dissimulation by Theodulf; a deliberate misrepresentation of the Byzantine position for rhetorical effect? Given the genuine ire this seems to have generated for Theodulf, I would tend towards the former view: Theodulf probably did genuinely believe that this was the argument of Epiphanios at II Nicaea and set out to counter it.

Nonetheless, Theodulf's misinterpretation of Epiphanios' position in relation to Genesis 1:26 did serve to elevate its importance within what he saw as part of the central arguments of II Nicaea. Theodulf's line of argument was further reinforced by his positioning of OC I 7 and OC I 8. Before moving on with the analysis of Theodulf's ideas in these chapters it is worth briefly remarking upon the significance of their location within the OC. The positioning in the OC adumbrates their role as part of the conceptual framework of the treatise, especially in view of the mischaracterisation of Epiphanios' argument.

OC I 1-4 contain rebuttals of statements made by the Emperor Constantine and Empress-Regent Irene in their *sacra* addressed to Pope Hadrian.[443] OC I 5 then deals with the first and, clearly, most important conceptual framework for the OC: the essential importance of sound understanding of Scripture.[444] Theodulf's initial structure of the OC in Vat. Lat. 7207 appears to have had OC I 7 and 8 following on immediately from this chapter. However, early enough in the manuscripts composition to not disrupt the numbering sequence, OC I 6 was added.[445] Concerning the importance of papal input on questions of faith, this chapter was evidently written during the composition of Vat. Lat. 7207, since it does not feature in the chapters of the CAS sent to Pope Hadrian in 792 nor does it neatly fill the space that was clearly left for this chapter in Vat. Lat. 7207.[446] The

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Bithinia. As Freeman observes, every session of II Nicaea starts with the location: 'in Nicaea, capital of the province of Bithinia'. That the Franks were unsure suggests, of course, that, at the very least, these preambles were omitted: Gero, 'The Libri Carolini and the Image Controversy', pp. 11-13; Freeman, 'Carolingian Orthodoxy and the Fate of the *Libri Carolini*', p. 79, n. 54.

[443] OC I 1-4, pp. 105-128. This *sacra* does not survive in the Greek Acta of II Nicaea. It, therefore, survives only in Anastasius Bibliothecarius' revised version of the Latin Acts of II Nicaea and excerpts in the OC and CAS, which, according to Erich Lamberz, corroborate their authenticity to the original Latin translation of II Nicaea. The revised Latin text of this imperial *sacra* can be found in: *Concilium universale Nicaenum secundum: Concilii actiones I-III*, ed. Lamberz, pp. 5-7.

[444] OC I 5, pp. 128-132. On the centrality of Scripture to the OC, see above (Chapter 1) and: Ommundsen, 'The Liberal Arts and the Polemic Strategy of the *Opus Caroli Regis Contra Synodum*', pp. 177-180; Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era*, pp. 46-47.

[445] Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', pp. 60-61.

[446] The CAS itself does not survive, however the headings in that document sent to Pope Hadrian have been preserved in his reply to Charlemagne with the pope's critique of each chapter: Pope Hadrian I, *Ep. 2*, MGH Epp. 5, pp. 5-57.

clearest indications of this are the blank lines left at the start of the new chapter (Figure 4) and, especially, those at the end, with OC I 7 starting a new page on the verso side of folio 18, despite OC I 6 only finishing about one quarter of the way down the recto side of that same folio (Figure 5).[447] This shows that a space had been left, that Theodulf was planning to insert a new chapter here, but also that he was not yet certain how long that chapter would be, having not yet written it. As Freeman observes, this alteration likely occurred in the context of the CAS being sent to Rome in 792.[448] This interpolated chapter was then followed by the two chapters of interest here (OC I 7 and OC I 8). Subsequently, until OC II 12, the chapters each deal with specific biblical quotes that Theodulf believed had been misinterpreted at II Nicaea (essentially presenting the evidence for the charge laid out in OC I 5).[449] As Hampe notes, these chapters are arranged following the biblical sequence from the Old to the New Testament, in the order of the passages cited in the chapter headings.[450] Since Genesis 1:26 is part of the creation account and, thus, the first biblical quotation in the sequence of the headings, it might make sense to read the position of OC I 7 and OC I 8 (as Hampe does) as simply the first chapters in that sequence continuing to OC II 12. However, OC I 8 does subtly break that sequence by having no biblical citation embedded in its heading (although it is evidently a continuation of Theodulf's response to Genesis 1:26 in OC I 7). As we will see below, the scale of the arguments Theodulf makes in these chapters are profound and far-reaching, with the position he imagines for Genesis 1:26 in the II Nicaean doctrine of images being far more grandiose than it actually was. Like the importance of interpreting Scripture properly, the theme of a universal matter-spirit separation became a recurrent one throughout the OC.[451] More than just forming the start of the biblical sequence, therefore, OC I 7 and OC I 8 appear to have been more important as part of Theodulf's declaration of the conceptual framework that would inform the OC. Indeed, for Theodulf, who frequently treated the perfection of Scripture and of numerology in the OC, this dual function of OC I 7 and OC I 8 was probably no

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[447] Vat. Lat. 7207, ff. 15v and 18r-18v.

[448] Freeman, 'Carolingian Orthodoxy and the Fate of the *Libri Carolini*', p. 73.

[449] Hampe, 'Hadrians I. Vertheidigung der zweiten nicaenischen Synode', p. 96.

[450] Ibid., p. 96.

[451] As well as the relationship of this concept to the *res sacratae*, which will be discussed in the following section of this chapter, a more recurrent manifestations of this idea was, for instance, a repeated insistence upon seeing with spiritual eyes, or rather as Theodulf typically expressed it 'the eye of the mind' (*mentis oculo*): OC I 15, p. 175; OC II 12, p. 260; OC II 22, p. 276; OC II 27, p. 294; OC II 31, p. 326; OC III 12, p. 385; OC III 18, p. 419; OC IV 2, p. 493. Other infrequent expressions of the same idea found in the OC include: *oculus internus*, OC I 18, p. 190; *spiritalibus oculis*, OC II 2, p. 240; *interioribus oculis*, OC IV 2, p. 492. The flip-side of this, was Theodulf's constant criticism of those who, like the Greeks, only saw with the eyes of the flesh: OC II 30, p. 320; OC III *Capitulare*, p. 335; OC III 29, p. 476; OC IV 2, p. 493.

coincidence: of course the first biblical passage under consideration would also provide an integral piece of the conceptual framework of the OC as a whole.

The essence of that framework, expressed by Theodulf in OC I 7, was of a microcosmic separation of matter and spirit in man, reflecting the same separation inherent in the universal creation. Framed as a response to Genesis 1:26, this took the form of articulating that only the incorporeal aspect of a man was made to the image and likeness of God: specifically, the soul of a man was made to the image, while his behaviour, or character was to the likeness.[452]

Although Augustine undoubtedly influenced Theodulf's understanding of image, likeness and equality in OC I 8, which in turn, of course, must have had a bearing upon Theodulf's understanding of how man could be made to the image and likeness of God, Augustine does not appear to have been the prime source of Theodulf's interpretation of Genesis 1:26. Admittedly, Theodulf does include a lengthy passage from Augustine's *De diuersis quaestionibus* on the issue of the inner and the outer man; with this he is largely in agreement (at least so far as the idea of a separation between the inner and outer man).[453] Where he evidently diverges from Augustine, however, is in the holy Father's linking the image of God with the inner, spiritual man, while affording the likeness of God to the outer, physical man.[454] For Theodulf, there was no such compromise: God is incorporeal and, thus, both the image and the likeness could only be related to the different facets of the inner man.[455] It must be noted here, though, that Theodulf does not openly criticise Augustine's position. Given the approval indicated by Charlemagne's *optime* in a marginal Tironian nota where Theodulf introduced Augustine's passage, such reluctance is hardly

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[452] OC I 7, p. 144: 'Ecce quam subtiliter quamque salubriter sancti viri hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei factum esse, imaginem videlicet in anima, in qua est intellectus, voluntas et memoria, similitudinem in moribus, id est in caritate, iustitia, bonitate et sanctitate, quae omnia incorporea sunt, intellegentes disseruere!'

[453] OC I 7, pp. 140-144; Augustine, *De diuersis quaestionibus octoginta tribus*, ed. Mutzenbecher CCSL 44A, 51, pp. 78-82.

[454] Augustine, *De diuersis quaestionibus octoginta tribus*, ed. Mutzenbecher CCSL 44A, 51, pp. 78-82. Although, Augustine's thought on this subject did change, with his later *De doctrina christiana,* for instance, including a reference to man made in God's image and likeness not in relation to the body, but to the rational soul: Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, ed. Martin CCSL 32, I.xxii, p. 16: 'Magna enim quaedam res est homo, *factus ad imaginem et similitudinem dei*, non in quantum mortali corpore includitur, sed in quantum bestias rationalis animae honore praecedit'. On the shift in Augustine's thought regarding Genesis 1:26 and the image, likeness and equality, more broadly (although not mentioning this *De doctrina christiana* passage): Robert Markus, '« Imago » and « similitudo » in Augustine', *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 10 (1964), esp. pp. 130-137.

[455] OC I 7, p. 145: 'Quisquis igitur ita hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei factum, sicut ad imaginem hominis imaginem ab artifice formatam esse credit, aliquid in Deo corporeum, quod credere nefas est, credere se ostendit. Nam si id, quod homo ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei factus est, manufactis imaginibus convenit, secundum corpoream speciem homo ad imaginem Dei factus est; et si homo secundum corpoream speciem ad imaginem Dei factus est, corporeus est Deus. Incorporeus autem Deus est, non igitur id, quod homo ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei factus est, manufactis imaginibus convenit.'

surprising (Figure 6).[456] Nonetheless, the disagreement with that particular feature of Augustine's statement is evident.

As to whence Theodulf's notion of image in the soul and likeness in behaviour was actually derived, we must turn to the anonymous authority cited immediately prior to the Augustinian passage in OC I 7.[457] It is in this excerpt that we find the interpretation of Genesis 1:26 that clearly exercised the most influence upon Theodulf. Crucially, this passage includes that idea of the image of God residing in the soul and the likeness in the behaviour of man.[458] In Bastgen's edition, this source is named as Ambrose of Milan's *De dignitate conditionis humanae*, evidently following Migne's identification in the PL.[459] In Freeman's edition, although the link to Ambrose has been loosened, it has not been fully shaken (influenced, perhaps, by the long and disreputable shadow of Migne), since she describes the work as Pseudo-Ambrosian and still cites the PL edition.[460] Theodulf too, might have played a part in this obfuscation, as he does introduce the passage almost as if it were Ambrose's, including it more or less as a continuation of the preceding quotation from Ambrose's *De fide*, which he had introduced with the holy Father's name.[461] However, present scholarship on the anonymous treatise which so shaped Theodulf's understanding

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[456] Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 19v, line 15. On the idea that these Tironian notae indicate Charlemagne's responses to the OC: von den Steinen, 'Karl der Grosse und die *Libri Carolini*. Die Tironischen Randnoten zum Codex Authenticus', pp. 218-222.

[457] OC I 7, pp. 138-140.

[458] OC I 7, pp. 139-140: 'Et haec est imago unitatis omnipotentis Dei, quam anima habet in se. Quae quandam sanctae Trinitatis habet imaginem. Primo in eo, quia sicut Deus est, vivit et sapit, ita et anima secundum suum modum est, vivit et sapit. Est quoque et alia trinitas in ea, qua ad imaginem sui conditoris perfectae quidem et summae Trinitatis, quae est in Patre, Filio et Spiritu sancto condita. Et licet unius sit illa naturae, tres tamen in se dignitates habet, id est intellectum, voluntatem et memoriam. Quod idem, licet aliis verbis, in evangelio designatur, dum dicitur: "Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua et ex tota mente tua", id est: ex toto intellectu et ex tota voluntate et ex tota memoria. Iam sicut ex Patre generatur Filius, ex Patre Filioque procedit Spiritus sanctus, ita ex entellectu generatur voluntas, et ex his item ambobus procedit memoria, sicut facile a sapiente quolibet intelligi potest. Nec enim anima perfecta esse potest sine his tribus nec horum trium unum aliquod, quantum ad suam pertinet beatitudinem, sine aliis duobus integrum constat. Et sicut Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus et Spiritus sanctus est, non tamen tres di sunt, sed unus Deus tres habens personas, ita et anima intellectus, anima voluntas, anima memoria, non tamen animae tres in uno corpore, sed una anima tres habens dignitates. Atque in his tribus eius imaginem mirabiliter gerit in sua natura noster interior homo. Similitudo vero in moribus cernenda est, ut sicut Deus creator, qui hominem ad similitudinem suam creavit, est caritas, est bonitas, et iustus, patiens atque mitis, mundus et misericors et cetera virtutum sanctorum insginia quae de eo leguntur, ita homo creatus est, ut caritatem haberet, ut bonus esset et iustus et patiens atque mitis, mundus et misericors foret.'

[459] LC I 7, p. 22; Ambrose, *De dignitate conditionis humanae*, PL 17, 1105B-1106B. Chazelle follows Bastgen in identifying this as Ambrose: Chazelle, 'Matter, Spirit, and Image in the *Libri Carolini*', p. 171, fn. 47.

[460] OC I 7, p. 138. Although in her introduction, Freeman does identify it with the *Dicta Albini de imagine Dei* (see below), concluding that Theodulf likely thought that it was an authentic Ambrosian work having come across it interpolated in a version of a genuine Ambrosian work like *De fide*: Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', pp. 95-96. On Migne's questionable scholarship, see: Howard Bloch, *God's Plagiarist: Being an Account of the Fabulous Industry and Irregular Commerce of the Abbe Migne* (Chicago, 1995).

[461] OC I 7, p. 138. This obfuscation is clearer in Hubert Bastgen's edition, where all the text running from the Ambrose *De fide* quote into the subsequent 'Ambrose' *De dignitate conditionis humanae* quote is italicised, without any Theoduflian additives (as appear in Freeman's edition). In an earlier study, Bastgen had remarked upon this concealment or lack of declaration such as for the *De fide* quote. LC I 7, p. 22; Bastgen, 'Das Kapitulare Karls d. Gr. Uber die Bilder oder die sogenannten *Libri Carolini* III', p. 515, fn. 3.

in OC I 7 would tend towards treating it as an anonymous patristic text that gained popularity at the Carolingian court around the time Theodulf was writing, especially in the circle of Alcuin and his students, hence its being now more commonly known as the *Dicta Albini de imagine Dei*.[462]

It is, of course, possible that Theodulf himself believed the passage to have been written by Ambrose, perhaps having come across it interpolated in with *De fide*.[463] In the absence of any surviving manuscripts featuring such an interpolation, this argument is overly reliant on reading Theodulf's attribution to Ambrose immediately before the *De fide* passage as applying to the *De imagine Dei* passage as well, which does not fit with the referencing patterns employed elsewhere in the OC.[464] When citing a second work by the same author, or even a later section from the same text, Theodulf would typically indicate this with a comment like *item idem post pauca* as, for instance in his treatment of Augustine's *De Trinitate* in OC III 4.[465] Another, more likely, possibility would be that Theodulf came across the anonymous *De imagine Dei* in the palace library while preparing the OC and, believing it to be of patristic origin (although not necessarily by Ambrose) and being attracted to its contents, incorporated it into OC I 7, whence Alcuin encountered it and encouraged its propagation amongst his students.[466] A final possibility is that Theodulf knew *De imagine Dei* as Alcuin's work and, since his audience would likely also know it as Alcuin's, he presented it in the OC as if it were anonymous. Strikingly, this would fit with Theodulf's treatment of Alcuin's *De dialectica*. Two of the earliest extant copies of *De dialectica* also transmit the *De imagine Dei*.[467] Eva Rädler-Bohn has recently made a compelling case for an earlier composition of the *De dicalectica* – in the 780s – than had previously been deemed possible.[468] To prove this latter hypothesis (that Theodulf knew

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[462] This is based on the title given to it in the earliest complete manuscript, c. 800 (although, originally, its title appears to have been somewhat more enigmatically, *Dicta albi diaconi de imagine dei,* subsequently emended with a 'ni'): München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6407, f. 98r. On the *Dicta Albini*, see especially: Mette Lebech and James McEvoy, '*De dignitate conditionis humanae*: Translation, Commentary, and Reception History of the *Dicta Albini (Ps.-Alcuin)* and the *Dicta Candidi*', *Viator* 40 (2009), pp. 1-34.

[463] This is the argument advanced, for instance, by Löwe, Freeman and, at least in his later comments, Marenbon: Heinz Löwe, 'Zur Geschichte Wizos', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 6 (1943), pp. 363-373; Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', pp. 95-96; John Marenbon, 'Alcuin, the Council of Frankfort and the Beginnings of Medieval Philosophy', *FK* II, pp. 613-614.

[464] An argument Marenbon had previously made against Löwe after discussions with Meyvaert: John Marenbon, *From the circle of Alcuin to the school of Auxerre: logic, theology and philosophy in the early middle ages* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 34.

[465] OC III 4, pp. 356-358.

[466] This seems to be the implication of Lebech and McEvoy, following Bullough's statement that Alcuin could not have written the *Dicta Albini de imagine Dei* before the 790s: Lebech and McEvoy, '*De dignitate conditionis humanae*: Translation, Commentary, and Reception History of the *Dicta Albini (Ps.-Alcuin)* and the *Dicta Candidi*', pp. 1-11; Donald Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation* (Leiden, 2004), p. 6.

[467] München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6407 and Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pagés 1.

[468] Eva Rädler-Bohn, 'Re-dating Alcuin's *De dialectica*: or, did Alcuin teach at Lorsch?' *Anglo-Saxon England* 45 (2016), pp. 71-104.

the *De imagine Dei* as Alcuin's work), however, an equally comprehensive study would need to be undertaken in order to overcome Bullough's claims that Alcuin could not have written the *De imagine Dei* before the 790s.[469] For now, then, the second possibility remains the most likely: Theodulf came across the *De imagine Dei* as an anonymous text, which he believed to have patristic origins, and with which he was in total agreement.

While Augustine's interpretation of Genesis 1:26 evidently did not fully align with Theodulf's, derived primarily from the anonymous *De imagine Dei,* Theodulf did incorporate a greater measure of Augustinian image theory on a conceptual level, especially in OC I 8.[470] In turn, this indirectly informed Theodulf's own (and the anonymous *De imagine Dei*'s) Genesis 1:26 exegesis in OC I 7. Like OC I 7, OC I 8 centres on patristic thought. In this instance, a passage from Augustine's *De diuersis quaestionibus* on the distinction between image (*imago*), likeness (*similitudo*) and equality (*aequalitas*) is quoted at length and informs Theodulf's own discussion of those same terms in the chapter.[471] This time, however, Theodulf's only real deviation from Augustine is in the focus on Genesis 1:26. Augustine, on the other hand, had approached this question via exegesis of Colossians 1:14-15 ('In whom we have redemption through his blood, the remission of sins, who is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature') and, thus, the image relationship between God the Father and Christ.[472] Accordingly, Theodulf omitted Augustine's treatment of the relationship between God and Christ as the perfect image, equality and likeness, ending instead with the imperfect image, equality and likeness between a human parent and child, marred only by time.[473] Instead, what Theodulf chose to quote were mainly the other examples Augustine had offered to demonstrate the distinct meaning of each term, but also where and how they could potentially overlap. The essence of Augustine's differentiation was that a likeness was integral to an image and an equality, but

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[469] Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation*, p. 6; Marenbon, 'Alcuin, the Council of Frankfort and the Beginnings of Medieval Philosophy', pp. 613-614.

[470] His endorsement of Augustinian image theory more broadly can also be seen elsewhere in the OC, such as his citation of another passage from Augustine's *De diuersis quaestionibus* in OC II 16, p. 265; Augustine, *De diuersis quaestionibus octoginta tribus*, ed. Mutzenbecher CCSL 44A, 74, pp. 213-214.

[471] OC I 8, pp. 145-148; Augustine, *De diuersis quaestionibus octoginta tribus*, ed. Mutzenbecher CCSL 44A, 74, pp. 213-214.

[472] Augustine, *De diuersis quaestionibus octoginta tribus*, ed. Mutzenbecher CCSL 44A, 74, p. 213: 'De eo quod scriptum est in epistula Pauli ad Colosenses: *In quo habemus redemptionem remissionem peccatorum, qui est imago dei inuisibilis*'; Colossians 1:14-15: 'in quo habemus redemptionem remissionem peccatorum qui est imago Dei invisibilis primogenitus omnis creaturae'.

[473] Augustine, *De diuersis quaestionibus octoginta tribus*, ed. Mutzenbecher CCSL 44A, 74, p. 214: 'In deo autem quia condicio temporis uacat – non enim potest recte uideri deus in tempore generasse filium, per quem condidit tempora –, consequens est ut non solum imago eius sit, quia de illo est, et similitudo, quia imago est, sed etiam aequalitas tanta, ut nec temporis interuallum impedimento sit'; OC I 8, pp. 145-148. Although he did cite the example of the relationship between God the Father and Christ later in OC II 16, p. 265.

that the converse was not necessarily true.[474] To illustrate this, Augustine produced the examples of: a man and his reflection (image and likeness); two chicken's eggs (equality and likeness); a partridge's and a chicken's egg (only a likeness); and a parent and child (image, equality and likeness).[475] The crucial definitions were that an image, as well as having a likeness, must be copied from the thing of which it is an image; a likeness, meanwhile, requires not only a similarity in appearance, but also in substance; while an equality is an absolute likeness.[476] On this last point, however, Theodulf does appear to have held a slightly different position derived – as in OC I 7 – from another pseudo-patristic source: the *Categoriae decem.*

Based on his attribution of the *Categoriae decem* in OC I 1, Theodulf evidently believed it to have been written by Augustine.[477] He likely, therefore, viewed his use of it in OC I 8 immediately prior to quoting from *De diuersis quaestionibus* as an enhancement of Augustine's ideas, rather than presenting any kind of disagreement, however subtle. Equally, as a text that had only recently been discovered and brought to the court of Charlemagne by Alcuin, Theodulf likely relished the prospect of experimenting with it in

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[474] Interestingly, a stray 'non' has crept into the Vat. Lat. 7207 text that damages this relationship between a likeness and an image. Theodulf's own discourse preceding the Augustine passage, however, makes it clear that he subscribed to the unaltered Augustinian image theory (i.e. without the 'non'), so this was, perhaps, a simple scribal error. Alternatively, given the erasure immediately before the non, Freeman suggests that it might have been 'est non', which would give a similar reading to that found in Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 612. The only problem with this would be that Theodulf's own exposition on the relationship between image and likeness does not accord with that negative (i.e. Theodulf obviously has in mind an uncorrupted form of Augustine's text, so why would he cite from a corrupted text with which he is clearly not in agreement?). OC I 8, p. 146; Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 22v. Augustine, *De diuersis quaestionibus octoginta tribus*, ed. Almut Mutzenbecher CCSL 44A (Turnhout, 1975), 74, p. 213: 'Imago et aequalitas et similitudo distinguenda sunt: quia ubi imago, continuo similitudo non continuo aequalitas; ubi aequalitas, continuo similitudo non continuo imago; ubi similitudo, non continuo imago non continuo aequalitas. Vbi imago, continuo similitudo non continuo aequalitas'.

[475] Augustine, *De diuersis quaestionibus octoginta tribus*, ed. Mutzenbecher CCSL 44A, 74, pp. 213-214; OC I 8, pp. 146-148: 'ut in speculo est imago hominis; quia de illo expressa est. Vbi aequalitas, continuo similitudo non continuo imago, uelut in duobus ouis paribus, quia inest aequalitas, inest et similitudo, quaecumque enim adsunt uni, adsunt et alteri; imago tamen non est, quia neutrum de altero expressum est. Vbi similitudo, non continuo imago non continuo aequalitas; omne quippe ouum omni ouo, in quantum ouum est, simile est; sed ouum perdicis, quamuis in quantum ouum est simile sit ouo gallinae, nec imago tamen eius est, quia non de illo expressum est, nec aequale, quia et breuius est et alterius generis animantium. Sed ubi dicitur *non continuo*, utique intellegitur quia esse aliquando potest. Potest ergo esse aliqua imago in qua sit etiam aequalitas et similitudo, si interuallum temporis defuisset; nam et de parente expressa est similitudo filii inueniretur imago et aequalitas et similitudo, si interuallum temporis defuisset; nam et de parente expressa est similitudo filii, ut recte imago dicatur, et potest esse tanta, ut recte etiam dicatur aequalitas, nisi quod parens tempore praecedit. Ex quo intellegitur et aequalitatem aliquando esse similitudinem habere sed etiam imaginem, quod in superiore exemplo manifestatum est. Potest etiam aliquando esse similitudo et aequalitas, quamuis non sit imago, ut de ouis paribus diximus. Potest et similitudo et imago esse, quamuis non sit aequalitas, ut in speculo ostendimus. Potest et similitudo esse, ubi et aequalitas et imago sit, sicut de filiis commemorauimus, excepto tempore quo praecedunt parentes. Sic enim aequalem syllabam syllabae dicimus, quamuis altera praecedat altera subsequatur.'

[476] Augustine, *De diuersis quaestionibus octoginta tribus*, ed. Mutzenbecher CCSL 44A, 74, pp. 213-214.

[477] OC I 1, p. 108. Incidentally, the use of the *Categoriae decem* in OC I 1 is also emphasising the fundamental separation between God and man – being of two different natures/species – such that Constantine and Irene should not claim to 'co-reign' with God, given that matter-spirit separation.

his work.[478] Indeed, it is perhaps in this context of intellectual exuberance, rather than deeply held convictions that the offending comments borne out of Theodulf's dialogue with the *Categoriae decem* ought to be understood. In a passage interspersed with phrases taken from the *Categoriae decem*, including one in which it was observed that a likeness could be more or less, Theodulf remarked that an equality could also be more or less, but that an image could not: an image either was, or it was not.[479] The key remark (which does not square with the Augustinian definitions) concerns an equality. Whereas Augustine presents an equality as an absolute form of likeness (e.g. between two hen's eggs, compared to the mere likeness between a hen's and a partridge's egg), Theodulf's extension of the *Categoriae decem* comment about likenesses to equalities would require a different understanding of an equality that was not absolute and could thus admit varying degrees. Theodulf, however, does not furnish such an understanding, proceeding immediately to the *De diuersis quaestionibus* passage. Nor does Theodulf make any overt remark about this apparent divergence. While equality is not at issue in OC I 7 nor in the discussion of Genesis 1:26 with which we are primarily concerned here, if this was more than intellectual experimentation on Theodulf's part, this understanding of varying degrees of equality might be of more importance elsewhere in the OC.

Returning to the theme of the image and likeness of man and God in OC I 7, we can see the ramifications of this Augustinian understanding of image and likeness in Theodulf's interpretation of Genesis 1:26. Here, drawing upon the anonymous *De imagine Dei* in particular, Theodulf had posited that the image relationship in Genesis 1:26 referred only to the relationship between God and a man's soul, while the likeness referred to the relationship between God and the behaviour of man. Using precisely the same terminology as in the *De imagine Dei* passage, Theodulf describes the soul specifically as the incorporeal place in which understanding, free-will and memory reside. For man's soul to be fashioned towards the image of God, according to Theodulf's image theory laid out in OC I 8, implied not only that there must be a material likeness, but that the soul must actually be imaged from God. Fundamentally, this requirement for material likeness prevents Theodulf from countenancing any likeness between the body of man and God, as Augustine had done in the *De diuersis quaestionibus* passage quoted in OC I 7. God, Theodulf observes, is incorporeal, therefore, any degree of likeness can only exist between the incorporeal facets

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[478] On Alcuin's discovery of the *Categoriae decem* and its use in the Carolingian court: Lorenzo Minio-Paluello, *Aristoteles Latinus* I, 1-5 (Leiden, 1961), pp. lxxvii-lxxviii; Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', pp. 87-90.
[479] OC I 8, p. 146: 'Sicut *enim dicitur magis similis* vel *minus similis*, magis aequalis vel minus aequalis, *non* sic *dici potest magis* imago vel *minus* imago.'

of man – his soul and his behaviour – and God. For Theodulf, then, the separation of matter and spirit is fundamental. It is a separation embodied even down to the microcosmic level within man himself.

3.2: *Res sacratae* and saints' relics: material transcendence or material perfection?

Having established this fundamental separation within man of mundane matter and divine spirit, Theodulf then insisted that man-made images are incapable of bridging this matter-spirit divide: nothing which is divine within man can be represented in an image.[480] Yet, as we have already seen, Theodulf did characterise some ostensibly material objects with terms denoting some degree of sanctity. These ranged from the *sanctitas* he used of saints' relics and church-buildings, to *sacratus* describing the objects at the heart of this study: the Ark of the Covenant, the eucharistic elements, the sign of the cross, liturgical vessels and Scripture.[481] Significantly, these are all objects which Theodulf contrasted against manufactured images. The questions with which we must now concern ourselves are: how was it that these objects transcended the matter-spirit divide conveyed in OC I 7 and OC I 8? Were the material forms of these objects a help or a hindrance to this process? For the wider aims of the thesis, it will also be necessary to highlight any differences in this process between the *res sacratae* and saints' relics.

More so than with any of the other *res sacratae*, Theodulf dwelt upon the materiality of the Ark of the Covenant. It was after all, not merely an object, but an object explicitly fashioned by human hands. In his treatment of Moses and Bezalel, Theodulf therefore sought to distance these co-creators of the Ark of the Covenant from other artificers.[482] For Bezalel, Theodulf saw the key distinction as Bezalel's status as a prefiguration (*figura*) of Christ.[483] By extension of his role as a *figura* of Christ, Bezalel was blessed with such qualities of spiritual wisdom, knowledge and understanding that no other artificer could

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[480] OC I 7, p. 145: 'Incorporeus autem Deus est, non igitur id, quod homo ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei factus est, manufactis imaginibus convenit.' This is an idea we find repeated elsewhere in the OC. For instance, at the start of OC II 16, pp. 263-264, Theodulf sets out a similar line of logic as to why God cannot be depicted: 'Qui si invisibilis est, immo quia invisibilis est, necesse est, ut incorporeus sit; et si incorporeus est, necesse est, ut corporaliter pingi non possit. Igitur invisibilis est et incorporeus, prorsus corporalibus materiis pingi non potest.' On the inability of images of the saints to represent their soul and character, see: OC III 16, pp. 407-412.

[481] See Chapter 1 for discussion of the different terms of sanctity within Theodulf's lexicon and his application of them in the OC.

[482] OC I 16, pp. 175-181; OC II 26, pp. 286-289.

[483] OC I 16, pp. 178-179: 'Nam dum iste Beseleel, quem Christi figuram gestasse diximus, tantis virtutum praerogativis ornetur, ut er a Deo electus et ex nomine vocatus et Spiritu sancto repletus et, cuius filius vel de qua stirpe sit, describabtur, incassum ob imaginum adorationem firmandam in exemplum trahitur, cum videlicet cunctis pictoribus excellentior cunctisque artificibus imagines formantibus credatur fuisse praestantior.'

compete with his works.[484] Thus, whereas Bezalel was able to bestow his works, chiefly, of course, the Ark of the Covenant, with similar qualities of prefiguration of future mysteries of the New Testament age, because they had been created by virtue of the inspiration of such a spirit of wisdom, knowledge and understanding, this was not, Theodulf believed, possible for any other craftsman.[485]

Theodulf lauded Moses even further. Indeed, much of OC II 26, ostensibly a chapter dealing with the difference between the Ark of the Covenant and manufactured images, was concerned with distinguishing Moses from artists and artificers.[486] Essentially, the case for his unique standing took the form of a list of his divinely guided, miraculous exploits: being called upon by God from the burning bush (Exodus 3:2-4); his turning of a serpent into his staff (Exodus 4:2-5); his parting of the Red Sea (Exodus 14:21); his turning bitter water into sweet water (Exodus 15:22-25) and drawing water from a stone (Exodus 17:5-7); his receiving of the Law from God on Mount Sinai (Exodus 20).[487] The reception of the Law from God, of course, was especially prescient in a chapter on the Ark of the Covenant since, as Theodulf interjected, it was while receiving the Law on Mount Sinai that God also instructed Moses upon the material form of the Ark of the Covenant and the temple in which it was to be housed.[488] The craftsmen of the Ark of the Covenant were, thus, special and working to a divine design.

As with Bezalel, Theodulf placed a strong emphasis upon the prefigurative nature of the Ark of the Covenant's material form. This is clearest in his treatment of the Ark of the Covenant and its material surroundings in OC I 15.[489] Much of the symbolism drawn out in this chapter actually derives from Augustine's *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* and Bede's *De templo Salomonis*.[490] The key idea Theodulf took from Bede was that the Ark prefigures Christ's body, the flesh he assumed from Mary and which, after his resurrection, is seated

[484] OC I 16, p. 179: 'Non igitur illius operibus pictura vel cuiuslibet opificio imagines conditae adsmilandae sunt. Quia vero iste novus Beseleel, Redemptor videlicet humani generis, spiritum sapientiae, scientiae et intellegentiae habuerit, qui utique unius cum Patre et Filio substantiae est et a Patre Filioque procedit, Esaias propheta testis est.'
[485] OC I 16, p. 179: 'Cuius si operibus pictura vel cuiuslibet opficio imagines conditae adsmilandae sunt, illi quoque pictores vel cuiuslibet artis opifices imagines condentes adsimilandi sunt. Et si illi pictores vel cuiuslibet opificii homines imagines condentes adsimilandi sunt, ipsi quoque opifices sive ab his conditae imagines futurorum insignem praefigurationem gerunt. Non autem pictores vel cuiuslibet opificii homines nec opera eorum futurorum quandam praefigurationem gerunt.'
[486] OC II 26, pp. 286-289.
[487] OC II 26, pp. 287-289. Exodus 3:2-4; Exodus 4:2-5; Exodus 14:21; Exodus 15:22-25; Exodus 17:5-7; Exodus 20.
[488] OC II 26, p. 288: 'qui secundum exemplar quo ei in monte monstratum fuerit, tabernaculum faciat, quod, cum ingressus fuerit, gloria Domini operiat'; Exodus 25:40.
[489] OC I 15, pp. 169-175.
[490] There are two lengthy excerpts from Augustine's *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, *Exodus* 105: OC I 15, pp. 169-170; OC I 15, pp. 172-173. Augustine's *Quastiones in Heptateuchum*, *Exodus* 166, is quoted at length once: OC I 15, pp. 173-175. Bede's *De templo Salomonis* 1, meanwhile, is quoted on: OC I 15, p. 170.

on the right hand of the Father.[491] This Ark-Christ symbolism had its roots in the Augustinian idea of the Temple as Christ, an idea which would be heavily expanded upon by Bede into the notion of the Ark as a symbol of the body of Christ, quoted by Theodulf here in OC I 15.[492] Indeed, both Bede and Theodulf took the idea of the Ark of the Covenant, as well as its material trappings and contents, as replete with the prefigurations of mysteries, from Augustine. Although, whereas Augustine designated these symbolic qualities as a *sacramentum*, Theodulf instead remarked that these material forms 'radiate with the holy and excellent mysteries and redly glow with the sacraments'.[493] While the expression used here differs subtly, much of the symbolism drawn out by Theodulf (aside from that most important link between the Ark and Christ derived from Bede) is Augustine's. Perhaps the most important symbolic element Theodulf derived from Augustine here was that the two cherubim above the propitiatory of the Ark symbolised the two Covenants and the fulness of wisdom.[494] As Dahlhaus-Berg argued, Theodulf viewed typological interpretations as fundamental to understanding the Old Testament, with the focus of these typologies being the future revelations of the New Testament.[495] Thus, it is no surprise that, for Theodulf, the material forms of the Ark of the Covenant and its surrounds are replete with mystical symbolism pointing from the Old Testament to the revelations of the New Testament. In this way, he presents the Ark of the Covenant as the image *par excellence*: the only manufactured image capable of transcending the matter-spirit divide.

Indeed, this was the image which Theodulf, as bishop of Orléans, would later choose for his apse mosaic above the altar of his private oratory chapel at Germigny-des-

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[491] OC I 15, p. 170: 'Arca namque foederis secundum quosdam Dominum et Salvatorem nostrum, in quo solo foedus pacis apud Patrem habemus, designat, qui post resurrectionem suam ascendens in caelum carnem, quam adsumpserat ex Virgine, in Patris dextera conlocavit...'. Bede shared Theodulf's penchant for 1 Timothy 2:5 (Christ as Mediator of God and mankind) and especially liked to associate it with this idea of the Ark of the Covenant as a symbol of Christ. Although, interestingly, Theodulf refrained from including 1 Timothy 2: 5 in this quotation from Bede. On Bede's association of 1 Timothy 2:5 with the Ark-Christ symbolism: Conor O'Brien, *Bede's Temple: An Image and its Interpretation* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 108-109.

[492] On the development of the Temple-Christ symbolism originally found in Augustine (although, of course, himself building upon John 2:19-21 on Christ's body as a temple), but developed by Bede, especially in expanding this symbolic link to the Ark of the Covenant: O'Brien, *Bede's Temple*, pp. 101-109.

[493] Augustine, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, *Exodus* 105. OC I 15, p. 170: 'illa vero semper sanctis et excellentibus radiant mysteriis et rutilant sacramentis.' On Theodulf's understanding and use of *sacramentum* see above, Chapter 1.

[494] Augustine, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, *Exodus* 105; OC I 15, pp. 171-172: 'In quo sunt duo cherubim, scientiae videlicet plenitudo, quae in duobus Testamentis eius revelatione monstrata est. Qui invicem se adtendunt, quia lex et evangelium magnam inter se consonantiam habent dicente Domino: Non veni legem solvere sed adimplere. Qui cherubim ideo versos vultus habent in propitiatorium, quia duo Testamenta spem semper in Dei misericordia ponendam omnino commendant.' Interestingly, Freeman highlights Theodulf's closer following of Isidore here in his characterisation of Cherubim as 'full of wisdom' (*plenitudo scientiae*), rather than the *multitudine scientiae* used by Augustine: OC I 15, p. 171, fn. 3; Isidore, *Etymologiae* 7, 5, 22; Augustine, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, *Exodus* 105.

[495] Dahlhaus-Berg, *Nova antiquas et antiqua novitas*.

Prés in 806 (Figures 1 and 2).[496] Much has been written in recent years upon the symbolism and potential influences upon this seemingly strange choice for an altar apse mosaic.[497] The most important of these studies is that of Ann Freeman and Paul Meyvaert.[498] Drawing upon Theodulf's treatment of the Ark of the Covenant in the OC and his poetry, as well as considering the potential influence of mosaics Theodulf had seen during his journey to and around Rome between November 800 and February 801, Freeman and Meyvaert offer a compelling account of the symbolism Theodulf intended by the decoration of the apse mosaic with an empty Ark of the Covenant, flanked by two cherubim with a scarred hand between them and twelve stones set up in a river and another twelve stones above it all beneath the Ark. All are read essentially as images from the Old Testament prefiguring the mysteries revealed in the New.

Thus, the twelve stones taken from the river Jordan by Joshua and set up in Gilgal (Joshua 4) symbolise, following OC I 21, Jesus' instruction to his disciples to go and baptise the gentiles (Matthew 28:19), while the twelve stones which he set in the river itself symbolise the prophets and patriarchs under the shadow of the law.[499] The larger cherubim, one with a cross in its halo, following the aforementioned Augustinian description in OC I 15, stand for the Jews and the gentiles, the people of the Old Testament and the New.[500] Meanwhile, the scarred hand was not merely the hand of God in a Hebrew style speaking between the two cherubim, but moreover, following OC I 15 – in which Theodulf

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[496] The date of 806 is based on an inscription recorded above the apse mosaic by Ferdinand de Guilhermy on a visit to the site while work was underway on the construction of a new vault to cover the mosaic and protect it from further damage in 1843. His account is recorded in BnF nouvelles acquisitions françaises, 6100, ff. 401-401v. However, this date was also (but, crucially, subsequently) reproduced by Chrétien in a fraudulent inscription on one of the church's central pillars. Interestingly, while the date of 806 is corroborated by de Guilhermy's earlier account, Chrétien also chose to include in his inscription a completely fictitious dedication to the saints Geneviève and Germinus, unaware that Theodulf had in fact dedicated the church to Christ (*Sanctus Salvator*). Of course, this dedication to Christ rather than whichever saints, reinforces the argument of the present thesis surrounding the special status of the *res sacratae* over and above saints' relics as deriving from their relationship with him: Meyvaert, 'Maximilien Théodore Chrétien and the apse mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés', pp. 209-210.

[497] Elisheva Revel-Neher, '*Antiquus populus, novus populus*: Jerusalem and the People of God in the Germigny-des-Prés Carolingian Mosaic', *Jewish Art* 23 (1997), pp. 54-66; Freeman and Meyvaert, 'The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des Prés', pp. 125-139; Mackie, 'Theodulf of Orléans and the Ark of the Covenant: A New Allegorical Interpretation at Germigny-des-Prés', pp. 45-58. On the architectural influences on Theodulf's church at Germigny-des-Prés more broadly: Pascale Chevalier, 'Germigny, une architecture originale?' *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre* (2019). For analysis of the authentic and restored elements of the mosaic the best and most recent study is: Ann-Orange Polipré, 'Le décor de l'oratoire de Germigny-des-Prés: l'authentique et le restauré', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 61 (1998), pp. 281-297.

[498] Freeman and Meyvaert, 'The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des Prés', pp. 125-139.

[499] Ibid., pp. 130-133.

[500] Ibid., p. 129. The identification of an original (rather than restored) cross in the halo of the cherubim on the left and the interpretation of this as representing the 2 peoples (Jews and Gentiles) before and after the New Law was already suggested by Poilpré. However, she was more cautious in adopting this position, pointing out that the right-hand cherubim was heavily restored, meaning that a prior cross in its halo could not be fully discounted: Polipré, 'Le décor de l'oratoire de Germigny-des-Prés: l'authentique et le restauré', pp. 293-294.

identified God speaking from between the two cherubim (Numbers 7:89) with Christ as the Word of God – as the hand of the resurrected Christ.[501] In fact this account was so important to Theodulf's understanding of the holiness of the Ark of the Covenant that he repeated the allusion to Numbers 7:89 again to close OC II 26.[502] These repeated allusions to this account, both in the OC and in the Germigny-des-Prés apse mosaic clearly indicate its significance to Theodulf's understanding of the Ark of the Covenant as a *res sacrata*. Despite his insistence in OC III 27 that God is location-less and the associated idea, in OC I 7, that he lacks any physical form, Theodulf repeatedly chose to ruminate upon the Ark of the Covenant as a locus of divine power, a literal bridge between matter and spirit.[503]

The Ark of the Covenant itself was, Freeman and Meyvaert argue, depicted empty in accordance with OC I 19. Here, Theodulf had asserted that the Franks – or, more likely, Christians – as a 'spiritual Israel' unlike the carnal Old Testament Israel, have received mysteries from the Lord that obviously surpass images, but also, significantly, the mysteries of the Tables of the Law and the two cherubim, since these were only examples of future things.[504] The Ark of the Covenant was empty, therefore, because what was prefigured by it

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[501] Freeman and Meyvaert, 'The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des Prés', pp. 133-135. The originality of the 'scar' on the hand has been hotly contested. Hubert and Bloch, for instance, claim it as a nineteenth-century alteration by Juste Lisch, while Vieillard-Troiekouroff suggests that Lisch only accentuated an already-present shadow on the hand: Jean Hubert, 'Germigny-des-Prés', *Congrès Archéologiques de France*, XLII (Orléans, 1930), p. 556; Peter Bloch, 'Das Apsismosaik von Germigny des Prés, Karl der Grosse und der alter Bund', in Helmet Beumann and Wolfgang Braufnels (eds.), *Karl der Grosse:* III: *Karolingische Kunst* (Düsseldorf, 1965), p. 236; May Vieillard-Troiekouroff, 'Nouvelles études sur les mosaïques de Germigny des Prés', *Cahiers Archéologiques* 17 (1967), p. 107. However, following Poilpré, it does seem that the line on the hand was an original feature due to the similar pattern of tesserae on the hand to the hands of the large cherubim, which do seem to be original: Polipré, 'Le décor de l'oratoire de Germigny-des-Prés: l'authentique et le restauré', p. 294. Revel-Neher has some interesting remarks on the potential Jewish influences acting upon Theodulf's *manus Dei* depiction, which had been the staple depiction of divine intervention in Jewish art since Dura Europos: Revel-Neher, '*Antiquus populus, novus populus*: Jerusalem and the People of God in the Germigny-des-Prés Carolingian Mosaic', p. 59. This is an especially interesting suggestion in light of Theodulf's Jewish connections testified in his use of readings from the Massoretic text in his personal bible. In light of the more recent scholarship on those Jewish connections evident in Theodulf's bible, it would be interesting to reconsider whether the same intellectual networks (which, given the link to Massoretic Hebrew readings in Theodulf's bible, were evidently spread across the Mediterranean) also influenced the design of Theodulf's apse mosaic.

[502] OC II 26, p. 289: 'Nam si ut illi delerant, imagines arcae testamenti Domini adsimilari queunt, necesse est, ut quiddam sit circa eas, quod propitiatorio adsimilari queat, necesse est, ut metuenda inde oracula dentur. Non autem inde quaedam oracula dantur; non igitur, ut illi desipiunt, imagines arcae testamenti Domini adsimilari queunt.' Numbers 7:89, in Swift Edgar (ed.), *The Vulgate Bible*: I: *The Pentateuch* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2010), p. 704: 'Cumque ingrederetur Moses Tabernaculum Foederis ut consuleret oraculum, audiebat vocem loquentis ad se de propitiatorio quod erat super Arcam Testimonii inter duos cherubin, unde et loquebatur ei.'

[503] OC III 27, pp. 466-470. OC I 7, p. 145: 'Incorporeus autem Deus est, non igitur id, quod homo ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei factus est, manufactis imaginibus convenit.'

[504] For reading the 'we'/'spiritual Israel' of OC I 19 as a reference to Christians more broadly (including, the Greeks) and thereby linking to Theodulf's exegetical-historical attitude: Conor O'Brien, 'Empire, Ethnic Election and Exegesis in the Opus Caroli (Libri Carolini)', *Studies in Church History* 54 (2018), esp. pp. 8-10. On the exaggeration, by modern scholarship, of the idea of the Franks identifying themselves as a 'new Israel': Mary Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel: Education for an Identity from Pippin to Charlemagne', in Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (eds.), *The Uses of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 114-161.

was now revealed beneath the mosaic upon the altar during mass.[505] This particular feature of the mosaic has, however, been hotly contested, with Revel-Neher and Mackie both advocating for the Marian symbology of the Ark. For Revel-Neher this meant a partially open, but crucially not empty Ark, with Aaron's rod inside indicating Mary through a play on *virgo* (virgin) and *virga* (rod).[506] Mackie, while also stressing the supposed Marian allegory behind Theodulf's choice of the Ark of the Covenant theme for his mosaic, insists that the Ark was originally depicted closed.[507] However, as Poilpré suggests, it is impossible to know whether the Ark, as Theodulf would have seen it in his mosaic, was open or empty given that the most faithful pre-restoration sketch, by Constant Dufeux, shows gaps in the mosaic where either the interior or lid should be showing.[508]

While analysis of the mosaic itself cannot yield any conclusive evidence, the empty Ark hypothesis is more consonant with Theodulf's positions set out in his written works, especially, of course, with the OC. It chimes with his idea of history divided according to the Old and the New Testaments.[509] Moreover, it also chimes with the related division evident between the Old Testament *res sacrata* (the Ark of the Covenant) and the New Testament *res sacratae* (the eucharistic elements, the sign of the cross, liturgical vessels and Scripture). The tension evident in his treatment of the Ark of the Covenant as a *res sacrata* is, accordingly, not so much between matter and spirit (as we will see with the New Testament *res sacratae*), but a tension of time: under the law, in the age of the Old Testament, the Ark of the Covenant was an object that transcended not just its material form, but also its age. By its very material form and the forms of the objects within and around it, the Ark of the Covenant offered the fleshly Israel a glimpse of the future, of the spiritual truths to be revealed in the age of the New Testament. Unlike images of holy men, which could not overcome the chasm between their material and spiritual forms, this, the Ark of the Covenant, was the image that God had ordained to point from matter to spirit, from the Old Testament to the New.

By contrast, the principal tension in Theodulf's treatment of the materiality of the New Testament *res sacratae* (the eucharistic elements, the sign of the cross, liturgical vessels

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[505] Freeman and Meyvaert, 'The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des Prés', pp. 129-131.

[506] Revel-Neher, '*Antiquus populus, novus populus*: Jerusalem and the People of God in the Germigny-des-Prés Carolingian Mosaic', pp. 59-60. Revel-Neher's claim of an ajar Ark, with the line of what now appears to be the cover of the Ark originally being the rod of Aaron, is also advocated by del Medico: Henri del Medico, 'La mosaïque de l'abside orientale à Germigny-des-Prés', *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 39 (1943), pp. 90-91.

[507] Mackie, 'Theodulf of Orléans and the Ark of the Covenant: A New Allegorical Interpretation at Germigny-des-Prés', p. 45.

[508] Poilpré, 'Le décor de l'oratoire de Germigny-des-Prés: l'authentique et le restauré', p. 292.

[509] Dahlhaus-Berg, *Nova antiquas et antiqua novitas,* p. 217.

and Scripture) inheres in their apparent liminal status, bridging what otherwise seems like a hard border between matter and spirit in Theodulf's understanding. On the one hand, Theodulf does provide statements that deny the importance of the material form of these *res sacratae*. This is especially evident, for instance, in relation to liturgical vessels, which he concedes (in OC II 29) could have ornamentation upon them, yet:

> ... even if there are certain images on these vessels, they are not there in order that these images be adored or as if without them the offering of these holy unctions would become worthless, but in order that they might make more beautiful the quality of the materials onto which they have been imprinted.[510]

The problem with this statement, however, is that Theodulf is taking issue directly with the ascription of any thaumaturgical powers to the images upon vessels such as chalices, rather than with the chalice itself. Yet Theodulf offers no comments upon, for instance, the value of having the chalice made of specific materials. Accordingly, we are left with this statement primarily concerned with extending the worthlessness of images even to those imprinted upon liturgical vessels. Theodulf's attitude towards the artistic decor of liturgical vessels could, of course, also be turned around: since the images upon the vessels have no bearing upon their ability to perform their vital liturgical functions, the form of that decoration need not relate to that function. This statement might, therefore, lead us to wonder if the antique vase depicting, amongst other mythological themes, Herculean scenes, with which, Theodulf alleges, a litigant sought to bribe him as *missus dominici,* could have ended up in liturgical use in Theodulf's church at Germigny-des-Prés.[511] Indeed, the palace school at Aachen appears to have incorporated similarly classical motifs into some of the chalices believed to have been produced there, such as the early ninth-century Lebuïnuskelk composed from ivory panels depicting classical motifs of acanthus leaves (Figure 7).[512] Whilst the Lebuïnuskelk has traditionally been interpreted as originally a reliquary-drinking cup in association with the cult of Saint Lebuïnus, only becoming a chalice with the addition of a gilt-silver frame in the sixteenth-century, this anachronistic assumption has been challenged by Bouvy, who suggests that it was indeed originally

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[510] OC II 29, p. 302: '... in quibus tamen etsi quaedam imagines sunt, non ideo sunt, ut adorentur aut quasi sine his sacrorum charismatum munus vilescere queat, sed ut pulchrior, his inpressis materiam qualitas fiat.'
[511] Theodulf, *Carm. 28 (Versus Teudulfi episcopi contra iudices)*, lines 177-210, MGH PLAC 1, pp. 498-499. Although the Herculean vase described in this poem was probably not real, with Theodulf using the imagined vase as a monitory device: Lawrence Nees, *A Tainted Mantle. Hercules and the classical tradition at the Carolingian Court* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1991).
[512] Lebuïnuskelk, Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, ABM bi787.

produced as a chalice.[513] Theodulf's stance in OC II 29 would, it seems, support Bouvy's suggestion that vessels like the Lebuïnuskelk could have functioned as a chalice without the addition of the gilt-silver frame.

Thus, the materiality of liturgical vessels does not appear to have been an issue for Theodulf. The material of the vessels neither helped nor hindered in divine worship, although it might be preferable for them to be aesthetically pleasing. Yet, the material aspects of the other New Testament *res sacratae* are more complicated. In his treatment of the sign of the cross in OC II 28, Theodulf devotes much attention to the perfect form of the cross. For the most part, Theodulf takes his exegesis on the form of the cross verbatim from Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* and Isidore's *De ecclesiasticiis officiis*.[514] These passages from Augustine and Isidore both comprise exegesis upon Ephesians 3:16-19, in which Paul prays to God on behalf of the Ephesian church that the Holy Spirit and Christ might dwell in their hearts and that they might know the love of Christ – to understand 'the breadth and length and height and depth' – and be filled with the fulness of God.[515] Following Augustine and Isidore, Theodulf also interpreted this breadth, length, height and depth as referring to the dimensions of the cross.[516] In turn, all three theologians took these dimensions as symbolic of the Christian life: the transverse beam (the breadth) upon which the hands were fastened signifies joyfulness in good works; the top, vertical beam (the height) onto which the head was attached, signifies the expectation of the eternal reward; the lower portion of the vertical beam (the length) on which the body was stretched out, signifies long-suffering endurance; the concealed portion of the vertical beam (the depth) buried in the earth, signifies the inscrutable justice of God.[517] This description, however,

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[513] For the traditional interpretation: Jan Kalf, *De katholieke kerken in Nederland: dat is de tegenwoordige staat dier kerken met huune meubeling en versiering beschreven en afgebeeld* (1906), pp. 79-80. For the counter-argument: Désiré Paul R. A. Bouvy, *Beeldhouwkunst* (Bussum, 1966), pp. 28-29.

[514] OC II 28, pp. 298-299; Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, ed. Martin CCSL 32, II.xli, pp. 75-76; Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, ed. Christopher Lawson CCSL 113 (Turnhout, 1989), 1.30, pp. 32-34.

[515] Ephesians 3:16-19: 'ut det vobis secundum divitias gloriae sua virtute corroborari per Spiritum eius in interiore homine habitare Christum per fidem in cordibus vestris in caritate radicati et fundati ut possitis conprehendere cum omnibus sanctis quae sit latitudo et longitudo et sublimitas et profundum scire etiam supereminentem scientiae caritatem Christi ut impleamini in omnem plenitudinem Dei'.

[516] OC II 28, pp. 298-299.

[517] For these interpretations, Theodulf relies upon and quotes Isidore more closely than Augustine, who observed the first three symbolisms (breadth as good works; height as expectation; and length as endurance), but gave the fourth as not profaning the sacraments. From Augustine, Theodulf merely takes the equation of breadth with the transverse beam, etc, preferring Isidore for the symbolic interpretation: OC II 28, pp. 298-299: 'In exponendis igitur his tanti praedicatioris verbis nec nostros sensus temere ostentare nec alienos furari debemus, sed hos, quos a beato Augustino in libris de doctrina christiana positos reperimus, nos quoque ponamus. *Latitudo* ergo *est transversum lignum, quo extenduntur manus; altitudo,* quae a transverso ligno incipiens superius eminet, ubi fuit *caput; longitudo* vero est, quae a transverso ligno incipiens *usque ad terram* desinit; *profundum vero, quod terrae infixum absconditur.* Ex quo ligno crucis *omnis vita sanctorum describitur,* qui *tollentes crucem* suam et *mortificantes membra* sua, quae sunt *super terram,* Christum sequuntur. Quorum quanto *exterior homo corrumpitur,* tanto *interior renovatur de die in diem,* et *spe* aeternae *requiei gaudentes cum hilaritate bonis operibus insistunt. Hanc hilaritatem significat crucis latitudo in transverso ligno, ubi figuntur manus. Per manus enim opus intellegitur, per*

does not so much portray the perfection of the cross as object, but rather its perfection as symbol. Having devoted considerable attention to the Pauline-derived exegesis upon the symbolism of the dimensions of the cross, Theodulf then reinforces the sense that this is not so much about the perfection of the cross as a physical object, but rather as a symbol, by turning his attention to what Christ said on the matter:

> We ought to come to the Lord, we ought to sit with Mary at his feet, we ought to hear the words from his mouth, we ought to hear him in himself, who we have heard in the speech of the acts of the apostles! Therefore, we have heard what the teacher of the gentiles said about the cross – we ought to listen to what the Creator of the gentiles says; we have heard the eminent pre-dedicator – we ought to listen to the Maker of all things! *If any man*, he said, *wishes to follow after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me*. O wonderful precept! O saving exhortation! O life-giving thunder! You have said, O font of light [...] that we should, each one of us, take up his cross and be crucified to the world and the world should be crucified to us, so that through the flesh having been crucified and the mortification of our members, which are above the earth, we might live for you or more preferably you might live in us, and you have brought about such a great mystery of the cross in order that through it you have purged every inflammation from the world and that in the name of the cross, which should daily be carried towards you, you have marked the beneficial fire of your love or other virtues![518]

This is clearly a far more spiritual exhortation. It relies less explicitly on the symbolic appearance of the cross, but nonetheless does draw upon the same notion of the cross as something to both symbolise the ideal Christian way of life and to provide strength and sustenance in that endeavour. By closing OC II 28 with such thoughts, Theodulf presents

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latitudinem hilaritas operantis, quia tristitia facit angustias. Porro per altitudinem crucis, cui caput adiungitur, expectatio sempiternae retributionis de sublimi iustitia Dei significatur, ut et ipsa opera bona non propter beneficia Dei terrena ac temporalia facienda credantur, sed ptius propter illud, quod desuper sperat fides, quae per dilectionem operatur. Iam vero per longitudinem, qua totum corpus extenditur, ipsa tolerantia significatur, ut longanimes permaneamus, unde longanimes dicuntur, qui tolerant. Profundum autem, hoc est partem illam ligni, quae in terrae abdito adfixa latet, sed inde consurgit omne, quod eminet, inscrutabilia indicantur iudicia Dei, de quibus occulta eius voluntate vocatur homo ad participationem tantae gratiae, alius sic, alius autem sic.'

518 OC II 28, pp. 299-300: 'Veniamus ad Dominum, sedeamus cum Maria ad pedes eius, audiamus verbum ex ore eius, audiamus eum in seipso, quem actenus in Apostolo loquentem audivimus! Audivimus ergo, quid de cruce dixerit doctor gentium – audiamus, quid dicat Creator gentium; audivimus aegregium praedicatorem – audiamus rerum omnium Conditorem! *Si quis*, inquit [Matthew 16:24], *vult post me venire, abneget semetipsum et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me*. O mirum praeceptum! O salutfera exhortatio! O vitale tonitruum! Dixisti, O fons lucis, dixisti, O origo bonitatis, eo quod *deponentes veterem hominem* cum operibus eius denegemus nosmetipsos tollamusque unusquisque crucem suam et mundo crucifigamur mundusque nobis crucifigatur, ut per carnales cruciatus et per mortificationem membrorum nostrorum, quae sunt super terram, vivamus tibi vel ptius tu vivas in nobis, et tanto mysterium crucis extulisti, ut et tu per eam principatus et potestates et omnem inflationem mundi evacuares et in crucis nomine, quae quotidie te sequuturis portanda est, ardorem tuae dilectionis vel ceterarum virtutum emolumenta designares!'

the power of the cross as far surpassing the material form by highlighting the power of the name – or, perhaps, the idea – of the cross (*crucis nomen*), as much as the symbolism of its physical form. Certainly, the power of the cross in Theodulf's mind cuts far deeper than the perfect symbolism of its material appearance: for him the very name of the cross – much like the name of God – held a special power.

Of course, the *res sacrata* most strongly associated with words and, thus, also with Augustinian sign theory, was Scripture. Scripture was reliant on two material senses: sight and hearing.[519] Images, on the other hand, only appealed to the sense of sight. Of course, following Aristotle's *Metaphysica*, medieval thought generally treated sight as superior to all other senses. Hearing was a close second according to this Aristotelian tradition, but sometimes rose in precedence to first place, above sight.[520] This prime status of sight can be seen especially clearly, for instance, in the decoration of the late-ninth-century Fuller Brooch, where the five senses are represented by figures, with sight occupying the largest, central space (Figure 8).[521] In the OC, Theodulf does not explicitly challenge the precedence of sight. He does, however, expose the weaknesses of images as signs, compared to words. In OC II 30, this is testified by the biblical history of words. Here, Theodulf sets out how, at every juncture, God chose words over images: as Cecrops gave the Athenians idols, God gave Moses the letters of the Law; following Moses' example, the lives of the Old Testament prophets were recorded in writing, not pictures; and, of course, the Evangelists wrote rather than drew Christ's life.[522] There is a definite sense in Theodulf's treatment of words and, especially, his treatment of names in particular, that these forms are able to transcend the matter-spirit divide. We have already seen this nominal power, of course, in Theodulf's frequent emphasis upon the invocation of the divine name within the act of consecration and in relation to the *crucis nomen*.[523] For Theodulf, the name reaches beyond the physical aspect of the human being to the soul and character formed to the image and likeness of God. Thus, an unlabelled image of a mother

[519] Of course, given that silent reading, at least in Continental Europe, did not begin to emerge as a practice until at least the tenth-century, hearing would have been inseparable from Theodulf's interaction with Scripture. However, in lieu of any silent reading of Scripture, sight would still have played an important part in Theodulf's interaction with Scripture, particularly in the liturgical use of the Gospels as physical objects within the Mass celebration. On the development of silent reading: Paul Saenger, *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, California, 1997). On the role of the senses in the liturgical use of Scripture: Eric Palazzo, 'Art, Liturgy, and the Five Senses in the Early Middle Ages', *Viator* 41 (2010), pp. 34-48.
[520] Robert Jütte, *A History of the Senses: From Antiquity to Cyberspace*, trans. James Lynn (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 61-71; Carl Nordenfalk, 'Les Cinq Sens dans l'art du Moyen-âge', *Revue de l'art* 34 (1976), pp. 17-28.
[521] For interpretations of the Fuller Brooch as depicting the five senses and the superiority of sight: Rupert Bruce-Mitford, 'The Fuller Brooch', *The British Museum Quarterly* 17 (1952), pp. 75-76; Rupert Bruce-Mitford, *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology: Sutton Hoo and Other Discoveries* (New York, 1974), pp. 306-325.
[522] OC II 30, pp. 303-310.
[523] See Chapter 2.

and child could deceive, for it could just as easily represent Venus holding Aeneas as Mary holding Christ. But, when the names are applied, this ambiguity is removed: it becomes an image of Mary and Christ not by the form of the image, but by the application of words, in particular, names.[524] Meanwhile, for the beholder, an image is unable to transcend beyond the material senses to the eyes of the mind and, instead, remains tied to its apprehension by the bodily eyes.[525] Scripture, however, regardless of the physical sense with which it interacted, engages the soul with the teaching of God through the Word.[526]

The tension of matter-spirit in the *res sacratae* is most taut in the case of the eucharistic elements. On the one hand, Theodulf's treatment of the eucharistic elements in OC II 27 appears consistent with a realist interpretation of the body and blood. This is confirmed by Theodulf's lexical usage, where he exclusively uses body (*corpus*; although sometimes clear parallels like flesh, *caro*) and blood (*sanguis*), rather than bread (*panis*) and wine (*vinum*, or possible parallels like *calix*).[527] The slight problem here, however, is that in the mid-ninth-century eucharistic debate, there was no clear difference in lexical usage along these lines between Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus of Corbie: even in his ostensibly realist *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, Paschasius, although primarily using *corpus* and *sanguis*, sometimes used *panis* and *vinum*, while Ratramnus, although opposed to the realist interpretation mostly used *corpus* and *sanguis* in his *De corpore et sanguine Christi*.[528] While Theodulf does appear, therefore, to consistently present a realist interpretation of the eucharistic elements as the body and blood of Christ, his terminology could still be consistent with a view closer to that of Ratramnus'.

However, despite this apparent realist interpretation, Theodulf also presents the devotee's interaction with the body and blood as one transcending materiality:

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[524] OC IV 21, pp. 539-541.

[525] This characterisation is especially prevalent in contrast to the *res sacratae*, appearing in OC II 27, p. 294 and OC II 30, p. 303, with the implication in both cases being that physical interaction with the *res sacratae*, in these instances the eucharistic elements and Scripture transcends the physical senses.

[526] OC II 30, p. 320: 'Nam praeceptum Domini recte ludicum dicitur sive quia a Patre luminum procedit, sive metonomice, quod lucidos efficiat. Inluminat etiam oculos, non carnales, quos nobiscum animantia communes habere noscuntur, sed interiores, qui divini muneris iubare spiritaliter perlustrantur.'

[527] In OC II 27, pp. 289-296: *corpus* is used of the eucharistic host ten times (eight times by Theodulf himself, once in a quote he alleges to be from II Nicaea and once in a quotation of the Mass liturgy); *carnis* is used five times (although only once by Theodulf himself, with the other four instances being in Scriptural quotations from John 6:52-57); *sanguis* is used fourteen times (nine times by Theodulf himself, once in a quote he alleges to be from II Nicaea, once in a quotation of the Mass liturgy and three times in Scriptural quotations from John 6:54-57); *panis* is used four times (but never by Theodulf himself to refer to the eucharistic host, instead it appears only in Scriptural quotations from John 6:33, John 6:51-52 and 1 Corinthians 11:28); *vinum* is never used (at least not of the eucharistic host), but *calix* is used three times (but never by Theodulf himself, only in the quotation from the Mass liturgy and in the Scriptural quotation from 1 Corinthians 11:28).

[528] Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, ed. Beda Paulus CCCM 16 (Turnhout, 1969), pp. 12-31; Ratramnus of Corbie, *De corpore et sanguine Christi*, PL 121, 125-170C.

Therefore, greatly, and as much as it is able to dazzle beyond the eyes of the mind, the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood differs from images depicted by the skill of painters, because clearly the former is produced by the invisible operation of the spirit of God, the latter by the visible hand of the artist; [...] the former in neither the strength, from him who ascended, nor in any other way has it been diminished, the latter are both made visible and in a certain way diminished according to the trick of the artist for beauty; [...] the former is the life and refreshment of souls, the latter are food merely for the eyes...[529]

The important caveat here is that this presentation is designed to set the eucharistic body and blood apart from inherently material manufactured images. Given this aim, it would make sense for Theodulf to emphasise the spiritual aspect of the body and blood. Nonetheless, these statements still add to the sense of tension in Theodulf's treatment of matter and spirit in the eucharistic elements, which, although heightened in this particular instance is still broadly true for all the *res sacratae* (excepting, perhaps, liturgical vessels).

In Theodulf's treatment of saints' relics in OC III 24, there is also a tension inhering in their material form. Whereas the *res sacratae* subvert the universal separation of matter and spirit imagined by Theodulf, relics transcend it. The process by which he imagines the *sanctitas* of the saints to transfer to their bodies and then to their garments, thereby creating relics, does confound the hard separation between matter and spirit in man which Theodulf had so forcefully set out in OC I 7:

...because they [garment-relics] have either been upon the bodies of the same saints or around their bodies and they are believed to have secured holiness from them, on account of which they ought to be venerated...[530]

Based upon his characterisation of the soul being made to the image of God and the behaviour conforming to his likeness, and his insistence upon the absolute incorporeality of God, in OC I 7, Theodulf clearly thought the virtuous character of a man to be incorporeal.[531] As he pointed out in his rejection of creating and venerating the images of prophets and saints, that which made them worthy of veneration and honour was their

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[529] OC II 27, pp. 294-295: 'Multum igitur, et ultra quam mentis oculo praestringi queat, distat sacramentum Dominici corporis et sanguinis ab imaginibus pictorum arte depictis, cum videlicet illud efficiatur operante invisibiliter spiritu Dei, hae visibiliter manu artificis; [...] illud in virtute nec, quo crescat, habet nec ullo modo minuitur, hae pro artificis ingenio in pulchritudine et crescunt et quodammodo minuuntur; [...] illud est vita et refectio animarum, hae cibus tantummodo oculorum'.

[530] OC III 24, p. 449: 'quia aut in corporibus eorundem sanctorum aut circa corpora fuisse et ab his sanctificationem, ob quam venerentur, percepisse credantur'.

[531] OC I 7, pp. 144-145.

virtuous character. The aspect worthy of veneration and honour was, thus, incorporeal.[532] Yet, when dealing with the relics of the saints, here in OC III 24, the *sanctitas* which rightly, in Theodulf's own mind, belonged to their incorporeal aspects, spilled forth with a radioactive power to infuse not only their bodies (and, therefore, their bodily relics), but also their clothing. If we take these conflicting ideas as Theodulf's genuine beliefs – not merely anti-II Nicaean rhetoric – we can see that the sanctity of relics, like the sanctity of the *res sacratae*, did present a tension in Theodulf's cosmos through their transcendence of an otherwise universal matter-spirit separation.

There is, however, another tension of form and time present in Theodulf's treatment of saints' relics that is not found in his treatment of the *res sacratae*. One of the reasons that Theodulf repeatedly gives as to why the relics of saints should be treated with respect is that despite their present state they will, in the future, be resurrected in glory.[533] When affirming this, Theodulf also includes a telling remark about the present state of these relics, observing that they will be resurrected in glory at the end of the world 'despite now being reduced to dust' (*quamquam nunc in pulverem redacta fatescant*).[534] By this remark, in stark contrast to his treatment of the *res sacratae*, Theodulf accepts that the current material form of many relics is not impressive.[535] Indeed, if anything, this is what sets relics apart from images: although there is nothing remarkable in their current state, that makes their future fate all the more remarkable. Truly, relics are objects which, in Theodulf's mind, transcend not only their materiality in general, but also their diminished, perhaps even ugly, current form. It is, therefore, the perfection of the saints' souls and behaviour – following Theodulf's *Dicta Albini* interpretation of Genesis 1:26 – that has overcome the fragile brokenness of their material form.[536] There is no praise, in OC III 24, specifically of the

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[532] This idea is especially clearly expressed, for instance, in relation to the adoration of David by Nathan in OC I 22, pp. 208-209: 'Cum ergo tot indiciis tantisque apostolorum praedicationibus reges honorificandi sint, absurdissimum est adorationem, quae imaginibus aniliter fit, adorationi, quae sanctissimo regi per prophetam fiebat, aequiperare velle, cum videlicet ille Dei famulum et, ut ita dixerim, sancti Spiritus habitaculum et divinae incarnationis ministrum salutando adoraverit, isti vero in imaginibus nil aliud nisi easdem materias, de quibus illae fiunt, adorent. Nam si aequalis est adoratio, quae David a propheta exhibita est, adorationi, quae imaginibus exhibetur, ipse quoque David imaginibus aequalis est; et si imaginibus aequalis est, non solum tot meritorum insignibus, sed etiam ipsa humana ratione caruisse credendus est. Non autem tot meritorum insignibus nec ipsa humana ratione caruisse credendus est. Non igitur aequalis est adoratio, quae illi a propheta exhibita est, adorationi, quae imaginibus exhibetur.'

[533] OC III 24, p. 451: 'Sanctis ergo corporibus honorem inpendere magnum est fidei emolumentum, quo praesertim et illi in caelestibus sedibus cum Christo vivere et eorum ossa quandoque resurrectura creduntur.'

[534] OC III 24, pp. 449: '...quoniam, quamquam nunc in pulverem redacta fatescant, iuxta mundi terminum cum gloria sunt resurrecta et cum Christo perpetim regnatura...'

[535] This acknowledgement inevitably makes me think of the way Einhard, in his *Translatio et miracula sanctorum Marcellini et Petri*, initially presents the relics of Marcellinus and Peter as bodies, before later acknowledging them to be ashes when observing how some of the ashes of Marcellinus had been siphoned off, leading him to believe that, perhaps, Marcellinus had been shorter than Peter: Einhard, *Translatio et miracula sanctorum Marcellini et Petri*, ed. Georg Waitz MGH SS 15.1 (Hannover, 1887), I.4-9, pp. 241-243.

[536] See above on OC I 7.

material form of the relics themselves, only of their *sanctitas* derived from proximity to the saints.

Res sacratae and relics, by the *sanctitas* which is common to both, create a tension with Theodulf's belief in the universal separation of matter and spirit. In the case of relics this does appear to be through their transcendence of their material form. Somehow, despite their materiality as the bodies or clothing of saints, they have, in Theodulf's mind been bestowed with the sanctity of the saints' virtuous characters and souls. Yet, the appearance of that material is unchanged by that sanctity. There is a dissonance both between the sanctified status of the relics, their future glory and their current meagre material appearance. The *res sacratae*, on the other hand, while also exposing a tension in Theodulf's understanding of the universal separation between the material and the physical creations, do so not through a transcendence of their material form, but through their perfection of matter. With the possible exception of liturgical vessels, Theodulf lauds the material, physical forms of the *res sacratae*. Even liturgical vessels, he acknowledges to possess a certain beauty in reality, despite stressing the insignificance of such ornamentation. For the Ark of the Covenant, the eucharistic elements, the sign of the cross and Scripture, their status as holy things and, further, as *res sacratae*, is not simply a transcendence of their material forms. Instead, part of their special status appears to derive from their material perfection. By their harmonious union of matter and spirit, a certain disharmony can be heard in the tune of the OC, whereby Theodulf struggles to reconcile these two aspects of the *res sacratae* which, even in his own body and soul, he understands to be utterly distinct.

3.3: *Signum, sacramentum* and *res sacrata*: *res sacratae* as things and signs

The dissonance between the material reality of relics and their status as holy objects, as well as the inverse treatment Theodulf gives to the *res sacratae* as objects – with the exception, perhaps, of liturgical vessels – which exhibit harmony between their material form and the spiritual mysteries contained within them, exposes a more fundamental difference between relics and *res sacratae*: only the latter are material signs of the spiritual mysteries contained within. This is a difference, of course, which offers a substantial overlap between *res sacratae* and *sacramenta*. Indeed, to unpick the relationship of the *res sacratae* to the Augustinian notion of signs, it will first be necessary to consider the place of signs within Augustine's sacramental theology before considering how Theodulf's *res sacratae* were shaped by it in turn.

The tenth book of Augustine's *De civitate Dei* includes the famous line that would become, and indeed still is today, synonymous with his sacramental thought: 'Thus the visible sacrifice is the sacrament, the sacred sign, of the invisible sacrifice.'[537] This characterisation of *sacramentum* as *signum* derived from Augustine's primarily allegorical approach to exegesis, whereby – much like Theodulf in the OC, of course – Augustine sought symbolic links between the Old and New Testaments. From this methodology emerged Augustine's doctrinal division between *res* (the things pointed to by *signa*) and *signa* (the things which pointed to *res*), with *sacramenta* thus becoming a particular kind of *signum*.[538] It should be noted here, however, that the eleventh-century Berengarian eucharistic controversy subsequently led to a much expanded discourse upon this kernel of Augustinian thought, ultimately leading to the formulation of the tripartite formula (*sacramentum tantum, res et sacramentum, res tantum*) to delineate between the different and overlapping components believed to be at work in this characterisation of sacrament as sign.[539] This broader dichotomy between *res* and *signa* was developed most fully by Augustine in *De doctrina christiana*: the first two books were devoted to an exploration and categorisation of *res* (Book I) and *signa* (Book II) and indeed Augustine remarked that all teachings concern either *res* or *signa*.[540] Augustine further divided *res* into those to be enjoyed (*frui*) and those to be used (*uti*), whereby those things to be enjoyed were the aim in themselves (e.g. the Trinity), while those things to be used were to be used in order to get closer to those things which could be enjoyed in themselves.[541] This, of course, left an implied third category of those things of no use to the Christian and thus neither to be enjoyed nor used. Similarly, Augustine also divided signs between *signa naturalia* and *signa data*, for which Markus provides the best English corollaries as 'symptoms' and 'symbols'.[542]

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[537] Augustine, *The City of God*, trans. Bettenson, X.5, p. 377.

[538] H.-M. Féret, 'SACRAMENTUM. RES. dans la langue théologique de S. Augustin', *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 29 (1940), esp. pp. 222-223.

[539] Ronald King, 'The Origin and Evolution of a Sacramental Formula: *Sacramentum Tantum, Res et Sacramentum, Res Tantum*', *The Thomist* 31 (1967), pp. 21-82, esp. 32-33. The original aim of the formula, it seems, was to overcome the problems raised by Berengar of Tour's use of the Augustinian sacrament as visible sign of an invisible thing, by permitting the body of Christ to be both the visible sign and the thing signified within the eucharist. For example, Anselm of Laon, whom King posits as the first to make use of the tripartite formula, in his *Sentences*, gives the bread, wine and water the status of *sacramentum*, Christ as *sacramentum et res sacramenti* and binding to Christ in faith, hope and charity as the *res*.

[540] Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, ed. Martin CCSL 32, I.ii, p. 7: 'Omnis doctrina uel rerum est uel signorum, sed res per signa discuntur.'

[541] Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, ed. Martin CCSL 32, I.iii, p. 8: 'Res ergo aliae sunt, quibus fruendum est, aliae quibus utendum, aliae quae fruuntur et utuntur. Illae quibus fruendum est, nos beatos faciunt. Istis quibus utendum est, tendentes ad beatitudinem adiuuamur et quasi adminiculamur, ut ad illas, quae nos beatos faciunt, peruenire atque his inhaerere possimus. Nos uero, qui fruimur et utimur inter utrasque constituti, si eis, quibus utendum est, frui uoluerimus, impeditur cursus noster et aliquando etiam deflectitur, ut ab his rebus, quibus fruendum est, obtinendis uel retardemur uel etiam reuocemur inferiorum amore praepediti.'

[542] Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, ed. Martin CCSL 32, II.i-ii, pp. 32-33; Markus, 'Saint Augustine on signs', p. 73.

Signa naturalia are thus those involuntary signs that directly proceed as a consequence of that which they signify, while *signa data* – the variety of signs which Augustine focussed on in *De doctrina christiana* – are intentional forms of communication between living things.[543] It is, therefore, this latter category of symbols by which Augustine understood sacraments.

Theodulf does, of course, draw from or quote Augustine extensively in the OC, including *De civitate Dei* and *De doctrina christiana*.[544] The closest we have to a smoking gun demonstrating his adaptation of Augustine's ideas about signs and things to the *res sacratae*, however, is the already-mentioned use of part of Augustine's exegesis on the symbolism of the sign of the cross in OC II 28.[545] Although, the important caveat here is that Theodulf's borrowings from Isidore of Seville's *De ecclesiasticis officiis* are more substantial in OC II 28.[546] Even Theodulf's particular emphasis on 'the sign of the cross' (*signum crucis*), which could echo not only Augustine's usage in *De doctrina christiana*, but also those aforementioned broader Augustinian classifications of *res* and *signa*, could equally reflect that same usage in that Isidore of Seville passage.[547] In fact, Theodulf's use of *signum crucis* elsewhere in the OC – principally in OC III 28 and OC IV 16 – is in response to instances of *signum crucis* appearing in the Latin translation of the acts of II Nicaea.[548] Furthermore,

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[543] Markus, 'Saint Augustine on signs', p. 73.

[544] Perhaps surprisingly, given Charlemagne's well-known penchant for *De civitate Dei*, there are no explicit quotations from that text, only allusions to stories or characters referenced in it (e.g. Crecrops as the originator of idolatry in OC II 30, p. 304). The references to *De doctrina christiana* are, however, more thorough. These include passages: on the authority of catholic Churches with apostolic seats or epistles (OC I 6, p. 133; Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, ed. Martin CCSL 32, II.viii, pp. 38-39); on the symbolism of the sign of the cross (OC II 28, p. 298; Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, ed. Martin CCSL 32, II.xli, pp. 75-76); lamenting those who are unable to raise the eye of the mind above corporeal or created things in order to drink from the eternal light (OC II 22, p. 276; Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, ed. Martin CCSL 32, III.v, p. 83); observing that deifying the works of men is worse than deifying the works of God (OC II 24, pp. 281-282; Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, ed. Martin CCSL 32, III.vii, pp. 84-85); and a quote on eloquence originally from Cicero's *Orator* (OC *Praefatio*, p. 102; Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, ed. Martin CCSL 32, IV.vii, p. 141).

[545] OC II 28, p. 300.

[546] OC II 28, pp. 298-299.

[547] Isidore, for instance, states that the sign of the cross describes the lives of the saints. Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, ed. Lawson CCSL 113, 1.30, p. 34: 'Quo signo crucis omnis uita sanctorum discribitur'. In an expression that evidently influenced Isidore's, Augustine commented that the sign of the cross describes every Christian act. Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, ed. Martin CCSL 32, II.xli, p. 76: 'Quo signo crucis, omnis actio christiana describitur'.

[548] OC III 28, p. 470: 'Inutile et demens et errore plenum dictum, quod dicunt: *Qui Deum timet, honorat omnino, adorat et veneratur sicuti Filium Dei Christum Deum nostrum et signum crucis eius et figuram sanctorum eius.*' Although the original meaning of the II Nicaean churchmen was evidently not so close to *signum crucis*, with Price's translation of II Nicaea rendering it as 'the form of his cross': *The Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787)*, trans. Price, p. 300. OC IV 26, p. 526: 'Inutile dictum Epiphanii diaconi reprehenditur in eo, quod ait: *Multae, quae in nobis sacrantur orationem, sacrata non suscipiunt;* et post pauca: *Nec plurimum sicut veneranda et honoramur et amplificamur; ipse enim signum vivificae crucis, sine oratione fatur, a nobis veneranda est; et sufficiemur signum eius accipere sanctificationem; per quae facta a nobis ad eum adorationem quidam in fronte sanctificatione, et quae in aere per digitum factum signum, effugari daemones speramus. Similiter et imaginem per nomen significationis ad primam formam honoris deducimus, et osculantes eam et honorabiliter honorantes accipiemus sanctificationem; nam et sacra diversa vasa habentes has osculamur et amplectimur et sanctificationem quandam speramus.*' Again, the meaning intended by the II Nicaean churchmen appears to have been the form of the cross again here, with Price giving 'the very form of the life-giving cross': *The Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787)*, trans. Price, p. 481. Indeed, the revised Latin translation of

the specific use of *signum* only in relation to the cross and not the other *res sacratae* limits the potency of any extrapolation from that particular *res sacrata* to the others. Theodulf's use of *signum crucis* in the OC thus appears to be primarily motivated by the desire to distinguish the sign of the cross – as he describes it in OC IV 16 the gesture by which other things are consecrated or, as in OC II 28, not a physical but an inwardly considered image – from any physical cross, which the II Nicaean churchmen did not distinguish by their use of τύπος (*typos*).[549]

There is then, limited explicit evidence of Theodulf's direct appropriation of Augustine's ideas about *res* and *signa*. The best evidence is his treatment of the sign of the cross in OC II 28, yet even here other forces appear to have exerted a stronger (direct) influence than Augustine. The OC, however, does give us enough evidence to show that Theodulf knew Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* well and would thus have also known his ideas about *res* and *signa*. Thus, although Theodulf does not explicitly label any of the *res sacratae* (besides the cross) as *signa* – and, indeed, on the contrary designates all of them collectively as *res* – his treatment of them in OC II 26-30 does hint at their partial function as signs, or more specifically, symbols, in the Augustinian sense. In OC II 28, of course, the physical dimensions of the cross, following the exegesis of Augustine and Isidore, symbolised different facets of the Christian's life.[550] The Ark of the Covenant, in OC II 26, was presented as the most apt symbol for the Old Testament age of the future mysteries to be revealed in the New Testament.[551] Scripture, of course, was comprised of the Augustinian symbol *par excellence*: words.[552] Meanwhile, the form of the eucharistic elements in OC II 27 pointed back to Christ's sacrifice and forward to the salvation imparted.[553] Even liturgical vessels, while not overtly presented as symbols to the same extent as the other *res sacratae*, do recall Christ's salvation of mankind in the form of the chalice He

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II Nicaea, produced by Anastasius Bibliothecarius in the late-ninth-century, eschews *signum crucis* in favour of *typus crucis* here. In fact, *typus* does seem to be the closest Latin equivalent of τύπος (*typos*) as used here in the Greek acts themselves. For the Latin and Greek texts in parallel, see: *Concilium universale Nicaenum secundum: Concilii actiones VI-VII*, ed. Lamberz, pp. 680-681.

[549] For τύπος in the Greek text of II Nicaea: *Concilium universale Nicaenum secundum: Concilii actiones VI-VII*, ed. Lamberz, p. 680. While *signum* and τύπος do evidently have some overlap in meaning (e.g. potentially expressing an image or sign relationship to the cross), the broader semantic range of τύπος could also include the form or shape of the cross.

[550] OC II 28, pp. 298-299.

[551] OC II 26, p. 287.

[552] The superiority of the written form as the divinely ordained form of communication is extolled at length in OC II 30, pp. 303-322.

[553] OC II 27, pp. 291-295.

accepted.[554] Thus, for Theodulf, this symbolic function of their physical form is a fairly consistent feature of the *res sacratae*.

The same cannot be said, however, for saints' relics. While Theodulf consistently ruminates on the future state of glory in which primary relics – the ashes and bones – will be resurrected, there is nothing in the form of the relics themselves that possesses the agency of an Augustinian sign in this process. Whereas the form of the sign of the cross stood as signifier, with each beam symbolising some aspect of the Christian life, nothing in the decayed form that Theodulf had in mind – there is certainly no hint of miraculous preservation, or sweet-smelling odours staving off decomposition in Theodulf's description of the current state of the relics – explicitly points towards their future glory. When it comes to beholding the relics themselves, then that conviction is, for Theodulf at least, pure faith. It is a belief Theodulf brings, not something indicated by the material form of the relics themselves. Most obviously, it is a belief Theodulf derives from Scripture, from passages such as Romans 6:8: 'Now, if we die with Christ, we believe that we shall also live together with Christ'.[555] For Theodulf, therefore, the relics themselves, unlike Scripture and the other *res sacratae* signify nothing in themselves; they are not construed as symbols.

Yet, even while Theodulf's *res sacratae* do appear to possess some of the functions of Augustinian symbols, they are, nevertheless, things (*res*). To Augustine, of course, *res* did not mean simply 'things', but more specifically 'things signified by signs'.[556] Indeed, the *res* with which Augustine was primarily concerned were not things in the sense of physical objects, but more often spiritual things signified by means of material signs. That is to say, that the things which Augustine deemed worthy of being enjoyed as the founts of all blessedness were spiritual truths such as the Trinity.[557] Could Theodulf, therefore, have intended a double-meaning by his use of *res*, playing on this Augustinian understanding? Clearly, Theodulf was intimately familiar with *De doctrina christiana*.[558] Augustine was also extremely popular at the Carolingian court, with Charlemagne – according to Einhard, at least – famously having Augustine's *De civitate Dei* as his dinnertime reading.[559] Indeed, in the OC itself almost every mention of Augustine is endorsed by Charlemagne with his

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[554] OC II 29, p. 302: 'Nam et nostrae salutis auctor, cum et veteri Testamento terminum et novo initium poneret, non imaginem sed calicem accepisse perhibetur'.

[555] Romans 6:8: 'si autem mortui sumus cum Christo credimus quia simul etiam vivemus cum Christo'; Cf. for instance, OC III 24, p. 451: 'Sanctis ergo corporibus honorem inpendere magnum est fidei emolumentum, quo praesertim et illi in caelestibus sedibus cum Christo vivere et eorum ossa quandoque resurrectura creduntur.'

[556] Augustine, *De doctirina christiana*, ed. Martin CCSL 32, I.i, pp. 6-7; Augustine, *De doctirina christiana*, ed. Martin CCSL 32, I.ii, p. 7: 'res per signa discuntur'.

[557] Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, ed. Martin CCSL 32, I.iv-v, pp. 8-9.

[558] See above, fn. 536.

[559] Einhard, *Vita Karoli magni*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SrG 25 (Hannover, 1911), 24, pp. 28-29.

name or passages thought to be his frequently earning the superlative endorsement of *optime* from the Frankish king.[560] Indeed, against this backdrop of Augustinian dominance it is hard to imagine that Theodulf and his primary, courtly audience would not have made some mental link between the *res* of Augustine and the *res sacratae*. As will be shown below in Chapter 4, the New Testament *res sacratae*, at least, were distinguished by their salvific function.[561] Thus, with the function Theodulf envisioned for them, they would surely qualify as being things worthy of enjoyment, with salvation being the ultimate form of blessing.

If this was Theodulf's intent in designating the *res sacratae* as *res*, it would actually mark an interesting divergence on his part from Augustine's sacramental thought. While we have already noted the parallel between Theodulf's *res sacratae* and Augustine's understanding of *sacramentum* based on the apparent sign function of each, here the similarity is broken. For Augustine, the *res* signified by the *sacramentum* was not the *sacramentum* itself, but a separate spiritual reality (although, of course, linked by the sign-signified relationship).[562] If Theodulf did have Augustine in mind when he named the *res sacratae*, he bestowed them with an enhanced dual position, whereby not only were they signs of important spiritual things, but they were also the only ostensibly material things which Theodulf deemed worthy of being enjoyed rather than merely used; that is to say, only the *res sacratae* benefited the soul within the salvific economy.

3.4: Conclusion

Theodulf perceived a universal separation between the physical and spiritual realms. This separation was present even down to the level of man himself, divided between the incorporeal soul and character, on the one hand, and the corporeal body on the other. Any image or likeness to the incorporeal God was, thus, reserved for man's soul and character. When it came to objects like manufactured images, this separation remained steadfast. However, a tension was created by the place Theodulf perceived for holy objects. For him, saints' relics transcended their material form through their receipt of sanctity from the soul and character of the saints themselves. The *res sacratae* also possessed a similar sanctity. Yet, their material forms possessed a perfection that Theodulf did not extend to relics. There was something special about the material forms of Theodulf's *res sacratae* themselves that contributed to their function as Augustinian symbols. By their divinely-ordained material

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[560] E.g.: OC I 7, p. 140; OC I 11, p. 160; OC II 28, p. 298; OC III 4, p. 356; OC III 26, p. 465; OC III 27, p. 469.

[561] See below, Chapter 4.

[562] H.-M. Féret, 'SACRAMENTUM. RES. dans la langue théologique de S. Augustin', p. 218.

forms, the *res sacratae* revealed to the beholder divine mysteries, Augustinian *res*: the Ark of the Covenant prefigured the future mysteries of the New Testament to the Old Testament world; the sign of the cross indicated the perfect manner of Christian life; the eucharistic body and blood recalled Christ's sacrifice and the salvation it brought about.

4: Terms of devotion: Theodulf's devotional lexicon and the role of the *res sacratae*

A key charge consistently levelled by the OC against the Greeks was that they were advocating the wrong form of devotion towards images. From the very outset, the treatise's title tells us that the Greek promotion of the adoration of images (*pro adorandis imaginibus*) was especially troubling.[563] Throughout the treatise, however, it quickly becomes clear that this was only the chief transgression, rather than the sum total. In Theodulf's eyes, the error of the Greeks was not only to misuse *adorare*, but the whole devotional lexicon: certainly, images ought not be adored, but neither should they be venerated (*venerari*), honoured (*honorare*) or kissed (*osculari*). On the one hand, of course, such accusations were part of the author's broader strategy of contrast between word and image. By this stratagem Theodulf sought to demonstrate the Carolingians' superior mastery of the written word and, thus, understanding of Scripture.[564] However, the argument of the OC was more than a singular dichotomy of word versus image. It was also a statement on the ideals of Latin devotional practices. In light of this, in reconstructing Theodulf's understanding of the *res sacratae*, it will be essential to unpack the relationship of the *res sacratae* to these devotional terms and the practices they denote. This is the task of the ensuing chapter. I shall also assess any contrasts in the use of these terms in connection with saints' relics: were they to be interacted with in the same manner as the *res sacratae*; or was this one of the distinctions Theodulf envisioned between the two groups of objects?

To answer these questions, it will first be necessary to address one of the most extensive areas of historiographical debate concerning the OC. The most common theme of scholarly discourse concerning the relationship between the OC and II Nicaea centres on the perils of mistranslation. In particular, it is the conflation of the Greek words *latreia* and *proskynesis* into the Latin *adorare*, in the translation made by the papal legates at II Nicaea, which is often cited as the largest cause of contention in the OC.[565] Counter-

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[563] *Adoratio* is the devotional term employed in the titular charge against the Greeks of II Nicaea. This title, however, is only preserved in a mid-ninth-century copy of the OC: Arsenal 663, f. 1r: 'IN NOMINE DOMINI EI SALVATORIS NOSTRI IESU CHRISTI INCIPIT OPUS INLUSTRISSIMI ET EXCELLENTISSIMI SEU SPECTABILIS VIRI CAROLI NUTU DEI REGIS ITALIAMQUE SIVE HARUM FINITIMAS PROVINTIAS DOMINO OPITULANTE REGENTIS CONTRA SYNODUMQUE IN PARTIBUS GRAETIAE PRO ADORANDIS IMAGINIBUS STOLIDE SIVE ARROGANTER GESTA EST.'

[564] Ommundsen, 'The Liberal Arts and the Polemic Strategy of the *Opus Caroli Regis Contra Synodum*', pp. 175-200.

[565] Often, such claims have served to diminish the OC's own doctrinal positions, by presenting it as failing to understand the more complex and well-developed image theology of the Greeks. Mühlbacher (*Deutsche Geschichte unter den Karolingern*, pp. 195-196), for instance, presented the then unidentified OC author as a comically inept Don Quixote figure 'fighting windmills' in his objection to – as the dodgy Latin translation had rendered it – the Greek's worshipping of images. Some scholars have even smelled a conspiracy lurking beneath the faulty translation, with Hauck (*Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, II, p. 327) claiming the mistranslation of *proskynesis* as *adoratio* to have been a ploy by Greek iconoclasts devised in order to secure Charlemagne's

arguments have inevitably been developed, playing down the extent to which the supposed mistranslation of the Greek distinction between the *latreia* (owed to God) and the *proskynesis* (practiced towards images) was responsible for OC's hostility.[566] Since the original translation is now lost – having been replaced by a substantially revised version created by the papal librarian Anastasius in 873 – the exact wording of the text which sparked Carolingian ire is unclear and unrecoverable.[567] But the original text of the Latin translation of II Nicaea is not the only lost text in this tale. The earliest surviving manuscript of the OC (Vat. Lat. 7207), is not a true *Urtext*. It certainly bears a proximity to Theodulf's original thoughts on the matter of how the Greeks appeared to have misused devotional terms at their council. However, in their surviving form, these original thoughts were subjected to mediation and editorial intervention from other agents. We must, therefore, first contend with the problem of voice(s) in Vat. Lat. 7207 in order to overcome apparent inconsistencies in the OC's use of these devotional terms.

4.1: The problem of voice(s): the evidence of Vat. Lat. 7207

Theodulf of Orléans is now (rightly) almost universally accepted as the principal author of the OC.[568] Yet, his almost uniform use of the magisterial first-person plural was not entirely unjustified: the OC was a text comprising multiple Carolingian voices.[569] Most famously, as claimed by the work's full title – the *Opus inlustrissimi et excellentissimi seu spectabilis viri Caroli, nutu Dei regis Francorum, Gallias, Germaniam, Italiamque sive harum finitimas provintias Domino*

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support for their position. Alongside these more extreme positions a general consensus has lent credence to the notion that the faulty translation, centring upon the use of *adoratio*, contributed significantly to Frankish ire against II Nicaea: Schade, 'Die Libri Carolini und ihre Stellung zum Bild', p. 73; Gero, 'The Libri Carolini and the Image Controversy', p. 10; Berschin, 'Die Ost-West-Gesandtschaften am Hof Karls des Grossen und Ludwigs des Frommen (768-840)', p. 159; Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: an Introduction', p. 1.

[566] For some, this was based upon a comparable interchangeability in the Frankish use of *adoratio*, while others pointed out either that *latreia* and *proskynesis* were used interchangeably in the Greek acts themselves, or that Frankish opposition would have been engendered against both *adoratio* or *veneratio* of images anyway. For the comparable Frankish use of *adoratio* to *proskynesis* and *latreia*: Lamberz, 'Die Überlieferung und Rezeption des VII. Ökumenischen Konzils (787) in Rom und im lateinischen Westen', pp. 1060-1064. For the interchangeability of the Greek terms *latreia* and *proskynesis*: Thümmel, 'TIMH und ΛΑΤΡΕΙΑ, oder: was heißt Bilderverehrung?', pp. 101-114; Thümmel, 'Die fränkische Reaktion auf das 2. Nicaenum in den Libri Carolini', pp. 965-980; Auzépy, 'Francfort et Nicée II', pp. 292. On Theodulf's opposition to *veneratio* of images rendering the translation issue ultimately irrelevant: Haendler, *Epochen karolingischer Theologie*, pp. 67-73; Schmandt, *Studien zu den Libri Carolini*, p. 36; Mitalaité, *Philosophie et théologie de l'image dans les Libri Carolini*, pp. 15-16.

[567] It is, in fact, to Anastasius himself that we owe the original claim of a faulty translation generating Western hostility to II Nicaea. In the preface to his revised translation, he outlined the failures of the original translator – who had been overly focussed on word for word translations from the Greek to the Latin at the expense of meaning – which had contributed to a council which should have been viewed as greatly endorsing the Roman Church's doctrinal positions, but had instead, due to the failures of translation, been viewed as attacking Western doctrine. Anastasius' preface to II Nicaea: *Concilium universale Nicaenum secundum: Concilii actiones I-III*, ed. Lamberz, pp. 1-3.

[568] Noble, 'From the *Libri Carolini* to the *Opus Caroli Regis*', pp. 140-141.

[569] Or, rather, the earliest surviving manuscript of the OC – Vat. Lat. 7207 – was a text comprising multiple Carolingian voices.

opitulante regentes, contra synodum, que in partibus Gretiae pro adorandis imaginibus stolide sive arroganter gesta est – and corroborated by Wolfram von den Steinen's compelling interpretation of Vat. Lat. 7207's marginal Tironian notae, it incorporated the voice of Charlemagne himself.[570] Indeed, this was eminently the voice Theodulf sought to cultivate by his use of the first-person plural. However, there are other, more elusive, voices that imposed themselves upon the text. These are voices that more obviously suggest themselves in the palaeographical scars preserved in Vat. Lat. 7207. Nonetheless, some of these interventions were doubtless more subtle bruises that have, perhaps, altered the text, while leaving little to no palaeographical marks upon the manuscript's skins.

Even where marks remain, it is difficult – perhaps even impossible – to definitively distinguish the alterations of other editor(s) from Theodulf's own, excepting the more obvious orthographical interventions devised to counter the Visigothic character of Theodulf's *Urtext*: for instance, targeting his spelling (e.g. *cherubin* repeatedly 'corrected' to *cherubim*) and predilection for – to his contemporaries at the court of Charlemagne, at least – obscure, provincial terms (e.g. *deliquium* for 'sin').[571] However, even with such spelling and lexical changes, one must not forget that Theodulf existed within Frankish palace society. Accordingly, even these changes could exhibit a certain element of conscious self-policing or the more indirect influence of changing cultural norms.

The latter process, at least, appears evident in relation to some of Theodulf's references to the living Pope Hadrian as *venerabilis* ('venerable'). Freeman rightly observes Theodulf's preference for *beatus* ('blessed') when referencing the living pope and the corrector's efforts to change such references to *venerabilis*.[572] However, the corrector did not have to make such changes at every mention of Pope Hadrian. For instance, in the title to OC I 4, Theodulf had already referred to the pope as '*uenerabili papae*', requiring the manuscript's corrector to simply write in the name '*adriano*' above the line, rather than cross out and replace a *beatus* (Figure 9).[573] Furthermore, Theodulf had already used *venerabilis* in this heading in the CAS sent to Rome with Angilbert in 792: in the earliest manuscript copy of the pope's response to the CAS, Vat. Lat. 3827, we find the almost identical '*uenerabili*

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[570] Arsenal 663, f. 1r; von den Steinen, 'Karl der Große und die Libri Carolini: Die tironischen Randnoten zum Codex Authenticus', pp. 207-280.

[571] Ann Freeman, 'Additions and Corrections to the *Libri Carolini*: Links with Alcuin and the Adoptionist Controversy', in Sigrid Krämer and Michael Bernhard (eds.), *Scire litteras. Forschungen zum mittelalterlichen Geistesleben* (Munich, 1988), p. 160; Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum:* An Introduction', p. 28.

[572] Freeman lists five such instances in Vat. Lat. 7207, ff. 7r, 11v, 15r, 67r and 71v. However, 11v (as I demonstrate below) was not such a change, since Theodulf had already used 'venerabilis' himself. This could be replaced in her list, with reference to another instance of f. 72r. Also, a slightly different change was made on f. 17v changing Theodulf's 'beatissimi' to 'reverentissimi'. Freeman, 'Additions and Corrections to the *Libri Carolini*', p. 163.

[573] Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 11v.

pape' used in the same heading (Figure 10).[574] In fact, the only change evident is that by the time the title was written into Vat. Lat. 7207, Theodulf's Visigothic contraction of the -ae diphthong as -e (which was evidently present in the CAS title) had been expanded. Whether this latter adaptation was evident in Theodulf's own *schedae*, or introduced by the scribe of Hand 1, we cannot know for certain. Nonetheless, both it and Theodulf's clear use of *venerabilis* here (rather than his usual *beatus*) must remind us that his ideas in the OC were always subject to influences from his world of dialogue and discussion at the court in the 790s.

In terms of the more substantial marginal annotations or more extensive erasures and re-writings, the complicity of Theodulf's Visigothic scribes further confounds a concrete classification of each intervention as either Theodulf's or an invisible other's voice. This difficulty is most apparent in the more extensive marginal annotations. These are annotations of more than a word or two actually written in the manuscript's margins. There are ten such annotations still visible in Vat. Lat. 7207 and a further one suggested in the missing section by an '*SR.*' copied into Arsenal 663.[575] The *signes de renvoi* used here are especially significant because of their striking resemblance to those used in one of Theodulf's later Bible pandects: BnF Lat. 9380.[576]

Berger initially believed the three *signes de renvoi* used in the Bible pandect – '*hp*', '*hd*' and '*SR*' – to stand for '*haec pone*', '*haec deest*' and '*sequitur*'.[577] However, Lowe rejected all three of Berger's expansions, generally favouring more locative interpretations.[578] In particular, he believed *SR* to stand for '*supra*', indicating that the position intended for the text to be inserted was above. While he was less forthcoming about the exact differing meaning to be understood in *hd* and *hp*, he did identify these as peculiarly Theodulfian variations on the more widespread Visigothic practice of using *dh* and *SR*, with the *dh* most likely standing for '*deorsum hic*'. Although Lowe does acknowledge a wider shift towards '*hic*

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[574] Vat. Lat. 3827, f. 65v.

[575] Vat. Lat. 7207, ff. 6v, 26v, 37r, 90v, 124r, 125v, 130v, 131r, 170r, 182r; Arsenal 663, f. 219r.

[576] BnF Lat. 9380, ff. 189r, 216r, 239v. Although these omission signs are notably absent from Theodulf's biblical *Vademecum* (BnF Lat. 15679). Likely produced over a considerable length of time under Theodulf's direct supervision at St-Mesmin-de-Micy during the early ninth-century, this miscellany of biblical exegesis exhibits a variety of forms of marginal annotation, including some of a Visigothic variety, but not the characteristically Theodulfian form of the OC or Bibles. For instance, on p. 54 a marginal note is linked by proximity and the use of dots and an arrow, on p. 138 the position for the insertion in the text is marked with a 'dh' (Michael Gorman states that a 'dh' in the text is matched with a 'dh' at the start of the marginal note, but I cannot see a 'dh' at the start of the marginal note, only in the text) and, on p. 341, a 'dh' in the text matched by a 'dh' in the margin. Michael Gorman, 'Theodulf of Orléans and the Exegetical Miscellany in Paris Lat. 15679', *RB* 109 (1999), pp. 289-293.

[577] S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate* (Paris, 1893), p. 165.

[578] Elias Avery Lowe, 'The Oldest Omission Signs in Latin Manuscripts: their Origins and Significance', in Ludwig Bieler (ed.), *E. A. Lowe Palaeographical Papers 1907-1965*, II (Oxford, 1972), pp. 367, 377 and 379; *CLA*, 5, No. 576.

deest' and, perhaps, '*pone*' or '*ponas*', thus losing the locative sense, his rejection of these interpretations for Theodulf's Bible seems categorical.[579] Freeman's interpretation of the OC's *signes de renvoi* derived from Lowe's and, thus only construed *SR* as '*supra*', with no hypothesis given for *hd* or *hp*. It was by this interpretation of *SR* that she accounted for its omission in two of the six marginal annotations in Vat. Lat. 7207 listed as otherwise displaying Visigothic features: f. 90v on account of position in the side, rather than lower margin; and f. 125v since the marginal amendment was in fact replacing a substantial portion of erased text.[580] Freeman's list of omissions had its own omissions, however, as there were, in fact four more substantial marginal annotations in Vat. Lat. 7207, none of which concluded with *SR*, but all of which either used the *hd...hp* omission signs or something resembling it. Like f. 90v, two of these – ff. 124r and 182r were in side-margins and thus can easily be explained with *SR* meaning '*supra*'. If we accept *SR* as '*supra*' – and it does seem the most compelling possibility – the other two omissions, occurring in the lower-margin without any extenuating circumstance, can only be explained as a lapse on the part of the scribe.[581] What these lapses might further indicate, however, is that the scribe(s) who penned them were not fully fluent in Theodulf's omission style.

These instances also give us an opportunity to reinforce Berger's original suggestion that the p in *hp* stood for *ponere*, as on ff. 26v and 182r where the *hp signes de renvoi* has, perhaps, been written out more fully. Although the characteristic Theodulfian *signes de renvoi* appear to be entirely done away with on f. 182r (the place of the insertion being instead marked by a vertical line with a perpendicular crossbar jutting out to the right at the mid-point and matched by the same symbol at the start of the note in the side-margin) the use of '*hic int[er]ponendu[m]*' does afford the possibility of this, or at least something similarly derived from *ponere*, as the scribe's understanding of *hp* (Figure 11).[582] In addition, on f. 26v the scribe expands the usual *hp* symbol to '*hp ÷*' (Figure 12).[583] This more widely used abbreviation symbol, of course, indicates *est*.[584] In combination, these could give us a

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[579] Lowe's comment on Berger's suggestions was simply to say 'I find all three inacceptable', yet later in the same essay he admits that, once the locative sense of omission signs was lost 'A reasonable guess for *hd* is '*hic deest*', since the words occasionally appear written out and as far back as the fifth century' and likewise posits '*pone*' or '*ponas*' by the eighth century: Lowe, 'The Oldest Omission Signs in Latin Manuscripts', pp. 377 and 379.
[580] Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum:* An Introduction', pp. 27-28.
[581] Vat. Lat., 7207, ff. 26v and 130v. Although the instance on f. 26v does give the impression of a different hand writing the *signes de renvoi*, with the text to be added written in a noticeably darker ink, in which case, *SR* might have been omitted simply because the scribe of the omission signs did not know how much space to leave for the text. This is not the case for f. 130v, however, as both the *signes de renvoi* and the text of the insertion appear to be in the same ink and hand.
[582] Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 182r.
[583] Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 26v.
[584] Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity & the Middle Ages*, trans. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge, 1990, repr. 2017), p. 168.

potential understanding on the part of Vat. Lat. 7207's scribes of the *hp* symbol standing for '*hic ponendum est*': 'it should be added here'.[585]

Regardless of the meaning of these symbols, however, the problem remains that we cannot distinguish the authorial voice of the marginal additions by their orthography alone. Ostensibly, each addition was carried out by Theodulf's own scribes, trained in his notational methods. How, then do we determine the true voice behind them? The short answer, of course, is that our identification of each interjecting voice can only be speculative. Nonetheless, we must consider how the meaning of each passage has been shifted by the marginal note and how far the shifted meanings gel with more securely 'Theodulfian' thought, or with the known concerns of other Carolingian scholars. This latter endeavour has been most fully developed in relation to anti-Adoptionist concerns and the potential involvement of Alcuin in (re-)shaping the OC.

At first glance, two of the annotations in question appear as little more than the addition of, or a reminder to add, an omitted quotation.[586] The first of these instances, an expansion of a quotation alluded to in the text – although that text itself written in a different hand over an erasure – from Augustine's *Ep.* 92 to Italica, on f. 6v (Figure 13), was first treated as a simple omission in Bastgen's edition:[587]

> Clearly, likeness not to the likeness of the body, but to the interior man with the blessed Augustine saying in a letter to the virgin Italica. [here it is missing] [it should be added here] However, who is so demented as to say that with respect to body we either have been or will be in God's likeness. Therefore, that to which you refer is a likeness to the interior man. [above] Therefore, we shall see him, just as he is.[588]

However, responding to Bullough's suggestion of Alcuin's involvement at least in some of the editorial changes made in Book IV, Freeman includes the f. 6v erasure re-write and marginal annotation within her catalogue of anti-Adoptionist alterations to Vat. Lat. 7207 which could reinforce Bullough's claims.[589] The above quote added to the margin on f. 6v

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[585] Although this is partially based on Freeman's expansion of *interponendum* as opposed to *interponendus* suggesting *hic* to be the adverb 'here/in this place' rather than pronoun, which should presumably have been *hoc* to agree with *interponendum*.

[586] Vat. Lat. 7207, ff. 6v, 182r.

[587] LC I 1, p. 12.

[588] Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 6v (in erasure and marginal addition): 'Similes videlic& non in corporis similitudine sed in interiore homine dicente beato augustino in epistola as italica[m] uirginem hd. hp. Quis autem dementissimus dixerit corpore nos uel esse uel futuros esse similes d[e]o. In interiore igitur homine ista similitudo e[st]. SR. uidebimus ergo eum sicuti est.'

[589] The main chapters Bullough viewed as 'Alcuinian' were OC IV 23 (based on the extensive use of syllogistic reasoning and its links with Alcuin's *de grammatica* and *De dialectica*) and OC IV 28, although he also admitted niggling suspicions that the substitution of the Pelagian Credo in OC III 1 had also been an intervention by Alcuin: Bullough, 'Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven', pp. 34-38. Ironically, given that

is responding to 1 John 3:2: 'Dearly beloved, it has not yet appeared what we will be; we know, because, when he shall appear, we will be like him, because we will see him, just as he is'.[590] The same passage was also, significantly, used in the text of the Council of Frankfurt (794) to refute the use of the same biblical quote in the Adoptionist Spanish bishops' letter (792/3) defending their beliefs to that synod.[591] Freeman's suggestion is, therefore, that someone – likely Alcuin himself – involved in preparing to condemn Adoptionism at Frankfurt saw the potential utility of the same rebuttal to the passage in this part of the OC.[592]

The attribution of such alterations to Alcuin, however, relies primarily on their date. Since Freeman consistently argues that the OC project – and, therefore, physically, Vat. Lat. 7207 – was shelved prior to the Council of Frankfurt, she must link all the anti-Adoptionist changes with the preparations for the synod and, therefore, most plausibly with Alcuin, who led those preparations. However, Mitalaité suggests – in response to Freeman's whole catalogue of anti-Adoptionist alterations – that such changes could just as easily have been made by anyone else (i.e. neither Alcuin, nor Theodulf) after the Council of Frankfurt.[593] Nonetheless, the Visigothic – and even Theodulfian – orthography implicates the involvement of Theodulf and his scribes. While it seems plausible to question the notion that being 'unpublished' inhibited extra-textual dissemination of the OC's ideas, it remains clear – especially from the Tironian notae – that Vat. Lat. 7207 was archived within the palace library.[594] Logically, the moment of archiving, which is witnessed

Bullough's reticence to assert the Credo substitution as another intervention by Alcuin, it also features as one of the alterations in Freeman's anti-Adoptionist list. The other anti-Adoptionist changes highlighted by Freeman are: an erasure of Jerome's name introducing a patristic quotation commenting on the 'canticum novum' in Apocalypse 5:9, and its replacement with 'a certain teacher', due to Jerome's *expositio Apocalypsin* being included in Elipand of Toledo's letter defending Adoptionism to the Frankish bishops in 792/3 and which was also doubted as being written by Jerome at the synod of Frankfurt in 794; a testimonium from Augustine's *De Trinitate*, V, written over an erasure of the same passage in a more abridged form so as to restore a line pertinent to combatting the Adoptionist heresy. Freeman, 'Additions and Corrections to the *Libri Carolini*', pp. 165-169.

[590] OC I 1, p. 114: 'Carissimi, nondum apparuit, quod erimus; scimus, quoniam, cum apparuerit, [si]miles ei erimus, quoniam videbimus eum, sicuti est'; Cf. 1 John 3:2, in Angela Kinney (ed.), *The Vulgate Bible*: VI: *The New Testament* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2013), p. 1282: 'Carissimi, nunc filii Dei sumus, et nondum apparuit quid erimus. Scimus quoniam cum appatuerit, similes ei erimus quoniam videbimus eum sicuti est.'
[591] *Concilium Francofurtense*, MGH Conc. 2.1, p. 147.
[592] While she posits that this could even have been Theodulf himself, she does include it within her list of anti-Adoptionist elements added into Vat. Lat. 7207 in which the primary potential source is Alcuin: Freeman, 'Additions and Corrections to the *Libri Carolini*', p. 166.
[593] Mitalaité, *Philosophie et théologie de l'image dans les Libri Carolini*, p. 39.
[594] This characterisation of the OC as 'unpublished' is Meyvaert's, but his argument is closely tied to Freeman's chronology which places the shelving of the OC before the Council of Frankfurt (794) insisting that papal opposition led to the silencing of the OC in 793, with the intended publication at Frankfurt not going ahead and any reference to the text becoming silent until Hincmar of Reims in 869/870. Mitalaité, however, rejects this characterisation. She observes that the manuscript spread of the OC is not far off that of Alcuin's contemporary theological treatises against the Spanish Adoptionists (*Adversus Felicem* in two manuscripts and *Adversus Elipandum* in four). Furthermore, she offers an explanation for the silence of the Paris Synod (825) based on the political disgrace of its author, Theodulf, after his alleged (although likely

on the manuscript's pages most clearly in the Tironian notae, was the moment at which the manuscript ceased to be accessible to Theodulf and his scribes for further emendation. If Mitalaité is claiming that Vat. Lat. 7207 was not physically shelved prior to the Council of Frankfurt, but was subjected to subsequent intervention, she must contend with the Tironian notae, which surely only make sense as part of preparation for depositing in the royal archives, or offer an alternative date and reason for the shelving of the manuscript.[595] But if she is claiming that the anti-Adoptionist changes were simply added to the manuscript after it had been archived by someone else who had participated at the Council of Frankfurt, the changes on f. 6v, at least, cannot be included because of the distinctly Theodulfian orthography: these changes were clearly made while Theodulf and his team of scribes were still working on the OC. In lieu of alternative compelling evidence, therefore, it seems most likely that the erasure, re-write and marginal annotation on f. 6v were either born out of dialogue with Alcuin concerning the preparations for the Council of Frankfurt (and therefore conveying his indirect voice or influence), or else they could even reflect a more direct intervention by Alcuin himself. Directly or indirectly, then, the marginal note

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unfounded) involvement in Bernard of Italy's rebellion (817/818). Nonetheless, the absence of reference at Frankfurt remains unexplained. Mitalaité, *Philosophie et théologie de l'image dans les Libri Carolini*, pp. 39-40. On the 'unpublished' characterisation of the OC: Meyvaert, 'Medieval Notions of Publication: The "Unpublished" *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum* and the Council of Frankfort (794)', pp. 78-89; Freeman, 'Carolingian Orthodoxy and the Fate of the *Libri Carolini*', pp. 65-108. On Theodulf's downfall: June-Ann Greeley, 'Raptors and Rebellion: The Self-Defence of Theodulf of Orléans', *JML* 16 (2006), pp. 28-46; Thomas Noble, 'Some Observations of the Deposition of Archbishop Theodulf of Orléans in 817', *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association* 2 (1981), pp. 29-40.

[595] The main opponents of the Tironian notae as Charlemagne's comments upon the OC were Fichtenau and Wallach. Dismissing von den Steinen's suggestion, they presented the Tironian notes as later editorial comments and copyists' notes. Wallach even denied Vat. Lat. 7207 to be the palace copy of the OC, requiring him to imagine a further two lost manuscripts to replace what can otherwise be explained as references to Vat. Lat. 7207 as the palace archives copy: (O) the official copy made in the 790s which Hincmar of Reims saw there as a young man and (P), a copy made to provide testimonia for the Paris Synod (825). Hincmar's own copy, Arsenal 663, was, Wallach claimed, thus copied from Vat. Lat. 7207 (despite it not being, presumably, the most easily accessible manuscript for him, given the 'two' others kept in the palace archives), with the Tironian notae used to replace previous marginal notes that he did not want copied into the text of the manuscript since they were about context rather than providing new content. Logic, however, would seem to favour instead the arguments of von den Steinen, more recently endorsed by Freeman and, in correspondence with her, Bischoff, that these are the spoken remarks of a powerful layman originally recorded in fuller marginal notes as the pages turned, leaving the ink no time to dry resulting in mirrored imprints in the opposite margins. Their subsequent replacement with Tironian notes occurred as part of the touching up of the manuscript for the purpose of depositing in an archive where Tironian notes were readable (surely the palace archives), an endeavour that further supports the identification of this powerful layman as none other than Charlemagne himself, without even getting into the further support of the personality and interests demonstrated by remarks themselves. For the anti-Charlemagne camp: Fichtenau, 'Karl der Große und das Kaisertum', pp. 276-287, esp. p. 280; Wallach, 'The Origins, Corrections, and Tironian Notes of the *Vaticanus Latinus 7207*' and 'The Marginalia of the *Vaticanus Latinus 7207*', in his *Diplomatic Studies in Latin and Greek Documents*, pp. 187-208, 272-286. For the pro-Charlemagne camp: von den Steinen, 'Karl der Große und die Libri Carolini. Die tironischen Randnoten zum Codex Authenticus', pp. 207-280; Freeman, 'Further Studies in the *Libri Carolini* III; The Marginal Notes in Vaticanus Latinus 7207', pp. 597-612, esp. p. 598 (for Bischoff's observations); Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', pp. 70-74.

on f. 6v, although evidently written by Theodulf's own scribe, can clearly be linked to Alcuin on the grounds of its anti-Adoptionist content.

Conversely, other marginal notes are more plausibly attributable to Theodulf himself, because of the particular theological concerns expressed within them. This is instantly evident, for instance, in the case of the marginal additions on fols. 37r and 130v, which embody what Dahlhaus-Berg described as the 'fundamental idea' of Theodulf's exegetical endeavours – in the OC, his Bible codices and D*e ordine baptismi* – namely, the 'spiritual symmetry of the two Testaments and the typological correspondence of their words, shapes and events'.[596]

The length of the marginal interjection on f. 37r (Figure 14), especially, allows us to discern far more securely the voice of Theodulf himself.[597] Following on from a lengthy pair of inter-linked excerpts from Augustine's *Quaestiones in Heptateuchem* (*In Exodum* 105 – on the propitiatory above the Ark of the Covenant – and 166: on the Old Testament's covenant of fear and the New Testament's covenant of love)[598] near the end of OC I 15, Theodulf issues a lengthy marginal excursus of his own on the relationship between the Old and the New Testament (partially) endorsing Augustine's commentary:

> Indeed, this sense is applied to the old translation, in which the second tablets are remembered to have been written by the legislator. Moreover, because in the Hebrew truth both of which, clearly the first and the second tablets are written by God, this is signified, because both the old and the new Testament have been written by the grace of the holy Spirit, who is called the finger of God, and by the former the spirit of servitude is received in fear, because God imposes the yoke of the law on man, [but with] man not being strong enough to bear it, truly in the other (Testament), whereby the tablets created by man are written by God, man receives the spirit of adoption by being obedient.[599]

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[596] Dahlhaus-Berg, *Nova antiquas et antiqua novitas*, p. 217: 'Theodulf hat sein exegetisches Programm, dessen fundamentaler Gedanke die geistige Symmetrie der beiden Testamente und die typologische Entsprechung ihrer Worte, Gestalten und Ereignisse ist, nirgends in ausführlichem Zusammenhang theoretisch entwickelt...'

[597] Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 37r.

[598] OC I 15, pp. 172-175; Cf. Augustine, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, ed. Joseph Zycha, CSEL 28 (Vienna, 1866), pp. 161-162, 196-199.

[599] Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 37r; OC I 15, p. 175: 'Hic enim sensus aptatur translationi veteri, in qua secundae tabulae a legislatore scriptae fuisse memorantur. Ceterum quia in Hebraica veritate utraeque primae videlicet et secundae a Deo scribuntur, hoc significatur, quia et vetus et novum Testamentum sancti Spiritus gratia, qui digitus Dei dicitur, conscriptum est, et in illo accipitur spiritus servitutis in timore, quia Deus iugum legis homini inponit, homo ferre non valet, in isto vero, ubi tabulae ab homine fiunt, a Deo scribuntur, homo oboediendo accipit spiritum adoptionis.'

The first thing to observe about this marginal note is that it is in no way at odds with its context in the original text. There is a small erasure upon which the *hd* omission mark is written. Based on the '*-tiam*' of *gratiam* in the line above having been written in later with a different quill, if not a different hand, as well as the '*d[e]i*' following it being written over the same erasure as the *hd*, it would seem that the erased text on the second line was originally '*-tiam d[e]i*'. In other words, it was the end of the final sentence from the second Augustine passage: 'It is also his work, but through the grace of God.'[600] The annotation does not replace any lost text, therefore, as the erasure appears to have been made simply to accommodate the omission mark, with Augustine's erased quote restored using the margin of the first line.

Not only is no original text excised by this marginal note, but the addition also reinforces the existing text: it is, in effect, Theodulf's own commentary upon Augustine's commentary. In its original form, the text had simply passed directly from the end of the Augustine passages to the start of Theodulf's conclusion to this chapter, where he emphasises the contrast between the status of the Ark of the Covenant, the Propitiatory and the cherubim, on the one hand, from the status of Byzantine manufactured images on the other. In the ensuing text, Theodulf describes the Ark, and the Propitiatory and cherubim upon it as signs (*insignia*) which we should always discern and seek with spiritual consideration, not in painted tablets or walls, but with the eye of the mind gazing upon the penetrable parts of our own hearts. Such introspection, as Paul concurs, leads to Christ.[601] In addition to endorsing Augustine, Theodulf's marginal commentary also concurs with his following text in treatment of the Old and New Testament. Both exhibit the 'spiritual symmetry' that Dahlhaus-Berg describes as text-book Theodulf.[602] Admittedly, the symmetry in the marginal note, between the fearful spirit of servitude in the Old Testament and the (loving) spirit of adoption in the New Testament, is an extension of Augustine's remarks.[603] But it is a symmetry nonetheless expressed by Theodulf himself, in which the two Testaments are as opposing sides of the same coin due to the precisely opposite spirit of each. Similarly, the chapter's concluding remarks present the *insignia* of the Old

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[600] Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 37r; OC I 15, p. 175: 'Est etiam opus eius, sed per gratiam dei.'

[601] OC I 15, p. 175: 'Haec igitur insignia, arca videlicet et quae in ea sunt, propiatorium sive cherubim, semper nobis spiritali intuitu cernantur et tota mentis intentione quaerantur. Nec ea in depictis tabulis sive parietibus quaeramus, sed in penetrabilibus nostri cordis mentis oculo aspiciamus. Et qui secundum Apostolum *revelata facie gloriam Dei speculantes in eiusdem imaginem transformamur a claritate in claritatem tamquam a [Domini] Spiritu, non ambulantes in astutia neque adulterantes verbum D[ei], sed in manifestatione veritatis*, non iam veritatem per imagines et picutras quaeramus, qui s[pe], fide et caritate ad eandem veritatem, quae Christus est, ipso auxiliante pervenimus.'

[602] Above, and: Dahlhaus-Berg, *Nova antiquas et antiqua novitas*, p. 217.

[603] Augustine, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, ed. Zycha, CSEL 28, esp. pp. 198-199.

Testament – the Ark of the Covenant, Propitiatory and two cherubim – as typological reflections guiding us towards Christ and, thus, the New Testament.

More strikingly, this same typological treatment of the Old Testament which rounds out the chapter is also apparent in the marginal addition. Immediately preceding the passage quoted from Augustine's *Quaestiones in Heptateuchem*, *In Exodum* 166, Augustine had been discussing the very same verses that Theodulf refers to in his marginal note. These are the passages in Exodus 31 and 34, which Augustine expounded as showing the stone tablets of the ten commandments being written twice: first by the finger of God at Mount Sinai (Exodus 31:18), then written anew by Moses himself (Exodus 34:28).[604] Augustine's interpretation was similar to the one advanced by Theodulf in the marginal annotation: the re-writing of the law, given without the terror that accompanied the first composition on Mount Sinai, signified the new covenant, while the former, which Moses broke at the Lord's command, signified the fearful old covenant.[605] Theodulf's marginal quotation essentially concurs with this interpretation. He does present the first tablets as symbolising the Old Testament and the fear of the law, while he sees a typological link between the second set of tablets and the New Testament. However, the marginal note testifies to a crucial point where Theodulf disagreed with Augustine, thereby explaining why he started his quotation from Augustine where he did: for according to the *Hebraica veritas* the tablets of the law were not re-written by Moses, but by God. More so than for any other Carolingian theologian, Jerome's *Hebraica veritas* was Theodulf's go-to source for correct readings of the Old Testament.[606] Subsequently, as bishop of Orléans, Theodulf did supply alternate readings derived from the original Hebrew of the Old Testament in his own Bible. He did this using the most up to date Hebrew revisions of the Massoretic text, adding them into the margins of what appears to have been his personal Bible pandect: the *Saint-Germain*

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[604] Exodus 31:18: 'dedit quoque Mosi conpletis huiuscemodi sermonibus in monte Sinai duas tabulas testimonii lapideas scriptas digito Dei'; Exodus 34:28: 'fecit ergo ibi bum Domino quadraginat dies et quadraginta noctes panem non comedit et aquam non bibit et scripsit in tabulis verba foederis decem'.

[605] Augustine, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, ed. Zycha, CSEL 28, pp. 197-198: 'proinde magna oritur quaestio, quomodo illae tabulae, quas erat Moyses deo utique praesciente fracturus, non hominis opus dicantur esse, sed dei, nec ab homine scriptae, sed scriptura dei, digito dei; posteriores uero tabulae tamdiu mansurae et in tabernaculo ac templo dei futurae iubente quidem deo, tamen ab homine excisae sint, ab homine scriptae. an forte in illis prioribus gratia dei significabatur, non hominis opus [...] Certe ergo repetitio legis nouum testamentum significat – illud autem uetus significabat, unde confractum et abolitum est – maxime quoniam cum secundo lex datur, nullo terrore datur sicut illa in tanto strepitu ignium, nubium et tubarum, unde tremefactus populus dixit: non loquatur ad nos deus, ne moriamur. unde significatur timor esse in utere testamento, in nouo dilectio.'

[606] For instance, whereas Alcuin – and, therefore, most Carolingian Bible pandects – made use of Jerome's *Hexaplaric*-derived Psalms, in all his surviving Bible pandects Theodulf opted entirely for Jerome's *iuxta Hebraeos* translation: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB. II, 16; Saint-Hubert Bible, London British Museum, Additional MS 24142; the Le Puy Bible; *Codex Mesmianus*, BnF Lat. 9380; Saint-Germain Bible, BnF Lat. 11937; Copenhagen, Bib. Kon. N.K.S.1.

Bible (BnF Lat. 11937).[607] However, the alternative rendering he adduces here in the OC, surely for Exodus 34:28, does not appear to have been added to his Bible: there is a marginal note indicating that the Massoretic text puts '*fuit*' instead of '*fecit*' at the start of the verse. However, either verb has Moses as its subject. Moses had spent (i.e. 'been' or 'made') forty days and nights with the Lord, yet Moses himself nonetheless wrote (*scripsit*) the tablets (Figure 15).[608]

Given that this is the only notable difference evident between the passage in his personal Bible and in the other Bible pandects he produced – e.g. (Figure 16) the *Codex Mesmianus* (BnF Lat. 9380, ff. 22v) – it would seem that he had forgotten this earlier allusion in the OC by the time he produced these Bibles at least a decade later.[609] Nonetheless, Theodulf's insistence upon the true Hebrew rendering in the OC marginal note also further emphasises his belief in the spiritual symmetry of the Old and New Testaments: both sets of tablets and, thus, both the Testaments which they represent, were written by the grace of the Spirit. In all other aspects, Theodulf was clearly in agreement with Augustine's typological interpretation here. Augustine's reliance on the old translation rather than Jerome's 'Hebrew truth', however, clearly troubled Theodulf enough to exclude the first part of Augustine's chapter and to subsequently compose this marginal note, perhaps even as a justification for the omission.

Through the marginal additions to Vat. Lat. 7207 on f. 6v and f. 37r, we have thus seen how, despite the orthographical evidence overwhelmingly implicating Theodulf and his scribes in the various alterations, it is possible – at least speculatively – to identify the different voices preserved in the OC manuscript. Some palaeographic indicators can assist, as in the case of the other erasures and corrections to the text around the marginal

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[607] The identification of these annotations – in which the differing word or phrase is marked with a 'h' for *hebraeus* – as reflecting an early, pre-Aleppo Codex iteration of the Massoretic text is a crucial contribution of Candidard and Chevalier-Royet as it strengthens their conclusion that the annotations were made, not by a converted Jew working under Theodulf, but by Rabbinic correspondent(s) – i.e. people who had not severed ties with Jewish communities in the Middle East, where the Massoretic text was being produced. Another major point of difference between their study and the preceding studies of Saint Germain Bible is their conclusion that it was very much a personal project for Theodulf, with the annotations not being 'corrections' – i.e. this was not, as Gilbert Dahan had argued, a 'rough draft' with corrections Theodulf intended to make to the text of the future Bibles made at Orléans, but was instead indicative of Theodulf's remarkable, if esoteric, intellectual interests. Adrien Candidard and Caroline Chevalier-Royet, 'Critique textuelle et recours à l'hébreu à l'époque carolingienne. Le cas exceptionnel d'une Bible de Théodulf (Bible de Saint-Germain, ms. Paris, BnF lat. 11937)', in Annie Noblesse-Rocher (ed.), *Études d'exégèse médiévale offertes à Gilbert Dahan par ses élèves* (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 13-34; Gilbert Dahan, *L'exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval, XIIᵉ-XIVᵉ* (Paris, 1999), p. 166; Avrom Saltman, 'The Θᴳ Bible and its marginal Scholia', in Avrom Saltman (ed.), *Pseudo-Jerome: Quaestiones on the Book of Samuel* (Leiden, 1975), pp. 5-11, especially imagined description of 'the Hebraicist' at p. 10.
[608] *Saint-Germain Bible*: BnF Lat. 11937, f. 19r.
[609] *Codex Mesmianus*: BnF Lat. 9380, ff. 22v. Unless, perhaps, he had interpreted the 'fecit' as in some way referring to the making of the tablets in addition to spending forty days and nights with the Lord? But I do not see how or why he might have done this.

insertion on f. 37r, which showed the original text to have been unchanged. However, the key to identifying the voices in Vat. Lat. 7207's marginal notes is to consider how the paratexts concord with, or modify, the meaning of the surrounding text; and whether the additions align it either more securely to distinctive Theodulfian concerns, or instead to those of his contemporaries. Indeed, identifying the distinctive theological perspectives is the key to identifying all of the voices in the OC.

4.2: The *adoratio* exceptions: editorial and historical?

There is one voice in particular that will be crucial to identify in order to facilitate an analysis of Theodulf's devotional terminology. Since the preceding examples have focussed upon marginal additions, it will be useful to introduce this voice through its appearance in a marginal note on Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 90v (Figure 17):

...saving the adoration by which greeting we adore each other...[610]

As observed above, the debate over the OC's understanding of the term *adoratio* (and, thus, over whether or not the author's ire towards Byzantine iconophile practice was generated by an unfortunate translation of *proskynesis* and *latreia* as *adoratio*) has raged as long as the debate over the treatise's authorship.[611] Just as a general consensus now attributes OC authorship to Theodulf, a consensus also exists that diminishes the role of the supposed defective Latin translation of II Nicaea. Broadly speaking, there are two – sometimes overlapping – ways in which the theory of the *adoratio* mis-translation is downplayed: (1) Theodulf rejected any form devotion exhibited towards images, not just *adoratio*; (2) the Franks had a dual understanding of *adoratio* themselves, deeming its semantic field to include both the adoration and worship of God on the one hand, and the simpler gesture of greeting one another, on the other. The first of these strategies is certainly compelling. There was a genuine doctrinal difference between the Byzantine and Theodulfian positions on appropriate veneration of images that cannot be explained as a simple instance of mistranslation. However, the second stratagem relies on overlooking the problem of voice(s) within the OC; that is, it relies on ignoring the divergent views incorporated in Vat.

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[610] OC II 25: Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 90v: 'salua adoratione qua nos mutuo salutantes adoramus'.
[611] Advocates of a translation problem: Mühlbacher, *Deutsche Geschichte unter den Karolingern*, pp. 195-196; Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, II, p. 327; Schade, 'Die Libri Carolini und ihre Stellung zum Bild', pp. 69-78; Baus, 'Libri Carolini', p. 1021; Gero, 'The Libri Carolini and the Image Controversy', p. 13; Freeman and Meyvaert, 'The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés', p. 126. Critics of translation theories include: Gerhart Ladner, 'Der Bilderstreit und die Kunstlehren der byzantinischen und abendländischen Theologie', *ZK* 50 (1931), p. 13; Haendler, *Epochen karolingischer Theologie*, pp. 67-73; Schmandt, *Studien zu den Libri Carolini*, p. 36; Thümmel, 'Die fränkische Reaktion auf das 2. Nicaenum in den Libri Carolini', pp. 965-980; Lamberz, 'Die Überlieferung und Rezeption des VII. Ökumenischen Konzils (787) in Rom und im lateinischen Westen', pp. 1060-1064.

Lat. 7207. Indeed, expressions of this line of argument typically refer to the 'Frankish' understanding of *adoratio* as uniform – drawing key testimonia from external sources – and essentially treating the OC as a singular expression of Frankish thought.[612] Although Vat. Lat. 7207 preserves multiple Frankish voices, these voices are (at times) a discordant chorus and should not be uncritically considered as a harmonious whole. As the present study is primarily concerned with Theodulf's thought, his understanding of *adoratio* is of most concern. To this end it must be asked: was the above-quoted greeting exception on f. 90v the voice of Theodulf?

At first glance, the manuscript evidence of Vat. Lat. 7207, fol. 90v appears to indicate that this marginal exception was, indeed, Theodulf's own voice remembering to include a reference to the additional meaning of *adoratio* as the mundane act of greeting. This meaning is prepended, via the marginal note near the start of OC II 25 (on f. 90v line 27), to Theodulf's more ubiquitous characterisation of *adoratio* as solely owing towards God, with the adoration of all other things forbidden:

> Everything within which [words of the prophets, apostles and the Lord Himself] having prevented the adoration of all things, [here it is missing] [it should be added here] saving the adoration by which, greeting each other, we adore, the adoration of God alone is instituted.[613]

It is notable that there are no erasure marks, or traces of expunction in the original text to indicate that the marginal addition was intended to replace something else. Instead, the intended position of the insertion is neatly marked with Theodulf's characteristic *hd* in the text and *hp* at the start of the gloss. The marginal addition does not conclude with Theodulf's trademark *SR*, but this omission is easily explained. As Freeman noted, the position of the note in the left-hand margin, renders a *supra* obsolete.[614] Turning to the next page, f. 91r, we even find a similar exception to the rule of *adoratio* as owed solely to God included within the main body of the text with no obvious associated marks of erasure (Figure 18):

> If, therefore, angels or men, as the reasoning of the present example teaches, ought not at all be adored, save with the adoration which is exhibited with the service of

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[612] For instance: Thümmel, 'Die fränkische Reaktion auf das 2. Nicaenum in den Libri Carolini', esp. 971-972; Haendler, *Epochen karolingischer Theologie*, pp. 67-73.

[613] OC II 25, p. 282: 'Inter quae omnia omnium rerum adoratione inhibita, hd hp salva adoratione, qua nos mutuo salutantes adoramus, solius Dei adoratio instituitur.' Underlining is mine indicating the additions/marginal text in Vat Lat. 7207, f. 90v.

[614] Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', p. 27.

love and greeting, much less ought images be adored, which are without reason and neither worthy of greeting nor adoration because they are irrational.[615]

However, these leaves are not the original pages of Vat. Lat. 7207. To understand their place in the composition of the codex as we now have it, it will be useful to explain the quire structure and scribal stints. The first eight quires of the manuscript's current twenty-five were the work of a single scribe (Hand 1). This scribe resumed work later for quires fourteen to twenty-five (although quire eighteen was jointly written by Hands 1 and 5). The intervening five quires (nine to thirteen), were written by three other scribes (Hands 2, 3, and 4). The quires they wrote transmit most of Book II (excluding the final two chapters). The work was divided between this group so that we might assume they were working simultaneously: Hand 2 wrote quire nine, 3, quire ten and 4, quires eleven to thirteen.[616]

Based on the content of the text, Hands 2, 3 and 4 appear to have been assigned to produce a second, significantly abbreviated, recension of Book II (up to, but not including, chapter 30). The passage in question here is located in Hand 4's stint, in quire twelve. As Freeman infers, an unknown, but influential figure appears to have intervened at some point after a significant portion of the OC had been transcribed from Theodulf's original *schedae* onto the replaced and current quires of the Vatican manuscript by the scribe of Hand 1.[617]

The identity of this agent in the evolution of the OC and the precise date of their intervention is difficult to discern. Certainly, the revision occurred while the manuscript was still being produced: the quality of Hand 1's work, especially his decorated initials, deteriorates through Book III.[618] This intervention must also have occurred before the OC was read to, and commented on by, Charlemagne, since the second recension of Book II does include the Tironian notae and erased minuscule text thought to record the king's comments.[619] Rather than a specific, but unidentifiable, intervening courtier, one possibility is that the revision of Book II was instigated as a result of news of the pope's opposition to

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[615] Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 91r; OC II 25, p. 283: 'Si igitur angeli sive homines, ut praesentis exempli ratio docet, minime adorandi sunt, salva adoratione, quae caritati[is] et salutationis officio exhibetur, multo minus imagines, quae rationis expertes sunt nec salutatione nec adoratione dignae, eo quod insen[satae] sint, adorandae sunt.'

[616] See 'The Quire Structure of the Vat. Lat. 7207' diagram in: Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', p. 57.

[617] Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', pp. 54-60.

[618] Indeed, in an earlier work, Freeman located this marked decline in quality of Hand 1 and of the parchment used in the production to OC III 13: Freeman, 'Carolingian Orthodoxy and the Fate of the *Libri Carolini*', p. 86.

[619] For instance, turning over a couple of pages we find one such notae and erasure in the margin on Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 92v line 22.

the Frankish position as expressed in the CAS.[620] Could the *adoratio* exceptions thus reflect papal, rather than Frankish understandings; a concession to dawning awareness of papal disagreement? The most that can be said with certainty about the changes made between the first and second recension is that there was a significant reduction in length. Nonetheless, these changes do invite us to re-read the relationship between these two exceptions concerning *adoratio* found in the second recension of OC II 25: were these, in fact, exceptions introduced by the abbreviator of Book II?

The basic point that nonetheless needs stressing is that, by the time the second recension of Book II was produced, Theodulf himself would have had ample opportunity to incorporate the marginal note mentioning the other meaning of *adoratio* (if his) into the body of the text itself. OC II 25 would have had at least two prior iterations before the one that survives today: in Theodulf's own preliminary *schedae* and also in Hand 1's first recension of Vat. Lat. 7207. In line with this, it would surely make more sense to see the second *adoratio* exception on f. 91r as having been interpolated into the second recension and then subsequently complemented by the gloss in the margin on f. 90v. This interpretation can be strengthened by considering the near absence of such statements elsewhere in the Vatican manuscript, where *adoratio* is almost always presented as due to God alone.[621] There are, however, some crucial exceptions with which we must contend: namely the discussion of Old Testament examples of *adoratio* towards people in the first recension (OC I 9 and OC I 22) and, in the second recension, OC II 24. At first glance these might appear to contradict the suggestion that the *adoratio* exceptions in OC II 25 represent another voice intervening in Theodulf's text. Yet, the sustained change which these exceptions exhibit concerning *adoratio* over the multiple revisions from the CAS to the current form of the Vatican manuscript, could in fact bear witness to the long-term intervention of another voice gradually shifting the OC's stance.

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[620] This was the earlier view expressed by Freeman concerning the Book III deterioration (although she did not, in that context, relate the deterioration to the re-writing of most of Book II), a view endorsed by Noble: Freeman, 'Carolingian Orthodoxy and the Fate of the *Libri Carolini*', p. 86; Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, pp. 168-169.

[621] Almost everywhere else in the OC, statements that God alone is to be adored feature no such exceptions of greeting. The only other places that do are OC I 9 and 22, concerning Old Testament instances, which will be discussed in more detail below, but crucially differ in their historical context (despite have a strikingly similar phraseology), since OC II 25 is using the *adoratio* of greeting as an apparently contemporary exception. Nonetheless, these other instances are in the first recension of Vat. Lat. 7207. But along with changes evident between the CAS (in particular the removal of an originally intended chapter entitled 'De eo, quod non bene intelligant hoc, quod dictum est: *Dominum Deum adorabis et illi soli servies*, ut adorationem quasi absolute diceret et servitium ipsi soli dixisset' and the addition of OC II 24) and the Vatican manuscript, these changes could, perhaps be interpreted as a sustained and gradual shift, either in Theodulf's own thoughts, or based on another intervening voice.

The other set of textual interventions that impinge on the understanding of *adoratio* in the second recension offer an ideal place to try to peel back these layers of mutation. On f. 89v, the title to OC II 24 now reads:

> Although nothing else besides God alone ought to be adored, it is one thing to adore men with the service of affection and greeting, another (to adore) manufactured images.[622]

This title has clearly undergone multiple stages of alteration, as the scribal traces of successive intervention reveal. Looking at f. 89v, we can see that a shorter title was intended: the letters are tightly compressed to fit a space that must previously have accommodated a shorter title. Only three lines were left for the title, forcing the scribe of Hand 4 to compress his letters and utilise the space at the end of the final line of OC II 23 (Figure 19).[623] Lexically, the use of '*Quum*', rather than the OC's typical '*Quod*',[624] could provide a clue that the impetus for this change came from someone other than Theodulf. It appears, therefore, that after the revision to the body of this chapter in the second recension, someone other than Theodulf dictated a shorter title than had been contained in his first recension of the chapter.

We can, however, trace the changes in this title and chapter back further using the headings of the CAS as transmitted in Pope Hadrian's response. The CAS – a preliminary collection of 85 chapters, or, perhaps merely the titles – appears to have been an early draft-stage of the Carolingian (and thus, presumably, Theodulf's) response to II Nicaea, which was sent to Rome with Angilbert in 792.[625] In the original scheme of the CAS, what became OC II 23 and II 24 in Vat. Lat. 7207 were included under a single heading:

> That has been instituted against [the teaching] of the blessed Gregory that we should adore or break images, both because the Old and New Testament and almost all the special teachers of the church agree with the blessed Gregory about

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[622] OC II 24, p. 280: 'Quum praeter Deum solum nihil aliud debeat adorari, aliud est hominem adorare caritatis et salutationis officio, aliud imagines manufactas.'

[623] Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 89v. Freeman states that the title is in fact partly written over an erasure of the previous title, which would give a further layer of alteration, with even the first title written in the second recension having been altered. However, based on the images I have been able to use, I am not fully convinced that there is an erasure, but rather that as the scribe of Hand 4 was copying the abridged chapter he left a space to copy the title later, which was big enough for the title as it existed then; in due course when he came to add the title it had been revised to the longer form quoted here. Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', pp. 61-62.

[624] Schmandt, *Studien zu den Libri Carolini*, p. 24.

[625] Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians*, pp. 163-164.

not adoring images, nor [that we should] adore anything except God omnipotent, the holy pope Gregory confirms in many places.[626]

Sometime between the sending of a copy of the CAS to Rome in 792 and the drafting of the second recension, this passage was evidently divided into the two chapters, 23 and 24 as transmitted in Vat. Lat. 7207. As Freeman observes, the fact that the numbering for the final two chapters in Book II (30 and 31), which are preserved in Hand 1's first recension, remained unchanged as 30 and 31, shows that this division must have been present in the Vatican manuscript's first recension written by Hand 1.[627] But, perhaps, the preservation of these two chapters together could also hint at their having remained a single chapter in Theodulf's loose *schedae*; they would then only have been separated into two chapters in the first recension of the Vatican manuscript while still retaining their original proximity. The part of the title that referred to what would become OC II 23, remained relatively consistent from the CAS to the current recension of Vat. Lat. 7207:

> That it has been instituted against the [teaching] of blessed Gregory, high priest of the city of Rome, to adore or to break images.[628]

Conversely, what has become the title to OC II 24 has clearly undergone at least two stages of substantial revision. If this chapter was indeed hived off to become a separate chapter between the composition of the *schedae* and the preparation of the first Vatican manuscript recension, its new title was clearly already shorter than the remaining section of the CAS heading. Freeman suggested that the initial title likely more closely resembled the CAS's in proclaiming that God alone was to be adored.[629] This hypothesis would offer a title of a suitably shorter length. The second modification to the title transmitted in the Vatican manuscript on folio 89v, as highlighted above by its compression, must have occurred after the main text of the chapter in the second recension had already been written, during a phase of copying or rereading in discussion. But could it perhaps even have been done after a subsequent and significant series of changes to the body of the text in OC II 24?

Let us consider that subsequent series of changes to the main text of OC II 24 and explore whether the chapter title revision might belong to this phase of work. Scanning down f. 89v, there is a striking erasure at line 29. Above it, we now read the words *aliud et*

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[626] Pope Hadrian I, *Ep. 2*, MGH Epp. 5, p. 37: 'Quod contra beati Gregorii instituta sit imagines adorare seu frangere, et quia vetus et novum testamentum et poene omnes precipui doctores ecclesiae consentiunt beato Gregorio in non adorandis imaginibus, nec ut aliquid preter Deum omnipotentem adorare, debeamus, in multis locis confirmat sanctus Gregorius papa.'

[627] Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', pp. 61-62.

[628] OC II 23, p. 277: 'Quod contra beati Gregorii, Romane urbis antestitis, instituta sit imagines adorare seu frangere.'

[629] Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', p. 62.

longe aliud: 'it is one thing and one thing far off' (Figure 20).[630] Continuing onto f. 90r we see four more of these *aliud*s written over erasure marks (Figure 21).[631] Both in the lower-margin and side-margin (by the chapter title) there are other prominent patches of erasure. The text removed from these areas might once have offered explanations for the changes to the title and text, but both are now illegible.[632] Nonetheless, the fact that this *aliud... aliud* wording can also be found in the revised title above (at lines 11-14) does appear to indicate that the title was revised to its current form in conjunction with this revision to the text of the second recension. In other words, the same intervening person was likely responsible for both. But what were the erased words and how did the *aliud*s change the meaning of the text?

Mallet and Freeman offer a conjectural reading of the erased words, finding an *m*, *l*, *u* and *us* of *melius et multo melius* on f. 89v, with the *q* of *quam* on f. 90r, followed by another comparative plus *quam* construction, on the basis of the un-erased *quam* in line 3 with *ca* offering *cautius*.[633] The erasure on f. 89v certainly has an ascender that could correspond to the first *l* in *melius et multo melius*, which appears as a shadow to the *l* in the first *aliud* (Figure 22).[634] However, I cannot make out the other letters with any confidence. In regard to the conjectured *cautius* on f. 90r, the *a* is clear, but with only the top of the preceding letter being visible, it could just as easily be an *r* as a *c*. The third letter, however, cannot be a *t* since there is a clear ascender, which, given its proximity to the preceding *a* (and, thus, discounting *d*), must be an *l*, *h* or *b* in the script of Hand 4 (Figure 23).[635] An alternative reading that would better fit these parameters is *callidus*, which means 'wise' or 'skilful' and thus gives a sense of it being more prudent to adore a man than an image. Nonetheless, the suggestion of a comparative plus *quam* construction could still fit and makes the most sense in light of the remaining *quam*. The revised text reads as follows:

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[630] Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 89v line 29.

[631] Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 90r.

[632] Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 89v. This is Freeman's thought in regard to the lower-margin erasure in relation to the *aliud et longe aliud* alteration, but it could surely also be the case the side-margin in relation to the title, especially if the title was left blank for some time until the text was also revised: Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', pp. 63-64.

[633] Dom J. Mallet's identification of 'melius' was expressed in correspondence with Freeman, who then added her own findings concerning the 'quam' on f. 90r followed by a possible 'cautius... quam': Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', pp. 62-63.

[634] Initially I thought I could see three ascenders that would correspond perfectly, but turning back to f. 89r, it became clear that these were the ascenders of *h* and *b* in *haberi* on the other side of the page: Vat. Lat. 7207 ff. 89r-89v.

[635] Hand 4's *t*s do not have ascenders. Although they sometimes receive vertical joint-strokes (as in the following *est* in this line) these are invariably bent, whereas the ascender in the erasure is straight as is only found in Hand 4's *d*, *l*, *h*, or *b*: Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 90r line 2.

Whence it is given to be understood that it is **one thing and one thing different by far** to adore with the courtesy of greeting a man, who is esteemed with the prerogatives of so many merits, and **another** (to adore) images, which lack all these things; it is **a different matter** for this courtesy of deference to be offered to a man (who is the work of God) than to an image, which is the work of an artificer; it is **one thing** to adore with the service of humility that nature, which is adored in the king of heaven by angels and archangels, **another** (to adore) that which serves not only the needs of human beings, but also even for the purposes of other animals.[636]

The effect of these revised phrases (marked with bold type above) is clearly to prohibit any comparison between the *adoratio* of a man and the *adoratio* of an image. With the erasure of the previous comparative-plus-*quam* construction, the gulf between each recipient of *adoratio* is broadened. Freeman interpreted this revision as being intended to ensure that there was no possibility of interpreting anything other than worthlessness in the adoration of images.[637] However, this would surely have cut both ways, since declaring a thing to be better (*melius*) or more prudent (*callidus*) than another thing that is worthless need not imply that the better thing is either good or wise in and of itself. Could the revised text, instead, have been inserted to partially redeem the custom of using the word (and the gestures) of *adoratio* as an act of greeting? If interpreted this way the changes chime with the addition of the marginal note about the acceptability of *adoratio* as a description for the act of bowing within a human greeting (discussed above). Both sets of changes promote *adoratio* as an appropriate term for greeting people in a contemporary context. In the first recension of the Vatican manuscript, there are chapters which distinguish *adoratio* as a demonstration of humility or act of greeting (OC I 9 and OC I 22). These chapters do also employ the above *aliud... aliud* construction and are ostensibly Theodulf's own words. However, OC I 9 and OC I 22 deal with historical Old Testament examples, whereas all the New Testament examples brought forward are of the rejection of such adoration.[638] These earlier chapters, therefore, need not contradict the notion of these changes being encouraged by someone else, besides Theodulf.

Although the changes to OC II 24 and OC II 25 appear contemporary with the revision of most of Book II into the second recension (based on the scribal hands and

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[636] OC II 24, pp. 280-281: 'Unde datur intelligi **aliud et longe aliud** esse hominem adorare salutationis gratia, qui tot meritorum praerogativis pollet, **aliud** imagines, quae his omnibus carent; **aliud** est hoc homini humilitatis gratia exhiberi, qui opus Dei est, quam imagini, quae opus artificis est; **aliud** est illam naturam humilitatis officio adorare, quae in caeli rege ab angelis et archangelis adoratur, **aliud** illam, quae usibus non solum hominum, sed et ceterorum animalium adhibita famulatur.'

[637] Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', p. 63.

[638] The content of these chapters will be treated in more detail below.

phases of work), the comparison of the CAS and Vat. Lat. 7207 demonstrates that revisions concerned with the meaning(s) of *adoratio* were already being inserted prior to the creation of the second recension. In particular, the CAS chapter that, based on its title at least ('Concerning that which rightly they should not understand with respect to this which has been said: "You will adore the Lord God and you will serve him alone", so that it said adoration as if without qualification and had advocated service to him alone'), would have most staunchly asserted the singular nature of *adoratio* as owed uniquely to God was excised at some stage between the draft of the CAS being sent to the pope and the first recension of the Vatican manuscript.[639] Along with the alterations to the title of OC II 24 from what had initially appeared appended with the title of OC II 23 in the CAS, the *adoratio*-modifications in the OC appear to derive from a lengthy campaign of interventions. Do the changes, therefore, reflect Theodulf's own position developing, through the gradual influence of other voices at court? Or should we instead read them as scattered but sustained interventions on the part of those other voices themselves, imposing their understanding on Theodulf's text?

To answer these questions will require an evaluation of other similar statements throughout the OC as well as a consideration of the other possible sources for the dual usage of *adoratio*. The manuscript evidence can no longer aid us in this endeavour. Unlike the contemporary *adoratio*-exceptions of OC II 24 and 25, the two other instances of *adoratio* being used comparably – as an apparently contemporary term for a respectful greeting – are located in Book IV (Chapters 21 and 23). These chapters do not survive in the Vatican manuscript. Instead, they are transmitted solely in Hincmar of Reim's mid-ninth-century copy: Arsenal 663.[640] Nonetheless, their textual context can still aid us. The most important aspect of textual context common to both instances relates to when their Vatican manuscript antecedents were written. As shown above, the revision of Book II appears to have been initiated during the composition of Book III. Therefore, Book IV was presumably added after the revision of Book II. As such, it was open to influence by the same ideas and, potentially, actors. These ideas, of course, included those pertaining to

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[639] Pope Hadrian I, *Ep. 2*, MGH Epp. 5, p. 53: 'De eo, quod non bene intellegant hoc, quod dictum est: *Dominum Deum adorabis et illi soli servies*, ut adorationem quasi absolute diceret et servitium ipsi soli dixisset'. Indeed, as Freeman points out, this was the only CAS chapter excluded from the eventual OC: Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', p. 38.

[640] The Vatican manuscript ends 'ita etiam eorundem errorem', mid-way through the final sentence of OC III 31 (although this final folio has been erased and re-written by a fourteenth-century hand, spilling onto an additional page). Based on the copying of this section into Paris, Arsenal 663 (f. 179v), it appears to have been the end of the 25th quire, with the 26th quire and all the subsequent original quires of the Vatican manuscript now lost: Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', p. 99.

the use of *adoratio* as an act of greeting. But what more can the particular textual context of these Book IV examples tell us about where these ideas were coming from?

The first of these examples occurs in OC IV 21. This chapter is a rebuttal of Epiphanios' defence of *Theotokos* (Mother of God) icons and their veneration; this defence was recorded at the end of the sixth session of II Nicaea.[641] Just before the passage quoted in the OC chapter's title, the account of II Nicaea had Epiphanios quoting a remark from Athanasius' *Letter to Marcellinus* to the effect that:

> It is standard for someone who picks up the book of the psalms and proceeds
> through all the prophecies of the Saviour as in the rest of scripture to do so with
> wonder and veneration.[642]

Epiphanios extended this instruction to venerate the prophecies of Christ in the psalms to apply to the yet greater veneration that was surely due when contemplating the fulfilment of such prophecies in images of Christ. He then introduced the particular example of the virgin and child as prophesied by Isaiah (7:14).[643] It is this specific example and its implications that are quoted – although, of course, with the *adorare* of the Latin translation replacing the Greek corollary of *venerari* – in the OC chapter's title and refuted in the chapter itself:

> Concerning that which they say: "Indeed the prophecy holds: *Behold, a virgin will*
> *receive in her womb and give birth to a son*; moreover, we seeing this prophecy in the
> image, clearly the image of the virgin bearing in her forearms he to whom she had
> given birth, in what way will we refrain to adore and kiss [this image]? Who being
> undisciplined will dare to resist reason? Indeed, in such a kiss we should make
> ourselves worthy of adoring these [images], so that approaching [them] we should
> not be subjected to the punishment of the shameful Uzzah".[644]

Theodulf's initial response, predictably, was to point out that the Isaiah's prophecy did not relate to an image, but to its fulfilment in the Gospel by the real persons of Mary and

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[641] *Concilium universale Nicaenum secundum: Concilii VI-VII*, ed. Lamberz, pp. 789-791.
[642] *The Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787)*, trans. Price, p. 545.
[643] *Concilium universale Nicaenum secundum: Concilii VI-VII*, ed. Lamberz, p. 791.
[644] OC IV 21, p. 539: 'De eo, quod dixerunt: "Habet enim prophetia: *Ecce virgo in utero accipiet et pariet filium*; hanc autem prophetiam in imaginem nos videntes, videlicet virginem in ulnis ferentem quem genuit, quomodo sustinebimus non adorare et osculari? Quis indisciplinatus mente resistere audebit? In tale osculum dignos enim nos ipsos faciamus adorationis, ut non accedentes indigni Ozae supplicium subeamus".' Interestingly, Theodulf would subsequently use the same hortatory example of Uzzah, unworthily touching the Ark of the Covenant and thus being struck and killed by the Lord (2 Samuel 6:6-7), to exhort the priests of his diocese to prevent all laymen from touching any objects used in the ministry of the church. Theodulf, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. episc. 1, c.6, p. 107.

Christ, who should be sought through those divine writings rather than through pictures. This was followed by a discussion of the potential dangers and deceits inherent in images purporting to depict Mary and Christ. Among these dangers, Theodulf observed that both biblical and secular history offered many other examples of famous mothers holding their children: Sarah and Isaac; Rebecca and Jacob; Bethsheba and Solomon; Elizabeth and John; Venus and Aeneas; Alcmene and Hercules; Andromache and Astynax. Without the aid of a written label, remarked Theodulf, how could the venerator be certain of which mother and child image was before them?[645] However, more pertinent to the present chapter, Theodulf's next line of argument concerned depictions of Mary on a donkey, such as images of the flight to Egypt and the subsequent return to Israel.[646] The problem with adoring or venerating those images, Theodulf observed, was that there was no difference between the painted Mary and the painted donkey. This meant, Theodulf argued, that either both must be adored, or neither.[647] It was at this point that the statement using *adoratio* as a legitimate designation for the act of greeting was introduced, appearing as a hypothetical, or imagined counter-argument to what Theodulf had just expounded about Mary and the donkey:

> But perhaps a somewhat thorny other will say: "This vindication of animals having to be adored ought to be refuted, because, although we adore for the sake of greeting whichever man supported by a chair or leant upon a stick, we are not admonished to adore the chair nor the stick with him, but with the man having been greeted, these [objects] are believed to remain ungreeted".[648]

As evident from Theodulf's introduction of this counter-argument, it was not – like all the other statements refuted in this chapter – raised by Epiphanios himself, as indicated by the use of 'another' (*aliquis*). While the use of 'perhaps' (*fortasse*) does suggest that this was an imagined statement, this does not mean that the ideas and terminology were devised

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[645] OC IV 21, p. 540.

[646] Theodulf's vivid description of the proliferation of such images, not just in basilicas, but often on secular dining vessels, silk garments and rugs, offers an intriguing insight into the popularity of such images in Carolingian society. Perhaps the popularity of these images was in some way related to the popularity of the concept of *peregrinatio*? On the growing popularity of *peregrinatio*, both to a location (i.e. pilgrimage in the modern understanding) and from one's home (which was especially prominent in insular Christianity and, thus, exerted an influence upon Carolingian society via the many Irish monks who left their homeland for the continent): Bernhard Kötting, *Peregrinatio Religiosa. Wallfahrte in der Antike und das Pilgerwesen in den alten Kirche* (Münster, 1950); Arnold Angenendt, 'Die irische *Peregrinatio* und ihre Auswirkungen auf dem Kontinent vor dem Jahre 800', in Heinz Löwe (ed.), *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter* I (Stuttgart, 1982), pp. 52-79.

[647] OC IV 21, p. 540.

[648] OC IV 21, pp. 540-541: 'Sed dicet fortasse spinosulus aliquis: "Haec adsertio adorandi animantis frustranda est, quoniam, cum quemlibet hominem cathedra susceptum aut baculo innixum causa salutationis adoramus, non cum eo cathedram neque baculum adorare monstramur, sed homine salutato illa insalutata remanere creduntur".'

entirely from Theodulf's own imagination. The tenor of this counter-argument and the example of a man being distinguished from his chair or his stick display a marked similarity, for instance, to a metaphor used by Leontius of Neapolis in his treatise *Against the Jews* to explain how Christians venerate Christ through veneration of his cross.[649] This very passage had been included in the patristic *florilegium* read out at the Fourth Session of II Nicaea, and thus incorporated into the Acts of II Nicaea. Here, Leontius remarked that:

> Just as true children, when their father is away from them for a time and they feel great love for him in their souls, if they see in the house his staff or his chair or his cloak, kiss and embrace these with tears – not honouring *them* but loving and honouring their father – so likewise we faithful all venerate as Christ's staff the cross, as his chair and bed the all-holy tomb.[650]

While the metaphorical examples employed by Leontius were similar to those in Theodulf's imagined counter-argument, they were, of course applied with a different purpose. Whereas Theodulf's imagined opponent used these examples to demonstrate that a person could be distinguished from the objects they were using, Leontius advocated almost the opposite: that the objects could act as stand-ins for an absent person. Even in precise terminology Theodulf's statement appears to differ from Leontius'. In the first place, whereas Theodulf used *cathedra* and *baculus*, the (albeit subsequently revised) Latin translation of II Nicaea

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[649] The authenticity of Leontius' treatise has been hotly disputed, especially by Speck, who had formerly argued that the treatise was an eighth-century fabrication by George of Cyprus, but more recently modified his stance claiming that Leontius' treatise had at least been significantly expanded by George of Cyprus. Among the fiercest opponents of Speck's arguments are Déroche and Louth, who have provided compelling evidence for believing the attribution of the treatise to Leontius and, thus, giving it a date in the early seventh century: Paul Speck, ΤΡΑΦΙΣ Η ΓΛΥΦΑΙΣ. Zu dem Fragment des Hypatios von Ephesos über die Bilder, mit einem Anhang: Zu dem Dialog mit einem Juden des Leontios von Neapolis', *Poikila Byzantina*, 4: *Varia I* (Bonn, 1984), pp. 211-272; Paul Speck, 'Adversus Iudaeos – pro imaginibus. Die Gedanken und Argumente des Leontios von Neapolis und des Georgios von Zypern', *Poikila Byzantina* 15: *Varia VI* (Bonn, 1997), pp. 131-176; Vincent Déroche, 'L'authenticité de l'*Apologie contre les Juifs* de Léontios de Neapolis', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 110 (1986), pp. 655-669; Andrew Louth, *St John Damascene: Tradition and Originality in Byzantine Theology* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 210-211. This authenticity dispute has its roots in the transmission of Leontius' treatise; it does not survive independently. Instead, has been transmitted solely via excerpts in later treatises and florilegia, the earliest of which are the iconodule polemicists of the eighth-/ninth-centuries. These sources of excerpts from Leontius' treatise include: the florilegium of the fourth session of the *Acts of II Nicaea*; works by John of Damascus, most notably in his *On Holy Images*; and in some unpublished manuscripts (Vatican Gr. 2220; Paris Suppl. Gr. 143, Ambrosianus H 257; Cambridge, Trinity Gr. 0. 1. 36). There are also three later sources of surviving excerpts from Leontius' treatise: Euthymius Zigabenus's *Dogmatic Panoply* (12th century: Déroche implies that this was an eleventh-century text by noting that this inclusion suggested that Euthymius still had access to a complete copy of Leontius' text in the eleventh century, however, Georgi Parpulov and Hisatsugu Kusabu have demonstrated that the *Dogmatic Panoply* was written in 1113/1114); an unpublished collection of dogmatic texts copied from Euthymius Zigabenus's *Dogmatic Panoply*; a dogmatic collection in Marcianus VII 41 (16th century). On these sources of transmission for Leontius of Neapolis' *Against the Jews*: Vincent Déroche, 'L'*Apologie contre les juifs* de Léontios de Néapolis', Gilbert Dagron and Vincent Déroche (eds.), *Juifs et chrétiens en Orient byzantin* (Paris, 2010), pp. 384-386. On the date of the *Dogmatic Panoply*: Georgi Parpulov and Hisatsugu Kusabu, 'The publication date of Euthymius Zigabenus's *Dogmatic Panoply*', *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 14 (2019), pp. 63-67.

[650] *The Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787)*, trans. Price, p. 293.

used *sedes* and *virga*.[651] Crucially, however, the words of most prescience in this study – 'we adore for the sake of greeting' (*causa salutationis adoramus*) – cannot be found in this passage from Leontius. Was it truly Theodulf's own imagined criticism? Or, was this a rebuttal suggested by a fellow clerical courtier?

Theodulf's treatment of this counter-argument offers some support to the possibility that the suggestion came from a colleague. At first, the treatment appears so respectful as to raise doubts that it was an argument raised by the Greeks themselves. At the beginning of OC IV 21, Theodulf was immediate and emphatic in his dismissal of the claim quoted from the *Acts of II Nicaea* that images of the fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy (7:14) should be adored and kissed:

> The prophecy, which thunders out that a virgin will conceive and give birth to a son, ought not now be sought in uncertain and changeable [things], but preserved in the heart, neither ought its arcane mysteries be sought in pictures, but in the divine letters and those who explain them, clearly the apostles and their successors, and it should be looked at by faith rather than by eyes.[652]

While even this dismissal of the Greek position is somewhat more respectful than those offered elsewhere in the OC, it is nonetheless, markedly different from Theodulf's treatment of the counter-argument presently under discussion. Here, Theodulf was far slower to reject the opposing argument. Indeed, he almost lauded its advocate as 'somewhat thorny' (*spinosulus*), a far cry from his more frequent descriptions of the Greeks and their ideas as 'most demented' (*dementissimus*).[653] This greater level of respect does lead us towards viewing this counter-argument as stemming either from Theodulf's own imagination, or a real rebuttal or suggestion by a fellow courtier of Charlemagne. The choice of descriptor and its nonetheless diminutive form could add greater weight to the latter source. *Spinosulus* was not in common usage. Freeman's apparatus suggests as a source Jerome's *Ep. 69*.[654] This suggestion can be corroborated with reference to Lewis & Short, who offer only Jerome's letter as a source for *spinosulus*.[655] Furthermore, Theodulf

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[651] *Concilium universale Nicaenum secundum: Concilii actiones IV-V*, ed. Lamberz, p. 353.

[652] OC IV 21, p. 539: 'Prophetia, quae virginem concepturam et filium parituram intonat, non iam in incertis et ambiguis est quaerenda, sed in pectore retinenda, nec eius archana mysteria sunt in picturis, sed in divinis litteris earumque explanatoribus, apostolis videlicet eorumque successoribus, investiganda et fide potius quam oculis intuenda.'

[653] For such uses of *dementissimus*, see: OC I 9, p. 149; OC I 16, p. 181; OC III 11, p. 376; OC III 14, p. 397; OC III 29, p. 475.

[654] OC IV 21, p. 540, fn. 271.

[655] Lewis and Short (eds.), *A Latin Dictionary*, p. 1742. Similarly, a lemmatised search for *spinosulus* in the Zürich *Corpus Corporum* database (http://www.mlat.uzh.ch/MLS/) reveals only 3 occurrences: the OC, Jerome's letter and two instances in Humbert of Silva Candida's (d. 1061) *Adversus Simoniacos* (this does

himself clearly had a penchant for Jerome.[656] In this letter, (addressed to Oceanus) Jerome recalled a rhetorical contest he had previously had with a 'somewhat thorny friend' in Rome over the sinfulness of married clerics and baptism's power to forgive sins.[657] Jerome's description painted this disputation as a fierce contest of wits, in which his opponent twice had him caught between the horns of a dilemma. But, of course, eventually Jerome was able to overcome his adversary and emerge victorious. By his allusion to Jerome's letter – via this use of *spinosulus* – Theodulf played on this theme of a fierce contest of wits in his own rebuttal, albeit in a compressed manner, with his masterstroke by which 'this small thorn can be shaken' (*spinulae ... quassandae sunt*), following on almost immediately.[658] This playful allusion, of course, has enough of a scent of the banter of Carolingian court sociability about it, as to suggest a provenance for the counter-argument, and thus its use of *adoratio* as greeting, from another courtier-intellectual.

However, even with this suggestion that someone else had offered this statement, Theodulf did not refute its specific use of *adoratio* as an act of greeting. With recourse to the description of man as a rational, mortal and risible animal from Isidore's *Etymologiae*, Theodulf made the point that the man is clearly distinct from his chair and staff on account of those characteristics.[659] In explaining the consequence of this, in fact, Theodulf unquestioningly parroted his interlocutor's definition of *adoratio*:

> Whereby it is clearly apparent that it is one thing for a rational man to be adored with the purpose of greeting, [and] another for a chair or stick, namely irrational things, to have been left ungreeted.[660]

The rest of Theodulf's rebuttal was then devoted to expounding how the same distinction could not be made between the depicted Mary and the depicted donkey, since both were made from the same materials and neither was distinguished by rationality, mortality or risibility. Should such a lack of criticism of this use of *adoratio* be taken as tacit endorsement? This chapter was likely written after the changes made to Book Two and incorporated into the Vatican manuscripts, for it did not feature among the headings of the CAS; moreover it was positioned after what von den Steinen convincingly argues was

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feature twice in the list, but the passage in question is identical in each entry, representing two different editions rather than sections in the text).

[656] See above on Theodulf and Jerome's *Hebraica veritas*.

[657] Jerome, *Ep.* 69 *Ad Oceanum*, ed. Isidor Hilberg, CSEL 54 (Vienna, 1910), pp. 680-682. On the context for this letter: J.N.D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (London, 1975), p. 214.

[658] OC IV 21, p. 541.

[659] OC IV 21, p. 541.

[660] OC IV 21, p. 541: 'Ubi liquido patet aliud esse rationalem hominem salutando adorare, aliud cathedram vel baculum utpote res insensatas insalutata reliquere.'

Theodulf's original conclusion (OC IV 13).[661] This is not to say that Theodulf did not write the chapter (or, indeed, any of the chapters appended after chapter 13), but rather that when he wrote it, he would have been aware of the changes that he had been compelled to make in Book II. As demonstrated above, these changes appear to have included the dual understanding of *adoratio*. Furthermore, any attempt at rebuking that aspect of the statement would have been superfluous to Theodulf's argument in OC IV 21.

A second use in Book IV of *adoratio* as an act of greeting can be found in OC IV 23. This chapter was concerned with disproving the notion, introduced in the Latin translation of the II Nicaea that 'to kiss' (*osculari*) and 'to adore' (*adorare*) were the same. After an initial dismissal with simple contradictory examples, the already effective argument was reinforced by a discussion drawing upon essential and newly reintroduced texts on logic. Theodulf used Aristotle's *De interpretatione* for propositions about the relationship between language and things, depending, for his knowledge of Aristotelian thought, on Boethius' commentary. He also deployed the logical square of opposition from Apuleius' *Peri hermeneias*.[662] This extensive and innovative use of dialectical logic has generated considerable interest from scholars concerned with the early medieval history of philosophy and logic.[663] Indeed, it even led Bullough, an erstwhile advocate of Theodulf's authorship of the OC, to claim that this chapter, at least, was derived from a lost letter written by Alcuin while in England.[664] Such claims have more recently been dismissed, not least by Bullough himself.[665] Stylistically speaking, there is too much correspondence between OC IV 23 and the rest of Theodulf's treatise to support the claim that it was written by Alcuin.[666] Even more recently, Rädler-Bohn's re-dating of Alcuin's *De dialectica* (a crucial source for Boethius' commentary on Aristotle's *De interpretatione* and Apuleius' *Peri hermeneias*) to the 780s has provided more concrete evidence of the chronology by which these ideas were received at the Carolingian court and, thus, more easily allowing for

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[661] Pope Hadrian I, *Ep. 2*, MGH Epp. 5, pp. 5-57; von den Steinen, 'Entstehungsgeschichte der Libri Carolini', pp. 42-48.

[662] OC IV 23, pp. 544-549.

[663] Bullough, 'Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven', pp. 31-39; Marenbon, 'Alcuin, the Council of Francfort and the Beginnings of Medieval Philosophy', pp. 603-615.

[664] Bullough's argument was more extensive than simply suggesting OC IV 23 had been written by Alcuin. Indeed, drawing upon von den Steinen's identification of OC IV 13 as the treatise's originally intended conclusion, Bullough suggested that OC IV 14-28 were a supplement and attributing OC IV 23 and 28, in particular, to Alcuin: Bullough, 'Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven', pp. 36-38; von den Steinen, 'Entstehungsgeschichte der Libri Carolini', pp. 42-48.

[665] Bullough, 'Alcuin before Frankfort', pp. 581-582; Marenbon, 'Alcuin, the Council of Francfort and the Beginnings of Medieval Philosophy', pp. 605-606.

[666] One especially pertinent piece of stylistic continuity, which I shall return to later, is the considered use merely of *venerari* in relation to the saints, with a clear stipulation that they are not to be adored. As will become clearer below, this is a consistent Theodulfian thought. OC IV 23, p. 544: 'Adoratur enim Deus, sed non osculatur; venerantur sancti, qui a saeculo cum triumphis meritorum migraverunt, sed nec adorari debent cultu divino nec osculari possunt.'

Theodulf, rather than Alcuin to have utilised them so extensively in OC IV 23.[667] While it is, therefore, clear that Theodulf wrote this chapter, his authorship need not preclude editorial input from others. Indeed, that could be the case for the single instance of an allusion to *adoratio* as a greeting in this chapter.

Let us look first at the square of opposition. It demonstrates the possible relationships between Aristotle's four basic categorical propositions: the universal affirmation ('Every *S* is *P*'); the universal negation ('No *S* is *P*'); the particular affirmation ('Some *S* is *P*'); and the particular negative ('Some *S* is not *P*').[668] To populate Theodulf's Apuleian square of opposition, examples pertinent to the relationship between loving (*diligere*) and adoring (*adorare*) were supplied and justified:

> Therefore, the two higher universals in this argument, that is: "Everything which someone loves he adores" and: "Nothing which someone loves he adores" are false, because, as it has been said above, many love, who do not adore, and some, who love, adore; and the lower two particulars, that is: "There is something which someone loves which he does adore" and: "There is something which someone loves which he does not adore" are each true, because he who loves God like this: *Love the Lord your God with all your heart* and adores him, from whose most holy love advance nourishments on account of all strengths. He who loves his neighbour and adores him with the duty of greeting and about the same it is confirmed to be a true proposition: "There is something which someone loves which he does adore"; and likewise this is confirmed to be true: "There is something which someone loves which he does not adore" like the examples of the wife, the child, the horse, the dog, the hawk and others, which have been mentioned above, which are only loved, but nevertheless not adored.[669]

As this chapter of the OC has not been transmitted in the Vatican manuscript there are no palaeographical clues to suggest whether the key section ('He who loves his neighbour and adores him with the duty of greeting') was inserted at a later stage. Nonetheless, the

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[667] Rädler-Bohn, 'Re-dating Alcuin's *De dialectica*: or, did Alcuin teach at Lorsch?', pp. 71-104.

[668] Terence Parsons, 'The Traditional Square of Opposition', in Edward Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2021 Edition), URL = https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2021/entries/square/.

[669] OC IV 23, p. 549: 'Sunt ergo in hac argumentatione duae superiores universales, id est: "Omne quod diligit quis, adorat" et "Nihil, quod diligit quis, adorat" falsae, quoniam, ut superius dictum est, multa diligit quis, quae non adorat, et aliqua de his, quae diligit quis, adorat; et sunt duae inferiores particulares, id est: "Quiddam, quod diligit quis, adorat" et: "Quiddam, quod diligit quis, non adorat" utraeque verae, quoniam diligit quis Deum iuxta illud: *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo* et adorat eum, ex cuius sanctissima dilectione omnium virtutum nutrimenta procedunt. Diligit quis proximum et salutationis officio adorat eum et in eo adprobatur vera esse propositio: "Quiddam, quod diligit quis, adorat"; adprobatur etiam et haec vera esse: "Quiddam, quod diligit quis, non adorat", iucta exempla coniugis, prolis, equi, canis, accipitris et cetera, quae superius prolata sunt, quae singula diliguntur nec tamen adorantur.'

immediate textual context is intriguing. Indeed, there are two hints that this neighbour-*adoratio* exception was not integral to Theodulf's original argument. The first can be seen in this passage itself: the example is redundant. Apuleius' square of opposition was a heuristic diagram demonstrating the interrelationships between Aristotle's four types of categorical proposition.[670] To utilise the square of opposition, therefore, Theodulf needed to present those four varieties of categorical proposition: namely, a universal affirmation, a universal negation, a particular affirmation and a particular negation. The example of God had already endorsed the particular affirmation ('There is something which someone loves which he does adore'). All that remained, therefore, was to supply an example endorsing the particular negation ('There is something which someone loves which he does not adore'). For this a full household of examples was supplied: the wife, the child, the horse, the dog, the hawk. Removing the example of the neighbour would not diminish the dialectical force of Theodulf's argument. While the same could be said of the example of God or of any of the household members, the example of the neighbour stands out for another reason: it only featured once. In contrast, the household coterie, as a somewhat flexible unit, occurs three times in the chapter (although the horse on its own featured an extra time in an example discussed and quoted from Apuleius). At the start of the chapter, this amorphous group (or at least wives, children and slaves) were used similarly as an example of people who could be kissed but not adored, with the example of God featuring as their converse. While it might be suggested that neighbours would not fit here, being neither kissed nor adored, such a role was fulfilled instead by the saints:

> Indeed, God is adored, but not kissed; the saints, who have migrated from the world with the triumphs of merits, are venerated, but neither ought they be adored with divine worship nor are they able to be kissed. On the contrary, spouses are kissed, but by no means are they, children or slaves to be adored.[671]

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[670] For the ascription of the square of opposition to Apuleius' *Peri hermeneias*: József Bocheński, *A History of Formal Logic*, trans. Ivo Thomas (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1961), pp. 140-141; Mark Sullivan, *Apuleian Logic: The Nature, Sources and Influence of Apuleius's Peri Hermeneias* (Amsterdam, 1967), pp. 64-66; David Londey and Carmen Johanson, 'Apuleius and the Square of Opposition', *Phronesis*, 29 (1984), pp. 165-173. In OC IV 23, Theodulf described this diagram, but did not reproduce it. This description, however, was similar to that depicted in the Leidrad manuscript, which is a late-eighth or early ninth-century copy of the logical corpus that Theodulf appears to have used (based on the Leidrad manuscript's preservation of the same collection of logical treatises utilised in the OC): Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pagès 1, p. 75.

[671] OC IV 23, p. 544: 'Adoratur enum Deus, sed non osculatur; venerantur sancti, qui a saeculo cum triumphis meritorum migraverunt, sed nec adorari debent cultu divino nec osculari possunt. Osculantur e contrario coniuges, liberi nec non servi, nec tamen adorantur.'

The whole household and menagerie then feature at the outset of Theodulf's discussion of Apuleius' convertible syllogism (*conversibili syllogismo*), perhaps with the justification that Apuleius himself made use of a neighing horse:

> Indeed, he who loves his wife or child, nevertheless does not adore them; he loves his slave, his slave-girl, his horse, his dog, his hawk, and other such things, nevertheless he does not adore them. Therefore, just as it is true when it says: "Because he adores them he also loves them", thus it is not able to be true, when it says: "Because he loves them he also adores them".[672]

In this instance, of course, the example of God was also missing. This omission of the examples of both God and the neighbour does weaken the argument here, since there is no example endorsing what Theodulf claimed to be the true statement: that adoring necessarily includes loving. Nonetheless, since the example of God being adored but not kissed had also been included earlier in the chapter, the single and rhetorically redundant use of the neighbour-*adoratio* example for the particular affirmation between loving and adoring does stand out as a potential editorial intervention.

As this close look at the two neighbour exceptions has shown, neither was perfectly integrated into the larger arguments where they occurred. Accordingly, the two *adoratio* exceptions of Book IV, thus, both stand out as potential instances of external or editorial intervention in Theodulf's text. These chime, therefore, with the examples in Book II (OC II 24 and 25) of *adoratio*'s other meaning, denoting a greeting, which were linked to palaeographic clues to a later stage of editorial intervention.

Beyond these four instances, all other times when the OC adduces the greeting-meaning of *adoratio* were firmly rooted in a historical, Old Testament context. The most extensive treatment of such biblical usage occurs in OC I 9, where Theodulf discussed two examples from Genesis 23:7 and Exodus 18:7. These Old Testament examples offer what appear to be the closest parallels to the Greek *proskynesis* as a physical act of bowing, a ceremonial gesture. That being said, Theodulf was quick to emphasise that these examples – in which he does ostensibly acknowledge the acts of adoration – were highly unusual and certainly offered no succour to the adoration of images:

> Those who seethe in the adoration of images peculiarly yet familiarly make use of these examples where Abraham is read to have adored the sons of Heth and Moses

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[672] OC IV 23, p. 547: 'Diligit enim quis uxorem sive prolem, nec tamen adorat eam; diligit servum, ancillam, equum, canem, accipitrem et cetera huiuscemodi, nec tamen adorat ea. Sicut ergo verum est, cum dicit: "quod adorat quis et diligit", non ita verum esse potest, cum dicit: "quod diligit quis et adorat"...'

to have adored Jethro the priest of Midian. The adoration of whom is certainly so
far from the adoration of a painted image, so much as by reason the same painted
man differs from a man of reason. Indeed, as much as the real man is by definition
separate from the painted man, the rational from the irrational, the sensible from
the insensate, the soul-filled from the soulless, so far off is the adoration of the real
man discerned to be from the adoration of his image. For in fact, one is to greet a
man with the obligation of greeting, and with the adoring service of kindness, and
the other is to adore with ignorant worship a picture of diverse colours confected
with dyes, without movement, without voice or other senses. Therefore, when we
are greeting one another we are adoring each other through the brotherliness
(which must be loved) and the affection towards near ones (which must be
displayed) and the degree of humility (which must be embraced), through which we
adore by our mutual greetings, we have been instructed thoroughly by almost all
the examples of holy Scriptures. But to adore or greet images, or to worship
whatever dumb trifles, we are prohibited rather than commanded in all places in
holy Scripture.[673]

It must be acknowledged that Theodulf did not dispute the use of *adorare* to describe the
actions in these passages. Significantly, he did not change the wording in his own Bibles
either.[674]

Can we, therefore, see a degree of flexibility in Theodulf's use of and understanding
of the term *adorare*? Did he accept the wider semantic field? At face value, these instances
do appear to resonate with the already-discussed usage of adoration as a humble greeting in
a contemporary context. However, these examples of Abraham bowing before the sons of
Heth and Moses before Jethro were essentially treated as asterisked exceptions to the use
of *adoratio* in a Judaeo-Christian context. As Theodulf continued to emphasise, these were

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[673] OC I 9, pp. 148-149: 'Illi qui in adorandis imaginibus aestuant, hoc peculiariter atque familiariter exemplo utuntur, quod Abraham filios Het et in Moyses Ietro sacerdotem Madian adorasse leguntur. Quorum quidem adoratio tantum distat a pictae imaginis adoratione, quantum ipse pictus homo a veri homonis ratione. Quantum enim versus homo a picto, rationalis ab inrationali, sensibilis ab insensibili, animatus ab inanimato in sui definitione secernitur, tantum procul dubio et huius adoratio ab illius adoratione discernitur. Aliud namque est hominem salutationis officio et humanitatis obsequio adorando salutare, aliud picturam diversorum colorum fucis conpaginatam, sine gressu, sine voce vel ceteris sensibus, nescio quo cultu adorare. Fraternitatem autem diligendam et dilectionem erga proximos exhibendum et humilitatis gradum amplectendum, per quae nos mutuo salutantes adoramus, pene omnium sanctarum Scripturarum perdocemur exemplis. Imagines vero adorare vel salutare vel quasdam insensatas nenias colere inhibemur potius quam instituimur pene in cunctis divinae Scripturae locis.'

[674] BnF Lat. 9380: f. 8v (Genesis 23:7) 'Surrexit abraham & **adoravit** populum terrae filios videlic& H&h'; ff. 19r-19v (Exodus 18:7) 'Qui egressus in occursum cognati sui **adoravit** & osculatus est eum salutaveruntque se mutua verbis pacificis Quumque intrass& tabernaculum'.

outliers, justified for serving God's higher purpose. They could also be countered with more numerous examples of *adoratio* being withheld:

> For in those examples, where the humble men Abraham or Moses are read to have adored relatives to their own advantages, and where Mardocheus is discovered to have avoided adoring the arrogant man Aman (who desired the death of the people of God), this is evidently shown: that holy men towards humility, whether in order that they encourage towards better or that the services of the same highest power should not lose, are allies through the same humility, truly against the wickedness of the least, whether in order that they may deflect the allies of evil or that they might compel them to become reasonable again, they have been strongly erected. Therefore in that example, where John in the Apocalypse is restrained by the angel in order that he should not adore him, with the angel saying to him: *See so that you do not do it; I am your fellow servant*, and the shepherd of the church, Peter, persuasively avoided the adoration of the centurion, saying: *Rise, brother, I am a man just like you*; and the *vessel of election*, Paul, with Barnabus spurned the Lycaonian adoration with powerful opposition, with all doubt far off the adoration of the creature, adoration which is solely fitting to God, who alone must be adored, alone must be worshipped, is forbidden to be devoted (to the creature), save merely for the sake of greeting, through which humility is demonstrated.[675]

The caveat in the final sentence of the above passage – 'save merely for the sake of greeting, through which humility is demonstrated' (*salva tantummodo salutationis causa, per quam humilitas demonstratur*) – does appear strikingly similar to the contemporary *adoratio*-greeting exceptions in Books II and IV, discussed above. Although the passage under discussion here was apparently written before the changes in Book II and (potential changes in) Book IV, this usage of *adoratio* does invite us to trace a possible written source for the OC's shift towards a more dualist, expansive understanding of *adoratio*. Immediately following the above-quoted passage, Theodulf incorporated a substantial excerpt from Augustine's *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* (on Exodus 18:7). Interestingly, this excerpt actually

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[675] OC I 9, pp. 150-151: 'Nam in eo, quod Abraham sive Moyses homines humiles suis utilitatibus necessarios adorasse leguntur et Mardocheus Aman hominem arrogantem et in populi Dei interitum inhiantem adorare contempsisse reperitur, hoc evidenter ostenditur, quod sancti viri erga humiles, sive ut eos ad meliora hortentur sive eiusdem summae virtutis munera non amittant, per eandem humilitatem sunt socii, contra parvorum vero nequitias, sive ut malorum societates declinent sive ut eos resipiscere conpellant, fortiter sint erecti. In eo igitur, quod Iohannes in Apocalypsi ab angelo cohibetur, ne se adoret, dicente eodem angelo: *Vide, ne feceris; conservus tuus suum*, et pastor ecclesiae Petrus blande centurionis adorationem vitaverit dicens: *Surge, frater, et ego homo sum, sicut et tu*; et *vas electionis* Paulus cum Barnaba Lycaonum adorationem valida reluctatione spreverit, procul dubio omni creaturae adoratio, quae solum Deum decet, qui solus adorandus, solus conlendus est, inpendenda esse vetatur, salva tantummodo salutationis causa, per quam humilitas demonstratur'.

highlighted ambiguities about the actual identities of the object and subject of the adoration in Exodus 18:7 and possibly also in Genesis 23:7:

> Indeed this has been insinuated in the example, where Moses, with whom God spoke, had neither disdained nor avoided the counsel of his foreign-born father-in-law, and yet Jethro himself, although he was not an Israelite, both men between themselves were worshippers of the true God and ought to be reverently considered wise men, and just as Job, although he was not from the same people, it is rightly asked, no indeed it is more credible to be thought – obviously words have been imposed ambiguously – either whether he had truly sacrificed to the God of his people, because he saw his son in law, or whether Moses himself adored him, yet even if it has been distinctly laid down concerning adoration, honour can be seen to have been given to the father in law by the same method, by which it is the habit for the sake of furnishing honour to men by the Fathers just as it is written concerning Abraham, when he adored the sons of Heth.[676]

Theodulf chose to introduce this passage as Augustine's statement on Exodus 18:7 and Genesis 23:7, describing it as being 'what he understood concerning this adoration of Abraham or Moses'.[677] However, Augustine had actually treated the Genesis passage in more detail earlier in his *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*. As Freeman remarks, surely – since he evidently consulted Augustine for his exposition on the Exodus passage – Theodulf must have also read Augustine's earlier comments upon the Genesis passage.[678] Yet, that passage does not feature. Its contents might offer a clue as to why Theodulf omitted any reference:

> *Abraham, rising up, adored the people of the earth* (Gn 23:7). The question is asked how it is written, *You shall adore the Lord your God and him alone shall you serve* (Dt 6:13; 10:20), when Abraham so honors a people of the gentiles that he even adores them. But we should notice that in the same commandment it is not said, 'The Lord your God alone shall you adore.' This is what was said: *And him alone shall you serve*, which in Greek is λατρεύσεις, for such service is owed only to God. Thus idolaters are

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[676] OC I 9, p. 151: 'Insinuatur hic etiam humilitatis exemplum, quod Moyses, cum quo Deus loquebatur, non fastidivit neque contempsit alienigenae soceri sui consilium, quamquam et ipse Ietro, cum Israhelita non fuisset, utrum inter viros Deum verum colentes religioseque sapientes habendus sit, quemadmodum et Iob, cum ex ipso populo non fuisset, merito quaeritur, immo credibilius habetur – ambigue quippe posita sunt verba – vel utrum sacrificaverit Deo vero in populo eius, quando vidit generum suum, vel utrum eum adoraverit ipse Moyses, quamquam de adoratione etiamsi expresse positum esset, honor videretur socero redditus eo modo, quo solet hominibus honorificentiae causa exhiberi a patribus, sicut de Abraham scriptum est, quod adoraverit filios Heth.'

[677] OC I 9, p. 151: 'quid de hac adoratione Abrahae vel Moysi senserit.' For these biblical acts of adoration: Genesis 23:7; Exodus 18:7.

[678] Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', p. 38.

condemned, that is, those who give to idols service of the sort that is owed to God.
It is not surprising that in another place, somewhere in Scripture, and angel forbids
a man to adore him, so that the Lord would be adored instead, for the angel had
appeared in such a way that he could be adored instead of God. [Rv 19:10] And
thus the adorer had to be corrected.[679]

While this passage does not directly feature in OC I 9, Freeman posits that it did leave its
mark in the removal of one CAS chapter which, judging from its title, would have
discussed Deuteronomy 6:13 and offered a narrow understanding of *adoratio*, with little
room for the more general use that Augustine suggests here.[680] This passage from
Augustine could also have provided a genesis for the series of putative editorial changes in
Books Two and Four that eventually offered a more expansive understanding of the
semantic range of *adoratio*. Yet Theodulf, if he had read these sections of Augustine, clearly
had reservations. His wariness is evident in the first instance by the omission of this
passage here in OC I 9. Combined with the gradual manner in which changes to the OC's
use of *adoratio* were introduced – certainly in Book Two, but, potentially, also in Book Four
– this could hint at a contemporary intermediary advocating the Augustinian position,
rather than Theodulf making changes of his own accord.

The wider context of these discussions was one of disagreement. The pope was
evidently opposed to Theodulf's narrow construction of *adoratio*. The pope disapproved of
Theodulf's CAS chapter on Deuteronomy 6:13; by contrast, he used a passage from
Ambrose's *De fide* to show that adoration was not exclusively owed to the Lord God, since
Christ ought also to be adored.[681] Since the pope's letter is only transmitted as a sender-
copy, we do not know whether Theodulf, or indeed anyone at Charlemagne's court,
actually read this papal rebuttal. However, even if he had read it, it seems improbable that
the pope's argument alone should have won Theodulf over on this matter, since the OC
never appears to limit adoration to God the Father, specifically, but rather to the Trinity as
a whole. Furthermore, the piecemeal nature of the editorial changes to the OC's use of
adoratio hints at a prominent figure, present at court for much of the duration of the

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[679] Augustine, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, Genesis 61, trans. Joseph Lienhard and Sean Doyle in *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21ˢᵗ Century*, Volume 14: *Writings on the Old Testament*, ed. Boniface Ramsey (Hyde Park, New York, 2016), p. 38.
[680] Freeman, '*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*: An Introduction', p. 38; Pope Hadrian I, *Ep. 2*, MGH Epp. 5, p. 53: 'De eo, quod non bene intellegant hoc, quod dictum est: *Dominum Deum adorabis et illi soli servies*, ut adorationem quasi absolute diceret et servitium ipsi soli dixisset'. Although, interestingly, Theodulf's own Bible, like the modern edition of the Vulgate I have used in this thesis, renders the crucial *adorare* in Deuteronomy 6:13 as *timere* (fear). Deuteronomy 6:13: 'Dominum Deum tuum timebis et ipsi servies ac per nomen illius iurabis'; Cf. BnF Lat. 9380, f. 40v: 'D[omi]n[u]m d[eu]m tuum timebis & ipsi soli seruies ac per nomen illius iurabis'.
[681] Pope Hadrian I, *Ep.* 2, MGH Epp. 5, p. 53.

Vatican manuscript's composition. Incidentally, this latter point surely rules out Alcuin, who was, of course, in England for much of the period in question.[682]

Although there are hints of the emerging use of *adoratio* as an everyday greeting in the above-quoted sections from OC I 9, it remains clear that Theodulf himself was, at the very least, uneasy with this usage. OC I 9 was not a chapter in which Theodulf confidently asserted his own views. Instead, we see him treading a tightrope while being pulled off balance by two biblical *exempla* which confounded his black and white doctrinal understanding, forcing a hint of grey to seep into view. As seen in the above passages, Theodulf did not dwell for long upon Genesis 23:7 and Exodus 18:7. Those passages were uncomfortable territory for him because of Jerome's problematic use of *adoratio*. Whereas the OC typically asserts its case from the offensive position, berating the Greeks for their ignorance and impiety, the OC's discussion of acts of adoration by Abraham and Moses has, instead, a defensive tenor, with Theodulf scrambling for justifications as to why such God-fearing men would stoop so low before other, lesser humans.[683] In the remainder of the chapter, however, Theodulf would resume a counter-offensive against the Greeks, by highlighting the New Testament rejections of such acts of adoration by John, Peter and Paul.[684] In so doing, he exposed the convictions that caused him such angst in relation to the Genesis and Exodus passages: biblical literalism, dialectics and an unwavering conviction that words have clear and precise meanings. As he wrote:

> But neither ought that example be completely passed over in silence, where they
> say that Jacob adored Pharaoh or Daniel adored king Nebuchadnezzar, which
> indeed neither is it believed by the Hebrews, nor in our Latin books, which have
> been truthfully translated by the blessed Jerome from Hebrew, is it anywhere
> discovered. For no more than once is Jacob read to be in the sight of Pharaoh.

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[682] Except, potentially, via the correspondence alluded to in the York Annals account of 792, trans. in Freeman, 'Carolingian Orthodoxy and the Fate of the Libri Carolini', p. 66: 'Charles, king of the Franks, dispatched to Britain the synodal book sent to him from Constantinople, in which book, alas! many things were found that were unsuitable and contrary to the true faith; not the least of these being the decision, by the unanimous consent of almost all the theologians of the East, and more than 300 bishops, that images ought to be worshipped, which the Church of God altogether abhors; against which [error] Alcuin wrote a letter, confirmed by the authority of holy Scripture, which he delivered to the Frankish king, together with the synodal book, in the name of our bishops and princes.'

[683] This defensive mode includes leaning heavily upon the reinforcement of Augustine's above-mentioned discussion of the two passages in the *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* (*Exodus*, 69).

[684] This counter-offensive had really begun in the above passage, with three examples – enough to outweigh the two troubling ones – of adoration being refused by suitably all-star cast of God-fearing men of the New Testament: John, Peter and Paul. Theodulf also had the easy win of pointing out that *adoratio* towards men was very different to *adoratio* towards images, although given his reluctance to expand his definition of *adoratio* beyond adoration of God, this particular trump card was not played as strongly as it might otherwise have been. It is, however, the subsequent discussion of terminology that is more revealing, especially for the present discussion of the II Nicaea translation issues and Theodulf's understanding of different devotional terms. For these New Testament rejections of *adoratio*: Apocalypse 22:9; Acts 10:26.

Which certainly Scripture describes in this manner: *After this Joseph introduced his father to the king and stood him in his presence. He blessed him and having been asked by him: How many are the days of the years of your life? Jacob responded: The days of the pilgrimage of my life are one hundred and thirty years, few and evil, and they are not come up to the days my fathers have been pilgrims. And with the king being blessed he went out of the doors.* In which words Jacob is shown not to have adored him, but to have blessed him. And which certainly if it had happened (that Jacob had adored Pharaoh), should not therefore have happened so that thence it might be supposed an example of images having to be adored, but in order that the humility of the holy God-fearing patriarch might be demonstrated on account of his honouring the king. Which as long as they should think it to be thus that 'to bless' is placed for 'to adore', as I believe (they do), because they judge divine Scriptures by making use of the most familiar of their manner of speaking, which certainly they call impropriety of speech. Which mode of speech is so peculiar to them, in order that they place 'to have' and 'to greet' and 'to kiss' and 'to venerate' for 'to adore' and they accept any arrangement of these words made by others and, as I have thus said, they have changed almost all other words of this sort into 'to adore'. Truly just as holy Scripture rejects the other errors, thus indeed it rejects this way of speaking, but instead it always makes use of clear, particular and constant knowledge, words or thoughts with the prophet attesting, who says: *the Law of the Lord is irreprehensible.* Which if it places 'to bless' for 'to adore' makes use of imprecise speech. If it uses imprecise speech, it is reprehensible. However, it is irreprehensible, therefore it does not place 'to bless' for 'to adore'.[685]

By attacking the Greek employment of Jacob blessing Pharaoh (Genesis 47:7-10), Theodulf shone a light upon the logical assertions compelling him to accept, but treat as exceptional,

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[685] OC I 9, pp. 151-153: 'Sed nec illud silentio praetereundum est, quod dicunt Iacob Pharaonem adorasse sive Daniel Nabuchodnosor regem, quod quidem nec in Hebraea habetur nec in nostris Latinis codicibus, qui a beato Hieronimo ex Hebraica veritate translati sunt, uspiam reperitur. Non enim amplius quam semel Iacob in conspectu Pharaonis fuisse legitur. Quod quidem hoc modo Scriptura narrat: *Post haec introduxit Ioseph patrem suum ad regem et statuit eum coram eo. Qui benedicens illi et interrogatus ab eo: Quot sunt dies annorum vitae tuae? Respondit Iacob: Dies peregrinationis et vitae meae centum triginta annorum sunt, parvi et mali, et non pervenerunt usque ad dies patrum meorum, quibus peregrinati sunt. Et benedicto rege egressus est foras.* In quibus verbis non eum adorasse, sed benedixisse monstratur. Quod quidem et si fecisset, non ideo faceret ut inde adorandarum imaginum exemplum sumeretur, sed ut humilitas sancti patriarchae Deum timentis, regem honorificantis monstraretur. Quae dum ita se habeant, reor, quod illi arbitrentur divinam Scripturam illo familiarissimo illorum loquendi genere, quod quidam acirologiam nuncupant, uti, ut 'benedicere' posuit pro 'adorare'. Qui loquendi modus tanto eis peculiarias est, ut et 'habere' et 'salutare' et 'osculari' et 'venerari' pro 'adorare' et ipsi ponant et ab aliis positum accipiant et, ut ita dixerim, paene omnia eis huiuscemodi verba in 'adorare' conversa sint. Sancta vero Scriptura sicut ceteros errores, ita etiam hunc loquendi modum abnuit, sed puris, propriis, fixis sive prudentibus semper verbis sive sententiis utitur propheta adtestante, qui ait: *Lex Domini inrepraehensibilis.* Quae si 'benedicere' posuit pro 'adorare', inpropriis dictionibus utitur. Si inpropriis dictionibus utitur, repreahensibilis est. Est autem intepraehensibilis, non igitur 'benedicere' posuit pro 'adorare'.'

Genesis 23:7 and Exodus 18:7. The basic argument here was that the II Nicaean churchmen had had the audacity to change the wording of Scripture to suit their argument. It is worth noting, here, that Theodulf was not tilting at windmills.[686] To have simultaneously marshalled Genesis 47:7-10 alongside Genesis 23:7 and Exodus 18:7 – which do, in the Vulgate at least, employ the distinct verbs *adorare* and *benedicere* – as evidence of the appropriateness of *proskynesis* towards images, the churchmen of II Nicaea must themselves have held, contrary to Theodulf, that such words possessed, at the very least, an overlap in meaning.[687]

This (the foregoing) passage also features a rare instance of Theodulf acknowledging the importance, and potential pitfalls, of translation. The remark about going back to original language of the passage – Hebrew – is especially intriguing. On one level, of course, this served his broader strategy of belittling the Greeks by cutting the Greek language out of the transmission of the Old Testament: Jerome created his translation directly from the Hebrew source.[688] The wording Theodulf employed here implies an alternative source of more direct access to a Hebrew text, which he had used in addition to the Latin translation derived from Jerome's Hebrew translation. Neither of these two directly or indirectly Hebrew-derived sources gave a reading along the lines of that the Greeks had given (*quod quidem nec in Hebraea habetur nec in nostris Latinis codicibus, qui a beato Hieronimo ex Hebraica veritate translati sunt, uspiam reperitur*).[689]

In addition to this endorsement of Jerome's *Hebraica veritas* Theodulf's claim to have access to another, more direct Hebrew source (beyond the translation provided by Jerome) demands attention. In fact, the wording here (*in Hebraea habetur*) is remarkably similar to a phrase Theodulf would later use in his own edition of a pandect Bible (BnF Lat. 11937). There he noted alternative readings derived from the most up-to-date Hebrew

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[686] As claimed by: Mühlbacher, *Deutsche Geschichte unter den Karolingern*, pp. 195-196.

[687] Interestingly, these passages do appear to use different verbs in the Greek Septuagint, like in the Vulgate and Theodulf's own Bible. Where the Vulgate uses *adorare* in Genesis 23:7 and Exodus 18:7, the Greek Septuagint uses *proskynesis*. Genesis 47:7, on the other hand, in the Septuagint employs *eulogia* (i.e. 'a blessing'), which is, of course more closely comparable to the Latin *benedicere* than *proskynesis* is to *adorare*. Genesis 23:7 and Exodus 18:7, in the Yiddish of the Torah, feature a word closer to the Greek *proskynesis* in meaning: *shachah* ('to bow down'). For a parallel reading of the three texts (Torah, Septuagint and Vulgate), see: *The Triglot Bible; Comprising the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments in the Original Tongues*: I: *The Old Testament* (London, 1890), n.p.. For the Vulgate and Theodulf's own renderings of these passages: (*adorare*) Genesis 23:7; (*benedicere*) Genesis 47:7; (*adorare*) Exodus 18:7. Cf. (*adorare*) Genesis 23:7, in Paris BnF Lat. 9380, f. 8v; (*benedicere*) Genesis 47:7, in Paris BnF Lat. 9380, f. 14v; (*adorare*) Exodus 18:7, in Paris BnF Lat. 9380, f. 19r.

[688] On Jerome's direct use of Hebrew sources for his *iuxta Hebraeos* translation: Stefan Rebenich, 'Jerome: The *vir trilinguis* and the *Hebraica veritas*', *Vigiliae Christianae* 47 (1993), pp. 50-77. Aspersions against Jerome's ability to have used Hebrew sources directly have continually been cast by critics from his own time down to the modern day. Rebenich was especially arguing against the views of Pierre Nautin, especially: Pierre Nautin, 'Hieronymus', in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 15 (1986), pp. 304-315.

[689] OC I 9, p. 151.

revisions of the Massoretic text.[690] In that Theodulf-Bible of the early ninth-century, these readings were marked by sometimes differently abbreviated variations of '*hebraea habet*'.[691] The similarity between the OC's turn of phrase and that employed in the pandect Bible in which what the Hebrew held was clearly delimited from Jerome's Hebrew translation is notable. Moreover, this similarity provides the tantalising possibility that whatever networks the bishop of Orléans would subsequently use to annotate his own Bible with Massoretic Hebrew variants were already being used by him as early as the 790s in the production of the OC. At any rate, drawing upon these two sources of Hebrew authority – the most up-to-date rabbinic scholarship of the proto-Massoretic text and Jerome's *ex Hebraica* translation – Theodulf was clearly confident that no authority existed to question the biblical wording of any of these passages; just as it could not be questioned by the Greeks that Jacob and Daniel had not adored Pharoah or Nebuchadnezzar, Theodulf himself had no grounds to dispute the fact that Abraham and Moses had adored the sons of Heth and Jethro, respectively.

It is the second half of this passage, however, which most clearly shows the dilemma which forced Theodulf's hand in OC I 9. Here Theodulf employed syllogistic logic to reinforce his biblical literalism. This innate biblical literalism can be seen in the assertion that Scripture 'always makes use of clear, particular and constant knowledge, words or thoughts' (*puris, propriis, fixis sive prudentibus semper verbis sive sententiis utitur*).[692] On its own, this conviction sufficed to restrain Theodulf from any Scriptural alterations of his own. However, he went further, using dialectic reasoning to establish a secure foundation for such literalism. Whereas in OC IV 23 he would employ the more complex square of

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[690] Candidard and Chevalier-Royet, 'Critique textuelle et recours à l'Hébreu à l'époque carolingienne. Le cas exceptionnel d'une Bible de Théodulf (Bible de Saint-Germain, ms. Paris BnF lat. 11937)', pp. 13-34, esp. p. 30. Candidard and Chevalier-Royet's study is especially notable for challenging existing assumptions about the nature of Theodulf's Saint-Germain Bible and its sources in two key ways. Firstly, they contend with Dahan's identification of this Bible as a 'rough draft' for a planned revision of the biblical text, by presenting it instead as Theodulf's own personal Bible, offering more accurate alternative Hebrew readings for scholarly purposes, while preserving Jerome's text. Secondly, they identify the correspondence between these alternative readings and the Leningrad Codex (the earliest surviving version of the revised Massoretic Hebrew text), suggesting that – contrary to Saltman's claim that the annotator (also identified as the author of the Pseudo-Jerome, *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Libros Regum et Paralipomenon*) was a Jewish convert in Theodulf's service and, thus, cut-off from his cultural milieu – the annotations were made based upon Theodulf engaging in a sustained correspondence with rabbi(s) who remained connected with the rabbinic communities engaged in the revision of the proto-Massoretic text. See also: Dahan, *L'exégèse chrètienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval, XIIe-XIVe siècles*, p. 166; Saltman, 'The Θ^G Bible and its marginal Scholia', pp. 5-11; Michael Graves, 'Glimpses into the History of the Hebrew Bible Through the Vulgate Tradition, with Special Reference to Vulgate MS Θ^G', in Andrés Piquer Otero and Pablo Torijano (eds.), *The Text of the Hebrew Bible and its Editions* (Leiden, 2017), pp. 217-254.

[691] The most common abbreviation Theodulf used here was 'h.', but also 'In h.'. For examples of both variants, see for instance: Saint-Germain Bible (BnF Lat. 11937), f. 11v. On occasions where a word was omitted in the Hebrew, Theodulf also used 'h. n̄ hab̄', for '*hebraea non habet*'. For an example of this, see: Saint-Germain Bible (BnF Lat. 11937), f. 13r.

[692] OC I 9, p. 152.

opposition to reinforce the distinctiveness of *adorare*, in OC I 9 his goal of proving the perfect, unquestionable precision of biblical language was served through the employment of a simpler combination of major and minor premise, from which a conclusion is deduced. However, Theodulf actually produced something more complex here, which conceals the clarity of the three-sentence Aristotelian syllogism. He used two sequential deductions compressed into a parallel structure. If drawn out into their appropriate logical sequence, one can see that the conclusion of the first syllogism becomes the major premise of the second:

Syllogism 1:

<u>Major Premise</u>: Scripture is irreprehensible.

<u>Minor Premise</u>: Imprecise speech is reprehensible.

<u>Conclusion</u>: Scripture does not use imprecise speech.

Syllogism 2:

<u>Major Premise</u>: Scripture does not use imprecise speech.

<u>Minor Premise</u>: It is imprecise to use *benedicere* and *adorare* interchangeably.

<u>Conclusion</u>: Scripture does not use *benedicere* and *adorare* interchangeably.

Clearly for Theodulf this was a potent argument allying his innate biblical literalism with his newly acquired ammunition of Aristotelian syllogistic reasoning; the Greeks had greatly erred through their apparent contempt for the precision of the Bible's word choice. But, to return to the main point of this discussion, we must observe that this distinctive esteem for the precision of the Bible's choice of words shaped the argument that Theodulf himself was able to make in OC I 9. In accepting the two instances of *adoratio* that Theodulf read in his own Latin Bible (Genesis 23:7 and Exodus 18:7), he was forced to accept an expanded semantic field for the definition of that term, as a greeting which expressed utmost humility and was offered as part of God's higher purpose by his most faithful servants Abraham and Moses. But Theodulf was essentially compelled, by the powerful cocktail of his most fundamental religious convictions, his preference for textual literalism, and his own syllogistic deductions, to expand his definition here. Given the similarity of this statement to those interventions subsequently added into Book II and possibly also Book IV in a non-Old Testament context, perhaps this earlier concession was also influenced by the same unidentified courtier(s). However, this was not representative of a universal double

meaning of *adoratio* held by Theodulf, as Haendler, for instance, suggests.[693] Instead, these Old Testament *exempla* were conspicuous exceptions to what was still, to all intents and purposes a hard and fast rule for Theodulf. At least one contemporary at court appears to have disagreed with the strictness of Theodulf's definition, indicated by the succession of editorial changes to the OC. But to Theodulf, the author of the OC, *adoratio* was, and remained, the devotion reserved solely for God.[694]

4.3: Theodulf's devotional lexicon

As demonstrated in the preceding analysis the OC's use of *adoratio* was not entirely coterminous with Theodulf's own usage. The *adoratio* exceptions, which deviated from Theodulf's more regular insistence upon *adoratio* as the adoration due solely to the Trinitarian Godhead, are shown by their manuscript and textual contexts to have been most likely introduced by a third party over successive stages of editorial intervention. For Theodulf *adoratio* remained distinctly due to God. While the usage of *adoratio* had clearly been the most troubling for Theodulf and the other Carolingian clerics – with disagreement, it seems, even amongst themselves, let alone with the Greeks – it was in fact only one amongst many devotional terms employed throughout the OC. By considering the use of these other terms in the OC and how their meanings and applications differed from that already elucidated for *adoratio*, we will be able to arrive at a clearer understanding of Theodulf's devotional lexicon. This will then enable a comparison between the particular devotional terms used in relation to the *res sacratae* and relics and a consideration of what the terms used for each tell us about how Theodulf thought that each group of objects ought to be treated and used within true Christian worship.

As observed by revisionists within the Nicaea-OC translation debate, even the use of some of these other terms – in particular *veneratio* – which might have been more fitting translations for the Greek *proskynesis*, would still have triggered Frankish ire.[695] This is certainly born out by the OC polemic, which also includes indictments against II Nicaea for exhibiting even *veneratio* towards images.[696] Yet, in making such a case, Haendler suggests that this opposition was due to Theodulf's view of *adoratio* and *veneratio* as

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[693] Haendler, *Epochen karolingischer theologie*, p. 70.

[694] In Haendler's defence, he seems partially forced to overplay the external evidence of general Frankish understanding of other meanings of *adoratio* as a result of lacking a distinct, securely identifiable author of the OC (since he was writing in the 1950s). This leads him to speak of a coherent Frankish understanding informing the OC as if it were written by the Franks as a whole, some of whom, judging by the ARF account, did hold a slightly less precise definition of *adoratio*.

[695] For instance: Haendler, *Epochen karolingischer theologie*, p. 71.

[696] For instance: OC III 27, p. 467: 'Ac per hoc venerationi quae hominibus caritatis causa est exhibenda, imaginum veneratio nullatenus est coaequanda.'

interchangeable. In fact, all the exempla brought forth by Haendler to show *veneratio* and *adoratio* being treated as a single unit were quotations – or reactions to quotations – from the translation of II Nicaea itself.[697] On the contrary, those exempla Haendler discusses which are Theodulf's own voice, emphasise a distinction between *veneratio* and *adoratio*, which Haendler diminishes.[698] In fact, reflecting Theodulf's strict adherence to the words of Scripture (as demonstrated especially in OC I 9), it was *colere* ('to worship') that the OC linked most consistently with *adorare*. Unlike Haendler's supposed link to *veneratio*, *colere* was linked to *adorare* by Scripture. Indeed, this Scriptural binding also ties *colere* to the definition Theodulf gave of *adoratio* – in OC III 15 – as the divine service due to God. For instance, in OC II 21, responding to Nicaean anathemas against those who refused to venerate images in spite of an extensive arsenal of patristic and Scriptural supporting statements, Theodulf retorted that 'the more terrifying trumpet of divine Scripture thunders forth that God alone ought to be worshipped, he alone ought to be adored, he alone ought to be given glory.'[699] This combination of *colere* and *adorare* echoed the same combination in the biblical verse Theodulf was alluding to: Matthew 4:10.[700] In agreement with Schmandt, therefore, it seems that the translation of *proskynesis* as *adoratio*, rather than *veneratio* only increased the severity of the Greek transgression in Theodulf's mind.[701] However, the evidence of the OC clearly contradicts Haendler's suggestion that, in Theodulf's devotional lexicon, *veneratio* was interchangeable with *adoratio*. If any word could be equated with Theodulf's *adorare*, it was *colere*.

The position of *adoratio*, *veneratio* and other terms within Theodulf's devotional lexicon was most clearly elucidated in the aforementioned dialectic reasoning of OC IV 23. In this chapter, Theodulf used dialectic reasoning to distinguish between, primarily, three devotional terms: *adorare*, *osculari* ('to kiss') and *diligere* ('to cherish'). In a letter sent to the emperor Constantine and his mother Irene to accompany the *Horos*, read at the seventh session of II Nicaea, these terms – along with others, including (in the Latin translation, at least) *amplectere* ('to embrace') and *participare* ('to participate') – had been conflated in a

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[697] Haendler, *Epochen karolingischer theologie*, p. 71: OC III 7, 'adorare et venerari sacras et venerandas imagines'; OC III 27, 'venerandas et adorandas sicut locum Dei'.

[698] Haendler, *Epochen karolingischer theologie*, pp. 70-71: OC IV 23, 'adoratur Deus' distinguished from 'venerantur sancti'; OC III 24, images to receive neither *adoratio* nor *veneratio*, but *veneratio* fitting for relics; OC III 27, 'Quantum enim distat inter templum, quod mutuorum hominum capax est et imaginem, quae praeter memoriam visionis, quam intuentibus infert, nullius est congrua officiis, tantum distare venerationem sive adorationem imaginum a veneratione, quae templo Dei exhibetur, multis patet indiciis.'

[699] OC II 21, p. 274: 'Solum namque Deum colere, ipsum adorare, ipsum glorificare debere totius divinae Scripturae tuba terribilis intonat.'

[700] As, for instance, in BnF Lat. 9380, f. 255v: 'Scriptum est d[omi]n[u]m d[eu]m tuum adorabis & illi soli servies'; Cf. Matthew 4:10: 'scriptum est Dominum Deum tuum adorabis et illi soli servies'.

[701] Walther Schmandt, *Studien zu den Libri Carolini* (Mainz, 1966), p. 36.

passage excerpted in the title of OC IV 23.[702] Certainly, the Greek passage, discussing Homeric terminology and prefixes did not translate well into Latin, especially evident in the translation of *participare* as a prefixed form of *adorare*, which patently does not hold true for Latin. Nonetheless, what Theodulf saw when reading this translated passage was an unacceptable conflation of myriad devotional terms that had, to his mind, no business being equated to each other. His initial rebuttal was simple and to the point:

> Sometimes that which is adored is not kissed and that which is kissed is not adored. Indeed, God is adored, but not kissed; the saints, who have migrated from the world with the triumphs of merits, are venerated, but neither ought they be adored with divine worship nor are they able to be kissed. On the contrary, spouses are kissed, but by no means are they, children or slaves to be adored.[703]

In the above passage, Theodulf did not emphasise any distinction between *adoratio* and *cultus* ('worship'). Given that the point of this passage was to emphasise the distinction between different terms of devotion suggests that Theodulf did see some kind of correlation between adoration and worship, likely based on the Scriptural pairing of these terms as due to God alone.[704] More than emphasising difference alone, Theodulf appears to have viewed the devotional terms in the above passage as forming a clearly delineated hierarchy, each with its own set of specifically sanctioned recipients. These recipients ranged down from God (*adorare*, *colere*), through saints (*venerari*) and, finally, to the members of one's own household (*osculari*). This first statement in OC IV 23 also suggests that each rung on this hierarchy was mutually exclusive. However, some of this exclusivity was clearly practical: that God and the departed saints could not be kissed was down to a lack of physical presence.[705] The relationships between these rungs, along with further

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[702] OC IV 23, p. 544: '*Quique sanctorum principum nostrae doctrinae et eorum successores aegregium patrum nostrorum et has adorari videlicet osculari; idipsum enim utrumque; communem vero Grecae antique loquutionis osculari et amplectere designatur, et voulntatis extensione aliqua significat amoris, sicuti fero et offero, firmo et confirmo, participo et adoro, quod demonstrat osculum et extensionis amicitiae. Quod enim quis diligit et adorat, et quod adorat omnino et diligit.*' For a translation of the original Greek, 'Letter from Tarasios and the Council to the Emperors', in *The Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787)*, trans. Price, p. 583: '...as was laid down in law by both the holy originators of our teaching and our inspired fathers who succeeded them – and that these are to be venerated (προσκυνεῖν), that is, greeted (ἀσπάζεσθαι). These two are the same, for κυνεῖν in the ancient Greek language means 'greet' and 'kiss', and the addition of προσ adds an intensity to love; as in the case of φέρω and προσφέρω and of κυρῶ and προσκυρῶ, κυνῶ and προσκυνῶ express a greeting and extended kiss. For what someone kisses he also venerates, and what he venerates he certainly also kisses...'

[703] OC IV 23, p. 544: '...praesertim cum interdum et quod adoratur non osculetur et quod osculatur non adoretur. Adoratur enim Deus, sed nec adorari debent cultu divino nec osculari possunt. Osculantur e contrario coniuges, liberi nec non et servi, nec tamen adorantur.'

[704] See above, concerning Matthew 4:10.

[705] It is worth noting that Theodulf did not mention saints' relics at this juncture: should this be taken to mean that he did not think that the relics of departed saints should be kissed as part of their veneration, or, was this simply for rhetorical simplicity?

devotional terms applicable to each level, was more thoroughly developed through the remainder of OC IV 23.

In opposing the complete equality placed by the translation of the II Nicaean statement between *adorare* and *diligere*, Theodulf drew upon Apuleius' *Peri hermeneias*.[706] According to the *Peri hermeneias* a complete equality between a declarative and subjective required reversibility between the two statements. This was the fault Theodulf laid at the feet of the Greeks: they had reversed a declarative (he who adores) and subjective (cherishes) that were not reversible. While it was, Theodulf argued, correct to say that 'He who adores also cherishes', it was not correct to infer from this that 'He who cherishes also adores'. The former statement fitted with devotion towards God, who was to be both adored and cherished, but the reversed statement was contradicted by the relationship with one's family, since members of one's household were to be cherished, but could certainly not be adored (as adoration was, of course, reserved for God alone).[707] For a truly convertible relationship between declarative and subjective, Theodulf turned to the *Peri hermeneias* itself, of the relationship between being a horse and neighing: 'that which neighs is a horse and that which is a horse neighs'.[708] Given the already mentioned example of family members, of course the relationship between adoring and cherishing could not be converted in the same manner as that between neighing and being a horse. Instead, Theodulf argued, the relationship between *adorare* and *diligere* was more akin to relationships such as it being daytime and light; or someone being full and having eaten; drunkenness and drinking heavily; wisdom and learning. As with adoration and cherishing, the inversions of these pairings do not necessarily hold true: there can be light without day; someone could eat without becoming full, or drink without becoming drunk, or learn without attaining wisdom.[709]

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[706] This, in fact, does appear to have been an equivalence generated by the Latin translation, since the Greek (according to Price's translation) text had posited this equality between kissing and venerating. Although it is worth noting that this would still have irked Theodulf based on the above-quoted passage from the start of OC IV 23, since departed saints could be venerated, but not kissed, while family members could be kissed but not venerated, thus contradicting the absolute equality implied by the II Nicaean remark that whatever someone kisses he also venerates and vice versa.

[707] OC IV 23, p. 547: 'Sed nec illud praetereundum est, quod vanissimam argumentationem suam quadam frivola et inani conclusione, quasi quodam conversibili syllogismo conficere nisi sunt dicentes: "Quod enim diligit quis et adorat, et quod adorat omnino et diligit", nescientes ideo haec duo vicissim minime posse circumverti, quod inaequalia inter se sint latiusque "diligere" quam "adorare" possit progredi. Diligit enim quis uxorem sive prolem, nec tamen adorat eam; diligit servum, ancillam, equum, canem, accipitrem et cetera huiuscemodi, nec tamen adorat ea. Sicut ergo verum est, cum dicit: "quod adorat quis et diligit", non ita verum esse potest, cum dicit: "quod diligit quis et adorat"; non enim haec circumversio rationabiliter stare potest, quoniam et unum illorum latius, ut diximus, protenditur et nulla est in his tanta proprietas, ut mutuo circumverti credantur.'

[708] OC IV 23, p. 547: 'quod hinnibile est, equus est, et quod equus est, hinnibile est'.

[709] OC IV 23, p. 548: 'Circumverti autem nequaquam possunt haec, ut si quis dicat: "Si dies est, lucet"; consequens quippe est, ut, si dies est, luceat; si satiatus est, consequens est, ut comedisse credatur; si aebrius,

Theodulf's use of the *Peri hermeneias* here, has significant ramifications for our earlier identification of his clearly delineated hierarchy of devotional terms. Given the similarity of appropriate recipients, *diligere* should, perhaps, be placed alongside *osculari*. Since *diligere* bypasses the problems of physical limitation posed by *osculari* in relation to God or departed saints, we can begin to observe that Theodulf's is not an absolute denial of equality between the devotional terms on each rung of this hierarchy: after all, that which is adored, namely God, can also be cherished. Rather, Theodulf's is a denial of complete equality, whereby the hierarchy of devotional terms would cease to have any meaning, if everything that was cherished was also adored. Thus, the boundaries in Theodulf's hierarchy of devotional terms are best thought of as permeable in one direction: barring physical impossibility, no devotional term was prohibited towards God, he could be adored and worshipped, but also venerated and cherished; while the saints could not be adored or worshipped, they could be venerated and cherished; one's family could merely be cherished (Figure 24).

4.4: Devotional lexicon, the *res sacratae* and relics

Having established that Theodulf applied specific meanings and positions upon a semi-permeable hierarchy of devotional terms, it is now pertinent to consider which terms he deemed appropriate in relation to the different objects discussed elsewhere in the OC. From OC IV 23 we can already see that Theodulf believed *venerari* to be the level of devotional terminology applicable to saints. But does this hold water in relation to his use of devotional terms in relation to saints' relics? If we turn to OC III 24 – the main chapter in which saints' relics are distinguished from images – we find that *venerari* was indeed the most frequently used devotional term, occurring seven times as either a verb or noun. Interestingly, *adorare* was employed five times. Although it is important to emphasise that, unlike *venerari*, *adorare* was never used directly in relation to saints' relics. It was exclusively used in this chapter to emphasise that adoration was due solely to God and not to images. Rounding out the use of devotional terms in this chapter, we find *honorare* employed twice and *obsequium exhibere* once. Along with *venerari*, these two terms were used directly in relation to saints' relics. However, what is most interesting to this thesis is the difference in devotional lexicon evident between OC III 24 – a chapter concerning saints' relics – and OC II 27 – a chapter concerning the eucharist, which was, of course, enumerated amongst

necessario potasse eum constat; si doctus est, consequens est, ut didicisse dicatur; si adorat, consequens est, ut id, quod adorat, diligat. Non enim dici potest converso ordine: "si lucet, necessario dies est"; "si comedit, consequens est, ut satiatus sit", cum plura luceant nec tamen dies sint et plerumque comestio necdum ad satietatem perveniat; nec illud: "si bibit, ebrius est", "si didicit, doctus est", "si diligit, adorat", cum interdum nec potatio ad aebrietatem nec disciplina ad magisterium nec dilectio ad adorationem pertingat.'

Theodulf's *res sacratae*. The contrast is striking. In OC II 27 Theodulf almost exclusively used *adorare*. In all, he employed *adorare/adoratio* sixteen times. His devotional lexicon here was rounded out by a single use each of *venerari*, *colere* and *benedicere*. Nonetheless, despite the clear distinction between Theodulf's devotional lexicon as a whole in each chapter, a more forensic analysis is in order as, even in OC II 27 – in spite of being almost the sole devotional term employed – *adorare* was not directly, or at least not obviously, used in relation the eucharist itself. The following analysis will therefore unpick Theodulf's use of these devotional terms in the *res sacratae* (OC II 26-30) and saints' relic (OC III 24) chapters.

From *adorare's* first occurrence in OC II 27 – in the chapter title – we can see the first hint and implication that, although not directly applied to the Lord's body and blood, *adoratio* was owed to it, rather than to images:

> That it is the greatest unnatural and absurd temerity to wish to compare images, having often been mentioned, to the Lord's body and blood, just as it is read in their vanity, where it is written for those images to be adored.[710]

The subtle implication here was that applying *adoratio* to images was, in itself, attempting to equate them to the Lord's body and blood. By extension, therefore, we might infer that the Lord's body and blood were worthy of *adoratio*. This implication is, in fact, clearer if we turn to one of the rarer instances of *adoratio* being used in OC III 24:

> Therefore, just as images must by no means be regarded as equal with *res sacratae* – either those things which have been made holy by the law-giver, or those things which have been made holy by *God and the Mediator of mankind*, or, indeed, those things which are daily consecrated through the invocation of the divine name by the priests and are taken up in the mystery of our redemption – thus, indeed, neither are images believed to be equated with the relics of the holy martyrs or confessors, which have been among the faithful for the purpose of veneration with love for them. Which images certain of them, who have broken out in the adoration of those images because they labour to equate them with all *res sacratae* and with the full mysteries, also insolently and even absurdly labour to equate with relics of the holy martyrs.[711]

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[710] OC II 27, pp. 289-290: 'Quod magnae sit temeritatis ingentisque absurditatis saepe memoratas imagines corpori et sanguini Dominico aequiperare velle, sicut in eadem vanitate, quae pro illis adorandis scripta est, legitur.'

[711] OC III 24, p. 448: 'Sicut igitur sacratis rebus – sive quae per legislatorem sive quae per *Dei et hominum Mediatorem* sacratae sunt, sive etiam quae quotidie a sacerdotibus divini nominis invocatione sacrantur et in

Even more clearly, in this example, Theodulf implied that the very act of equating images with the *res sacratae* – which, of course, included the Lord's body and blood – was the root cause of the Byzantine madness of adoring images. The sentence structure here also clearly places saints' relics outside this equivalence. It was not because the Greek's had equated saints' relics with images that they had begun to adore the latter. Instead, the equation of saints' relics with images was, clearly, an additional and separate issue for Theodulf. As the first sentence clearly reinforces, it was veneration (i.e. *veneratio*) that was the form of devotion that ought to be bestowed upon saints' relics.

Returning to OC II 27, the next instances of *adorare* drew upon the biblical injunction found in John 4:23 that 'True adorers adore the Father in spirit and truth'.[712] It was in the resulting comparison of the claims of images and the Lord's body and blood to represent the spirit and truth of God, that the chapter's sole use of *venerari* occurred. In what Theodulf presented as a quotation from the now lost original Latin translation of II Nicaea, we find the offending statement equating the Lord's body and blood – and its link to God – with images:

> Just as the Lord's body and blood cross over from the fruits of the earth to manifest mystery, thus also images, by the binding industry of the artist, transfer the veneration to those characters, to whose likeness they have been joined.[713]

Theodulf's own response made no use of *venerari*. In fact, his immediate response to this passage contrasted the creation and consecration process of the Lord's body and blood with the fabrication of images.[714] Once Theodulf's discourse moved on to the matter of the devotional use of objects, it was *adorare* not *venerari* that was once again applied. As with the use of *adorare* in the chapter's title, however, it was used primarily in a negative manner in relation to images:

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mysterium nostrae redemptionis sumuntur – imagines nequaquam coaequandae sunt, ita etiam nec sanctorum martyrum seu confessorum reliquiis, quae apud fideles ipsorum amore venerationi habentur coaequandae creduntur. Quas quidem illi, qui in earum adorationem exarserunt cum omnibus sacratis rebus et mysteriis plenis aequiperare nitantur, reliquiis etiam sanctorum martyum insolenter atque absurde aequiperare nituntur.'

[712] OC II 27, p. 290: '*Veri adoratores adorabunt Patrem in spiritu et veritate*'. This passage also appears to have been pleasing to Charlemagne himself, being bestowed with a Tironian 'placite' in the margin.

[713] OC II 27, p. 290: 'Sicut corpus Dominicum et sanguis a fructibus terrae ad insigne mysterium transit, ita et imagines artificum industria conpaginatae ad earum personarum, in quarum similitudinem conpaginantur, transeant venerationem'. Freeman's edition suggests that this is a fabrication on the part of Theodulf based, not on a statement made by the iconophile churchmen at II Nicaea, but rather by their iconoclast forbears at the Council of Hieria (754) and quoted in the sixth session at II Nicaea in order to be refuted. Indeed, this was not originally an equation of images with the eucharistic bread and wine, but part of a rejection of images by stating that the only worthy image of Christ was the Eucharist. *The Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787)*, trans. Price, pp. 476-477: 'So just as Christ's body according to nature is holy, since deified, so also (clearly) is the one by designation, namely his holy image, since deified by the grace of consecration.'

[714] This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.

Therefore, because the practice of that most evident and holy mystery is clearly preserved both through the saving instruction of the New Testament and by the light of instruction from the church, it is not comparable with that most insolent practice of those who adore images, which truly, indeed, both in the page of the Old Law is forbidden, and in the order of the New Testament not once is it permitted, indeed, it is truly blamed. Indeed, he who said: *My flesh is truly food and my blood is truly drink*; and *He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood, shall remain in me and I in him*, did not say: "My image is truly life, and the picture with my name inscribed on it is truly saving," and "He who depicts my likeness and adores the manufactured image of me shall remain in me and I in him". And he who said: *If you will not eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink of his blood, you will not have life in you*, did not say: "If you will not depict my image and adore the picture constructed in my likeness, you will not have life in you".[715]

Most revealing here is the opposition of each mockingly invented statement incorporating the adoration of images with passages from John's Gospel. It is through these opposing actions that we can better discern what *adorare* meant in this context and how the *res sacratae* themselves related to that action. In each oppositional pairing, it was the action of eating and drinking the Lord's body and blood that was directly contrasted to the act of adoring images. In light of this, the extensive use of *adorare* in relation to the *res sacratae* does not appear to have been saying that these were in themselves objects that deserved adoration, but instead that these were objects essential to the performance of that adoration of God.

With the exception of the Ark of the Covenant – which was discussed primarily in relation to its prefigurative function and for the role of Moses in its creation – the pattern of devotional terms in the chapters concerning the other *res sacratae* show some marked similarities to their usage in relation to the eucharist. Once again – although not with the same frequency as in OC II 27 – *adorare/adoratio* and *colere/cultus* were the most common devotional terms in these passages.[716] As with the use of *adorare* and *colere* in OC II 27,

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[715] OC II 27, pp. 292-293: 'Cum ergo istius evidentissimi et sacrosancti mysterii et per veteris Testamenti mysticas figuras et per novi institutionem salutiferum et luce clarius teneat ecclesia documentum, adorandum imaginum huic non est coaequandus insolentissimus usus, qui videlicet non solum fieri non iubetur, verum etiam et per paginam veteris Instrumenti interdicitur et in novi serie Testamenti non solum non conceditur, verum etiam repraehenditur. Qui enim dixit: *Caro mea vere est cibus et sanguis meus vere est potus*; et *Qui manducat meam carnem et bibit meum sanguinem, in me manet et ego in illo*, non dixit 'Imago mea vere est vita, et pictura nomini meo adscripta vere est salus', et 'Qui pingit meam similitudinem et adorat meam imaginem manufactam, in me manet et ego in illo'. Et qui dixit: *Nisi manducaberitis carnem Filii hominis et biberitis eius sanguinem, non habebitis vitam in vobis*, non dixit: 'Nisi depinxeritis meam imaginem et adoraveritis meam pictoria arte constructam similitudinem, non habebitis vitam in vobis'.'

[716] In OC II 28 (the cross) and OC II 29 (liturgical vessels) they are, indeed, the only devotional terms (unless one includes borderline terms, such as *amore*). *Adorare/adoratio* occurrs twice in each chapter, while *colere/cultus*

neither term was ever used directly in relation to the *res sacratae* themselves. However, as in OC II 27 and unlike in OC III 24, there was a more subtly implied link between these other *res sacratae* and those higher order terms of devotion. As with the eucharist, each *res sacrata* was cast, not as the fitting object of adoration or worship, but as the means through which that adoration and worship would be conveyed to its sole object – God – and, therefore, as an antidote to the improper adoration and worship of images.

The longest of the *res sacratae* chapters – OC II 30 – made no use of *adorare* and comparatively minimal use of *colere*. In fact, these terms of devotion were concentrated within a single sentence, with the chapter's main focus being a history of the divinely-ordained development of Scripture and the superiority of writing over images. Nonetheless, at the start of this history, Theodulf entwined Scripture with the development of proper divine worship and opposed it to the development of inappropriate forms of worship:

> Because indeed at the same time in which Moses wandered in the wilderness with the people of God and, with the Lord ordering, gave the doctrine of the holy law and the most holy rites of ceremonies to the people and fashioned the human race towards the culture of divine worship, Cecrops, a certain king of the Athenians, with the enticement of devilish venom, stirred up the wild minds of the gentiles towards the worship of images and statues and towards the worship of empty gods...[717]

In this passage Moses' founding of Scripture – his giving the Israelites the holy law – was fundamentally tied up in his giving of the holy rites, which, together, combined to create the 'culture of divine worship' (*divini cultus eruditionem*). Moses' founding actions were cast in opposition to those of Cecrops. Theodulf's Cecrops – pulled from the pages of Sedulius' *Carmen paschale* – played the serpentine, satanic role, distracting the gentiles – notably, of course, the Greeks – with the *cultus* of images, statues and empty gods.[718] The point here was twofold. Not only was the holy law – Scripture – the fundamental source of true divine worship, but it was also an antidote to improper worship, such as the worship of images,

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occurs twice in OC II 28 and five times in OC II 29. *Colere/cultus* is the predominant devotional term in OC II 30, although here *venerari* is also used (but only in quotations from the Latin translation of II Nicaea).
[717] OC II 30, pp. 303-304: 'Eo etenim tempore, quo Moyses cum populo Dei in heremo morabatur et praecipiente Domino sacrae legis doctrinam et caerimoniarum sacratissimos ritus populo tradebat et genus humanum ad divini cultus eruditionem informabat, Cecrobs, quidam rex Atheniensium, daemonico inlectus veneno rudes gentilium mentes ad imaginum simulacrorumque et ad vanorum deorum culturas excitavit...'
[718] Theodulf's play here, with Cecrops' *daemonico inlectus veneno* (enticement of devilish venom), upon Sedulius' *Attica Cecropii serpit doctrina veneni* (creeping Attic – or, in Theodulf's mind, Greek – doctrine of Cecropian venom) becomes obvious a few lines later, when Theodulf actually includes Sedulius' line verbatim. OC II 30, p. 304; Sedulius, 'Carmen Paschale', I, 40, in Carl P. E. Springer (ed.), *Sedulius, the Paschal Song and Hymns* (Atlanta, 2013), p. 4.

statues and empty gods, which Theodulf (not so subtly) argued originated in Greek culture in order to tar the Nicaean churchmen with the same brush as their idolatrous ancestors.

Cultus was the most heavily utilised devotional term in OC II 29. However, as with the other *res sacratae*, it was not used directly in relation to liturgical vessels themselves. As with the use of *cultus* in OC II 30, it was more specifically *divinus cultus* that was employed:

> Therefore, how superior the excellent vessels, having been delivered up for divine worship, are to images has been demonstrated in the divine law, because both having been taught by the Lord through Moses in the testimony of the temple having been built by him and having been instituted by the most holy of the poets, David, through Solomon in the testimony of the temple of Jerusalem having been built by him, as well as having been declared both by having been signified in the beginning on account of figurative senses and by those things [i.e. liturgical vessels], which pertain to the worship of God, having carried the office of long-lasting ministry; those images, however, saving with prudence the cherubim or the oxen and lion, which were not made to be adored, but to signify future things, have not only been neither been made nor dedicated by any of the saints, but have also been renounced in every conceivable situation by the testimonies of almost every prophet in the divine laws.[719]

In this passage we find the most explicit statement that links any of the *res sacratae* to the performance of divine worship, with the description of liturgical vessels as 'those things, which pertain to the worship of God' (*his, quae ad Dei cultum pertinent*). This is hardly surprising, of course, given that the *raison d'être* of liturgical vessels was, obviously, to facilitate liturgical rituals. Nonetheless, Theodulf did not simply take this for granted and, instead, tied the origins of liturgical vessels as objects facilitating divine worship to Moses' founding of the Temple and continued in Solomon's Temple. As explained above, this inter-linking in the age of the Old Testament with Moses – or rather with the Lord working through Moses – was an integral feature in the initial institution of each *res sacrata*.[720] Those which did not have as direct a link to the Old Testament and Moses – the eucharist and the

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[719] OC II 29, p. 301: 'Quanta ergo excellentia vasa divino cultui mancipata imaginibus emineant, divinae legis instrumenta demonstrant, cum utique illa praecipiente Domino per Moysen in testimonii tabernaculo condita et instituente vatum sanctissimo David per Salomonem in templo Hierosolimis condita atque dicata et typicorum sensuum archana significaverint et in his, quae ad Dei cultum pertinent, diuturni ministerii officium gestaverint; hae autem salva ratione cherubim sive boum et leonum, qui non ad adorandum, sed ad rerum futurarum significationem conditi sunt, non solum a quoquam sanctorum non conditae vel dedicatae, sed paene cunctorum divinae legis oraculorum testimoniis usquequaque sunt abdicatae.'
[720] See Chapter 2.

cross – were instead signified by prefigurations, like the images of the cherubim, oxen and lion referenced in the second part of the above passage.

This reference to the cherubim, oxen and lion is especially interesting here for its use of *adorare*. This was the sole use of *adorare* in OC II 29. The key question to ask, here, is: did this negative use of *adorare* extend in relation to other objects founded as prefigurations; in particular, did this extend to the Ark of the Covenant? As already observed, OC II 26 does not employ any terms of devotion. However, OC I 15 – which was also concerned with the Ark of the Covenant – did. Indeed, the first sentence of this chapter gives us a clear answer:

> It is read that holy Moses, with the Lord instructing, made the mercy-seat and the Ark of the Covenant and the two golden cherubim and also did not destroy the stone tablets, nevertheless, he did not order them to adore them; nor is this believed to have been built by him on account of the memory of certain past things, but rather on account of the most holy prefiguration of future mysteries.[721]

None of these Old Testament objects then – which were in or around the Ark of the Covenant – were, therefore, to be adored. Instead, the whole radiating aura and power that Theodulf went on to describe around these objects was that of the future mysteries and sacraments (*illa vero semper sanctis excellentibus radiant mysteriis et rutilant sacramentis*): the Ark of the Covenant and the Mercy-seat both prefiguring Christ; the two stone tablets of the law and the two cherubim signifying the two Testaments of Scripture; the staff of Aaron designating the priesthood; and the manna pointing towards the eucharistic food.[722] In a sense, therefore, these were reverse images of future holy things. But does this mean that Theodulf intended this negative *adorare* to be extended from these Old Testament images to their future prototypes? Given that Theodulf's most persistent positive use of *adorare* was to stipulate that it is owed solely to God and that it was never used – at least directly – in this way in relation even to the New Testament *res sacratae*, it would seem that this negative did apply. In terms of the New Testament *res sacratae*, as we have already seen, they each performed an integral role in the performance of that adoration or worship due to God. But how were they meant to be treated themselves?

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[721] OC I 15, p. 169: 'Fecisse sanctus Moyses praecipiente Domino propitiatorium et arcam testamenti et duos cherubim aureos nec non et excidisse tabulas lapideas legitur, non tamen adorare iussisse; nec ea ob praeteritarum quarundam rerum memoriam, sed ob futurorum mysteriorum sacratissimam praefigurationem creditur condidisse.'
[722] OC I 15, pp. 170-172.

Throughout the *res sacratae* chapters there was, at the very least, an implied tone of reverence. The clearest example of this was in OC II 27. It came in the form of quote from Paul's first letter to the Corinthians, before which Theodulf observed that Paul did not equate the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood with all the other sacraments, instead observing that it was above almost everything else.[723] As discussed above, the extent to which Theodulf viewed the sacraments to be objects – and therefore, perhaps, equivalent to the *res sacratae* – rather than rites (such as baptism, mass and unction, if he was following Isidore of Seville) – which in the case of the mass happened to be centred upon a *res sacrata* – was ambiguous.[724] This ambiguity aside, however, it does seem as though Theodulf was tacitly endorsing Paul's view concerning the pre-eminence of the eucharist, by choosing to include this otherwise unnecessary detail. Therefore, the level of reverence prescribed was potentially uniquely reserved for the eucharist, rather than being common to all the *res sacratae*. The Pauline quote in question was 1 Corinthians 11:28-29:

> Indeed, let a man prove himself and thus let him eat from that bread and let him drink from that chalice. For he who eats and drinks unworthily, eats and drinks judgement upon himself.[725]

In contrasting these words from Paul upon those who unworthily consume the eucharist with his absence of similar words concerning interactions with images, Theodulf observed that Paul had struck such unworthy folk with 'a dart of such reproach' (*tantae animadversionis telo feriat*).[726] Although Theodulf did not incorporate a eucharistic punishment miracle here, this language combined with Paul's quotation certainly brings to mind such a miracle subsequently included in Paschasius Radbertus' *De corpore et sanguine Domini*. In Paschasius' account – preceded by Paul's words – an unworthy Jew entered the church of Gervasius and Protasius in Milan while bishop Syrus of Pavia was celebrating mass and, with the intent of spitting it out upon a dunghill, take the Lord's body. When he tried to spit it out, however, 'he began loudly to cry out, but his words were unintelligible, in the sight and hearing of everyone. He attempted to shut his lips but could not; he tried to speak but his tongue would not function properly and, as if he were carrying a burning dart in his mouth,

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[723] OC II 27, pp. 293-294: 'Paulus quippe apostolus, *vas electionis*, corporis et sanguinis Dominici sacramentum non omni sacramento aequiperandum, sed paene omnibus praeferendum esse conspiciens'.
[724] See Chapter 1.
[725] OC II 27, p. 294: '*Probet enim se homo et sic de pane illo manducet et de calice bibat. Qui autem manducat et bibit idigne, iudicium sibi manducat et bibit.*' Cf. 1 Corinthians 11:28-29: 'probet autem se ipsum homo et sic de pane illo edat et de calice bibat qui enim manudcat et bibit indigne iudicium sibi manducat et bibit non diiudicans corpus'.
[726] OC II 27, p. 294: 'Cum ergo tantae sollicitudinis studio probandos eos, qui ad haec sumenda accedunt, ostendat, et qui neglegenter et indigne ad haec percipienda conveniunt, tantae animadversionis telo feriat, nihil huic simile de his, qui imaginum adorationem refugiunt, profert...'

he was tortured with mighty pain.'[727] Whether Theodulf had in mind such a eucharistic punishment miracle is unclear, however, the tenor of his inclusion of the Pauline passage was certainly similar: an extreme degree of reverence was required in relation to the eucharist.

While Theodulf does appear to have regarded the eucharist above the other *res sacratae*, such an allusion to the reverential manner in which these objects should be treated was even more overtly alluded to in relation to sacred vessels in OC II 29. Here, Theodulf made a clearer reference to a punishment miracle and, perhaps, even offered a label for this general tone of reverence owing to the *res sacratae* themselves:

> And, for instance, the author of our salvation when he both put an end to the Old Testament and initiated the New Testament, is held to have taken not an image, but a chalice; and the Lord did not say through the prophet: 'Be clean you who carry images', but *Be clean you who carry the vessels of the Lord*. Therefore, the Babylonian king [Belshazzar] was censured not on account of any injury to images, but because the dutiful vessels for divine services, which his forefather [Nebuchadnezzar] having brought from Judaea had placed in the shrines of his idols – if it is possible – for the sake of religion and reverence, while he [Belshazzar] was feasting, being removed from the shrines and presented for human enjoyment, he [Belshazzar] thought to go abroad, and having been struck by the foreboding numbness of a miracle, which was about to come to him, he listened and between the hostile wedges he sensed equally the loss of life and of royal power. He who understands the prophets, is aware of that which we speak.[728]

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[727] Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, ed. Paulus CCCM 16, p. 36: 'Beato namque Syro, Tycinensium primo episcopo, missarum solempnia celebrante in ecclesia beatorum martyrum Geruasii et Prothasii quam ipse dedicauerat, dum copia filiorum eius quos uerbi semine iuxta apostolum Deo genuerat, deuota sanctis misteriis interesset, quidam Iudeus audenter ingressus maligno instigante spiritu corpus Dominicum suscipere eumque in sterquilinium proicere molitus est. Qui inter turbas fidelium sacram eucharistiam de manu pontificis percipientium ad manus uiri Dei perueniens ausu nefario, immundo ore corpus suscepit Dominicum quod ut reiciendi os aperuit, digna ultione perculsus sine effectu uerborum cunctis audientibus et uidentibus clamare caepit. Volebat labia iungere nec ualebat. Cupiebat uerba edere, sed lingua rigida loquendi officium non praebebat et quasi ignitum iaculum in ore portans immensis torquebatur doloribus.' Translation from: George McCracken and Allen Cabaniss (eds.), *Early Medieval Theology* (Philadelphia, 1957), p. 107.

[728] OC II 29, p. 302: 'Nam et nostrae salutis auctor, cum et veteri Testamento terminum et novo initium poneret, non imaginem sed calicem accepisse perhibetur; et per prophetam Dominus non ait: 'Mundamini, qui fertis imagines', sed *Mundamini, qui fertis vasa Domini*. Babylonicus ergo rex non ob alicuius iniuriam imaginis corrupitur, sed quia vasa divinis cultibus officiosa, quae abavus de Iudaea adlata in delubris suorum posuerat idolorum religionis siquidem et reverentiae causa, inter comesationes delubris eximi et usibus humanis exhibita peregrinari censuerit, et praesago miraculi stupore adtonitus, quae sibi ventura essent, audivit et inter hostiles cuneos vitae pariter regnique iacturam sensit. Qui prophetas scit, ea, quae dicimus, cognoscit.'

Theodulf did not spell out the punishment miracle alluded to here. It was, however, clearly that found in Daniel 5: the writing on the wall.[729] After profaning the sacred vessels his father had taken from the temple in Jerusalem by using them in a debauched banquet, Belshazzar then witnessed a disembodied hand writing upon the palace wall: *Mane, Thecel, Phares*. Although he did not know the language, Belshazzar nonetheless knew to be afraid of this writing and eventually – after all the other wise men of the Babylonian court had failed to interpret the writing – he consulted Daniel, who interpreted the threat presaged in the text: 'God has numbered your kingdom and has finished it; you are weighed in the balance and found wanting; your kingdom is divided and given to the Medes and the Persians.'[730] The almost cryptic manner in which Theodulf alluded to this punishment miracle was likely a further rhetorical barb designed to equate the Greeks with Belshazzar, implying that an inability to identify this passage was indicative of a broader failure to understand the Bible. Nonetheless, the primary crime for which they were being indicted along with Belshazzar here was for equating the sacred vessels with images, and thus not affording the former appropriate reverence. Indeed, *reverentia* was, perhaps, used in this passage as the appropriate term of devotion for the liturgical vessels.

Theodulf's intent in referencing this punishment miracle should, however, be tempered: it was certainly not included to induce the adoration of liturgical vessels. In OC III 25, Theodulf had berated the Greeks for justifying their adoration of images based on alleged miracles performed through them.[731] One qualm Theodulf had was undoubtedly about the authenticity of such miracles, but even the miracles he could not doubt – those testified by Scripture – were not, he concluded, enough to cause all objects through which these miracles had been performed to be worthy of adoration. In a long string of such biblical exempla, beginning with the Lord's appearance in the burning thorn bush (Exodus 3:2) not being a cause for adoring thorn bushes, Theodulf consistently rejected the attribution of *adoratio* towards these objects, or rather classes of objects.[732] However, this did not, of course, necessarily preclude the worth of miracles – especially authentic, Scriptural miracles – as demonstrating the need to treat objects with due reverence. Additionally, a punishment miracle was also a different variety of miracle to those discussed in OC III 25. It was an instance of divine judgment; a demonstration of God's power, rather than that of the object involved, albeit a divine judgement generated by

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[729] Daniel 5.

[730] Daniel 5:26-28: 'et haec interpretatio sermonis mane numeravit Deus regnum tuum et conplevit illud thecel adpensum est in statera et inventus es minus habens fares divisum est regnum tuum et datum est Medis et Persis'.

[731] OC III 25, pp. 452-458.

[732] OC III 25, pp. 454-458.

abusing that object. Indeed, but for Theodulf's use of 'miracle' (*miraculum*) in this passage, the ubiquitous presence of allusions to divine judgement across myriad Carolingian genres of text, could indicate that such instances of divine punishment might not even have been considered as miraculous.[733] Although lacking, of course, the miraculous element of a disembodied hand, Theodulf's poem *Contra iudices* exhibited a similar emphasis on the potential divine judgement and punishment that would be afforded to those judges who corrupted the legal system by taking bribes.[734] Miracle or not, the meaning remained clear: do not mistreat the vessels used in the service of the Lord or else risk his wrath.

In many respects, although it was more obvious with the liturgical vessels, this was how Theodulf ultimately portrayed all the *res sacratae*. They were not, themselves, objects of adoration or worship. This would, of course, contradict Theodulf's staunch insistence on the adoration and worship of God alone. Instead, they were the essential objects through which that adoration and worship of God was performed and mediated. So integral were each of these objects – for the historical Israel, the Ark of the Covenant; for the contemporary Christians, the eucharist, the cross, Scripture and liturgical vessels – to their devotional relationship with God that they were to be treated with the utmost reverence. Therefore, while the appropriate devotional term directly applicable to the *res sacratae* appears to have been *reverentia*, this higher level of reverence was accorded as a result of their integral function within divine adoration and worship.

Saints' relics, by contrast, did not, according to Theodulf, perform this vital role. This is not to say that they did not have value as devotional objects: at the end of OC III 24, Theodulf remarked that saints' relics were 'of great benefit' due to their intercessory value.[735] Their role, however, was clearly secondary to that of the *res sacratae*, which mediated directly with God, enabling the performance of adoration and worship of him. This lesser value can, as noted above, be immediately seen in the sparsity of *adorare* and *colere* in OC III 24, as compared with the *res sacratae* chapters. Instead, the devotional terms that proliferate in OC III 24 are *venerari* and *honorare*. The key question here is: how were

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[733] On the ubiquity of divine judgement in Carolingian legal and historical texts: Robert Evans, 'God's Judgement in Carolingian Law and History Writing', in Rosamond McKitterick, Charlotte Methuen and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *The Church and the Law*, Studies in Church History, 56 (Cambridge, 2020), pp. 60-77.
[734] Theodulf of Orléans, 'Against the Judges', in *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, trans. Theodore Andersson (Tempe, Arizona, 2014), p. 92: 'If the infectious fury of greed should chance to beset you,/May reason stand fast and speak with an amenable voice:/"Consider, for the Lord on high observes you from heaven,/And will note all you do with divine mind,/He who is judge and witness at once, and avenger of evil,/Who rewards worthy action with good, and evil with ill."'
[735] OC III 24, p. 451: 'Sanctis ergo corporibus honorem inpendere magnum est fidei emolumentum, quo praesertim et illi in caelestibus sedibus cum Christo vivere et eorum ossa quandoque resurrectura creduntur.'

these devotional terms used in relation to relics and, potentially, were they used differently in relation to different classes of relic?

Theodulf used 'relic' (*reliquiae*) in two different ways: one general, as in the chapter title of OC III 24, and one specific and literal. In this more literal usage, Theodulf employed relic to mean partial remains of saintly bodies that have been 'left behind': for instance, speaking of 'the bodies of the saints or certain relics of the bodies' (*corporibus aut certe corporum reliquiis*).[736] Alongside these two categories of relics (whole and partial), Theodulf also made reference to what would later be classified as secondary relics: 'garments or things like these, which the saints, while they lived mortally, made use of' (*vestibus aut his similibus, quibus sancti, dum mortaliter viverent, usi sunt*).[737] Since Theodulf never made mention of the relics of bodies separately from the whole bodies of saints, therefore, he appears to have held a straightforward bi-partite division between primary and secondary relics, with no reference to tertiary relics. This division between types of relics, however, does not consistently influence the devotional term applied to each, with *venerari* and *honorare* used interchangeably. Thus, Theodulf's remark that the patriarchs urged the veneration of the bodies of the saints and the honouring of their relics, did not denote a consistent division between veneration given to the complete bodies and a lesser honouring of their partial bodily remains.[738] Instead, *venerari* and *honorare* were used more or less as synonyms, since two sentences earlier Theodulf had already advocated the veneration of relics such as the clothing worn by the living saints.[739]

Exactly what the veneration and honouring of the relics of saints entailed for Theodulf is less clear. The more explicit explanation to be found in OC III 24 derived from Isidore of Seville's commentary on the burial practices of the patriarchs in *De ortu et obitu patrum*. The accounts retold via Isidore's treatise essentially advocate a similar reverence to that inculcated towards liturgical vessels by the tale of Belshazzar and the writing on the wall (Daniel 5). The first selection of accounts of the burial practices of the patriarchs derived primarily from Genesis and concerned the burial of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph at the Cave of Machpelah in Arbee.[740] In each instance, it was the worthiness of the

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[736] OC III 24, p. 448.

[737] OC III 24, p. 448.

[738] OC III 24, p. 449: 'Sanctorum itaque corpora venerari eorumque reliquiis honorem exhibere non sine causa vetustas admisit.'

[739] OC III 24, p. 449: '...cum praesertim sanctorum vestes et his similia ideo veneranda sint, quia aut in corporibus eorundem sanctorum aut circa corpora fuisse et ab his sanctificationem, ob quam venerentur, percepisse credantur...'

[740] This was the double cave which Abraham bought from Ephron the Hittite: Genesis 23. In OC III 24, following Isidore, Theodulf identified this cave as the burial place of Adam and Isaac, although these attributions are not found in Genesis 23. For Adam's burial at Arbee, see: Isidore of Seville, 'De ortu et obitu patrum', I, 5 *PL* 83, 431B: 'Sepultus est autem in loco Arbee, qui locus nomen a numero sumpsit, hoc est

patriarch – his great faith, devotion and obedience to the Lord – that necessitated the reverential burial in this exceedingly beautiful cave:

> For Abraham, the father of nations, a man of great faith, the greatest with respect to devotion, especial with respect to obedience, vigorous in accordance with the commands of the Lord, not in whatever place, but in a field zealously obtained he is read to have buried his wife [Sarah] and his bones, not in whatever place, but in a most beautiful cave, in the interior part of which the first created man [Adam] had been buried, are read to have been buried by his sons according to his command.[741]

Similar accounts followed for each of Isaac, Jacob and Joseph. Isaac was worthy of burial at Arbee on account of his prefiguration of Christ – God having ordered Abraham to sacrifice him – as well as his own holiness and moral purity.[742] Jacob's great perseverance and faith in God's promises secured his body's transfer and burial in the cave.[743] Joseph, like Isaac, possessed a wonderful sanctity and prefigured Christ and, like Abraham and Jacob, was steadfast in his faith, so as to also be transported by Moses during the Exodus and buried in Arbee.[744] In each case, therefore, it was staunch faith in God and imitation – or, rather prefiguration – of Christ that made each patriarch worthy of such an esteemed burial location. By contrast to these worthy patriarchs, turning directly to the Books of Kings, Theodulf recounted the denigration of the bones of Jerobam – the king who had profaned the altar of the Lord in Bethel by sacrificing to the golden calves (1 Kings 12:25-33) – by Josiah as retribution for that faithlessness and desecration.[745] For his lack of faith

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quatuor; nam tres patriarchae ibidem sunt sepulti, et hic quartus Adam. Distat autem locus iste non procul ab Hebron, metropoli urbe Allophylorum, in qua fertur quondam fuisse habitatio gigantum, ubi etiam et David postea unctus est in regem. Est autem civitas sortis Judae in sacerdotibus separata, distans ad australem plagam milibus XXII ab Hierusalem.'

[741] OC III 24, pp. 449-450: 'Nam Abraham, pater gentium, vir fide plenus, devotione summus, oboedientia praecipuus, in preaceptis Domini strenuus, non in quolibet loco, sed in agro studiose empto coniugem legitur seplisse et ossa sua, non in loco quolibet, sed in seplunca pulcherrima, in cuius interiore parte protoplastus sepultus fuit, iuxta suum imperium a filiis tumulatus legitur fuisse.'

[742] OC III 24, p. 450: 'Isaac quoque, utero senili profusus atque Deo in sacrificium in figura nostri Redemptoris ad offerendum ductus virque sanctitate et castimonia clarus, iuxta patrem secundum propriam iussionem creditur a filiis fuisse sepultus.'

[743] OC III 24, p. 450: 'Iacob quoque, vir magnae patientiae, divinis affatim roboratus oraculis et crebris repromissionibus exhortatus cum famis inopiam vitare et dulcissimum pignus, quod extinctum crediderat, cernere cupiens cum clara progenie Niliacas descendisset in horas, non se ibidem sepeliri permisit, sed corpus suum ad terram sibi patribusque suis repromissam iuxta ossa patris avique sepliendum advehi sanxit...'

[744] OC III 24, p. 450: 'Ioseph quoque, qui typicis mysteriis a gentilibus salvator mundi appellari meruit et mira sanctitate inter fratres enituit, ossa sua filiis Israhel ad terram repromissionis vehenda praecepit; quo quidem legislator idcirco minime agere distulit, quia id haudquamquam contra fidem esse cognovit.'

[745] OC III 24, pp. 450-451: 'Viri itaque sancti corpus, qui Iuda ad arguendam nequitiam Israheltici regis in Bethel, venerat, dum propter inoboedientiam, quia cibos civitatis inhibitos sumpsit, a leone fuisset extinctum ab eodem nimirum leone legitur custoditum, sed culpa inoboedientiae mortis acervitate soluta, non praesumpsit crudelis fera sanctum corpus prophetae contigere, quem atrociter praesumpserat interimere. Prophetes itaque Bethel nisi sanctis ossibus venerationem exhibendam sciret, numquam se iuxta ossa viri sancti sepeliri praeciperet dicens: Spelite me iuxta oss prophetae. Vir itaque sanctus Iosias, et antequam nasceretur ex nomine nuncupatus idolorumque dissipator et paternarum legum strenuus observator, duorum

and his opposition to the will of God, Jerobam's bones were deemed worthy of an equal disrespect to that he had shown towards the altar at Bethel. Theodulf's combination of these differing fates of the bones of the patriarchs and the bones of Jerobam, thus indicate his belief in some degree of transference of honour and veneration from the relic to the saint. Respect and reverence that was to be given to the bones of the saints who, like the patriarchs exhibited steadfast faith and imitated Christ, was, thus, not accorded due to the independent merits of those bones, or other relics such as garments, but due to the almost radioactive sanctity emanating from the saints while they lived. Treating those relics with respect akin to that given to the bones of the patriarchs by their burial at Arbee was, thus, the only explicit explanation of the kind of reverence implied by *venerari* and *honorare* in OC III 24.

Theodulf did, however, include a more obscured allusion to another text that could offer a fuller understanding of the practices he envisioned as the veneration or honouring of saints and their relics. As a concluding statement to OC III 24, Theodulf articulated the characteristic, moderate, position he, on behalf of Charlemagne, took in relation to saints' relics:

> Accordingly, we, neither with Vigilantius and those of his followers rejecting relics, nor with Simon [Magus] and those of his accomplices adoring images, both furnish suitable deference to the relics or bodies of saints and embellish the churches exactly as is pleasing with images of saints or even gold or silver, and we devote the service of adoration or worship to God alone, to whom only it should be given, with him bringing aid.[746]

Although not employing the term *via media/via regia* in this instance, the position Theodulf advocated here was clearly consistent with that notion, which was repeatedly expressed throughout the OC.[747] The second – less relevant to the purpose of the present chapter – extremist position employed as a foil here was the reference to Simon Magus. Simon, a magician in the city of Samaria who had been converted and baptised by the apostle Philip, was primarily infamous for his ill-fated attempt to purchase the power to lay hands upon

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prophetarum ossa, cum plurimorum hominum ossa ob altare profanum polluendum conbureret, nequaquam intemerata servare praeciperet, nisi sanctis ossibus venerationem exhibendam sciret.' Cf. 1 Kings 12:25-33.
[746] OC III 24, pp. 451-452: 'Nos itaque nec cum Vigilantio eiusque sequacibus reliquias abnuentes nec cum Simone eiusque conplicibus imagines adorantes et reliquiis sive sanctorum corporibus oportunum obsequium exhibemus et basilicas prout libet sanctorum imaginibus sive etiam auro argentove exornamus et servitium adorationis sive culturae soli Deo, cui soli debetur, ipso opitulante inpendimus.'
[747] Thomas Noble, 'Neither Iconoclasm nor Iconodulia: The Carolingian Via Media', in Kristine Kolrud and Marina Prusac (eds.), *Iconoclasm from Antiquity to Modernity* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 95-106.

people and bestow the Holy Spirit.[748] Theodulf, however, was more concerned with Simon's idolatry, as alleged by Augustine in *De haeresibus*, and, indeed, quoted at length Augustine's comments concerning the Simonian heresy – accusing the Greeks of II Nicaea of being his followers – in OC IV 25.[749] This reference to Simon Magus, however, informs us little regarding Theodulf's understanding of *venerari* and *honrare* in relation to the relics of saints. For that, the reference to Vigilantius is more revealing.

This was a reference to Vigilantius of Calagurris, a fourth/fifth-century critic of asceticism and the cult of relics.[750] Since none of Vigilantius' own writings on these topics have survived, we are dependent on two texts by Jerome: one letter of 406 directly attacking Vigilantius (hence *Adversus Vigilantium*); and an earlier letter of 404 (*Epistola 109*) responding to Riparius, a priest in Toulouse who had informed Jerome of and sent him Vigilantius' writings criticising devotion to relics. Theodulf, so far as the OC evidence allows us to infer, was also dependent upon Jerome's rebuttal and, indeed, can only be securely said to have read the *Adversus Vigilantium*, with no direct reference to or quotation from *Epistola 109* in the OC.[751] Jerome's direct invective against Vigilantius, however, was included in a quotation ('*Quis umquam, O insanum caput martyres adoravit?*') in OC IV 27.[752] Theodulf's reference to Vigilantius in OC III 24 was, thus, evidently mediated through having read Jerome's direct rebuttal in *Adversus Vigilantium*. If we turn, therefore, to that text and unpick Jerome's criticisms of Vigilantius' ideas concerning the cult of relics, we can, perhaps, adduce Theodulf's application of *venerari* and *honorare* towards saints' relics.

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[748] Acts 8:9-25.

[749] OC IV 25, pp. 553-554.

[750] Having previously been a member of an ascetic circle whose members included Sulpicius Severus, Ambrose of Milan, Paulinus of Nola, Rufinus and Jerome, the precise date of Vigilantius' *volte face*, which generated such ire from Jerome in particular, is hotly contested. While Elizabeth Clark posits an early date, suggesting that before visiting Jerome in 395, Vigilantius had stayed with Rufinus who influenced his criticisms against Jerome due to suspicions of Origenism underlying his extreme asceticism. By contrast, David Hunter, while conceding that this interaction might have sown the seeds for Vigilantius' eventual opposition to Jerome's asceticism and associated promotion of the fledgling cult of relics, points out that we have no firm evidence that Vigilantius was critical of Jerome/asceticism until 406 (or 404 for his criticism of the cult of relics), therefore implying a shift in Vigilantius' thought after his return to Gaul in 396. For these key arguments in this debate: Elizabeth Clark, *The Origenist Controversy: The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate* (Princeton, 1992), p. 36; Hunter, 'Vigilantius of Calagurris and Victiricius of Rouen, pp. 403-409.

[751] These texts were often incorporated in the same manuscripts, such as Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Augiensis Perg. 105 produced at Lorsch, c. 800. However, Theodulf's greater use of *Adversus Vigilantium* reflects a similar emphasis observed by Janneke Raaijmakers in the study of the Karlsruhe manuscript by Lorsch monks: Janneke Raaijmakers, 'Studying Jerome in a Carolingian Monastery', in *The Annotated Book in the Early Middle Ages: Practices of Reading and Writing*, ed. Mariken Teeuwen and Irene van Renswoude (Turnhout, 2017), pp. 621-646.

[752] OC IV 27, p. 556.

The quote Theodulf took from the *Adversus Vigilantium* in OC IV 27 offers an important starting-point here: 'O madman, who anywhere ever adores the martyrs?'[753] This allows us to contextualise the absence of *adorare* in relation to relics in OC III 24. Evidently, Theodulf saw himself fully within the tradition of the Church Fathers in conspicuously avoiding the attribution of *adorare* towards the saints or their relics. Indeed, like Theodulf, the devotional terms used in relation to relics most frequently throughout Jerome's letter were *venerari* and *honorare*. Nonetheless, Jerome presented Vigilantius' opposition – through the inclusion of statements alleged to have been taken from his own (now lost) writings – as encompassing *adorare* (and even *colere*) in addition to *honorare* towards saints or relics:

> ...and among other words of blasphemy, he likewise says: "What is the need, for you not only to so honour, but even to adore whatever thing, which you worship by carrying around in a little vessel?" And again in the same book: "Why do you kiss with adoring dust wrapped with cloth?" And in consequence: "We see almost a heathen ritual introduced into churches under the pretext of religion, with the sun still shining, heaps of tapers are lit, and everywhere the kissers adore whichever little bit of dust wrapped with precious cloth in a small vessel. Men of this kind pay great honour to the most blessed martyrs, who are illuminated by the Lamb, who is in the midst of the throne with all the light of his majesty, they think are to be illuminated the vilest tapers."[754]

The use of *venerari* towards relics or saints was also prominent in Jerome's text, but not in statements directly attributed Vigilantius. Nonetheless, opposition to veneration applied towards saints or relics was stated as given as one of Vigilantius' convictions:

> Suddenly, Vigilantius, or more truly Dormitantius, has risen, who with an unclean spirit fights against the spirit of Christ and denies that the tombs of martyrs must

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[753] OC IV 27, p. 556: 'Quis umquam, O insanum caput martyres adoravit?' Whereas, the CCSL edition of Jerome's letter employs a slightly different reading, but crucially still features *adorare*. Jerome, *Adversus Vigilantium*, ed. Jean-Louis Feiertag, CCSL 79C (Turnhout, 2005), c. 5, p. 11: 'Quis enim, o insanum caput, aliquando martyres adorauit?'

[754] Jerome, *Adversus Vigilantium*, ed. Feiertag, CCSL 79C, c. 4, pp. 10-11: '...et inter cetera uerba blasphemiae ista quoque dicentem: QVID NECESSE EST TANTO TE HONORE NON SOLVM HONORARE, SED ETIAM ADORARE ILLVD NESCIO QVID QVOD IN MODICO VASCVLO TRANSFERENDO COLIS? Et rursum in eodem libro: QVID PVLVEREM LINTEAMINE CIRCVMDATVM ADORANDO OSCVLARIS? Et in consequentibus: PROPE RITVM GENTLVM VIDEMVS SVB PRAETEXTV RELIGIONIS INTRODVCTVM IN ECCLESIIS: SOLE ADHVC FVLGENTE MOLES CEREORVM ACCENDI, VT VBICVMQVE PVLVISCVLVM NESCIO QVOD IN MODICO VASCVLO PRETIOSO LINTEAMINE CIRCVMDATVM OSCVLANTES ADORENT. MAGNVM HONOREM PRAEBENT HVIVSMODI HOMINES BEATISSIMIS MARTYRIBUS, QVOS PVTANT DE VILISSIMIS CEREOLIS ILLVSTRANDOS, QVOS AGNVS, QVI EST IN MEDIO THRONI CVM FVLGORE MAIESTATIS SVAE ILLVSTRAT.'

be venerated, he says vigils must be condemned and Alleluia never sung except at Easter...[755]

As demonstrated by Jerome's rhetorical question directed towards Vigilantius as to whether he thought anyone had ever adored the martyrs, Jerome clearly did not advocate adoration of the saints himself. Instead, Jerome's defence of the devotional practices of the cult of saints was – like Theodulf's in OC III 24 – limited to veneration and honour. Unlike Theodulf, however, by rebutting Vigilantius' alleged attacks, Jerome did offer a clearer indication of what those devotional terms entailed for him (and, given his apparent allusion to Jerome's text here, perhaps also for Theodulf) when applied towards saints' relics. In the above passage from the *Adversus Vigilantium*, we can see the one facet of this veneration that Theodulf did explicitly reference in OC III 24 (via Isidore of Seville's *De ortu et obitu patrum*): veneration of the tombs of the martyrs. Nonetheless, Jerome expanded upon this veneration further through the remark that Vigilantius opposed vigils and, shortly thereafter, also fasting to honour the saints upon their feast days.[756] Elsewhere in the letter, Jerome defended the lighting of tapers in honour of the martyrs, albeit at night, rather than in the daylight, as Vigilantius had apparently railed against.[757] In the absence any definitive statements in OC III 24, can we infer Theodulf's endorsement of Jerome's understanding of the devotional acts rightfully understood within the veneration and honouring of saints and their relics? Since Theodulf does appear to have shared Jerome's hostility towards Vigilantius, evidently derived from having read the *Adversus Vigilantium*, and also employed the same lexicon of devotional terms in relation to saints' relics, it appears likely that Theodulf would have shared Jerome's thought, at least as expressed in the *Adversus Vigilantium*, with regard to the appropriate devotional activities entailed within the veneration and honouring of saints and their relics.

Later in his *Adversus Vigilantium*, Jerome offered a rebuttal concerning the use of saints' relics within divine worship:

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[755] Jerome, *Adversus Vigilantium*, ed. Feiertag, CCSL 79C, c. 1, p. 6: 'Exortus est subito Vigilantius Dormitantius, qui immundo spiritu pugnet contra Christi Spiritum et martyrum neget sepulcra ueneranda, damnandas dicat esse uigilias et numquam nisi in Pascha alleluia cantandum...'

[756] Jerome, *Adversus Vigilantium*, ed. Feiertag, CCSL 79C, c. 1, p. 7: '...contra sanctorum ieiunia declamare...'

[757] Jerome, *Adversus Vigilantium*, ed. Feiertag, CCSL 79C, c. 7, pp. 16-17: 'Cereos autem non clara luce accendimus, sicut frustra calumniaris, sed ut noctis tenebras hoc solacio temperemus et uigilemus ad lumen. [...] Neque enim ipse Christus indigebat unguento nec martyres lumine cereorum, et tamen illa mulier in honore Christi hoc fecit devotio que mentis eius recipitur. [...] Illud fiebat idolis et idcirco detestandum est, hoc fit martyribus et ideo recipiendum est. Nam et absque martyrum reliquiis per totas orientis ecclesias quando legendum est Euangelium accenduntur luminaria iam sole rutilante non utique ad fugandas tenebras, sed ad signum laetitiae demonstrandum.'

> Does the bishop of Rome thus do wrong, when he offers sacrifices to the Lord above, according to us, the venerable bones of the dead men Peter and Paul, [but] according to you [over] a vile bit of dust, and judges their tombs the altars of Christ?[758]

By Theodulf's day, such a practice of either establishing altars over the tombs of saints or else embedding relics within altars had become ubiquitous, spreading far beyond being the praxis of the bishop of Rome alone.[759] Nonetheless, this only serves to heighten the significance of Theodulf's omission of any similar statement emphasising the importance of relics to facilitate the appropriate adoration or worship of God. We can see a tacit endorsement of Jerome's views concerning how veneration and honour ought to be exhibited towards the relics of saints in his identical lexical usage and rejection of Vigilantius. Given the proliferation of the practice of embedding the relics of saints within altars and this wider endorsement of Jerome on the relics of saints, we cannot prove that Theodulf did not approve of such praxis.[760] To do otherwise, would risk arguing from silence. However, what the silence – particularly the comparative silence when set against his descriptions of the *res sacratae* and their integral value in the adoration and worship of God – can tell us, is that, for Theodulf, while relics were to be venerated and this veneration was of benefit to the believer, neither the relic nor its veneration were central to the Christian faith.

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[758] Jerome, *Adversus Vigilantium*, ed. Feiertag, CCSL 79C, c. 8, p. 18: 'Male facit ergo romanus episcopus, qui super mortuorum hominum Petri et Pauli, secundum nos ossa ueneranda, secundum te uile puluisculum, offert domino sacrificia et tumulos eorum Christi arbitratur altaria?'

[759] For example, the re-issuing of *Item placuit* canon of Fifth Council of Carthage requiring relics in altars in the Frankish empire (and the destruction of altars without relics) at Aachen (801) and Mainz (813). Beyond the reissuing of such statements in church councils, the place of relics in altars had also become more prominent between the time of Vigilantius and Theodulf, with a shift as early as the sixth or seventh century away from crypts containing the relics beneath the altar, to actually embedding relics within the altar itself. On the legislation: Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, p. 37. On the crypt to relic-altar shift: Joseph Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Munich, 1924), pp. 545-555.

[760] A more pertinent issue here, however, might be whether or not approval of such practices *ipso facto* implied a belief that the relics themselves possessed an inherent thaumaturgical power. Unfortunately, the absence of any detailed consideration of the use of relics in this regard by Theodulf in the OC (aside from the apparent endorsement of at least some of Jerome's ideas) makes this impossible to say conclusively. At the very least, however, we can gauge some contemporary views at the Carolingian court concerning the thaumaturgical power of relics to which Theodulf would certainly have been exposed. Visser offers an intriguing insight into Alcuin's thought concerning the power of relics. While Alcuin did not directly treat the practice of embedding relics within altars, he did, in *Epistolae* 290 and 291 oppose the wearing of *filacteria* and *ligaturae* (pendants with pieces of Scripture or relics within). Yet, as Visser observes (J.W. Visser, *Parallel Lives: Alcuin of York and Thiofrid of Echternach on Willibrord, Sanctity and Relics* (Utrecht PhD Thesis, 2018), pp. 114-122), these criticisms were not so much about the practice of wearing such items, but the hypocrisy of wearing them while continuing to behave in an immoral way. As Alcuin remarked in *Epistola* 290: 'it is better to imitate the examples of the saints in the heart, than to carry about their bones in little bags.' While Alcuin's miracle stories in his *Life of Willibrord* did, to Visser's mind, emphasise that prayer in the presence of relics did improve the efficacy of that prayer, relics were not presented as active in that process. Thus, Visser's Alcuin, while acknowledging the intercessory power of relics (as Theodulf did in OC III 24), did not imbue them with their own thaumaturgical power.

Theodulf's use of *adorare* in the OC's *res sacratae* chapters is striking. As the preceding analysis has demonstrated, for Theodulf, the term was not to be thrown around lightly. Some other(s) at court did hold a more multi-faceted understanding of the term, which seeped into the OC via successive editorial interventions. Yet, for Theodulf, *adorare* consistently remained a form of devotion – along with the less frequently used *colere* – that could only be given to God. Theodulf's heavy use of *adorare* in the *res sacratae* chapters did not represent a deviation from this conviction; he was not advocating the adoration of the eucharist, Scripture, cross, liturgical vessels or Ark of the Covenant. In and of themselves, these objects merited, or rather, demanded, no more than the veneration or reverence due to the relics of saints. However, where these objects stood apart from the relics of saints was in their devotional utility. Venerating relics, Theodulf conceded, could be beneficial to one's faith. In that sense, they were useful devotional objects. Yet the comparative absence of *adorare* within Theodulf's treatment of relics indicates that they did not impinge upon the adoration of God: they were not essential. By contrast, the *res sacratae* (or, at least, for his Christian audience, the four Christian *res sacratae*) could not be separated from the adoration of God, resulting in the profusion of *adorare* within the *res sacratae* chapters. Without the *res sacratae*, the adoration and worship of God was, in Theodulf's mind, impossible: far from being merely useful, the *res sacratae* were the essential devotional objects.

5: Conclusion: *res sacratae*, relics and images in Theodulf's hierarchy of holiness

Throughout the OC, Theodulf consistently berated II Nicaea for equating manufactured images with those things that he held to be holy and to have an important place in devotional practice. Images did, he conceded, have a place. Their useful function largely followed what Pope Gregory the Great had articulated in his famous letters to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles: they acted as memory-aids to the illiterate and as beautification, but were neither to be adored nor destroyed.[761] Gregory had only specifically forbade adoration (*adoratio*) of images and did not explicitly address icon-style images, referring instead to images illustrating stories (*historiae*).[762] Theodulf, however, did not maintain those distinctions. For him, not only should images of any kind not be adored, but they should also not even be venerated or honoured.[763] Moreover, the images Theodulf considers in the OC are more varied.[764] While Theodulf did in fact acknowledge that images could have some utility, the devotional status of the *res sacratae* and other holy things such as saints' relics was significantly greater. Yet, as I have shown in the foregoing analysis in chapters 1 to 4, despite contrasting all these worthy devotional objects against manufactured images, Theodulf did not consider all these holy things to be equal to one another, save in their superiority to images. Whereas previous studies of the OC's attitude towards holy objects have offered limited analysis of how Theodulf's *res sacratae* stood apart or have fixated upon saints' relics, I have rectified this dissonance between the historiography and Theodulf's thought as expressed in the OC, to offer a detailed insight into how the *res sacratae* were superior (in Theodulf's mind) both to images and mere holy things such as saints' relics.

In Chapter 1, I have demonstrated that Theodulf applied a different lexicon of sanctity for churches and saints' relics, compared to the *res sacratae*. In the OC, Theodulf used *sanctus* chiefly of people, especially saints, and when referring to the Church as *ecclesia*. However, his looser usage in the OC and his later writings employs *sanctus* or *sanctitas* for saints' relics and church-buildings as well. This contrasts starkly with the lexicon of sanctity

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[761] OC II 23, pp. 277-280. The letters to Serenus of Marseilles were a frequently-cited authority in the early medieval West and have thus been taken as representative of early medieval western thought with regard to images: Kitzinger, 'The cult of icons in the age before iconoclasm', p. 132; Robert Markus, 'The cult of icons in sixth-century Gaul', *The Journal of Theological Studies* 29 (1978), p. 151; Herbert Kessler, 'Pictorial narrative and Church mission in sixth-century Gaul', in Herbert Kessler and Marianna Simpson (eds.), *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Washington, D.C., 1985), p. 75.

[762] Celia Chazelle, 'Pictures, books, and the illiterate: Pope Gregory I's letters to Serenus of Marseilles', *Word & Image* 6 (1990), pp. 140-141.

[763] See above, Chapter 4.

[764] Even if Theodulf understood Gregory to be only referring to narrative-style images that were not necessarily depictions of saints in OC II 22, in the preceding chapter, he had remarked that those who needed images of Christ and the saints to remember them – indicating images more akin to icons or, at least, portraits of Christ or the saints – were evidently very forgetful. OC II 22, p. 275: 'Quod non bonam habeant memoriam, qui, ut non obliviscantur sanctorum vel certe ipsius Domini, idcirco imagines erigunt.'

which Theodulf employed for the *res sacratae*. The terminology he employed for the *res sacratae*, including *sacratus*, of course, but also frequently describing their *mysteria*, placed the *res sacratae* in closer proximity to *sacramenta*. Indeed, following the well-established patristic tradition of using *sacramentum* not only to refer proper Sacraments – in Theodulf's case, following Isidore, the rituals of mass, baptism and post-baptismal anointing – Theodulf also used *sacramentum* in a similar fashion to *mysterium*. In Theodulf's lexicon both *sacramentum* and *mysterium* were closely associated with Christ: the divine truths and mysteries they designated frequently centred around Christ. Accordingly, Theodulf regularly used both in relation to the *res sacratae*.

The reasons for that link with the Christ-centred terminology of *sacramentum* and *mysterium* became clearer in Chapter 2. Here, I showed how Theodulf understood that Christ (or, in the case of the Ark of the Covenant and Scripture: Moses and God) had instituted the *res sacratae*. At any rate a biblical institution was central to Theodulf's *res sacratae*. The mechanics of those biblical narratives of institution are especially interesting in relation to Theodulf's conception of biblical history and the relationship of the Old and New Testaments. The general pattern of *res sacratae* institution was, thus, an Old Testament prefiguration, such as Melchisedech's offering for the eucharistic elements, followed by a New Testament revelation in which Christ established the corresponding *res sacrata* through his words. In the subsequent consecration of these *res sacratae*, the words of Christ and his name retained their essential role. Yet, alongside this power of the *vox* and *nomen Christi*, Theodulf stressed the sacerdotal power to effect consecration. Although reverential practices around saints' relics had some Old Testament precedents, Theodulf framed reverence for relics as ancient rather than biblical. In his scheme, there is no role for Christ or priests in relation to saints' relics.

Theodulf further distinguished the nature of the *res sacratae* from saints' relics. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, Theodulf perceived a fundamental separation between matter and spirit. This separation extended even to the level of embodiment. In his interpretation of Genesis 1:26, Theodulf leaned heavily on the brief anonymous work *De imagine Dei* to demonstrate that it was merely the incorporeal aspects of man – the soul and the character – that conformed to the image and likeness of God. As holy objects, relics and *res sacratae* bridged this gap. However, the way they did was markedly different. Theodulf believed relics to possess a miraculous connection to the soul and character of the saint despite his interpretation of Genesis 1:26 and despite the meagre form which he admitted many relics to possess now: in other words, saints' relics transcended their material form. Whereas, the *res sacratae*, in Theodulf's conception, uniquely possess material perfection. In particular,

this perfection stems from the function Theodulf ascribes to the *res sacratae*: as Augustinian signs, their material appearances perfectly testify to divine mysteries.

In Chapter 4, I showed that this disparity between *res sacratae* and saints' relics even extended to the devotional terminology that Theodulf applied to each and that this contrast in the terms of devotion corresponded to differing devotional functions. The word Theodulf had taken issue with in the Latin translation of II Nicaea was *adorare*. Yet, as I have also demonstrated above, he would also have taken issue with mere *veneratio* of images. Theodulf held that *adorare* and *colere* were due to God alone. His use of *adorare* and, to a lesser extent *colere*, in the *res sacratae* chapters is therefore striking, especially given their absence in relation to saints' relics in OC III 24. Crucially, however, Theodulf was not suggesting that the *res sacratae* were themselves worthy of adoration and worship. Rather, his usage reflects the pivotal role he ascribed to the *res sacratae* in the performance of the adoration and worship due to God. In other words, God could not be appropriately adored or worshiped without the *res sacratae*. In turn this lends the *res sacratae* a key salvific function. However, Theodulf ascribed no such central function to saints' relics. While Theodulf maintained that they were due the reverence and veneration appropriate for the saints of whom they were the relics, he nonetheless deemed them of secondary importance to the *res sacratae*: God could be adored and worshipped without relics, but not without the *res sacratae*.

The reconstruction of Theodulf's thought, which I have achieved in Part I, sheds a new light upon Theodulf's hierarchy of devotional objects; in this hierarchy, the *res sacratae* held an exalted place. They were, in Theodulf's mind, objects essential to the practice of the Christian worship. As such, they were also the objects most intimately connected to Christ. Being derived from the corporeal existence of their respective saints, relics therefore occupied a rung immediately beneath the *res sacratae* in Theodulf's hierarchy. While he did not deem their use integral to the performance of Christian worship, Theodulf did ascribe some devotional value to the veneration of relics. Images, too, held a rung yet lower in Theodulf's hierarchy. He was no iconoclast. Their place, however, was more circumscribed than that of either *res sacratae* or relics. They were certainly not to be accorded any form of devotion. Further, their function was restricted: Theodulf deemed them capable merely of representing and communicating to the physical aspect of man.

In the introduction to his recent translation of *The Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787)*, Richard Price remarked that the key fault of II Nicaea's promotion of image veneration, from the Western perspective, was 'a failure to distinguish between the essence

and the adjuncts of Christianity'.[765] This was the explicit distinction Theodulf presented between the *res sacratae* (essence) and images – although, crucially, not image veneration – (adjunct). To a lesser degree, this same distinction was implicit in Theodulf's relative treatment of *res sacratae* and relics. While Theodulf did present saints' relics as far more useful to Christian worship than images and deemed it fitting for relics to receive the veneration due to the saints themselves, when compared to his treatment of the *res sacratae*, relics themselves emerge as merely an adjunct to Christian devotional practice, the essence of which remains firmly rooted in the *res sacratae*.

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[765] Price, *The Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787)*, p. 73.

PART II: The *res sacratae* beyond the *Opus Caroli*

Introduction: The *res sacratae* beyond the *Opus Caroli*

Having established (in Part I) the theology underpinning Theodulf's *res sacratae* and their relationship to other objects, particularly saints' relics, in the devotional economy of the OC, Part II will now address the potential ramifications of these ideas. The scope of the thesis will not allow a comprehensive survey tracing the spread of such ideas beyond the OC. The aim of these Part II chapters will, therefore, be to establish the possibility of such influence and to demonstrate a framework for tracing such ideas beyond the pages of the OC itself. Chapter 7 will address the first of these aims. The possibility for any ideas within the OC to have achieved widespread influence has been largely curtailed by the interplay of two factors: Paul Meyvaert's characterisation of the OC as 'unpublished'; and the further weight given to this argument by the seemingly limited manuscript dissemination of the OC.[766] While in agreement with Tom Noble that the authorship debate has been conclusively settled in favour of Theodulf, I will emphasise the communal dimensions to the shaping and reception of the OC (and, thus, its ideas) at Charlemagne's court in the early 790s.[767] In Chapter 8, I will continue this line of thought, essentially arguing that ideas were not carried out of Charlemagne's court by manuscripts, but rather by courtiers, like Theodulf himself, appointed to bishoprics and abbacies across the realm. I will, therefore, use Theodulf's later writings and activities as bishop of Orléans as a case-study of how to trace the continuing influence of his OC theologies of *res sacratae* and saints' relics.

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[766] Meyvaert, 'Medieval Notions of Publication: The "Unpublished" *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum* and the Council of Frankfort'. There is only one surviving complete ninth-century manuscript (Arsenal 663); the incomplete, but original eighth-century manuscript (Vat. Lat. 7207); and a single ninth-century page surviving as a flyleaf (BnF Lat. 12125, f. 157).

[767] Noble, 'From the *Libri Carolini* to the *Opus Caroli Regis*', p. 142.

6: 'Unpublished'? Publication and the power of ideas

> He pointed out the one he wished to read by pointing with his finger or his stick or
> by sending someone from his side to those who were sitting further away. He
> indicated where he wanted the reading to end by making a sound with his throat.
> Everyone waited so intently for that indication that whether it came at the end of a
> sentence or in the middle of a clause or even a subclause, no subsequent reader
> dared to begin either further back or further ahead no matter how peculiar the
> beginning or end might seem [...] No outsider, even a well-known one, dared to
> enter the choir unless he knew how to read and sing.[768]

Elucidating the reading arrangements in Charlemagne's basilica from the testimony of
Werinbert, Notker recalled the potency of Charlemagne's gestures and vocalisations, his
authority to shape what was said or sung in his presence – even Scripture – and the
resulting, palpable apprehension of reading or singing before him and his court.[769] Over a
millennium later, Wolfram von den Steinen, imagined a remarkably similar scene,
reconstructed through intensive study of the Tironian notae in Vat. Lat. 7207.[770] This
manuscript was the original working copy of the OC, the only complete manuscript of
which is now Arsenal 663. This mid-ninth century manuscript was copied directly from
Vat. Lat. 7207. The instigator of that copying, Hincmar of Reims, provided the sole
surviving Carolingian reference to the OC in 869/870. But his testimony was hazy,
confusing it with the earlier CAS, sent to Pope Hadrian in 792.[771] Accordingly, by the time
Notker wrote the above description in the 880s, the OC had long since faded into
obscurity. Indeed, Vat. Lat. 7207 did not re-emerge until 1865, while Arsenal 663 only
regained serious scholarly attention in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[772] The OC was
ostensibly a Carolingian refutation of Byzantine extremes surrounding images in religious

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[768] Notker, *The Deeds of Emperor Charles*, trans. Thomas Noble, *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious: Lives by Einhard, Notker, Ermoldus, Thegan, and the Astronomer* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 2009), p. 65.

[769] Thomas Noble, 'Notker, Introduction', in Noble, *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious*, p. 52.

[770] von den Steinen, 'Karl der Grosse und die Libri Carolini: Die Tironischen Randnoten zum Codex Authenticus', pp. 207-280.

[771] Hincmar of Reims, *Opusculum LV capitulorum adversus Hincmarum Laudensem*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, PL 126 (Paris, 1852), p. 360: 'Septima autem apud Graecos vocata universalis pseudosynodus de imaginibus, quas quidam confringendas, quidam autem adorandas dicebant, neutra vero pars intellectu sano diffiens, sine auctoritate apostolicae sedis, non linge ante nostra tempora, Constantinopoli est a quampluribus episcopis habita, et Romam missa, quam etiam papa Romanus in Franciam direxit. Unde tempore Caroli magni imperatoris, jussione apostolicae sedis, generalis est synodus in Francia, convocante praefato imperatore, celebrata, et secundum Scripturarum tramitem traditionemque majorum, ipsa Graecorum pseudosynodus destructa et penitus abdicata. De cujus destructione non modicum volumen, quod in palatio adolescentulus legi, ab eodem imperatore Romam est per quosdam episcopos missum'. On the other sources referring to aspects of the Carolingian response to II Nicaea: Freeman, 'Carolingian Orthodoxy and the Fate of the *Libri Carolini*', pp. 66-71.

[772] Freeman, 'Theodulf of Orléans and the *Libri Carolini*', p. 668; Noble, 'From the *Libri Carolini* to the *Opus Caroli Regis*', p. 142.

devotion – rejecting both the restoration of image-worship that was perceived as having transpired at II Nicaea in 787 and the iconoclasm (initiated at Hieria, in 754) which II Nicaea reversed – while articulating a more moderate path. But the OC's scope was inevitably far broader, given its monumental size. The Tironian notae, initially observed by Hubert Bastgen and deciphered by Michael Tangl, were, according to Wolfram von den Steinen, records of Charlemagne's *persönlichen Beifall* (personal applause/approval) at diverse points – not limited to the image controversy itself – made during the OC's official reading in front of the royal court in 791/792.[773] Like Notker's Charlemagne, von den Steinen's Charlemagne was a powerful and authoritative figure. His potent gestures and vocalisations were able to shape the OC; his thoughts and responses inscribed upon the manuscript pages, inspiring such reverence as to be carefully copied in Tironian form when Vat. Lat. 7207 was deposited into the royal archives. The opportunity that those Tironian notae offered to read the OC through Charlemagne's eyes rightly excited von den Steinen.[774] But it is surely just as significant to note the active role of the audience. Like myriad other alterations to Vat. Lat. 7207, Charlemagne's Tironian notae testify to the multiplicity of voices that ultimately shaped the treatise now known as the OC; no less than the voices of Charlemagne and his leading courtiers at a pivotal moment in which they were initiating the profound transformation of Carolingian society.[775]

In the historiography of the OC, while Charlemagne stars in the titular role, two other names loom large: Theodulf of Orléans and Alcuin. Each has been postulated by his faction as the primary author, albeit writing in the voice or guise of Charlemagne. Although tracing its roots to preceding generations of scholars, who first queried Alcuin's uncontested authorship on account of his staunch Catholicism and the OC's seemingly Protestant undertones, this historiographical dispute reached its apex towards the second half of the twentieth century.[776] The Theodulfians had as their leading proponent Ann

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[773] Hubert Bastgen, 'Das Capitulare Karls d. Gr. Über die Bilder oder die sogenannten Libri Carolini', *NA* 36 (1912); Tangl, 'Die Tironischen Noten der Vatikanischen Handschrift der Libri Carolini', pp. 752-754; von den Steinen, 'Karl der Grosse und die Libri Carolini: Die Tironischen Randnoten zum Codex Authenticus', pp. 278-279. Following criticism of von den Steinen's interpretation of the Tironian notae (Fichtenau, 'Karl der Grosse und das Kaisertum', pp. 280-287), improved deciphering of the notae (Menz, 'Die Tironischen Noten', pp. 261-263), and the prodding of Bischoff, von den Steinen's findings have largely been reinforced by Freeman's study – under UV-light – of the erased minuscule originators of the Tironian notae, with their ink residue mirrored on the opposite folios (Freeman, 'Further Studies in the *Libri Carolini* III: The Marginal Notes in Vaticanus Latinus 7207', esp. pp. 598-601), although Freeman's other work establishing the chronology of the OC's composition has shifted the date of Charlemagne's official commenting to 793: Freeman, 'Carolingian Orthodoxy and the Fate of the *Libri Carolini*', p. 105.

[774] 'Überhaupt können wir jetzt das Opus Caroli gewissermassen mit Karls Augen lesen': von den Steinen, 'Karl der Grosse und die Libri Carolini: Die Tironischen Randnoten zum Codex Authenticus', p. 278.

[775] Over 3,400 such alterations: Schmandt, *Studien zu den Libri Carolini*, p. 6.

[776] Such an anachronistic characterisation of the OC's viewpoint seems significantly influenced by its post-rediscovery historiography, with Protestant theologians including Calvin becoming enamoured with many aspects of the OC's doctrine, leading to a reaction among Catholic scholars that even went so far as to label

Freeman, while the Alcuinian counter was spearheaded most vociferously by Liutpold Wallach.[777] Freeman and Wallach's dispute became as heated and bitter as that between Theodulf and Alcuin themselves, as bishops of the neighbouring dioceses of Orléans and Tours respectively.[778] Its hostility, like that ninth-century dispute, can still be felt, expressed in their words, despite the passing of both scholars.[779] Indeed, the almost religious fervour exercised has been so strong (as will be argued below) as to conceal important aspects of the OC's composition. First, however, it will be useful to assess the key evidence and arguments of this debate. As the Alcuinian argument became largely reactionary to Theodulfian evidence, it will be most instructive to outline the key arguments in favour of Theodulf, while simultaneously elucidating the counter-points advanced in favour of Alcuin.

The first and most convincing evidence in favour of Theodulf's authorship, relates to the biblical citations employed in the OC, and in particular the sources from which those citations derived. This line of enquiry was first undertaken, in relation to the OC's psalm citations, by Arthur Allgeier.[780] He was struck by the familiarity that the OC psalm citations demonstrated, on the part of the author, with the psalm-forms of the Mozarabic psalter. This led him to identify Theodulf – the only known Visigothic churchman at Charlemagne's court – as the primary author. This argument was, however, robustly quelled by Donatien de Bruyne in a fierce critique which discredited Allgeier's findings on the grounds that most of the psalm citations he took to be from the Mozarabic psalter

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the OC a Protestant forgery (doubts that continued to be expressed right up to the discovery of the original Vatican manuscript in 1865) and for the papacy to place it on the Index of prohibited works. On the confessional influences upon the authorship question: Freeman, 'Theodulf of Orléans and the Libri Carolini', pp. 668-669.

[777] Freeman's most important contributions to this debate are included in: Freeman (ed.), *Theodulf of Orléans: Charlemagne's Spokesman against the Second Council of Nicaea*. Most scholars now favour Theodulf as the primary author of the OC, but the staunchest defender of her work was undoubtedly Meyvaert, especially: Meyvaert, 'The Authorship of the Libri Carolini: Observations prompted by a recent book', pp. 29-57; Meyvaert, 'Medieval Notions of Publication: The "Unpublished" *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum* and the Council of Frankfort'. Wallach's key studies include: Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne: Studies in Carolingian History and Literature*; Wallach, 'The Unknown Author of the *Libri Carolini*: Patristic Exegesis, Mozarabic Atiphons, and the *Vetus Latina*'; Wallach, *Diplomatic Studies in Latin and Greek Documents*; Wallach, Augoustakis and Wallach, 'Alcuin's Authorship of the *Libri Carolini*: Thedulfian Fictions and Elective Affinities', pp. 279-317.

[778] This real confrontation between the two as land-owning bishops over a runaway cleric had almost, so Alcuin says, led to outright armed conflict between the inhabitants of Tours and the armed men sent by Theodulf to retrieve the cleric from the sanctuary of the church of St-Martin: 'Letters of Alcuin', in Paul Dutton (trans.), *Carolingian Civilization: a Reader* (Toronto, 2009), pp. 131-135; Meens, 'Sanctuary, Penance, and Dispute Settlement under Charlemagne: The Conflict between Alcuin and Theodulf of Orléans over a Sinful Cleric', pp. 277-300.

[779] Both have now died, but Wallach's wife who survives him has continued to press his case, to work on completing his own critical edition of the OC, and to express lingering resentment and animosity: Wallach, 'Liutpold Wallach: A Biography', p. 271.

[780] Allgeier, 'Psalmenzitate und die Frage nach der Herkunft der Libri Carolini', pp. 333-353.

were either from the *Liber de divinis scripturis* florilegium, or the Latin translation of II Nicaea.[781]

Although some scholars, notably Wolfram von den Steinen, still subscribed to Theodulf's authorship of the OC, de Bruyne's rebuttal of Allgeier severely dampened such arguments.[782] Indeed, it was not until 1957, that Theodulfian argument – primarily employing the evidence of the OC's Scriptural citations and their sources – was forcefully articulated once again. The study that revived this line of inquiry was the opening salvo of Ann Freeman's life-long study of the OC.[783] Acknowledging the shortcomings of Allgeier's argument, Freeman forged a new path by moving away from troublesome psalm citations and Mozarabic psalter sources in favour of making a case based on the presence of biblical citations drawn from Mozarabic antiphons, as these constituted a more distinctively Mozarabic source reflecting the particular musical use of that church.[784] Culling a selection of twenty citations from across all four books of the OC, Freeman demonstrated their correspondence to the phraseology of certain Spanish antiphonaries, particularly a tenth-century manuscript of the Léon Antiphonary.[785] For Freeman, these links constituted conclusive evidence of Theodulf's role in the OC: who else in Charlemagne's court could have exhibited such a marker as the musical memory of the Mozarabic liturgy?[786]

Thirty years later, buoyed by intensive study of the OC in preparation for her MGH edition and by her research visit to the abbey of Beuron in 1985, where Scriptural citations from all the available patristic and liturgical works had been recorded and indexed according to their Scriptural order, Freeman was even able to revisit Allgeier's original evidence.[787] This allowed her to systematically eliminate all the OC psalm citations that could have derived equally from intermediate sources other than the Mozarabic psalter, such as the *Liber de divinis scripturis*, patristic sources, II Nicaea, or the Roman psalter.[788] This process left fourteen psalm citations which could only have derived from Mozarabic sources, thus reinforcing the findings of her earlier study of non-psalm citations, and removing the long shadows of Allgeier and de Bruyne from the debate.[789] Despite its inauspicious beginnings in the exchange between Allgeier and de Bruyne, since Freeman's

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[781] De Bruyne, 'La Composition des *Libri Carolini*', pp. 227-234.

[782] Von den Steinen, 'Karl der Grosse und die Libri Carolini: Die Tironischen Randnoten zum Codex Authenticus', p. 232.

[783] Freeman, 'Theodulf of Orléans and the Libri Carolini', pp. 663-705.

[784] Ibid., p. 684.

[785] Ibid., pp. 684-688.

[786] Ibid., pp. 688-689.

[787] Freeman, 'Theodulf of Orléans and the Psalm Citations of the *Libri Carolini*', pp. 195-200.

[788] Ibid., pp. 201-210.

[789] Ibid., pp. 211-217.

revitalising input, the evidence of Mozarabic liturgical sources for at least some of the OC's Scriptural citations has become the most compelling evidence in favour of Theodulf's central role in its composition. Even so, the fact that this source-citation evidence securely reveals only a Visigothic flavouring (thirty-four citations across Freeman's two studies), while no longer being able to be explained away as mere coincidence, does suggest that the OC cannot be fully separated from its multi-authorial composition.[790]

While Freeman's revision of the OC's Scriptural citation evidence does seem compelling, it was heavily criticised by Liutpold Wallach. His initial assault pivoted on demonstrating that the OC cited the *Vetus Latina* and patristic sources, which were independently cited by the Mozarabic antiphons, in each of the instances Freeman had put forward.[791] However, as pointed out by Paul Meyvaert in a rebuttal, the way in which Wallach dealt with each of these citations was problematic. Indeed, Meyvaert even felt compelled to issue a warning that one should not struggle through Wallach's treatment of the citations without having Freeman's original study alongside it.[792] As an example, responding to Freeman's inclusion of a citation in OC II 3 from Isaiah 60:20, Wallach hypothesised that both the OC and the Léon Antiphon must derive from a version in the *Vetus Latina*. He then provided (presumably) an alternate antique source from which the OC's formulation might derive, in the form of Cassiodorus on Psalm 121:3 (using Pierre Sabatier's index to the *Vetus Latina*). Notwithstanding the difficulty caused by such jumping between different biblical citations, on Wallach's part, a simple side-by-side comparison vindicates Freeman's assertion that the closest parallel to the phrase employed in the OC is the Léon Antiphonary:[793]

LC II 3 [OC II 3]:

Non enim in occasum tibi veniet sol, et luna tibi non defeciet in aeternum tempus.[794]

Léon Antiphonary (fol. 88v):

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[790] This evidence of this multi-authorial context (whether from the direct input of other quills, the persistent presence of the audience in Theodulf's mind as he composed his text, or the indirect, unconscious influence of Charlemagne's court upon him) will be explored below.

[791] Wallach, 'The Unknown Author of the *Libri Carolini*: Patristic Exegesis, Mozarabic Atiphons, and the *Vetus Latina*', pp. 484-507.

[792] Meyvaert, 'The Authorship of the "Libri Carolini": Observations prompted by a recent book', p. 34.

[793] Wallach, 'The Unknown Author of the *Libri Carolini*: Patristic Exegesis, Mozarabic Atiphons, and the *Vetus Latina*', pp. 498-499; Freeman, 'Theodulf of Orléans and the Psalm Citations of the Libri *Carolini*', p. 686.

[794] From: Freeman, 'Theodulf of Orléans and the Psalm Citations of the *Libri Carolini*', p. 686.

> ... non enim in occasu tibi veniet sol, et luna tibi non deficiet in aeternum tempus.[795]

Cassiodorus, *Expositio in psalterium*:

> Non enim occidet tibi sol tuus, et luna tibi non deficiet; erit enim tibi dominus deus lumen aeternum...[796]

Clearly, the closest similarity is between the OC and Léon Antiphonary. Indeed, the match is almost perfect. Nonetheless, in Freeman's 1987 study of the psalm citations, attuned to such sustained criticisms from Wallach, she was even more exacting in selecting citations which could only have Mozarabic sources – verifying them against Beuron's card index of the *Vetus Latina*.[797] Yet, had Wallach lived to see this study published, he did provide another major criticism of the Scriptural citation evidence Freeman employed, which he might have applied to her concluding remarks on the memorative power of the Mozarabic Antiphonary, being musically impressed upon Theodulf's mind and ear, to the extent that it became part of his speech, infusing the OC when he composed it.[798] Against such a conclusion in her 1957 study, Wallach was adamant that the author of the OC would not have cited any sources from memory.[799] His reasoning was that the OC, when verifying the authenticity of any patristic texts used as testimonia for image-worship, required that they be checked against Carolingian manuscripts.[800] There are, of course, a couple of flaws with this line of rebuttal. First, the method is only evident in relation to patristic texts (not Scripture) used in support of the Byzantine position at II Nicaea. It does not necessarily follow that the same rigour would be systematically applied to every citation employed by the OC's author himself. Second, as pointed out by Meyvaert and reinforced by the surging interest in memory studies since, Wallach's position fails to account for the prominence of memory in medieval text composition.[801] For instance, Mary Carruthers observed that a key stage of medieval text composition was *cogitatio*: 'a listening and a dialogue, a gathering (*collectio*) of voices from their several places in memory'.[802] The subsequent work on medieval memory, particularly its role in composition, therefore lends further weight to

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[795] From: Freeman, 'Theodulf of Orléans and the Psalm Citations of the *Libri Carolini*', p. 686.

[796] From: Wallach, 'The Unknown Author of the *Libri Carolini*: Patristic Exegesis, Mozarabic Atiphons, and the *Vetus Latina*', p. 499.

[797] Freeman, 'Theodulf of Orléans and the Psalm Citations of the *Libri Carolini*', pp. 201-210.

[798] Ibid., pp. 218-219.

[799] 'As a son of the Spanish Church, he [Theodulf] must have been habituated from his youth in the celebration of the Mozarabic liturgy, and its sonorous phrases left their mark on his memory, much as English speech is stamped by the usage of the King James Bible': Freeman, 'Theodulf of Orléans and the *Libri Carolini*', p. 689; Wallach, *Diplomatic Studies in Latin and Greek Documents from the Carolingian Age,* p. 249.

[800] Wallach, *Diplomatic Studies in Latin and Greek Documents from the Carolingian Age,* p. 81.

[801] Meyvaert, 'The Authorship of the "Libri Carolini": Observations prompted by a recent book', p. 33.

[802] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 197-198.

Freeman's conclusions regarding the Scriptural citations from the Mozarabic testimony as evidence of Theodulf's central role in the OC's composition.

A second, more problematic, category of evidence marshalled by scholars such as Freeman and Meyvaert in favour of Theodulf, are the orthographic symptoms of Vat. Lat. 7207. Freeman observed a palaeographical battle waged upon the manuscript's pages. Her conviction that the strikes of this battle had been silenced by the existing printed editions, notably Bastgen's, from which the twentieth-century authorship debate was largely conducted, informed the production of her own edition.[803] In Freeman's account, the copyists of Vat. Lat. 7207 – who had evidently been schooled in the standard Carolingian orthographic conventions championed by Alcuin – constantly found themselves at odds with their exemplar's author and his employment of a more vernacular-influenced Mozarabic latinity.[804] Among the most frequent changes that the copyists were forced to make were the addition or removal of *h* – more than 140 times – and the mutating of the *ae* diphthong to an *e*.[805] The extent of these orthographic corrections do indicate, fairly conclusively, that Vat. Lat. 7207 was copied from *schedae* written by someone of Visigothic origins.

Wallach attempted to discredit these 'few Spanish Symptoms' as evidence, not of a Visigothic scribe's *schedae* being copied, but rather Visigothic influences acting upon the scribes of Vat. Lat. 7207 themselves.[806] As Meyvaert countered, this not only neglects the scale of the evidence provided by Freeman, but also the fact that Vat. Lat. 7207's scribes were writing in a reformed Caroline minuscule, with a clearly associated set of orthographic conventions, at odds with the Visigothic vernacular of the source they were copying. However, he went too far in suggesting that Wallach's criticism amounted to stating that there must have been a second copy made in between Alcuin's supposed composition of the OC and the copying of Vat. Lat. 7207.[807] The scale of the orthographic evidence, which Wallach attempted to diminish, seems conclusive in illustrating a battle of orthographic conventions, between the Caroline scribes and the Visigothic orthography of their exemplar.

That this orthographic conflict must point to Theodulf's autograph manuscript, however, is less obvious. It relies on an assumption of an unusual compositional practice.

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[803] Freeman, '*Opus Caroli Regis Contra Synodum*: An Introduction', p. 23; Freeman, 'Theodulf of Orléans and the *Libri Carolini*', p. 690.

[804] Freeman, '*Opus Caroli Regis Contra Synodum*: An Introduction', pp. 23-25.

[805] Freeman, '*Opus Caroli Regis Contra Synodum*: An Introduction', p. 24.

[806] Wallach, *Diplomatic Studies in Latin and Greek Documents from the Carolingian Age,* p. 162.

[807] Meyvaert, 'The Authorship of the "Libri Carolini": Observations prompted by a recent book', p. 31.

The standard medieval compositional mode was of oral dictation to a scribe.[808] That is not, of course, to say that autograph composition did not occur, merely that it was not the standard practice. Indeed, even in more mundane epistolary composition, scribes were regularly utilised by Lupus of Ferrières (a Carolingian monk and abbot of far lesser status than Theodulf), with the effort of physically inscribing his own letters employed only in exceptional circumstances.[809] On the other hand, even if the text from which the copyists of Vat. Lat. 7207 were working was not the autograph of Theodulf himself, the fact remains that, given his background, he was surely still the most likely of Charlemagne's scholars to employ Visigothic scribes. Accordingly, while it is not beyond doubt that the orthographic evidence points directly to Theodulf, it most likely points indirectly to his agency. When combined with the other evidence provided, therefore, orthography does lend further weight to the Theodulfian argument.

To these two main scaffolds of the Theodulfian thesis, a wide variety of other evidence, including context, content, and style of the OC, has been appended. These range in complexity from Alcuin's absence in England between 790 and 793, to analysis of the OC's image doctrine and its Iberian roots, influenced by Isidore, Prudentius and the Council of Elvira (c. 306).[810] But, perhaps the most poignant evidence – combining elements of the orthographic argument, as well as testifying to Theodulf as an art connoisseur – is found in the similarity between the OC's description of the Ark and cherubim in the Temple of Solomon (OC, I 15) and the iconography of the still-surviving apse mosaic in Theodulf's private oratory in Germigny-des-Prés, near Orléans.[811] In addition, the mosaic's inscription, still illustrates Theodulf's Visigothic spellings. While Vat. Lat. 7207's original *cerubin* was subsequently corrected with the addition of an *h* and an

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[808] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, p. 196.

[809] Lupus' letters were compiled into a letter-collection by the monks of his abbey at Ferrières after his death (c. 862) and survive in a that same manuscript alone: BnF Lat. 2858. Most of Lupus' letters appear to have been dictated to scribes, with at least two copies being made (a sender- and receiver-copy), given that BnF Lat. 2858 must have been created from sender-copies. Incidentally, given the distribution of the letters in BnF Lat. 2858, sender-copies appear to have been made on parchment leaves loosely bound in the archive preserving some of the chronological sequence of the letters in BnF Lat. 2858, albeit with some disordering of the letters. Sometimes, the sender-copies appear to have been preserved together on a single parchment, if the letters were relatively short and part of the same epistolary act, thus retaining their contact in the subsequent letter-collection: e.g. two pairs of letters sent to insular correspondents in 852: to the Kingdom of Wessex (to King Ethelwulf and Felix): BnF Lat. 2858, ff. 9v-10r; and to York (to Bishop Guigmund and Abbot Altsig): BnF Lat. 2858, ff. 31v-32r. For evidence of Lupus' usual practice of orating letters to scribes, we can turn to a letter addressed in haste to Leotald, in which Lupus remarks that he has kept his letter short to spare his scribe (*scriptor*): BnF Lat. 2858, f. 8v. In the preceding letter to Adalgaud, however, Lupus took pains to emphasise the special effort he was putting into this letter having formed (*formavi*) it with his own hands: BnF Lat. 2858, f. 8r.

[810] The former is expressed in: Helmut Nagel, *Karl der Grosse und die theologischen Herausforderungen seiner Zeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998), pp. 183-184. The latter argument is developed in: Freeman, 'Scripture and Images in the *Libri Carolini*', pp. 163-188.

[811] Freeman, 'Theodulf of Orléans and the *Libri Carolini*', pp. 699-701.

extra minim to turn the *n* into an *m*, Theodulf's apse mosaic inscription survives unaltered.[812] Overall, such evidence, still vividly visible, rounds off the compelling case that has been made, particularly by Freeman, for Theodulf's primary authorship of the OC.

There is, however, a danger in the level of energy invested in the authorship dispute. Focussing on two authorial candidates risks downplaying and restricting the OC's historical significance. In the case of the principal protagonists (Freeman and Wallach), this is a consequence of the fervour with which they sought to overwhelm the other's arguments, refusing acquiescence to any opposing arguments and thereby overlooking indicators of collaborative input. For instance, Wallach categorically stated that 'the work is certainly by one author, who, to be sure, was not Theodulph of Orléans'.[813] Freeman was less zealous. Whereas Wallach continued to side with Heinrich Fichtenau in rejecting von den Steinen's conclusions concerning the implications of Vat. Lat. 7207's Tironian notae towards Charlemagne's active shaping of the OC, she confirmed and strengthened von den Steinen's case.[814] Even so, Freeman's intellectual engagement in the authorship contest did force her to frequently place emphasis upon the OC's individuality, as Theodulf's work, whether through the notion of Vat. Lat. 7207 being preceded by Theodulf's autograph manuscript, or the OC's espousal of the image doctrine of 'an expatriate Spaniard', and indeed possessing a 'distinctive individuality formed in a tradition foreign to the Franks.'[815] Meyvaert adopted a more extreme position than Freeman. His statement appears almost as a polar opposite of Wallach's: 'the *Opus Caroli regis* was basically the work of a single man, a Visigoth, Theodulf, who was not a regular member of the court circle'.[816] Combined with this perception of authorial singularity, Freeman and Meyvaert also emphasised the 'unpublished' nature of the OC.[817] The result of this scholarship, then, is surely a pessimistic view of the historical significance of the OC as a source. Since the Theodulfian

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[812] 'ORACLVM SCM ET **CERVBIN** HIC ASPICE SPECTANS ET TESTAMENTI EN MICAT ARCA DEI HAEC CERNENS PRECIBVSQVE STVDENS PVLSARE TONANTEM THEODVLFVM VOTIS IVNGITO QVOESO TVIS': Freeman, 'Theodulf of Orléans and the *Libri Carolini*', p. 692 (Bold font – my own addition). See also: Freeman and Meyvaert, 'The meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés', pp. 125-139.

[813] Wallach, *Diplomatic Studies in Latin and Greek Documents from the Carolingian Age,* p. 195.

[814] Wallach, *Diplomatic Studies in Latin and Greek Documents from the Carolingian Age,* pp. 187-189; Freeman, 'Further Studies in the *Libri Carolini* III: The Marginal Notes in Vaticanus Latinus 7207', pp. 604-607.

[815] Freeman, '*Opus Caroli Regis Contra Synodum*: An Introduction', pp. 52-54. Although, at other times, Freeman has posited a far more communal shaping of the OC, most notably in her study of V's Tironian notae: 'Theodulf's original composition was so exhaustively reviewed and revised by his friends and colleagues as to become, in the end, an authoritative statement of Carolingian orthodoxy, not only in the matter of images, but in many other points as well': Freeman, 'Further Studies in the *Libri Carolini* III: The Marginal Notes in Vaticanus Latinus 7207', p. 597. For a similar statement: Freeman, 'Additions and Corrections to the *Libri Carolini*', p. 159.

[816] Meyvaert, 'Medieval Notions of Publication: The "Unpublished" *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum* and the Council of Frankfort', p. 88.

[817] Meyvaert, 'Medieval Notions of Publication: The "Unpublished" *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum* and the Council of Frankfort', pp. 78-89; Freeman, 'Carolingian Orthodoxy and the Fate of the *Libri Carolini*', p. 106.

argument is the most convincing, the OC's utility would seem to have been restricted to studies of Theodulf and his Visigothic background, which, of course, is what first attracted Freeman to the OC.[818]

But such a pessimistic view downplays both the direct and indirect ways in which the OC was shaped by multiple voices. Evidence of direct intervention in Vat. Lat. 7207, such as the Tironian notae or copious textual erasures and alterations, has either been neglected in the pursuit of a Theodulfian *Urtext*, or had its significance, as testimony to alternative voices – notably Charlemagne's – acting upon the OC, suppressed. Given these manuscript symptoms of the communal context of the OC's composition at Charlemagne's court, the silencing effect of non-publication is, perhaps, equally overstated. The extent to which Theodulf – who was the OC's principal author – was an outsider at Charlemagne's court, appears similarly overemphasised. Together, these two emphases, contribute to a significant neglect of the active role of the audience and Theodulf's immediate social context in shaping the OC and propagating its ideas. When given their fair weighting, while not contesting Theodulf's primary authorship, these direct and indirect influences upon the treatise should illustrate the OC's value as a source to understand an array of ideas – not just pertaining to images – that circulated in Charlemagne's court at a historically pivotal moment.

There is certainly no dearth of manuscript evidence in Vat. Lat. 7207 pointing to the direct intervention in the OC's composition by others besides Theodulf. These range all the way from Charlemagne himself, exemplified by the Tironian notae peppering the margins, to the scribes fighting the Visigothic orthography of their exemplar with minims and minor erasures. In between abound a varied assortment of corrections. Some were made by more anonymous hands and entailed the curtailment of substantial sections of the OC's text. Of particular pertinence to this study, for instance, the first 29 chapters of Book II witnessed both a change in scribal hands and a significant curtailment in the size of each chapter.[819] Book I exhibited an average chapter length of 132 lines, which dropped to just 64 in the first 29 chapters of Book II.[820] Observing these major alterations, Freeman concluded that a 'powerful critic had appeared upon the scene – a person who enjoyed high standing at Charlemagne's court and therefore possessed enough authority to intervene'.[821] Regardless of who this person was, what is significant here is that these

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[818] Ann Freeman, 'Preface', in Ann Freeman (ed.), *Theodulf of Orléans: Charlemagne's Spokesman against the Second Council of Nicaea* (Aldershot, 2003), viii-ix.
[819] Vat. Lat. 7207, ff. 66r-100v.
[820] Freeman, '*Opus Caroli Regis Contra Synodum*: An Introduction', p. 56.
[821] Ibid., p. 59.

emended chapters include most of those elucidating the *res sacratae* (OC II, 26-30). Since these chapters (II, 26-30) also received substantial Tironian attention, the ideas represented in these chapters clearly underwent multiple layers of direct intervention by numerous authorial voices.[822] Accordingly, they cannot be regarded simply as articulations of Theodulf's idiosyncratic ideas: at the very least, Theodulf's ideas as they survive in these chapters, were negotiated with the anonymous, editing critic. These are, of course, by no means the only chapters in which multiple voices shaped the ideas expressed in the treatise, but they do offer some of the most visible instances of such direct intervention. Indeed, around the turn of the twenty-first century, owing to the waning of the authorship debate, the scholarship on the OC has been far more consistent in its acknowledgement of its communal crafting.[823]

Traces of indirect influences from the Carolingian court are inevitably harder to discern. Certainly, unlike the direct influences explored above, these did not leave their mark upon Vat. Lat. 7207. However, some interesting instances might be evident in the OC's text. These were highlighted by Wallach and Bagsten as Alcuinisms and used as evidence of his authorship.[824] Among the most interesting of the phrases Wallach labelled as an Alcuinism – based on its appearance in two contemporary documents written by Alcuin (a letter on behalf of Charlemagne to Elipand and the Frankish synodal letter of 794) – was the *via regia*.[825] This Scriptural notion was first employed in the preface, but subsequently also in the main body of the OC. It was essentially used as a label for the moderate Carolingian position, in contrast to the Byzantine extremes of iconoclasm and iconodulia.[826] The idea which this phrase represents was, therefore, a recurring expression of one of the key strategies that the OC used to differentiate the Carolingians from Byzantine iconodules and iconoclasts.[827] Given the links that Wallach demonstrated between this concept, that was clearly an important idea within the OC, and two contemporary texts authored by Alcuin, we are left – since Alcuin cannot be adjudged the

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[822] Tironian notae appear 12 times in these chapters: OC II 26-30, pp. 286-322.

[823] Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, p. 166; Ommundsen, 'The Liberal Arts and the Polemic Strategy of the *Opus Caroli Regis Contra Synodum*', p. 176; Willemein Otten, 'The Texture of Tradition. The Role of the Church Fathers in Carolingian Theology', in Irena Backus (ed.), *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists* (Leiden, 1997), p. 8.

[824] Bastgen, 'Das Capitulare Karls d. Gr. über die Bilder oder die sogenannten Libri Carolini III', pp. 491-533; Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne: Studies in Carolingian History and Literature*, pp. 169-177.

[825] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne: Studies in Carolingian History and Literature*, pp. 170-171.

[826] OC, *Praefatio*, p. 102. On the moderate Carolingian position: Noble, 'Neither Iconoclasm nor Iconodulia: The Carolingian *Via Media*', pp. 95-105.

[827] Ommundsen, 'The Liberal Arts and the Polemic Strategy of the *Opus Caroli Regis Contra Synodum*', pp. 193-196.

OC's primary author – to conclude, either that Alcuin did directly edit the OC, or that such ideas, evidently circulated Charlemagne's court in the early 790s.

In the case of the *via regia*, given its centrality to the OC's argument and its employment in different parts of the treatise, the latter is surely more likely. In turn, this testifies to discussions and idea-exchange occurring at court as a backdrop to the OC's composition. The added significance of this is that the early 790s were a pivotal moment in the shaping of Carolingian culture. With the expansive wars that had dominated the earlier part of Charlemagne's reign either being resolved or drawing towards a favourable close, the late 780s and early 790s were a dynamic moment in which Charlemagne and his courtiers aimed to put their stamp upon Carolingian belief and ideas, defining their future direction through documents like the *Admonitio generalis*.[828] Thus, while the OC may have remained 'unpublished', that does not mean that its ideas did not achieve a significant circulation amongst members of the royal court, nor that those ideas lacked other avenues of exerting their influence upon society.

Additionally, Theodulf's polemical treatise was invariably consciously crafted with a specific audience in mind. That it was intended to be polemic is evident in its outraged tone from the outset, where the preface begins like a call to arms:

> Our mother church, having been redeemed by the most precious blood of Christ's covenant and having been washed by the rebirth of the raging water of salvation, and having been filled with the health-giving foodstuff of the body and with the drinking of the blood, and having been anointed with the anointment of nectared wine, and having been spread forth throughout the whole globe of the earths in peace, once [she was] outside, once she steadfastly endured internal war, once she was struck by the attacks of outsiders, once she was battered by the tumult of [her] citizens. Clearly, not at any time, has she been [so] struck by the infestations of unbelievers and heretics, truly, not at any time, has she been [in such] disorder through the dissension of schismatics and arrogant people.[829]

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[828] Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, p. 159.
[829] OC *Praefatio*, p. 97: 'Ecclesia mater nostra, pretiosissimo sponsi Christi sanguine redempta et regeneratione salutaris gurgitis lota et salutifero edulio corporis et haustu sanguinis satiata et nectarei liquoris unguine delibuta et per universum orbem terrarum in pace diffusa, aliquando externa, aliquando intestina perpetitur bella, aliquando exterorum concutitur incursibus, aliquando civium pulsatur tumultibus. Nonnumquam videlicet incredulorum vel hereseorum inpellitur infestationibus, nonnumquam vero scismaticorum vel arrogantium turbatur simultatibus'.

This battle-cry reverberates throughout the treatise. Indeed, its opening salvo within the preface has been substantially curtailed here in the interests of brevity.[830] Suffice to say, Theodulf wanted to leave his audience in no doubt as to how they should feel about the cause of the OC's ire: the Byzantine iconodules and iconoclasts. In this instance, the OC's rhetorical strategy evidently sought an emotional response from the audience. This particular strategy does seem to imagine a more passive audience, emotionally moved primarily through its tone. But persuasion is an interactive process.[831] Accordingly, the OC's rhetoric incorporates a range of strategies that engage its audience in different ways. Many of its methods afford the intended recipients a more active role in the shaping of the text, through appeals to their social, cultural, religious and political mores. This is especially true of its rhetorical tropes and exempla, ranging from judicial procedures to family dynamics and child-rearing.[832] Among the most comically vivid of these, however, is that used to parody the Byzantine synod's Scriptural incompetence as a stumbling drunk:

> Like someone drunken with too much wine, stumbling along with trembling limbs, deprived of his senses, now using Latin, now barbaric words, enjoying fire one moment, frost the next, now lying unconsciously down, now vigorously playing, with no fixed intention and with his irrational mind going hither and thither, they are trying to confirm their erroneous ways either by incompetent use of the Holy Scripture or by taking their examples from evil things or actions.[833]

The nature of these metaphors, of course, suggests a primarily elite Frankish target audience. But they also, significantly, show the constant presence of that audience – whom he sought to persuade – in Theodulf's mind as he composed the OC. Furthermore, the metaphors about child-rearing and the stumbling drunk also illustrate another rhetorical feature that could shed more light on that Frankish audience. These are both illustrations

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[830] In fact, it is not until they very bottom of the next page, some 40 lines later, (in the MGH edition) that this outburst of hyperbolic outrage permits a hint at the specific cause of this outrage. OC *Praefatio*, pp. 97-98.

[831] Garth Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion* (Thousand Oaks, California, 2006), p. 31.

[832] OC, II 3, p. 260: 'Haas igitur ei etsi adorare iussisset, cum tamen non iusserit, ideo fortassis iuberet, ut eum, qui visiblium cultor erat, per visibilia ad invisibilia provacaret, non ut nos de invisibilibus ad invisibilia revocaret; nec ideo nobis, qui ad percipiendum solidum cibum vires accepimus, ad lacteam excam lactantium more infantium redendum esset, si illi, cui necdum per fidei teneritudinem solidus cibus inpertiri poterat, sine dolo lac cocupiscendum daretur, in quo cresceret'; OC IV 8, p. 509: 'Primum namque unaqueque res probanda est et postea iudicanda. Quod cum pluribus sive divinarum sive mundanarum legum exemplis possit adprobari, ipsorum quoque rethorum documentis potest adstrui, qui primum genus posuerunt deliberativum, secundum demonstrativum, tertium iudiciale, ut videlicet quicquid deliberatio aut abnuendum aut sequendum repererit, demonstratio id aut laudabile aut reprehensibile demonstret, iudiciale aut poenis aut premiis sententiam det, ne, si non iudiciale hec duo sequentia genera praecedant, versis in contrarium causis deliberationis examine praeposito, demonstrationis ordine neglecto, aliter res quelibet, quam iustum est iudicetur'; OC IV 23, p. 547: 'Diligit enim quis uxorem sive prolem, nec tamen adorat eam; diligit servum, ancillam, equum, canem, accipitrem et ctera huiuscemodi, nec tamen adorat ea'.

[833] OC III, 19, translated in: Ommundsen, 'The Liberal Arts and the Polemic Strategy of the *Opus Caroli Regis Contra Synodum*', pp. 191-192.

of a strategy of establishing a bipolar opposition between the Carolingians and the Byzantines.[834] In the child-rearing metaphor, the Byzantines with their reliance on images are likened to infants still being reared on milk, while the Carolingian Franks have advanced to the solid food of Scripture.[835] The OC's consistent strategy of establishing this bipolarity relies on appealing to the underlying assumptions and mindset of that Frankish audience. While the level of common understanding required in these metaphorical instances is admittedly rather low, in other cases the bipolarity is not metaphorically couched and could be far more revealing of religious, cultural and political attitudes. Indeed, the *res sacratae*, the holy objects at the heart of this study, which Theodulf sets against images, are potentially an example of these shared religious attitudes.[836] Here, then, the OC could offer an insight, not merely upon the spiritual mindscape of Theodulf himself, but also his intended Frankish audience.

The audience is a powerful and persistent force in the OC. Indeed, any audience which included Charlemagne at its apex, as Notker testified, was likely to occupy the mind of any author who wished their work to be favourably received by it. But that power was not all vested in Charlemagne himself. It was a potent influence exerted directly, as in the knife and quill marks upon parchment, and indirectly, as the unconscious force of ideas circulating the court, or the conscious presence of an image of the recipients of his rhetoric in Theodulf's mind. Yes, it was primarily Theodulf who composed the OC. Its pages, however, brim, not with obscure Visigothic ideas alone, but with multiple Carolingian voices. Significantly, the scope of what concerned these voices was not limited to the immediate religious issue suggested by the OC's full title.[837] In this manner, the OC offers an insight into diverse ideas – touching the religious, political, social and cultural – that occupied the minds of Charlemagne and his courtly advisors at a pivotal moment in which they reshaped the society under their governance. In short, the OC provides a window upon Carolingian thought.

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[834] Ommundsen, 'The Liberal Arts and the Polemic Strategy of the *Opus Caroli Regis Contra Synodum*', pp. 193-196.

[835] OC II 3, p. 260.

[836] OC II 26-30, pp. 286-322.

[837] Myriad labels have been applied to the OC that testify to the broad scope of ideas with which it engages, including *Staatsschrift, Streitsschrift* and *metahistory*: Schmandt, *Studien zu den Libri Carolini*, p. 1; Gero, 'The Libri Carolini and the Image Controversy', p. 9; Thomas Noble, 'Tradition and Learning in Search of Ideology: The *Libri Carolini*', in Richard Sullivan (ed.), *The Gentle Voices of Teachers: Aspects of Learning in the Carolingian Age* (Columbus, Ohio, 1995), p. 249.

7: The *res sacratae* in Theodulf's later life and ministry

The influence of the OC itself – either through manuscript dissemination or, more so in this case, through the evident discussion of it at court – as explored in the previous chapter only tells part of the story of how the ideas contained within it could have shaped the practice of religious devotion on the ground. Texts were not the principal conduits of ideas from centre (court) to periphery in Charlemagne's empire: people were. To this end, it is not the 'publication' of a text, produced at court, as measured by its manuscript dissemination, that gives the clearest idea of its influence in hearts and minds. As a case in point, the *Admonitio generalis* of 789, has a surprisingly limited eighth- and ninth-century manuscript dissemination, when compared to the out-sized influence of its ideas.[838] Instead, the main route through which its ideas and ethos spread was surely through the series of episcopal appointments bestowed upon Charlemagne's leading courtiers of the 780s and 790s.[839] Indeed, the texts with the most widespread ninth-century dissemination were not those, like the *Admonitio generalis* or the OC, that had been produced at the court, but rather those produced by former courtiers once established in their bishoprics. In the case of Theodulf, for instance, his most widely disseminated texts were his episcopal statutes and *De ordine baptismi*.[840] Both texts were produced after Theodulf had left the court to take up his role as bishop (later honorary archbishop) of Orléans c. 798. Yet both reflect the ideas and agenda of the court. *De ordine baptismi*, for instance, was produced in response to

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[838] This is not to say that manuscript dissemination is small, rather that it is smaller than one might expect if one views such texts themselves as the main conduits for ideas from the court to reach throughout the realm. There are 15 such manuscripts, mostly from the ninth, rather than the eighth century and many including only excerpts or fragments of the text: Brussels, KBR 8654-72 (1324), ff.119r-125v; Vat. Lat. 5751, ff. 52v-54v; Torino, Biblioteca Capitolare XXXIII (4), ff. 125v-133v; Torino, Bibloteca Capitolare XXXIV (5), ff. 3r-13r; Leiden, Bibliotheek der Universiteit, Voss. Lat. 4° 119, ff. 136r-138v; Modena, Biblioteca e Archivo Capitolare, O.I.2, ff. 158r-166r; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14468, ff. 98r-110v; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 19416, ff. 6v-29v; BnF lat. 1603, f. 6v; BnF lat. 10758, pp. 35-56; Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 733, pp. 15-64; Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. 1202/501, ff. 1r-8r; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 2232, ff. 92r-102v; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Blankenb. 130, ff. 73v-79r, 135v; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Helmst. 496a (533), ff. 1r-15r.

[839] McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 301-302. With specific reference to Theodulf's own episcopal statutes in the spreading of the *Admonitio generalis* agenda: Davis, *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire*, pp. 211-214.

[840] Despite ostensibly being produced merely for the priests of his own Orléans diocese as indicated both by the address to 'fratribus et compresbyteris nostris Aurelianensis parrochiae sacerdotibus' and diocese-specific references, such as the naming of the schools presbyters might want to send their relatives to at the cathedral school at the church of the Holy Cross in Orléans or the monastery schools of Saint Aignan, Saint Benedict and Saint Lifard, Theodulf's first episcopal statutes enjoyed widespread popularity through the ninth century and well into the Middle Ages, being preserved in a total of 49 surviving manuscripts, 15 from the ninth century alone. Indeed, the treatise's MGH editor, Peter Brommer, credits it with generating the whole genre of episcopal statutes: Peter Brommer, MGH Capit. epsic. 1, pp. 103, 115-116; van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period*, p. 104; Peter Brommer, 'Die Rezeption der bischöflichen Kapitularien Theodulfs von Orléans', *Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte kanonistische Abteilung* 60 (1974), pp. 1-120. Theodulf's *De ordine baptsimi*, meanwhile survives in 9 ninth-century manuscripts: Troyes, Bibliothéque Municipale 804, ff. 1v-6v; Montpellier, Bibliothéque Interuniversitaire, Section Medecine 310, ff. 1r-27r; Vat. Pal. Lat. 278, ff. 64r-79r; Albi, Bibliothéque Municipale 42, ff. 7r-21v; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm. 14532, ff. 3r-25r; Vat. Reg. Lat. 284, ff. 1r-23r; St Petersburg, Rossiyskaya Nat. Bibl. Lat. Q. V. I. no. 34, ff. 8v-21v; BnF Lat. 12279, ff. 127r-131v; Naples, Bibl. Naz. Vitt.-Eman. III, Codex VI. G. 37, ff. 3r-23v.

Charlemagne's baptismal enquiry to the bishops c. 812.[841] Meanwhile, Theodulf's episcopal statutes reflected many of the concerns inherent to Charlemagne's capitulary legislation, like the *Admonitio generalis*, produced while he had been at court.[842] It is in such chains of transmission, therefore, that the true influence of the ideas contained in a treatise like the OC, produced at Charlemagne's court, must be considered, not merely in the manuscript dissemination of the text itself; it was people, like Theodulf himself, who carried these ideas with them into their post-courtier careers.

A full study tracing the potential flow of ideas from the OC, particularly those pertaining to the *res sacratae* and saints' relics, in the works of those courtiers who had doubtless either read or discussed the OC in the early 790s, is beyond the scope of the current thesis. It would merit more than a single, short chapter and would require a high degree of familiarity with the *oeuvre* and careers of a whole generation of Charlemagne's courtiers. In the production of the current thesis, however, I have gained sufficient familiarity with Theodulf's own *oeuvre*, beyond the OC itself, and of his subsequent career to consider how Theodulf himself acted as a conduit for the ideas he had developed in the OC. Much of the evidence at our disposal in this endeavour has been referenced in the preceding chapters of this thesis. This material includes the texts mentioned above, which Theodulf produced as bishop of Orléans: *De ordine baptismi* and his 'first' episcopal statutes.[843] In addition, we also have the testimony of Theodulf's later poetry.[844] Finally, we have the architectural and artistic design of his oratory chapel at Germigny-des-Prés.[845] From these sources, we can trace the ideas analysed in the Part I chapters of this thesis of the relative positions of the *res sacratae* and saints' relics in Theodulf's thought and devotional praxis once he had left the court at the end of the 790s.

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[841] Keefe, *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire* II, p. 279. For Charlemagne's letter: 'Text 14', Ibid., pp. 261-263.

[842] Davis, *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire*, p. 211 fn. 175.

[843] Theodulf's so-called 'second' episcopal statutes may be discounted from our consideration here, however, as their attribution to Theodulf is highly dubious, see: Rudolf Pokorny, 'Exkurs II: Ist "Theodulf II" tatsächlich ein Kapitular Theodulfs von Orléans?', MGH Capit. episc. 4 (Hannover, 2005), pp. 96-100.

[844] Much of this is undated, or at least dated with uncertainty. The earliest dates that can securely be ascribed belong to poems commissioned by Charlemagne himself in 794 and 795: epitaphs for Queen Fastrada and Pope Hadrian, respectively. Although, given the prestigious nature of these royal commissions, one must imagine that Theodulf had already proven himself as a skilful poet prior to these dates.

[845] For possible interpretations of the mosaic's symbolism: Revel-Neher, '*Antiquus populus, novus populus*: Jerusalem and the People of God in the Germigny-des-Prés Carolingian Mosaic', pp. 54-66; Freeman and Meyvaert, 'The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des Prés', pp. 125-139; Mackie, 'Theodulf of Orléans and the Ark of the Covenant: A New Allegorical Interpretation at Germigny-des-Prés', pp. 45-58. On the architectural influences on Theodulf's church at Germigny-des-Prés more broadly: Chevalier, 'Germigny, une architecture originale?'. For analysis of the authentic and restored elements of the mosaic the best and most recent study is: Polipré, 'Le décor de l'oratoire de Germigny-des-Prés: l'authentique et le restauré', pp. 281-297.

The first aspect of these later works to consider is, of course, terminology. We have already seen, in Chapter 1, how Theodulf applied a different lexicon of sanctity in the OC to designate *res sacratae* as opposed to other holy things like churches and saints' relics. For the latter, his lexicon was limited to *sanctus* and *sanctitas*; with the former, in addition to *sacratus* and those more basic designations of *sanctus* and *sanctitas*, Theodulf also employed the language of the sacraments, *sacramentum* and *mysterium*. Having already made use of *De ordine baptismi* in Chapter 1 to unpick Theodulf's broader use of *sacramentum* and *mysterium*, our focus now must turn to his episcopal statutes. These are an undated (save to the time of Theodulf's episcopacy, c.798-c.817, and before the council of Chalons, 813) collection of 46 instructions to the priests of his Orléans diocese about how best to conduct their ministry and lives.[846] Most of the *res sacratae* – namely the eucharistic elements, liturgical vessels and Scripture – feature throughout this text. Similarly, church-buildings feature prominently. However, no mention is made of either the Ark of the Covenant, saints' relics or, perhaps more surprisingly, of the cross (except in reference to the Orléans cathedral dedicated to it). Most references to the eucharistic elements and liturgical vessels occur early on in prescriptions relating to the performance of mass. Here, Theodulf does primarily employ *sanctus* to describe the special qualities of these objects.[847] However, while there is no explicit use of the OC's *res sacratae* label, Theodulf does employ *sacratus* and *sacrosanctus* to describe the chalice and the eucharistic body and blood.[848] Neither *sacratus* nor *sacrosanctus* are used in relation to the church as a building. Theodulf does, however, refer to the church building as a 'holy place' (*sanctus locus*) and the church in the organisational sense as 'the holy church of God' (*sancta dei ecclesia*).[849] Theodulf's later lexical usage in relation to

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[846] Peter Brommer, MGH Capit. episc. 1, pp. 73-74.

[847] Theodulf, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. episc. 1, c.6, p. 107: 'Memores enim esse debent feminae infirmitatis suae et sexus imbecillitatis, et idcirco sancta quaelibet in ministerio ecclesiae contingere pertimescant.' Theodulf, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. episc. 1, c.8, p. 108: '...nihil in ecclesia praeter vestimenta ecclesiastica et vasa sancta et libri recondantur...'

[848] Theodulf, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. episc. 1, c.18, p. 115: 'Nullus sacerdos seu laicus praesumat calicem aut patenam aut quaelibet vasa sacra et divino cultui mancipata ad alios usus retorquere. Nam quicumque de calice sacrato aliud bibit praeter Christi sanguinem, qui in sacramento accipitur, et patenam ad aliud officium habet, quam ad altaris ministerium, deterendus est exemplo Balthasar, qui, dum vasa domini in usus communes assumpsit, vitam pariter cum regno amisit.' Theodulf, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. episc. 1, c.44, p. 140:'Admonendus est populus, ut ad sacrosanctum sacramentum corporis et sanguinis domini nequaquam indifferenter accedat nec ab hoc nimium abstineat, sed cum omni diligentia atque prudentia eligat tempus, quando aliquamdiu ab opere coniugali abstineat et vitiis se purget, virtutibus exornet, elemosinis et orationibus insistat et sic ad tantum sacramentum accedat.'

[849] Theodulf, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. episc. 1, c.10, p. 110: 'Non debere ad ecclesiam ob aliam causam convenire nisis ad laudandum deum et eius servitium faciendum. Disceptationes vero et tumultus et vaniloquia et ceteras actiones ab eodem sancto loco penitus prohibenda sunt.' Theodulf, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. episc. 1, c.14, pp. 112-113: 'Nullus presbyter fidelibus sanctae dei ecclesiae de alterius presbyteri parrochia persuadeat, ut ad suam ecclesiam concurrant relicta propria ecclesia et suas decimas sibi dent, sed unusquisque sua ecclesia et populo contentus, quod sibi non vult fieri, alteri nequamquam faciat iuxta illud evangelicum: *Quaecumque vultis, ut faciant vobis homines, haec eadem facite illis*.' Interestingly, Theodulf does not employ the same distinction between *basilica* as building and *ecclesia* as Church witnessed in the OC.

the *res sacratae* and churches, at least, does appear to reflect the same usage in the OC, save for the obvious omission of the *res sacratae* label itself.

Beyond terminology, however, are there any further similarities in his treatment of these different objects? Certainly, the impression given in Theodulf's statutes is of immense concern for the preservation of the purity of the church-space. These include injunctions against the widespread practice of erecting churches in graveyards, as well as regulations against using churches for mundane purposes, such as the storing of crops or resolving disputes.[850] Such instructions do suggest an immense concern for the preservation of the purity of the church-space. A similar concern was, of course, evident in Theodulf's infamous dispute with Alcuin over the runaway cleric in 801/802. While Alcuin presented the right of sanctuary to be violable under extreme circumstances, Theodulf maintained that the right of sanctuary was absolute and that any violation denigrated the sacred status of the church-space.[851] Clearly, the sanctity of the church building itself was something that Theodulf continued to esteem highly.

His statutes, however, go further in relation to the *res sacratae*. Theodulf insisted that, in order to ensure its purity, the bread used for the eucharistic elements ought to be prepared by the priest himself, or at least under his supervision by his servants. While this was not possible for the wine and water, these were nonetheless to be kept clean and handled with care.[852] The chalice and paten, too, were to be reserved solely for use in the

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[850] Theodulf, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. epsic. 1, c.9, p. 109: 'Antiquus in his regionibus in ecclesia sepeliendorum mortuorum usus fuit, et plerumque loca divino cultui mancipata et ad offerendas deo hostias praeparata cimiteria sive poliandria facta sunt. Unde volumus, ut ab hac re deinceps abstineatur et nemo in ecclesia sepeliatur, nisi forte talis sit persona sacerdotis aut cuiuslibet iusti hominis, quae per vitae meritum talem vivendo suo corpori defuncto locum acquisivit. Corpora vero, quae antiquitus in ecclesiis sepulta sunt, nequaquam proiciantur, sed tumuli, qui apparent, profundius in terram mittantur, et pavimento desuper facto, nullo tumulorum vestigio apparente ecclesiae reverentia conservetur. Ubi vero tanta est multitudo cadaverum, ut hoc facere difficile sit, locus ille pro cimiterio habeatur ablato inde altari et in eo loco constituto, ubi religiose et pure deo sacrificium offerri valeat.' Theodulf, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. epsic. 1, c.8, pp. 108-109: 'Videmus crebro in ecclesiis messes et fenum congeri. Unde volumus, ut hoc penitus observetur, ut nihil in ecclesia praeter vestimenta ecclesiastica et vasa sancta et libri recondantur, ne forte, si alia ibi, quam oportet, negotia exerceantur, a domino audiamus: *Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur, vos autem fecistis eam speluncam latronum.*' Theodulf, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. epsic. 1, c.10, p. 110: 'Non debere ad ecclesiam ob aliam causam convenire nisis ad laudandum deum et eius servitium faciendum. Disceptationes vero et tumultus et vaniloquia et ceteras actiones ab eodem sancto loco penitus prohibenda sunt. Ubi enim dei nomen invocatur, deo sacrificium offertur, angelorum frequentia inesse non dubitatur. Periculosum est tale aliquid dicere vel agere, quod loco non convenit. Si enim dominus illos de templo eiecit, qui victimas, quae sibi offerentur, emebant vel vendebant, quanto magis illos iratus inde abiciat, qui mendaciis, vaniloquiis, risibus et huiuscemodi nugis locum divino cultui manipatum foedant?'
[851] Meens, 'Sanctuary, Penance, and Dispute Settlement under Charlemagne: The Conflict between Alcuin and Theodulf of Orléans over a Sinful Cleric', pp. 293-294; Collins, *The Carolingian Debate over Sacred Space*, pp. 1-4.
[852] Theodulf, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. epsic. 1, c.5, p. 107: 'Panes, quos deo in sacrificium offertis, aut a vobis ipsis aut a vestris pueris coram vobis nitide ac studiose fiant. Et diligenter observetur, ut panis et vinum et aqua, sine quibus missae nequeunt celebrari, mundissime atque studiose tractentur. Et nihil in his vile, nihil non probatum inveniatur iuxta illud, quod ait scriptura: *Sit timor domini vobiscum, et cum diligentia cuncta facite.*'

mass.[853] While there is no such instruction offered in the statutes with regard to the Bible, a similar concern is evident in a verse Theodulf included in one of his Bibles:

> Avail yourself of me, O reader, and locate me in your spirit.
>
> When you search out the book, may your hands be clean.[854]

Arguably, the restriction of what things should be kept in the church-building was centred not just on the church itself, but also on those special things that could be stored in the church: namely those things used in divine worship, among them *res sacratae*, like the liturgical vessels and Bibles.[855] Moreover, while the laity were to be forbidden from performing non-devotional activities in the church, they were all still to be encouraged to enter. Access was much more restrictive, however, when it came to the altar-space, particularly at the time of the mass, when the eucharistic elements were consecrated. Theodulf admonished his priests that women were to be altogether barred from approaching the altar at this time, while laymen ought at least to be cautious in so doing.[856] The level of concern evident in these prescriptions, thus, appears to escalate along with Theodulf's terminology of sanctity: for Bishop Theodulf, maintaining the purity of the *res sacratae* was evidently even more important than doing so for the holy space of the church building at large.

As highlighted in Chapter 2 and reflected, of course, in the use of *sacratus*, consecration was an integral component of the *res sacratae*. Although, as observed in Chapter 1, Theodulf's use of *sacratus* did not extend to other, nonetheless consecrated objects. We have seen this here in the episcopal statutes in relation to church-buildings, which were of course consecrated, yet to which Theodulf never applied *sacratus*. In the OC, Theodulf instead made use of *sacrosanctus* for consecrated holy oil.[857] When speaking of consecration in the OC, Theodulf frequently emphasised two key features: the imposition

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[853] Theodulf, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. epsic. 1, c.18, p. 115: 'Nullus sacerdos seu laicus praesumat calicem aut patenam aut quaelibet vasa sacra et divino cultui mancipata ad alios usus retorquere. Nam quicumque de calice sacrato aliud bibit praeter Christi sanguinem, qui in sacramento accipitur, et patenam ad aliud officium habet, quam ad altaris ministerium, deterendus est exemplo Balthasar, qui, dum vasa domini in usus communes assumpsit, vitam pariter cum regno amisit.'

[854] Theodulf, *In altera tabula*, trans. Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, p. 137.

[855] Theodulf, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. epsic. 1, c.8, pp. 108-109: 'Videmus crebro in ecclesiis messes et fenum congeri. Unde volumus, ut hoc penitus observetur, ut nihil in ecclesia praeter vestimenta ecclesiastica et vasa sancta et libri recondantur, ne forte, si alia ibi, quam oportet, negotia exerceantur, a domino audiamus: *Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur, vos autem fecistis eam speluncam latronum.*'

[856] Theodulf, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. epsic. 1, c.6, p. 107: 'Feminae missam sacerdote celebrante nequaquam ad altare accedant, sed locis suis stent. Et ibi sacerdos earum oblationes deo oblaturus accipiat. Memores enim esse debent feminae infirmitatis suae et sexus imbecillitatis, et idcirco sancta quaelibet in ministerio ecclesiae contingere pertimescant. Quae etiam laici viri pertimescere debent, ne Ozae poenam subeant, qui, dum arcam domini extraordinarie contingere voluit, domino percutiente interiit.'

[857] OC I 21, p. 205; OC I 23, p. 211; OC I 26, p. 220; OC II 16, p. 266.

of priestly hands and either the invocation of the divine name or prayers directed to God.[858] The importance of clerical hands is something that Theodulf remained steadfast in, admonishing his priests in his statutes to remain ever cognisant of the authority and power vested in their consecrated hands and to ensure that nothing polluted them.[859] While less vivid in recalling the act of clerical consecration, Theodulf's *Ad episcopos* poem includes a reference to the bishops being received by 'holy hands' (*sanctae manus*) when greeting the priests under their charge.[860] The same poem also urges the bishops to 'let their voice[s] thunder [the name] Christ by the Gospel words'.[861]

It is in relation to the act of consecration that we can see either a deviation, or, more likely, a divergence of emphasis between Theodulf's treatment of saints' relics in the OC and in his poetry.[862] In OC III 24, Theodulf's consideration of the process of sanctification, by which saints' relics had become holy, centred upon the relationship between the saint, their body and their garments: holiness was secured from having been upon the saint.[863] In *Quamobrem cicatrices quas dominus in passione suscepit, in resurrectione obducate non sint*, a poem in which he muses upon the visibility of Christ's wounds, Theodulf opens with two lines that could cast the sanctification of saints' relics, or at least the saints themselves, in a different light:

> For the wounds that in the name of the Lord were inflicted
>
> Will be the source of honor for the martyred saints.[864]

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[858] OC II 27, pp. 290-291; OC III 24, p. 448; OC IV 16, p. 527.

[859] Theodulf, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. epsic. 1, c.1, pp. 104-105: 'Unde oportet vos semper memores esse tantae dignitatis, memores vestrae consecrationis, memores sacrae, quam in manibus suscepistis, unctionis, ut nec ab eadem dignitate degeneretis nec vestram consecrationem irritam faciatis nec manus sacro unguine delibutas peccando pollutatis, sed cordis et corporis munditiam conservantes, plebibus exemplum bene vivendi praebentes, his, quibus praeestis, ducatum ad caelestia regna praebeatis.'

[860] Theodulf, *Carm. 2 (Ad episcopos)*, lines 21-22, MGH PLAC 1, p. 452. Dümmler believed this poem to have been one of Theodulf's earliest compositions, written in the 780s, hence including it second in his edition of Theodulf's poetry. Accepting Dümmler's dating, but being unable to countenance Theodulf as a deacon making such a hortatory address to his superior bishops, Cuissard proposed that Theodulf was already a bishop by 781. However, both claims have been dismissed by Dahlhaus-Berg, allowing us to view this composition as post-dating Theodulf's production of the OC: Cuissard, *Théodulfe évêque d'Orléans*, pp. 61-64; Dahlhauus-Berg, *Nova antiquitas et antiqua novitas,* p. 183.

[861] Theodulf, *Carm. 2 (Ad episcopos)*, line 152, MGH PLAC 1, p. 455: 'Christum euangelico vox et ab ore tonet.'

[862] I should like to say later poetry, however, dating of the poem in question, as with many of Theodulf's theological poems, is impossible. Dümmler includes these poems early on in his 'chronological' MGH sequence based on their similarity of theme – i.e. the fact that they are about theological topics – to poems which, he believed, had been written by Theodulf while he was still a deacon (namely, *Fragmentum de vitiis capitalibus* and *Ad episcopos*). This is, of course, a pretty tenuous way of dating the poems, especially since it presupposes that, once Theodulf secured his episcopacy, he became less interested in theological themes. More significantly, however, Dümmler's dating of *Ad episcopos* to before Theodulf became bishop has been convincingly dismissed by Dahlhaus-Berg: Dümmler, MGH PLAC 1, pp. 444-445; Dahlhauus-Berg, *Nova antiquitas et antiqua novitas*, p. 183.

[863] OC III 24, p. 449.

[864] Theodulf, *Quamobrem cicatrices quas dominus in passione suscepit, in resurrectione obducate non sint*, trans. Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, p. 43.

Given that these are the poem's first two lines, they have the ring of Theodulf relating a more widespread idea that he believes his readers will, thus, already understand – that the wounds of martyrdom bestow and even proudly proclaim the sanctity of the saint – to why Christ's own wounds are kept so visible.[865] What is interesting for the present analysis, however, is the idea that the wounds are sustained and the honour attained in the name of Christ (*pro nomine domini*).[866] Strictly-speaking, of course, Theodulf does not explicitly describe this as consecration or even sanctification, nor does he explicitly mention relics here. Nonetheless, as indicated in OC III 24, he clearly believed in the transference of the sanctity and honour owing to saints to their relics. Moreover, the bodily relics are also the location of such wounds. As we have seen in the OC and Theodulf's later works, the invocation of the divine name was an essential component in the act of consecration, particularly in relation to the *res sacratae*. In this passage, at the very least, we see Theodulf displaying an awareness, but perhaps even an acceptance, of a widespread equation between the clerical act of consecration and the act of martyrdom.

Another key feature of the *res sacratae*, explored in Chapter 2, was their institution by Christ, God or Moses. The continued prominence of Christ and God in Theodulf's later works goes almost without saying. What is more interesting to trace is the continued privileged position of Moses within Theodulf's later thought and, in particular, his prefiguring relationship with Christ, reflecting Theodulf's continued emphasis upon allegorical readings of the Old Testament in relation to the New. In Theodulf's poems, Moses consistently features in a legal context. His descriptions of Moses almost always recount some element of his divinely-guided, loving justice and his direct communication with God:

Ad episcopos:

They turn the wrath of the great Judge away from the people,

A task carried out by Moses and his kin.[867]

Consolatio de obitu cuiusdam fratris:

Moses died too, than whom none was more expert

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[865] This idea of proud proclamation is particularly apt given that Theodulf uses *decus*, which could indicate honour, as in Andersson's translation, but also has connotations of glory and beauty. Theodulf, *Carm. 11 (Quamobrem cicatrices quas dominus in passione suscepit, in resurrectione obducate non sint)*, lines 1-2, MGH PLAC 1, p. 465: 'Namque cicatrices domini pro nomine factae/Martyribus sanctis causa decoris erunt.'

[866] Theodulf, *Carm. 11 (Quamobrem cicatrices quas dominus in passione suscepit, in resurrectione obducate non sint)*, line 1, MGH PLAC 1, p. 465.

[867] Theodulf, *Ad epsicopos*, trans. Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, p. 32.

> In communicating God's law and enjoying his words.[868]

Versus Teudulfi episcopi contra iudices:

Moses, the most faithful spokesman of a kind Godhead,

> Enjoyed conversation with God, leaving the people in awe.

For forty years, through the paths of wilderness regions,

> He guided the people with ample resources to the honor of God.

Always loving justice, always disdaining vulgar prizes,

> By example and word he showed the way to be saved.[869]

In relation to *Ad episcopos*, it is worth noting that, aside from Christ, only Moses, Isaiah and David are mentioned by name throughout this lengthy poem.[870] Admittedly, the company in *Consolatio de obitu cuiusdam fratris* was less rarefied, as this poem, likely written during Theodulf's exile after his alleged complicity in Bernard of Italy's 817 rebellion, emphasises the inescapability of death citing twenty-four biblical deaths.[871] Nonetheless, the details Theodulf includes about Moses are telling. In *Consolatio de obitu cuiusdam fratris* and *Versus Teudulfi episcopi contra iudices*, a special emphasis is placed upon Moses' relationship with God's word: he directly communicates with God. Moreover, in both poems, recalling perhaps Augustine's distinction between use and enjoyment, Theodulf remarks that Moses enjoys conversation with God (*conloquium fruor*).[872] If Theodulf was channelling Augustine through this choice of terms, the point being made is that Moses' conversation with God had positive divine purposes. These outcomes are shown in the subsequent lines of *Versus Teudulfi episcopi contra iudices*, in which Moses acted in a Christ-like fashion, guiding the people of the Old Testament towards salvation.

As in the OC, however, fully understanding the role of Moses within Theodulf's thought requires an understanding of the relationship he envisioned between the Old and New Testaments. Many of Theodulf's Bibles (and Bibles subsequently copied from them) included a series of prefatory verses composed by Theodulf, in which he introduced the

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[868] Theodulf, *Consloatio de obitu cuiusdam fratris*, trans. Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, p. 59.
[869] Theodulf, *Versus Teudulfi episcopi contra iudices*, trans. Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, p. 84.
[870] The reference to Isaiah occurs on line 61 prefacing a quote from Isaiah: Theodulf, *Carm. 2 (Ad episcopos)*, line 61, MGH PLAC 1, p. 453. The reference to David occurs near the end, at line 279, introducing a paraphrase from the psalms: Theodulf, *Carm. 2 (Ad episcopos)*, line 279, MGH PLAC 1, p. 458.
[871] Dieter Schaller, 'Philologische Untersuchungen zu den Gedichten Theodulfs von Orléans', *DA* 18 (1962), pp. 75-76.
[872] Theodulf, *Carm. 21 (Consloatio de obitu cuiusdam fratris)*, lines 29-30, MGH PLAC 1, p. 478; Theodulf, *Carm. 28 (Versus Teudulfi episcopi contra iudices)*, lines 27-28, MGH PLAC 1, p. 494.

books and structure of his Bible-text.[873] Here, Theodulf offered the following explanation of the relationship between the Old and New Testament:

> From here on the trumpet of the New Law openly proclaims Christ's person,
>
> Whom the Old Law foretold under an allegorical veil.[874]

Theodulf was assiduous in reading this allegorical veil (*typicum tegmen*) into the Old Testament.[875] Beyond the OC, for instance, we also see such readings applied towards Moses in *De ordine baptismi*. In Chapter 13 of this treatise, Theodulf explained why baptism was a sacrament. As observed in the first chapter of the present thesis, Theodulf's sacramental thought did strongly inform his understanding of the *res sacratae*: he linked both *sacramentum* and *mysterium* with the *res sacratae* and emphasised the Old Testament prefiguration and New Testament institution of the sacraments and the *res sacratae*.[876] While his subsequent treatises did not discuss the *res sacratae* at sufficient length to include such details, we can still see them in relation to the sacraments:

> Therefore, because it is fitting for the agreements of believers to be twofold, one in which the devil and his ostentations and his works are renounced, the other in which they confess themselves to believe in the Father and the Son and the holy Spirit, it is right for those of a shattered mind to be supported by thought, and so that they are able to be preserved undefiled, to always seek the help of those, who confer the sacrament of baptism for the saving of the human race, whose mystery both in the Old Testament has been prefigured through Moses, when the people were baptised in the cloud and in the sea, and in the New Testament has been demonstrated most clearly to us through the mediator of God and man. Indeed, he said that 'unless one is born again from the water and the holy Spirit, he will not be able to enter into the kingdom of heaven'. And concerning this John [the Baptist] said: 'I baptise in water in repentance; but one stands among you, who you do not know, he will baptise you in the holy Spirit and in fire'.[877]

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[873] Léopold Delisle gives the following list of Bible manuscripts with all or part of Theodulf's verses: BnF Lat. 2; BnF Lat. 9380; Le Puy Bible; BnF Lat. 53; BnF Lat. 57; BnF Lat. 2832; BnF Lat. 8093; Saint-Gall 197; Vatican Angelica 3, 22; Vat. Reg. Lat. 2078; Arras 435; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm. 18375: Léopold Delisle, 'Les bibles de Théodulfe', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 40 (1879), p. 7 fn. 1.

[874] Theodulf, *Versus Theodulfi, i. Praefatio bibliothecae*, trans. Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, p. 131.

[875] Theodulf, *Carm. 41 (Versus Theodulfi, i. Praefatio bibliothecae)*, lines 85-86, MGH PLAC 1, p. 534.

[876] See above, Chapter 1 and Chapter 2.

[877] Theodulf, *De ordine baptismi*, ed. Keefe, *Water and the Word*, pp. 300-301: 'quia igitur constat pactiones credentium esse duas, unam in qua renuntiatur diabolo et pompis eius et omnibus operibus eius, altera quae se credere confitetur in patrem et filium et in spiritum sanctum, oportet has inconvulse mentis intentione tenere, et ut intemerate custodiri possint, illius semper adiutorium quaerere qui baptismi sacramentum ad salutem generis humani contulit, cuius mysterium et in veteri testamento per moysen praefiguratum est, cum

As in Theodulf's prefatory Bible verse, the Old Testament action, namely Moses leading the Israelites out of slavery in Egypt and through the wilderness into the Promised Land, is presented as an allegorical veil by which the truth subsequently revealed in the New Testament, namely Christ's (the mediator of God and man, as Theodulf was especially partial to calling him in the OC) institution of the sacrament of baptism, was mysteriously foretold.[878] The effect in this instance, of course, is also to convey Moses as an archetype of Christ: just as Christ would go on to baptise people to enable their entry into the kingdom of heaven, so Moses baptised the Israelites by leading them across the Red Sea and desert to enable their entry into the Promised Land. Continuing with this vein of typological analysis, Theodulf did, in fact, touch upon one of the *res sacratae* – the eucharistic body and blood – albeit indirectly through the associated sacrament of the mass:

> From the bones of the sleeping, first-created man, woman was made; from the flank of the sleeping Christ on the cross, the Church has been formed. Indeed, from his flank, blood and water flowed, the two especial sacraments of the holy Church, so that in one, consecration, in the other, cleansing, is given to the same Church. Inasmuch as we are born again from the bath, so we are also consecrated by the blood. Whence also the people crossed over the Red Sea, because baptism is consecrated by the blood of Christ.[879]

While this passage is more clearly referring to the sacrament or ritual, rather than the *res sacrata* itself, the treatment of Moses/Old Testament and Christ/New Testament closely corresponds to that developed in relation to the *res sacratae* in the OC.[880] The key features – an allegorical Old Testament prefiguration and a New Testament institution by Christ himself – were clearly retained by Theodulf in his sacramental theology more broadly after he had left the royal court to take up his episcopal ministry.

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populus in nube et in mari baptizatus est, et in novo nobis per mediatorem dei et hominem apertissime deomnstratum. ipse enim ait, quoniam, "nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu sancto, non poterit introire in regnum caelorum." (*cf.* Io. 3:5) et iohannes de eo ait: "ego baptizo in aqua in penitentia; medius autem vestrum stat, quem vos non scitis, ipse vos baptizabit in spiritu sancto et igni." (*cf.* Io. 1:26; Mt. 3:11)'.

[878] In this particular instance, the interpretation is clearly not Theodulf's own, having been taken from Paul's first letter to the Corinthians (I Corinthians 10:1-5). In particular, Theodulf's 'in nube et in mari' gives away this borrowing as it is exactly the same wording as is found in the Corinthians passage in his own Bibles, e.g.: BnF Lat. 9380, f. 293r.

[879] Theodulf, *De ordine baptismi*, ed. Keefe, *Water and the Word* p. 301: 'ex osse dormientis protoplasti mulier aedificata est; ex latere christi in cruce dormientis ecclesia formata est, ex latere christi in cruce dormientis ecclesia formata est. profluxerunt enim ex eius latere sanguis et aqua, duo sanctae ecclesiae praecipua sacramenta, ut in altero consecratio, in altero mundatio eidem tribueretur ecclesiae. regeneramur namque ex lavacro, ut consecramur et sanguine. unde et populus mare rubrum transiit, quia baptismus christi sanguine consecratur.'

[880] See above, Chapter 2.

As it was in the OC, the macrocosmic separation of matter and spirit in the universe and even in man himself, remained a central theme in much of Theodulf's poetry. A perpetual refrain in many of his more hortatory verses sang out against putting stock in material things:

> If you happen to fear the perpetual fires with which the Creator
>
> Justly threatens, one and all of you will love his rewards.
>
> The glory of this whole unstable world dwindles,
>
> But devout love mounts up within.[881]

In one such poem, Theodulf also expressed ambivalence towards pilgrimage to Rome. Given that some of Theodulf's other poems detail his own pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint Nazarius at Lorsch or mention, without any hint of criticism, devotees flocking to the relics of Saint Quentin, this poem ought not be read as wholesale opposition to pilgrimage.[882] Instead, much like my interpretation of Theodulf's attitude towards the cult of saints in the OC, it is a matter of priorities: for Theodulf neither the cult of saints, nor associated practices like pilgrimage, were at the heart of Christian devotion. Nonetheless, as with his above *De contemptu mundi* poem, Theodulf's *Quod deus non loco quaerendus sit, sed pietate colendus* emphasised spirit over matter by disputing the devotional value of Roman pilgrimages:

> It is not so helpful to have gone to Rome as to live justly,
>
> Either in Rome or wherever man's life is lived.
>
> I do not believe that the path of feet, but of morals, leads starwards;
>
> God sees from above who does what and where.[883]

This theme of the primary importance of the spiritual over the material was taken up again in Theodulf's poem describing an allegorical image by which the earth was depicted in the form of a woman in a chariot nursing an infant and bountifully filling a basket with food while adorned by a snake.[884] An eleventh-century manuscript originating in Ripoll preserves the latter half of this poem upon a *mappamundi* along with an image of a woman adorned by a snake and labelled '*TERA*', but without the other allegorical elements from the earlier

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[881] Theodulf, *De contemptu mundi*, trans. Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, p. 57.

[882] Theodulf, *Carm. 49 (In sepulcro Sancti Nazarii)*, MGH PLAC 1, pp. 549-550; Theodulf, *Carm. 38 (Versus scripti litteris aureis de Sancto Quintino)*, MGH PLAC 1, pp. 530-531.

[883] Theodulf, *Quod deus non loco quaerendus sit, sed pietate colendus*, trans. Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, p. 160.

[884] Theodulf, *Carm. 47 (Alia pictura, in qua erat imago terrae in modum orbis comprehensa)*, MGH PLAC 1, pp. 547-548.

lines of the poem: child, food basket or chariot (Figure 25).[885] Alexandre Vidier suggested that the poem described a similar, allegorical image in a manuscript created by Theodulf, without the wider *mappamundi* that surrounds it in the Ripoll manuscript.[886] Theodulf's poem, however, does appear to imply a dining context, playing upon the nourishment of body and mind, and even describes the image as having been fashioned on a table (*mensa*).[887] While I would, therefore, agree with Dieter Schaller's claim that this described an image upon a table, there is no clear indication in the poem of a literal *mappamundi*, as in the Ripoll manuscript.[888] Moreover, Theodulf's other artistic patronage, most notably the apse mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés, and his attitude in the OC, would make a purely allegorical image far more plausible. In lieu of a substantial softening of his position in the OC, it is only truly by allegory that an image could, according to Theodulf, communicate with mind and spirit. This is the function ascribed to this image. While Theodulf's hospitality upon his table nourished bodies, the nourishment of the mind and spirit afforded by the image's symbolism was more important:

> I, Bishop Theodulf, caused the work to be fashioned,
>
>> And I properly made it function in two different modes.
>
> To wit, that bodies should be fed with ample nurture,
>
>> And that the image observed would nourish the mind.
>
> O observer, love the food of the spirit more than the body;
>
>> With the former the mind is illumined, with the latter dull flesh wins out.[889]

Clearly, therefore, Theodulf's conviction for the spiritual over the material remained steadfast. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, this belief was foundational to the OC and to his understanding of the *res sacratae*. The second facet of this matter-spirit separation – in man himself – is also evident in Theodulf's poetry, although not as explicitly drawing from the

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[885] Vat. Reg. Lat. 123, ff. 143v-144r.

[886] Alexandre Vidier, 'La mappemonde de Théodulfe et la mappemonde de Ripoll (IXe-XIe siècles)', *Bulletin de géographie historiques et descriptive* (1911), pp. 285-313.

[887] Part of this dining context is implied in the passage quoted below, via the notion of the image feeding the mind, while bodies, too, were fed. For the explicit reference to a table: Theodulf, *Carm. 47 (Alia pictura, in qua erat imago terrae in modum orbis comprehensa)*, lines 47-48, MGH PLAC 1, p. 548: 'Caelica verba sonent, dapibus haec mensa redundet,/Et teneant nullum livida dicta locum.'

[888] Schaller, 'Philologische Untersuchungen zu den Gedichten Theodulfs von Orléans', p. 84.

[889] Theodulf, *Alia pictura, in qua erat imago terrae in modum orbis comprehensa*, trans. Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, p. 148.

Dicta Albini de imagine Dei as he had done in the OC.[890] A comment upon man being made in the image of God appears in Theodulf's *Fragmentum de vitiis capitalibus*:

> If reason animates, harmonizes, and adorns the spirit,
>
> Then the diabolical monsters of the vices take to their heels.
>
> In the members of our body our substance is lifeless,
>
> But in reason it thrives, for there is the image of God.[891]

It is possible, albeit unlikely, that this poem was written prior to the OC. Ernst Dümmler, believing it to be Theodulf's earliest surviving poem, included it first in his MGH edition.[892] Elisabeth Dahlhaus-Berg has, however, proven that *Fragmentum de vitiis capitalibus* along with Theodulf's *Ad episcopos*, which Dümmler had similarly characterised as an early poem, belonged to Theodulf's later poetry, likely composed after his episcopal ordination c. 798.[893] More challenging, however, is the more limited nature of Theodulf's comment here as compared to the treatment in OC I 7. Image (*imago*) alone is considered in this poem, with no mention of likeness (*similitudo*). Reason (*ratio*) was also not among the facets of either man's soul or behaviour in OC I 7. Moreover, although Andersson translates as 'spirit', Theodulf's *mens*, there is no use of spirit (*anima*) as in OC I 7.[894] If Theodulf did have the *Dicta Albini de imagine Dei* in mind here, he did not feel compelled to incorporate it as prominently as in OC I 7. This need not indicate a change in his understanding of man's image-relationship with God; the constraints of metrical composition could just as easily explain it. Nonetheless, reason and mind, would fit more neatly with those aspects Theodulf had elucidated as part of the spirit – namely understanding (*intellectus*), free will (*voluntas*) and memory (*memoria*) – than with those he had understood by character (*mos*), namely love (*caritate*), justice (*iustitia*), goodness (*bonitate*) and holiness (*sanctitate*).[895] This can also be inferred from a passage in Theodulf's *Ad episcopos*:

> The mind is the stronghold of the soul; if it clings to the love

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[890] See above, Chapter 3.

[891] Theodulf, *Fragmentum de vitiis capitalibus*, trans. Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, p. 20.

[892] Theodulf, *Carm. 1 (Fragmentum de vitiis capitalibus)*, MGH PLAC 1, pp. 445-452.

[893] Dahlhauus-Berg, *Nova antiquitas et antiqua novitas,* p. 183.

[894] Theodulf, *Carm. 1 (Fragmentum de vitiis capitalibus)*, lines 49-52, MGH PLAC 1, p. 446: 'Si **mentem Ratio** vegetet, componat et ornet,/Mox vitiorum inient larvea monstra fugam./Corporis in membris hebes est substantia nostra,/In **ratione** viget, est ubi imago dei.'

[895] OC I 7, p. 144: 'Ecce quam subtiliter quamque salubriter sancti viri hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei factum esse, imaginem videlicet in anima, in qua est intellectus, voluntas et memoria, similitudinem in moribus, id est in caritate, iustitia, bonitate et sanctitate, quae omnia incorporea sunt, intellegentes disseruere!'

> Of the Creator, what greater thing has a man?
>
> In the soul the image of divine goodness is patent,
>
> And in holy morals, if the spirit is well aligned.[896]

Andersson's translation here omits an important element in Theodulf's Latin which reinforces the spirit versus matter aspect of this passage. Just as he labelled the mind (*mens*) the stronghold (*arx*) of the soul (*anima*), Theodulf also remarked that 'the head is the stronghold of the body'.[897] A much stronger emphasis, entirely consistent with Theodulf's position in the OC, is thus placed upon the distinction between the physical and material aspects of man. Less consistent with the OC and particularly its adherence to the *Dicta Albini de imagine Dei*, are the subsequent lines quoted above. Those 'holy morals' in Andersson's translation are, in fact, *sancti moris*.[898] In other words, Theodulf no longer believed the divine image to strictly adhere to the soul, but also, possibly, to behaviour. What he had clearly not compromised upon, however, was his insistence that the image-relationship belonged uniquely to man's incorporeal aspects: for Theodulf, the mind was related to the head only by allegory, not location.

In Chapter 3, we saw how the *res sacratae* were uniquely able to bridge this macrocosmic separation between matter and spirit by attaining the material perfection of Augustinian signs.[899] The clearest indication of these sign functions, in Theodulf's later works, comes in the form of the apse mosaic which he commissioned at Germigny-des-Prés (Figure 2). Since its rediscovery in the mid-nineteenth-century, this mosaic, principally depicting the Ark of the Covenant, has attracted much scholarly interest from archaeologists, art historians and historians seeking both to characterise what has been preserved, amended or lost from the image and, more recently, to decipher the symbolism Theodulf intended by such details or even seek the potential influences that led Theodulf to create such an unusual apse mosaic.[900] Ann Freeman and Paul Meyvaert's linking of the

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[896] Theodulf, *Ad episcopos*, trans. Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, p. 33.
[897] Theodulf, *Carm. 2 (Ad episcopos)*, lines 263-264, MGH PLAC 1, p. 458: 'Corporis arx caput est, animae mens, si haeret amori/Illa creatoris, quid homo maius habet?'
[898] Theodulf, *Carm. 2 (Ad episcopos)*, lines 265-266, MGH PLAC 1, p. 458: 'In qua divinae exprimitur bonitatis imago,/Moribus in sanctis si huic bene iuncta manet.'
[899] See above, Chapter 3.
[900] Revel-Neher, '*Antiquus populus, novus populus*: Jerusalem and the People of God in the Germigny-des-Prés Carolingian Mosaic', pp. 54-66; Freeman and Meyvaert, 'The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des Prés', pp. 125-139; Mackie, 'Theodulf of Orléans and the Ark of the Covenant: A New Allegorical Interpretation at Germigny-des-Prés', pp. 45-58. On the architectural influences on Theodulf's church at Germigny-des-Prés more broadly: Chevalier, 'Germigny, une architecture originale?' *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre* (2019). For analysis of the authentic and restored elements of the mosaic the best and most recent study is: Polipré, 'Le décor de l'oratoire de Germigny-des-Prés: l'authentique et le restauré', pp. 281-297.

apse mosaic iconography to the OC and refracted through his experience of Italian basilicas on his journey to Rome 800-801, remains the most compelling of such analyses.[901] As we have already seen in Theodulf's poetry through descriptions of other works of art, such as the personified female figure of the earth apparently adorning a dining table described in *Alia pictura, in qua erat imago terrae in modum orbis comprehensa*, to which we may also add *De septem liberalibus artibus in quadam pictura depictis* describing the seven liberal arts in the image of a tree, Theodulf maintained a clear preference for symbolism in art.[902] The Ark, especially as it appears at Germigny-des-Prés, had multiple layers of symbolic meaning. In part, this was of course derived from its Old Testament function: an object that prefigured the future mysteries to be revealed in the New Testament, not least of the body of Christ daily consecrated upon the altar beneath it.[903] But, more than this, it was itself a *res sacrata*. Created by Moses at the command of the Lord, its divinely-ordained form stood, for Theodulf, as the perfect symbolic form of those now-revealed mysteries. Indeed, the inscription which Theodulf attaches to the mosaic has a resonance with OC I 15 which, when read together cast the golden, shimmering mosaic form, as the most apt representation of the Ark and its contents' mysterious symbolism:

> Gaze here upon the holy Propitiatory and the cherubim, viewer, beholding how the Ark of God's Covenant glitters!
>
> Discerning these and desiring to assail the Thunderer with prayers, I beg that you will join Theodulf to your prayers.[904]

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[901] Freeman and Meyvaert, 'The meaning of Theodulf's apse mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés', pp. 125-139.

[902] Theodulf, *Carm. 47 (Alia pictura, in qua erat imago terrae in modum orbis comprehensa)*, MGH PLAC 1, pp. 547-549; Theodulf, *Carm. 46 (De septem liberalibus artibus in quadam pictura depictis)*, MGH PLAC 1, pp. 544-547. In both instances, however, there is some uncertainty as to whether these described real images. In relation to *De septem liberalibus artibus in quadam pictura depictis*, Anna Esmeijer suggests that it did in fact describe a wall mosaic or painting at Theodulf's villa in Germigny-des-Prés, while Theodore Andersson expressed doubts about this theory: Anna Esmeijer, 'De VII liberalibus artibus in quadam pictura depictis. Een reconstructie van de arbor philosophiae van Theodulf van Orléans', in J. Bruyn, J. Emmens, E. de Jongh and D. Snoep (eds.), *Album Amicorum J. G. van Gelder* (The Hague, 1973), pp. 102-115; Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, p. 143.

[903] This symbolism of the Ark of the Covenant as an Old Testament stand-in for not only the eucharistic elements, but all other holy things involved in the worship and adoration of God, can be seen in Theodulf's episcopal statutes, too, where he admonishes the laity to be cautious of approaching such things lest they suffer the fate of Uzzah who the Lord struck down for deigning to touch the Ark of the Covenant (2 Samuel 6:1-7; 1 Chronicles 13:9-12): Theodulf, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. epsic. 1, c.6, p. 107: 'Memores enim esse debent feminae infirmitatis suae et sexus imbecillitatis, et idcirco sancta quaelibet in ministerio ecclesiae contingere pertimescant. Quae etiam laici viri pertimescere debent, ne Ozae poenam subeant, qui, dum arcam domini extraordinarie contingere voluit, domino percutiente interiit.'

[904] 'ORACLUM SCM ET CERUBIN HIC ASPICE SPECTANS ET TESTAMENTI EN MICAT ARCA DEI/HAEC CERNENS PRECIBUSQUE STUDENS PULSARE TONANTEM THEODULFUM VOTIS IUNGITO QUAESO TUIS'. Freeman and Meyvaert, 'The meaning of Theodulf's apse mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés', p. 2. This translation is my own as there were certain elements that I want to emphasise that are lessened in the translation given by Freeman and Meyvaert, particularly the interjection emphasising how the Ark itself glitters. As Freeman and Meyvaert note, *orac[u]lum* has multiple translations. I have opted for

OC I 15:

> For while those [images] of yours nod to nothing else if not sometimes to the order
> of things having been done, sometimes they invent the error not of things having
> been done but of things that have been made up, truly these [the Ark of the
> Covenant and its contents] always radiate with the holy and excellent mysteries and
> redly glow with the sacraments.[905]

Admittedly, the terms Theodulf uses in each instance are not an exact match: *micare* in the
mosaic, *radiare* in OC I 15; meanwhile the red glowing (*rutilare*) of OC I 15 is not precisely
revealed in the shimmering, golden tesserae of the Ark mosaic. Theodulf's use of *orac[u]lum*,
however, might offer reinforcement to the inscription's emphasis upon the Ark's
prefigurative symbolism. While Freeman and Meyvaert observed that this could indicate
either the Propitiatory or the Holy of Holies, by a third, more literal meaning, namely
'prophecy', Theodulf might have intended a pun to reinforce the Ark's symbolism:[906]

> Gaze here upon **the prophecy** and the cherubim, viewer, beholding how the Ark
> of God's Covenant glitters!

In this way, Theodulf emphasised the symbolic function of the Ark of the Covenant as the
only Old Testament *res sacrata*. As in the OC, it shone brighter than all else in the Old
Testament, proclaiming the future mysteries to be revealed in the New, among them, of
course, being the four New Testament *res sacratae* arrayed underneath the apse mosaic at
Germigny-des-Prés as Theodulf celebrated the mass: the eucharistic elements, the liturgical
vessels, particularly the chalice and paten which held them, the sign of the cross and the
words of Scripture which Theodulf made by gesture and read aloud, respectively, to
consecrate the elements.

This scene of Theodulf conducting mass beneath the apse mosaic at Germigny-des-
Prés brings us to the theme of Chapter 4: the devotional function of the *res sacratae*. In

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Dutton's suggestion of Propitiatory. Initially, this was motivated by the *hic* given that it must be the adverb
indicating the cherubim to be upon the Propitiatory, as the cherubim are surely plural, while *oraculum* is
neuter. However, if the *hic* is taken as the adverb, it need not refer to the cherubim alone and could instead
refer to both cherubim and *oraculum*. Nonetheless, as Dutton pointed out, Exodus 37:6 gives *oraculum* as a
possible synonym for *propitiatorium*. For instance, in Theodulf's Bible-text, Exodus 37:6 is given as (BnF Lat.
9380, f. 23r): 'fecit & propitiatorium id est oraculum de auro mundissimo duorum cubito[rum] & dimidii in
longitudine & cubiti ac semis in latitudine'. In addition to the Propitiatory/Holy of Holies meaning, Theodulf
could also have intended a pun by his use of *oraculum*, as prophecy, thereby emphasising the symbolic,
prefiguring function of the image.

[905] OC I 15, p. 170: 'Nam dum istae nihil aliud innuant nisi interdum rerum gestarum ordinem, interdum non
gestarum ordinem, interdum non gestarum sed fictarum meniantur errorem, illa vero semper sanctis et
excellentibus radiant mysteriis et rutilant sacramentis.'

[906] Freeman and Meyvaert, 'The meaning of Theodulf's apse mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés', p. 2 fn. 3.

treating the restrictions Theodulf advocated in his episcopal statutes to maintain the purity of the *res sacratae*, we might get the impression that, in Theodulf's mind, to approach such objects was terrifying and fraught with danger. Certainly, in writing his statutes, this is a fear that he is afraid he may have inculcated in his priests and parishioners. As such he takes pains to explain that, despite all the restrictions of the preceding statutes, the laity must be encouraged, albeit while ensuring that they did make an effort to purify themselves first by refraining from carnal vices and devoting themselves to prayer, to approach the eucharistic body and blood without hesitation and never refrain from doing so, because it is just as dangerous to abstain from the eucharist as it is for an impure person to consume it.[907] In other words, Theodulf wanted to impress upon the priests of his diocese that interaction with this *res sacrata* was a life and death matter. As he noted in answering the question of why one should consume the Lord's body and blood in *De ordine baptismi*: 'For it is a saving sacrifice'.[908]

The reason underpinning the essential quality of the *res sacratae* for Theodulf was, as we saw in the OC, that they were integral to the adoration and worship of God and, thus, to salvation.[909] The language of devotion which Theodulf employs in later works, such as the episcopal statutes, is consistent with that displayed in the OC, or at least does not contradict that usage, albeit with less explicit emphasis upon the restriction of adoration and worship to God alone. Nonetheless, in advocating that the purity of the space and objects associated with liturgical activities, namely *res sacratae* like liturgical vessels and other things like the church-building itself, Theodulf does repeat the refrain that these objects should not be misused for any other purpose since they have been set aside for divine worship (*mancipatus divino cultui*).[910] The OC's continual cry that God alone must be worshipped and adored is, however, absent. Of course, this can be explained by the relative function of each text: the episcopal statutes were not reacting to a church council in which devotional terms had been so perversely conflated, instead, they were primarily concerned

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[907] Theodulf, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. epsic. 1, c.44, p. 140: 'Admonendus est populus, ut ad sacrosanctum sacramentum corporis et sanguinis domini nequaquam indifferenter accedat nec ab hoc nimium abstineat, sed cum omni diligentia atque prudentia eligat tempus, quando aliquamdiu ab opere coniugali abstineat et vitiis se purget, virtutibus exornet, elemosinis et orationibus insistat et sic ad tantum sacramentum accedat. Quia, sicut periculosum est impurum quemque ad tantum sacramentum accedere, ita etiam periculosum est ab hoc prolico tempore abstinere sola ratione eorum, qui excommunicati non quando eis libet, sed certis temporibus communicant, et religiosis quibusque sancte viventibus, qui paene omni die id faciunt.'

[908] Theodulf, *De ordine baptismi*, ed. Keefe, *Water and the Word*, p. 319: 'est enim sacrificium salutare...'

[909] See above, Chapter 4.

[910] Theodulf, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. epsic. 1, c.10, p. 110; Theodulf, *Erstes Kapitular*, MGH Capit. epsic. 1, c.18, p. 115.

with ensuring that such divine worship was carried out appropriately by the priests in the diocese of Orléans.

In Theodulf's poetry, the value of interacting with the *res sacratae*, often in such liturgical contexts described in the episcopal statutes, is typically conveyed via the standard metaphor of food. Such a metaphor is ubiquitous, of course, in relation to the eucharistic elements. For instance, in a verse which Theodulf composed upon an altar he had set up, he remarked:

> Shepherd, nourish [*pascere*] the sheep of the Lord with heavenly sustenance [*daps superna*: 'a heavenly feast'],
>
> > To whom a pious life is given, to whom the hall of God opens wide.
>
> Above the stars dwells a devout shepherd, by whom we are all nourished.
>
> > Whom you love, O shepherd, is part of the flock.
>
> Do you see the crowd breathlessly nearing the sheepfold?
>
> > Thus it takes sustenance [*alimentum*] from the blood and the flesh of the Lamb,
>
> Whom you fear, savage serpent, and who conquered you, faithless lion,
>
> > Who bore the inveterate crimes of the world
>
> And assigned us holy drink [*potus aethereus*] and heavenly nurture [*cibus sacratus*: 'sanctified food']
>
> > And granted us to sit at his board [*suae mensae participare*].[911]

Similarly, the food metaphor is one that was also commonly associated with the pursuit of knowledge and, thus, Theodulf also employed it in relation to Scripture:

> The Old and New Testament in a single sequence
>
> > Open a double path and leads to the heavenly heights.
>
> This food satisfies hearts with eternal nurture

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[911] Theodulf, *Versus in altari*, trans. Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, p. 157. The bracketed, italicised text is from: Theodulf, *Carm. 58 (Versus in altari)*, lines 5-14, MGH PLAC 1, p. 554. I have, however, included my own suggestions of translations in the brackets for some of these food metaphors, where Andersson less closely follows the Latin.

And feeds the hunger for justice the more one consumes.[912]

In relation to Scripture, of course, this food and sustenance in the first place refers to the knowledge to be gained from studying the Bible. We have already seen, in Theodulf's *Alia pictura, in qua erat imago terrae in modum orbis comprehensa* how he enjoyed to play upon the idea of knowledge as food for the mind: just as Theodulf's hospitality, by which food placed upon the table nourished the body, so too the symbolism of the image painted upon that table fed the mind.[913] But, as the prior lines in Theodulf's poem on Scripture indicate, this knowledge derived from Scripture lead heavenwards. Although, of course, as Theodulf maintained in *De septem liberalibus artibus in quadam pictura depictis*, all knowledge upon that metaphorical tree, like fruits, nurture man and guide him ever higher in understanding from the understanding of things of this world, to the understanding of things heavenly.[914] Nonetheless, knowledge derived from Scripture, making use of all the liberal arts manifested in that tree, stood at the apex of all knowledge.

In relation to the eucharistic elements that sustenance to which Theodulf referred in *Versus in altari* was also leading heavenwards. Immediately following the lines quoted above, Theodulf continued, drawing upon John 14:6, to remark of Christ, the Lamb whose blood and flesh give such heavenly sustenance:

> He is the way, the life, the salvation by which and to which the road is more safely trodden;

> With whom it is given to the pious to reign without end.[915]

As in the OC, in Theodulf's later works, the *res sacratae* remained essential to salvation and, thus, eternal life. Without them, God could not be worshipped. Failure, or even reluctance to worship (*colere*) God would, Theodulf warned in *Quamobrem cicatrices quas dominus in*

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[912] Theodulf, *Versus Theodulfi, i. Praefatio bibliothecae*, trans. Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, p. 132. The second two lines here are the ones that primarily contain the food metaphors. Theodulf, *Carm. 41 (Versus Theodulfi, i. Praefatio bibliothecae)*, lines 139-140, MGH PLAC 1, p. 536: 'Hic cibus aeterno satiat praecordia pastu/Iustitiaeque famem, quo mage habetur, alit.'

[913] Theodulf, *Carm. 47 (Alia pictura, in qua erat imago terrae in modum orbis comprehensa)*, lines 41-46, MGH PLAC 1, p. 548: 'Hoc opus ut fieret Theodulfus episcopus egi,/Et duplici officio rite vigere dedi./Scilicet ut dapibus pascantur corpora latis,/Inspecta et mentem orbis imago cibet./Plus epulas animae quam corpus dilige, visor,/Vidia mens illis, his caro pollet hebes.'

[914] Theodulf, *Carm. 46 (De septem liberalibus artibus in quadam pictura depictis)*, lines 99-114, MGH PLAC 1, pp. 546-547: 'Arbor habebat ea, et folia, et pendentia poma,/Sicque venustatem et mystica plura dabat./In foliis verba, in pomis intellige sensus,/Haec crebro accrescunt, illa bene usa cibant./Hac patula nostra exercetur in arbore vita,/Semper ut a parvis editiora petat,/Sensus et humanus paulatim scandat ad alta,/Huncque diu pigeat inferiora sequi./Ethica Grammaticae, Logica et mox iungitur illis,/Physica cum sociis artibus atque sedet./Quarum suprema sedem sibi legit in arce,/Quae legem astrorum continet atque poli./Eloquium mores, Logica illos alma sequatur,/Ut naturales res bene nosse queat./Et convexa poli cantus terrasque peragret,/De mundi et rebus aethera celsa petat.'

[915] Theodulf, *Versus in altari*, trans. Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, p. 157. Cf. John 14:6: 'dicit ei Iesus ego sum via et veritas et vita nemo venit ad Patrem nisi per me'.

passione suscepit, in resurrectione obducate non sint, be punished severely.[916] Moreover, without the nourishment of divine knowledge and revelation which those *res sacratae* with which the laity interacted – in particular, therefore, the words of Scripture and the eucharistic elements – provided, that ascension to the heavenly and eternal would be unthinkable.

The cult of saints did not feature prominently in Theodulf's other theological works, or even in the design and dedication of his oratory chapel at Germigny-des-Prés. This gives us an indication that saints and their relics continued to hold a position of secondary importance to the *res sacratae*, which, in Theodulf's mind, were so integral to the worship of God. In some form, all the *res sacratae* featured in Theodulf's episcopal statutes.[917] If Theodulf believed the cult of saints to be as integral to the parochial ministry of his priests, saints or their relics would surely have featured in this treatise. Of course, this does not mean that Theodulf was not engaged in the cult of saints, merely that he did not consider it an essential feature of Christian devotion, as was evidently the case with the *res sacratae*. Saints, relics and saintly intercession are, for instance, prevalent themes in Theodulf's poetry. In some cases, these reflect specific commissions for dedicatory verses for saints' shrines as in the case of his verses for Saint Quentin.[918] Although his verse for Saint Nazarius appears more personal, motivated by his own journey to the royal abbey of Saint Nazarius at Lorsch, while staying in Worms.[919] The most common refrain Theodulf includes in such poems touching upon saints' relics is the idea that while the body remains here on earth, the spirit is in heaven:

Ad regem:

May the saints pray and petition the Lord in your favour,

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[916] Theodulf, *Carm. 11 (Quamobrem cicatrices quas dominus in passione suscepit, in resurrectione obducate non sint)*, lines 45-46, MGH PLAC 1, p. 466: 'Quod vel non colitur deus, aut quod crimine grandi/Impune hoc non est, quin etiam colitur.'

[917] In the case of the eucharistic elements, liturgical vessels and Scripture, this was in the form of statutes specifically relating to them, while the Ark of the Covenant and the sign of the cross were at least mentioned.

[918] These verses were written on behalf of Abbot Fulrad of Saint Quentin in 814 and addressed to Louis the Pious. Theodulf, *Carm. 38 (Versus scripti litteris aureis de Sancto Quintino) I*, lines 1-4, MGH PLAC 1, p. 530: 'Cum denis lustris ternos minus inclitus annos/Rex ageret Carolus sceptra tenendo pia;/Rebus et humanis exemptus culmina regni/Linqueret ingentis, rex Ludovice, tibi'. Theodulf, *Carm. 38 (Versus scripti litteris aureis de Sancto Quintino) II*, lines 7-10, MGH PLAC 1, p. 530: 'Namque piis votis, domino tribuente, peregi/Hoc ego Fulradus ut foret istud opus;/Scilicet ut maior studioque operosior omni/A fundamentis surgeret ista domus.'

[919] The impression given by Theodulf is of a personal pilgrimage: it is essentially a first-person account of his own pilgrimage from the nearby city of Worms. However, given the strong royal associations of both sites – Worms was the location of one of Charlemagne's favourite palaces and Lorsch was a royal abbey at which Charlemagne had presided over the rededication to Saint Nazarius in 774 – it is more tempting to imagine Theodulf's 'I' concealing something more akin to a court outing and the poem as much aiming to flatter Charlemagne as the saint himself, especially in light of the hostility to pilgrimage to Rome which Theodulf expressed in *Quod deus non loco quaerendus sit, sed pietate colendus*. Although admittedly, the pilgrimage from Worms to Lorsch was far shorter.

Whose spirits reside in heaven and whose bodies rest in the earth.[920]

Versus scripti litteris aureis de Sancto Quintino (II):

The limbs of the excellent martyr Saint Quentin rest here,

Whose spirit belongs to Christ in the citadel of the sky.[921]

In sepulcro Sancti Nazarii:

Christ interred your limbs here, dear martyr,

And your spirit in flight ascends to the heights.[922]

Another commission Theodulf received, for the epitaph of Count Hermengald, allows us to discern the key difference Theodulf believed to exist between saints and other deceased Christians: certainty.[923] A saint's spirit undoubtedly resided in heaven while their body remained upon earth, yet for Hermengald this was not yet certain:

This earthly Jerusalem holds the body,

May his spirit seek out the blessed regions above.

You who read this inscription or witness this burial,

Say: "May Hermengald enjoy eternal rest."

Let the holy community of monks speak the same message

When traveling back and forth they follow this road.

May they be mindful of him through the ages.

And may they pray that the heavenly realms be granted to him.[924]

While saints could intercede, as in the above-quoted poem *Ad regem*, addressed to Charlemagne, other Christians still required intercession to be sure that their souls would ascend. Nonetheless, saintly intercession plays a far less prominent role in Theodulf's poetry than the intercession of the living.[925] Indeed, the above *Ad regem* lines are the only

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[920] Theodulf, *Ad regem*, trans. Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, p. 116.

[921] Theodulf, *Versus scripti litteris aureis de Sancto Quintino*, trans. Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, p. 125.

[922] Theodulf, *In sepulchro Sancti Nazarii*, trans. Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, p. 150.

[923] We can see in this differentiation in the emerging, but not yet fully-formed, ideas about purgatory that were already spreading out from monastic and clerical circles into the lay consciousness by the early eighth-century: Smith, 'Religion and lay society', p. 665.

[924] Theodulf, *Epitaphium Helmengaldi*, trans. Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, p. 127.

[925] As for instance in Theodulf's inscriptions on an altar and an inn. Theodulf, *Carm. 58 (Versus in altari)*, lines 1-4, MGH PLAC 1, p. 554: 'Hoc altare tibi, caeli terraeque creator./Teudulfus voto cernuus orno pio./Hoc rogo, quisquis adis referens sacra dona precesve,/Tu memor esto mei, si deus ipse tui.' Theodulf, *Carm. 59 (In*

such references to saintly intercession in Theodulf's poetry. Instead, the saints' cults' more important intercessory role in Theodulf's poetry is their attraction of prayerful, living devotees to the churches where their relics had been interred. This is expressed most clearly in the verses dedicated to Saint Quentin:

> This sweet house of God is the path to the courtyards of heaven,
>
> > Here is thrown open for the good the doorway of God.
>
> This is the way, the life, and salvation, Christ has revisited his foundation,
>
> > Accepting the gifts of the just, their vows and prayers.
>
> Here lie at rest the bones of the blessed Saint Quentin,
>
> > Who devoted himself rightly to pleasing his Lord,
>
> Who with his own blood purchased the heavenly regions
>
> > And acquired for himself a place in the heavenly home,
>
> Whose burial site is sought out with devout spirit
>
> > By living people, pilgrims in search of help.
>
> I, humble Fulrad, wish them to keep me in memory
>
> > So that God himself will always bear you in mind.[926]

Indeed, as is consistent with the attitude of the OC, Theodulf places far more impetus on direct communication with God.[927] Even in *Ad regem*, the lines concerning saintly intercession were preceded with exhortations on Charlemagne's behalf directly to Christ and the Father:

> Let his realm always rise higher

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xenodochio), lines 19-20, MGH PLAC 1, p. 555: 'Qui petis has sedes, Teudulfi quaso memento,/Haec qui construxit tecta favente deo.' The implication in Theodulf's poetry is, thus, of much more direct communication with God, which would place him outside any characterisation of early medieval piety as heavily mediated through the saints. For instance: Arnold Angenendt, *Das Frühmittelalter. Die abendländische Christenheit von 400 bis 900* (Stuttgart, 1990), pp. 186-190.

[926] Theodulf, *Versus scripti litteris aureis de Sancto Quintino*, trans. Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, pp. 125-126.

[927] Theodulf, *Carm. 33 (Ad Fardulfum abbatum Sancti Dionysii)*, lines 5-10, MGH PLAC 1, p. 524: 'Sit tibi vita, salus, sint et felicia cuncta,/Et tibi de caelis rex deus addat opem./Et sic te clemens ducat per prospera mundi,/Ut pes inoffenso tramite celsa petat./Et qui hac in vita dignum concessit honorem,/Hic tibi post obitum det super astra locum.' Theodulf, *Carm. 35 (Ad Carolum regem)*, lines 31-36, MGH PLAC 1, p. 527: 'At tu, magne puer, salveque valeque per aevum,/ Te dominus caeli protegat, ornet, alat,/Ut patrias valeas rutilus conscendere sedes,/Atque iuvante deo sceptra tenere manu./Et sic mundani regni terrena relinquas/Culmina, ut aetherii postmodo compos eas.'

So that Christ may give him life and grant health.

May the Father enthroned on high, O king, long preserve you

And give you life and help toward grace.[928]

Even in his poetry, where we do see much more of his active participation in the cult of saints, Theodulf's personal devotion retains the strongly Christocentric character which gave such weight to the *res sacratae* in the OC. Clearly, Theoudulf did believe in saintly intercession; moreover, he saw the value of relic cults to stimulate the prayers of the living. For himself, however, he placed far more stock in direct prayer to God and Christ.

As we have seen in this chapter, Theodulf's later discussions of the *res sacratae* and relics, once he had become bishop of Orléans, remained consistent with the positions he had previously set forth in the OC. While we do not have more obvious congruences of terminology between the OC and his later works, such as a continued use of *res sacratae* itself, the wider terminology around these objects did remain consistent. More importantly, the overall treatment of those objects he had earlier identified as *res sacratae* retained a striking similarity in these later works: these remained, for Theodulf, divinely ordained and consecrated objects, the very nature of which broke the otherwise stark divide between the material and spiritual realms, and which were essential for the worship of God and, thus, salvation. The wider ideas which had elevated the position of the *res sacratae* in the OC, particularly the macrocosmic division between matter and spirit and the pre-eminent position of Christ, were, if anything, increasingly emphasised in Theodulf's later works. Meanwhile, at least in his poetry, the position of relics and saints was more fleshed out. From his poetic testimony we can clearly see that Theodulf was at least a participant in the cult of saints, although he may have been somewhat less enthusiastically so than some of his contemporaries.[929] Fundamentally, for Theodulf himself, the practices associated with the cult of saints, such as pilgrimage, the veneration of relics and the intercession of saints, remained essentially adjuncts to the Christian faith. More important for him, as in the OC, was the Christocentric worship of the Trinity, facilitated by the objects Christ himself had ordained and consecrated: the *res sacratae*.

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[928] Theodulf, *Ad regem*, trans. Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, p. 116.

[929] Among these more enthusiastic contemporaries appears to have been Charlemagne. It is notable, for instance, that the poem which most clearly features direct saintly intercession is *Ad regem*, addressed to Charlemagne. In a similar poem to Charles's son *Ad Carolum regem*, the prayers are all directed to God. Although Charlemagne has sometimes been considered to have 'rationalistic' tendencies with regard to the cult of saints, such claims obviously bely the huge collection of relics he amassed. For claims of Charlemagne's rationalism: Hermann Reuter, *Geschichte der religiösen Aufklärung im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1875), p. 1. For Charlemagne's enthusiasm for the cult of saints: Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire*, pp. 34-35.

Conclusion: A Christocentric voice in the early Middle Ages

This study began by questioning the historiographical emphasis often placed upon the early medieval cult of saints; I asked: was the Carolingian devotional mindset hagiocentric, or do we need to nuance that characterisation? I have sought to provide this nuance by analysing the different treatment of *res sacratae* and relics in the thought of Theodulf of Orléans, primarily as expressed in the OC. Previous treatments of the OC or Theodulf's thought with regard to holy objects had been strongly coloured by the wider, hagiocentric emphasis in scholarship upon early medieval devotion. As such, the OC was even adduced as evidence supporting the idea of Charlemagne and his advisers' intense preoccupation with the cult of saints. The objects which Theodulf had, quite literally, placed at the heart of his OC – the *res sacratae* (the Ark of the Covenant, the eucharistic elements, liturgical vessels, the sign of the cross and Scripture) – remained overshadowed by saints' relics. I have, therefore, sought to reveal Theodulf's *res sacratae* and extricate them from that shade by analysing his understanding of them in forensic detail and demonstrating the ways he understood them to differ from relics. The aim has not been a wholesale denial of the cult of saints' importance either to Theodulf in the OC, or in medieval religious practice more broadly. The latter, at any rate, would be beyond the scope of a study focussed upon Theodulf and the OC. But even in relation to the more modest scope of this thesis, it has not been my intent to portray Theodulf as some kind of Carolingian Calvin, although clearly the sixteenth-century Calvin's interest in the OC testifies to a resonance that he, at least, saw between his own ideas and Theodulf's.[930] Instead, this study has demonstrated how an early medieval theologian otherwise engaged in the cult of saints – like Theodulf – could still imagine saints and their relics as secondary to his faith.

In Chapter 1, I elucidated Theodulf's lexicon of sanctity; demonstrating his application of different terminology for churches and saints' relics, compared to the *res sacratae*. For Theodulf, *sanctus* primarily described people, especially saints or the Church as *ecclesia*. Although less frequently applied to them in the OC, he appears to have also attached *sanctus* and *sanctitas* to saints' relics and church-buildings. The contrast with the lexicon of sanctity he applied to the *res sacratae* was stark. His use of *sacratus* and his constant emphasis upon their *mysteria*, positioned the *res sacratae* close to *sacramenta*. Although, *sacramenta* in the proper sense, remained, for Theodulf the rituals of mass, baptism and post-baptismal anointing. Indeed, through my study of the longer roots of *sacratus* and *sacramentum* (used loosely), I showed how these terms, along with *mysterium*,

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[930] On Calvin's interest in the OC: Payton, 'Calvin and the Libri Carolini'.

became closely linked with Christ in patristic and early medieval thought. Theodulf continued this tradition in the OC, linking this Christocentric terminology to the *res sacratae*.

The reasons behind Theodulf's Christocentric terminology with the *res sacratae* became plainer in Chapter 2. Here, I set out Theodulf's understanding of the original, biblical institution of each *res sacrata* as integrally linked to Christ, or, in the case of the Ark of the Covenant and Scripture, to Moses and God. Through this, I was able to link the *res sacratae* to existing scholarship on Theodulf's understanding of biblical history, in particular to the work of Dahlhaus-Berg. The mechanics of the *res sacratae* institution narratives reinforced Dahlhaus-Berg's ideas about how Theodulf viewed the relationship between the Old and New Testaments. Typically, Theodulf framed these biblical institution narratives around an Old Testament prefiguration followed by a New Testament revelation, in which Christ's words established the *res sacrata*. The importance of the *vox* and *nomen Christi* was maintained, alongside an emphasis upon sacerdotal power, in Theodulf's accounts of *res sacratae* consecration. Theodulf ascribed none of these features to saints' relics in the OC. Despite allusion to some Old Testament precedents in the burial practices of the patriarchs at Arbee, Theodulf instead characterised reverence for relics as ancient rather than biblical. In this scheme, he ascribed no role for Christ or priests in relation to saints' relics.

Theodulf further distinguished *res sacratae* from relics according to their nature. As I demonstrated in Chapter 3, he viewed matter and spirit as fundamentally separated, even to the level of the human soul and body. To interpret Genesis 1:26, Theodulf relied especially upon the brief, anonymous *De imagine Dei*. Through it, he reasoned that only man's incorporeal aspects, the soul and character, conformed to the image and likeness of God, respectively. He perceived holy objects, such as the *res sacratae* and relics to be capable of bridging this gap. However, the manner in which they did so, differed markedly. According to Theodulf, relics possessed a miraculous connection to the soul and character of their respective saints, in spite of his aforementioned interpretation of Genesis 1:26 and their present meagre form which he acknowledged: they transcended their material form. Material perfection, on the other hand, belonged uniquely to the *res sacratae*. Theodulf appears to have viewed them as Augustinian signs whose material forms perfectly testify to divine mysteries.

In Chapter 4, I returned to terminology, namely to Theodulf's devotional lexicon. This was already a fertile field of OC scholarship, particularly with regard to the role of the Latin translation of II Nicaea conflating the Greek *proskynesis* and *latreia* as *adoratio* in enflaming the OC's hostility. In relation to this existing debate, I have demonstrated that

Theodulf would also have taken issue with the mere *veneratio* of images. Through an intensive palaeographic inquiry of Vat. Lat. 7207's marginal annotation patterns, I was able to demonstrate that key revisions and marginal annotations concerning *adoratio* as an acceptable human greeting were not Theodulf's own. Theodulf, instead, staunchly maintained that *adoratio* and *cultus* were due to God alone. This made his use of *adorare* and *colere* in the *res sacratae* chapters was, therefore, striking, particularly in light of their absence in relation to saints' relics. It was not that Theodulf advocated adoration and worship of the *res sacratae* themselves. Instead, he ascribed them a pivotal role in the worship and adoration of God. Thus, *res sacratae* were essential to salvation. Relics, on the other hand, had no such central function in Theodulf's treatment. They were due the reverence and even veneration appropriate to their respective saints (hence their distinction from images), yet, in devotional terms too, they were of secondary importance to the *res sacratae*: the worship and adoration of God was possible without relics, but not without *res sacratae*.

Having detailed the contours of Thedoulf's hierarchy of holy and devotional objects in the Part I chapters, in which the *res sacratae* clearly held the prime position, in Part II I proceeded to demonstrate the potential significance of the ideas Theodulf had expressed in the OC. In Chapter 6 and 7, I did not seek to definitively prove the influence of Theodulf's ideas expressed in the OC concerning the *res sacratae*. Instead, the aim was to open up the potential for the influence of these ideas (and, also, therefore, other ideas developed in the OC) to spread beyond the OC itself. This potential influence has largely been curtailed in the historiography of the OC by the notion of it being 'unpublished' and the resultant dearth of medieval manuscript copies. In Chapter 6, I questioned the extent to which the OC's ideas, having clearly been discussed at Charlemagne's court, could truly have been stifled by a limited direct manuscript transmission. Moreover, the power of the audience also exerted itself upon the ideas in the OC themselves, whether through the direct interventions leaving their marks upon Vat. Lat. 7207 or more subtle, indirect influences acting upon Theodulf as he wrote. Viewed in this context, the ideas contained within the OC provide an important window upon Carolingian thought beyond Theodulf's idiosyncratic thought alone.

In Chapter 7, I showed how Theodulf's treatment of *res sacratae* and relics remained consistent with the positions set out in the OC once he had become bishop of Orléans. The explicit *res sacratae* label was absent. However, in *De ordine baptismi*, his episcopal statutes, his poetry and the apse mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés, the objects he had earlier identified as *res sacratae* remained as divinely ordained, consecrated objects, whose very nature transcended the matter-spirit divide, and which were essential for the adoration and

worship of God. In his poetry, especially, saints and their relics were treated at more length. From this poetic testimony we saw that Theodulf did participate in the cult of saints, but that the practices associated with it – pilgrimage, the veneration of relics and saintly intercession – remained of secondary importance to the Christocentric devotional practices facilitated by the *res sacratae*.

In writing the OC, Theodulf's most popular biblical refrain was taken from 1 Timothy 2:5:

> For there is one God, and one **mediator of God and mankind**, the man Jesus Christ.[931]

More specifically, it was the particular section of that verse highlighted above in bold, which Theodulf continually repeated, more times, in fact, than any other verse.[932] The wider context in which Theodulf was writing – against the backdrop not only of Byzantine iconodulia newly threatening to disrupt devotional practices in the south-eastern fringes of Charlemagne's realm, but also of the resurgence of Adoptionism in the south-west (in Theodulf's own homeland in the Spanish March) – likely accounts for his reluctance to extend the passage to include the potentially dangerous assertion of Jesus' human form. Instead, the emphasis was consistently placed upon Jesus' unique role, acting between man and God. It was an emphasis that fended off both threats at once: to the Greeks, placing the hopes of their relationship with God in man-made images, it retorted that such hopes should be invested directly in Christ; to Theodulf's compatriots, tempted to label Jesus as God's adopted, human son, it emphasised his status and role between the human and the divine.

The centrality of 1 Timothy 2:5 to Theodulf's OC and the way in which it spoke against the two major theological threats of the 790s, also shaped another concern at the heart of the OC: if images do not have a crucial role in devotional practice, what objects are important? Previous studies claiming to have Theodulf's answer to this question have

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[931] This is the form in which 1 Timothy 2:5 appears in Theodulf's own Bible, BnF Lat. 9380, f. 301r: 'Vnus enim d[eu]s unus & mediator d[e]i & hominum homo chr[istu]s ih[esu]s'.

[932] This bold section appears 18 times in Theodulf's own prose throughout the OC and a further 3 times quoted in longer excerpts from Augustine's *Quaestiones in Heptateuchem, Exodum* 166, Cassiodorus' *Expositio psalmorum*, 98, 5 and the Pseudo-Augustine's *Dialogus quaestionum* 2. These 3 occurrences in larger excerpts appear, respectively, in: OC I 15, p. 174; OC II 5, p. 248; OC II 3, p. 351. Theodulf's own quotations can be split into 3 forms. Most (12) are essentially the same form as found in Theodulf's Bible, with their only deviation depending upon the form of *mediator* to suit its grammatical function in the sentence where he quoted the passage: OC I 5, p. 130; OC I 6, p. 178; OC II 27, p. 290; OC II 30, p. 305; OC III 6, p. 361; OC III 13, p. 390; OC III 13, p. 391; OC III 17, p. 415; OC III 21, p. 434; OC IV 11, p. 514; OC IV 13, p. 517; OC IV 18, p. 534. A further 4 place *mediator* at the end: OC II 11, p. 257; OC III 21, p. 429; OC III 24, p. 448; OC IV 16, p. 528. The remaining 2 offer a different form by using *inter* and the accusative, thus 'Mediator inter Deum et homines': OC III 26, p. 462; OC IV 18, p. 534.

become fixated upon saints' relics. However, as I have demonstrated in this study, Theodulf's response to this question was marked by the same Christocentricism inherent in the repeated refrain that labelled Christ as 'the mediator of God and mankind'. In this Christocentric view, the *res sacratae* loomed large. They were inextricably tied to Christ and, more specifically, to that role of mediator described in 1 Timothy 2:5. The language Theodulf associated with the *res sacratae* – *sacratus*, of course, but also the closely-linked *sacramentum* and *mysterium* – was a terminology intrinsically tied to Christ too. While the institution of each individual *res sacrata* was not entirely by Christ's own words and actions – although it was, of course, in the case of the sign of the cross, the eucharistic elements and liturgical vessels – Christ's role as the mediator, or pivot-point of biblical history, between the Old and the New Testaments and the linked interplay of prefiguration and revelation was central to the construction of all *res sacratae*. Like Christ, the divine and human mediator, the *res sacratae* overcame the otherwise universal separation Theodulf envisioned between matter and spirit, to serve as signs, revealing even by their material form divine truths. Moreover, while they did not contravene the injunction against the adoration or worship of any but God, which Theodulf policed staunchly in the OC, the *res sacratae* nonetheless held an essential place in that worship and adoration of God. Certainly, without them, God could not be appropriately worshipped or adored. Through the lens of the *res sacratae*, and the comparable treatment of saints' relics in the OC, we have seen how Theodulf's theology and, in particular, his attitude towards different devotional objects was – in line with his penchant for 1 Timothy 2:5 – fundamentally Christocentric.

In the OC and in Theodulf, we have, therefore, found our Christocentric voice in the early Middle Ages. It was a voice that continued to resound even into his later works as bishop of Orléans; although some of the terminology changed, the conceptual centrality of the *res sacratae* remained. For the others within the scholarly entourage at Charlemagne's court in the early 790s who had, undoubtedly either read or heard the OC, and in some cases had even passed comment and engaged in its revision, we do not yet know the extent to which they endorsed Theodulf's Christocentric vision contained within it. Clearly, it had a resonance and a prescience, speaking to both the major theological threats of those years. But for others, less invested in the work than Theodulf, their engagement with the OC's ideas may have ultimately been more fleeting. While a full reckoning of the potential influence of the OC's Christocentric vision into the ninth-century will have to wait for a future study, it is worth ending with a consideration of the thoughts of the OC's most influential reader and, indeed, its nominal author: Charlemagne. As the OC was read out in his presence, having already heard Theodulf's favourite biblical verse (1 Timothy 2:5) some

fourteen times without passing any audible comment, he finally issued his approval, which was noted down by a scribe – *vere* – and subsequently transmuted into the Tironian form in which it now survives (Figure 26).[933] The point at which the king chose to offer his approbation to this verse was none other than the instance in which Theodulf explicitly linked it and, thus, Christ, to the *res sacratae*:

> Images must by no means be regarded as equal with *res sacratae* – either those made holy by the law-giver, or those made holy by *the Mediator of God and mankind*, or, indeed, those daily consecrated through the invocation of the divine name by the priests and taken up in the mystery of our redemption.[934]

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[933] Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 173v. On the Tironian notae as recording Charlemagne's comments: von den Steinen, 'Karl der Grosse und die *Libri Carolini*. Die Tironischen Randnoten zum Codex Authenticus', pp. 218-222.

[934] OC III 24, p. 448: 'sacratis rebus – sive quae per legislatorem sive quae per *Dei et hominum Mediatorem* sacratae sunt, sive etiam quae [qu]otidie a sacerdotibus divini nominis invocatione sacrantur et in mysterium nostrae redemptionis sumuntur – imagines nequaquam coaequandae sunt'.

Figures, illustrations and diagrams

Figure 1: Theodulf's private oratory chapel at Germigny-des-Prés (Huw Foden: 7/5/2016).

Figure 2: The Ark of the Covenant apse mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés (Huw Foden: 7/5/2016).

Figure 3: 3rd January Dedication inscription at Germigny-des-Prés (Huw Foden: 7/5/2016).

tim quid scōrum patrum de his definierit
sententia uel quo modo a uenerabilibus uiris
prolata sint que adsuum errorem astruendum
illorum adglomerauit amentia Quibus p tem
pore Inpraesentibus primis uoluminibus enume
ratis quid proprio sensu minus docte & contra
scōrum patrum Institutionem ob adorandarū
Imaginum super fluam proculerint cons
titutionem sequentium librorum series dno
annu ente discutia praemittentes Insequen
ti capitulo qualiter scā romana ecclesia Inter
ceteras ecclesias maxime uenerationi habita
pro causis fidei sit consulenda

VI quod scā romana catholica & apostolica
ecclesia ceteris ecclesiis prelata pro causis
fidei cum quaestio surgit omnino sit consu
lenda

Antequam discutiendorum testi
moniorum quae abrur de orientales
Insua sinodo taxauerunt siluam In
grediamur dignum ducimus utqua
liter scā romana ecclesia ceteris eccle
siis adno praelata & a fidelibus consulenda sit
prosequamur Praesertim cum sit ratio ab aliis
scripturis ratiabilis quar illa Inter canonicas
recipit testimonia sint sumenda uel aliorum
doctorum nisi eorum quia gelasio uel ceteris
illius scae redis pontificibus suscepti sunt dg
mata sint amplectenda Necaliter atque aliter

Figure 4: Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 15v (Copyright © Biblioteca Apostolica
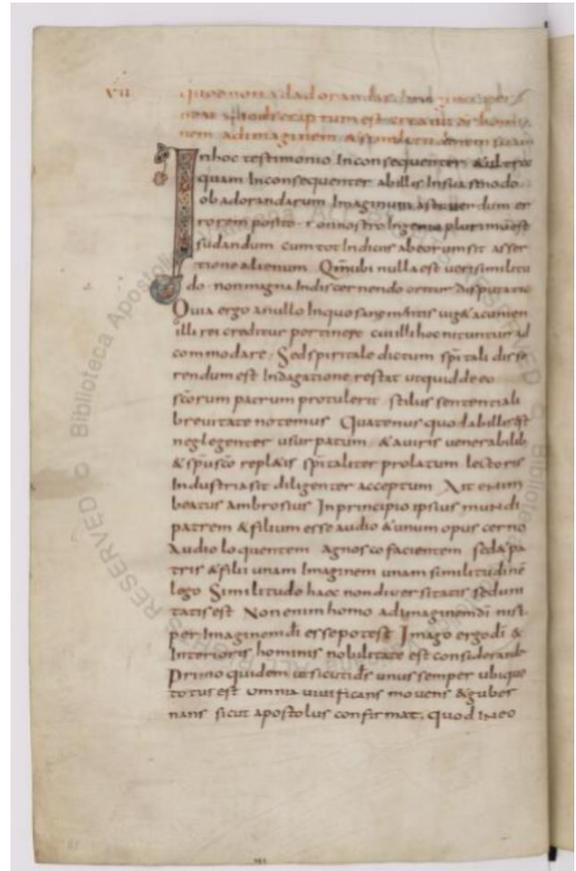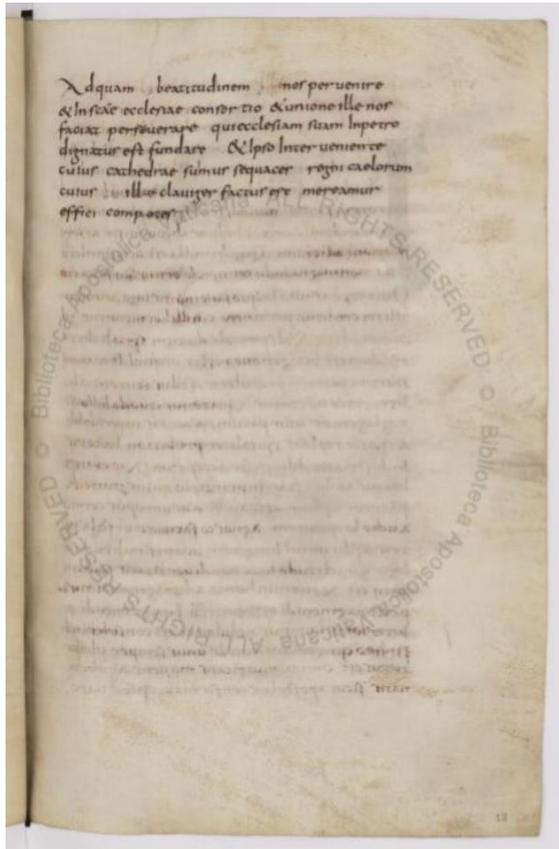Vaticana).

Figure 5: Vat. Lat. 7207, ff. 18r-18v (Copyright © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).
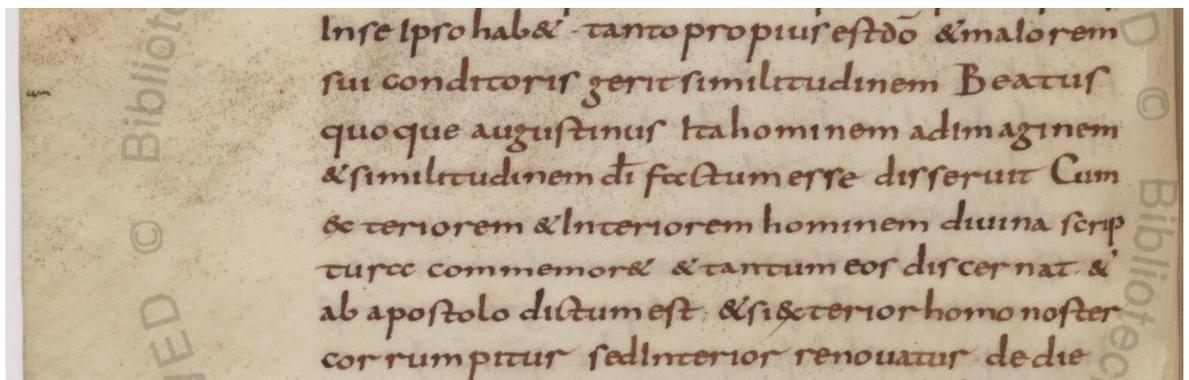
Figure 6: Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 19v (Copyright © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

Figure 7: Lebuïnuskelk, Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, ABM bi787.

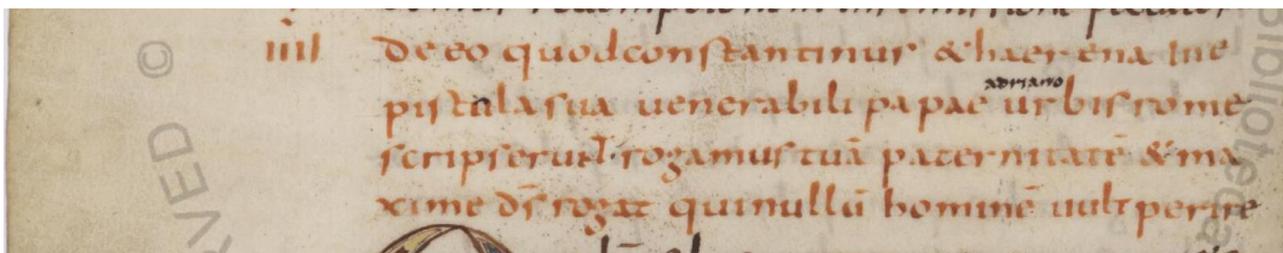Figure 8: Fuller Brooch, Front (© The Trustees of the British Museum).

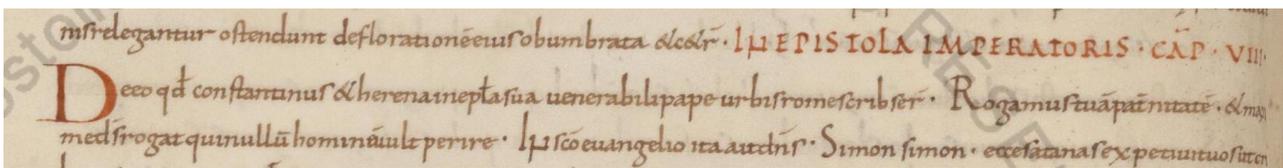Figure 9: Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 11v (Copyright © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

Figure 10: Vat. Lat. 3827, f. 65v (Copyright © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).
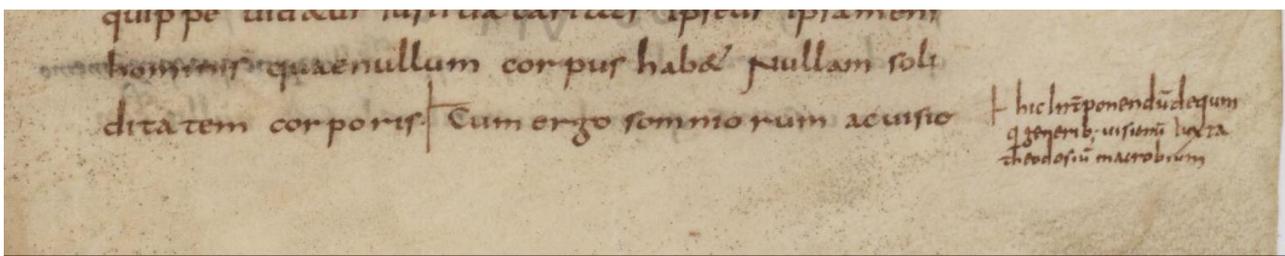
quippe uidetur iustitia caritas igitur ipsamens
…tromenur quae nullum corpus habet nullam soli
ditatem corporis Cum ergo somnio rum acutio

+ hic Inponendū de qum
q̄ ṡomenb; uisionib; iuxta
theodosiū macrobium

um aspernentur super est uthistantum
contentisint &earum patrocinio sicut &ipsi
credunt muniantur Atque illi glorientur
In Imaginibus pios autem gloriemur In cruce
dni nostri ihu xpi per quem nobis mundus
crucifixus est nos que mundo
De eo quod Iohannes presbiter &legatus
orientalium In causa Imaginum ado
rationem stabilire nitens dixisse
legitur ereat Iacob titulum d ō

hp ./. sierrorem suum corrigere nolunt
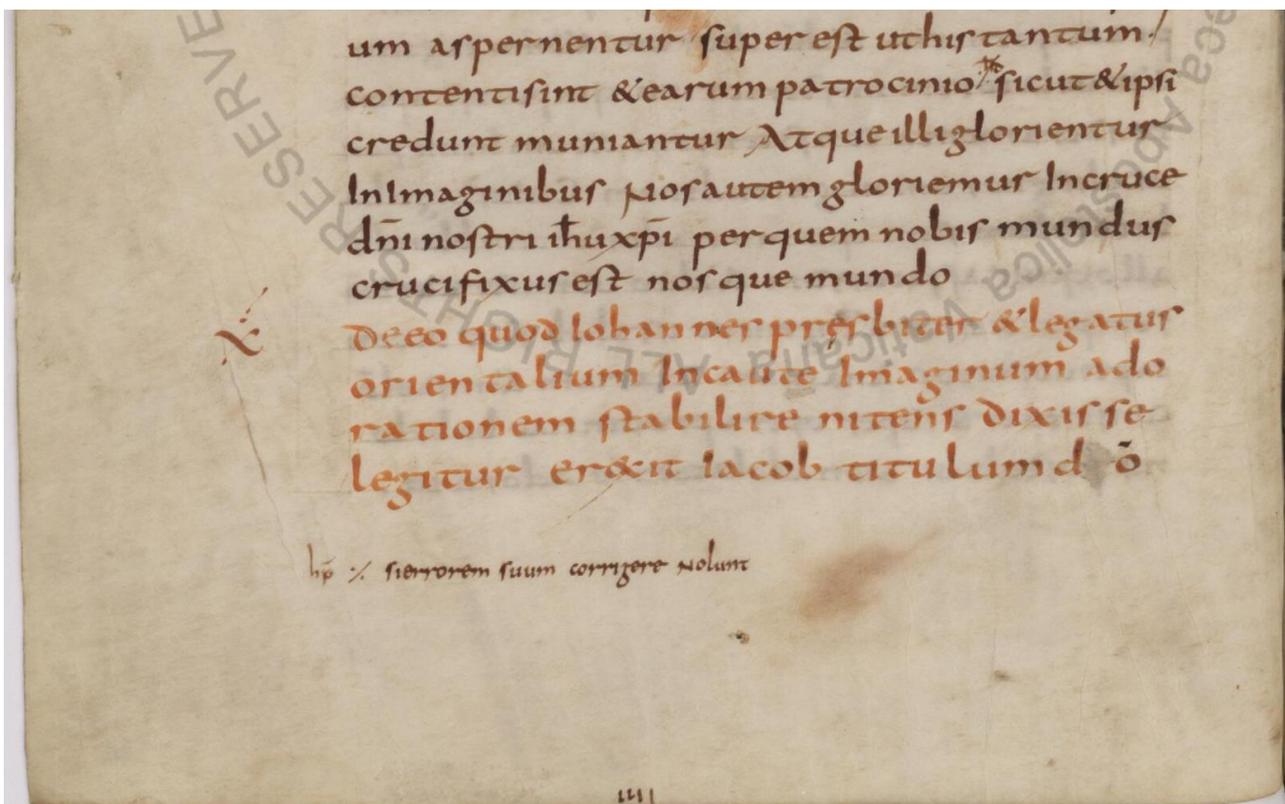
osi Inquo similes ei erimus Similes dixit non
aequales; Similes uidelicet non incorporis similitudine sed in interiore homine dicente beato augustino In epistola ad italicam uirginem non uidebimus ergo eum sicuti est· cum secundum suam polli
citationem diligentibus se manifestare uerit seip
sum sine sine fine & existente In quo dm uidebimus
Infinite· Celebrantes per p&uis sabbata sollem
nitatem Dicente nobis dno uacate & uidete
qm ego sum dnr· quae omnia non antea comple
buntur Inscir suis Iuxta apostolum Cum mortta
le hoc Induerit Inmortalitatem & corruptibile hoc
uestierit Incorruptione· Nam si con regnamus
et Iterum apparuit quod erimus; Si Iterum apparuit
quod erimus· Iterum similes ei sumus· si Iterum simi
les ei sumus· Iterum uidemus eum sicuti est· Non
autem uidemus eum sicuti est· nondum Igitur con
regnamus et; Regnat ergo ille In nobis non con regnat
nobis; Regnat uidelicet · secundum beati augusti
ni sententiam Incredentibus· qui ce usque ad eiu
cam & mortem Infirmatus est; hoc autem modo
filius propriae regnat In si de credentium non
dum peter dici aut credi potest uel Incarnatur
uel Iudicatur uel crucifixur· per speciem autem
qua aequalis est petri regnat In contemplantibus

Kp Quis autem dementissimus dixerit corpore nos uel esse uel
futuros esse similes do· In Interiore Igitur homine Ista similitudo· SR

Figure 13: Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 6v (Copyright © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

tum & bonum adhereſt & iam opuſ eiuſ ſed per gratiam
di ħo Haec igitur Inſignia arca uidelicɛt &
quae Ineaſunt propitiatorium ſiue cerubim
ſemper anobiſ ſpiritali Intuitu cernantur &
tota mentiſ Intentione quaerantur Nec ea In
depictiſ tabuliſ ſiue parietibuſ quaeramuſ ſed
In penetrabilibuſ noſtri cordiſ mentiſ oculo aſ
piciamuſ Et qui ſecundum apoſtolum reuelata
ta facie gloriam dī ſpeculcenteſ In eiuſdem Ima
ginem tranſformamur a carritate In claritatɛm
tam quam a dñi ſpū Non ambulcenteſ
In aſtutia neque adulteranteſ uerbum dī
ſed Inmanifeſtatione ueritatiſ Non Iam ue
ritatem per Imagineſ & picturaſ queramuſ
qui ſpe fide & caritate ad eandem ueritatem
qua expreſt Ipſo auxiliante peruenimuſ

XVI quod nec Inde adorandarum Imaginum
uſuſ adſtrui poſſit ut illi ſtultiſſime & In
rationabiliter dicunt eo quod In lege ſcriptum
eſt Ecceuocaui de nomine beſeleel filium
ur filiihor dā ribu Iuda & repleui eum
ſpū ſapientiae & Intellegentiae ad per
ficiendum opuſ & auro & argento
& dedi ei ooliab de achuſama

& ut ait apoſtoluſ ſpiritaliſ eſt Eſt
enim nobiſ In praeſentiſ ſaeculi caligi
noſo Itinere ad dirigendoſ noſtrarum
mentium greſſuſ a dō conlata cuiuſ lu
bare mentiſ acieſ per luſtretotte
miſticorum ſenſuum poſſit Intueri

hp hic enim ſenſuſ aptatur tranſlationi ueteri In qua ſecunda etabulæ alegi
latore ſcriptae fuiſſe memoramur Ceterū quia In hebraica ueritate utreq;
primae uidelicet & ſecunda ad dō ſcribuntur hoc ſignificatur quia & uetuſ & nouū teſta
mentū ſci ſpū gratia qui d gratuſ di dicere conſenpmū eſt & illo accipit ſpſ ſoruturutu Inhomo ſe
quia dſ Iugū legiſ hominu Inponit homo ferre nonualet In iſto uero ubi tabulae ab ho
mine fiunt a dō ſcribuntur homo obotdiendo accipit ſpm adoptioniſ SK

37

Figure 14: Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 37r (Copyright © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).
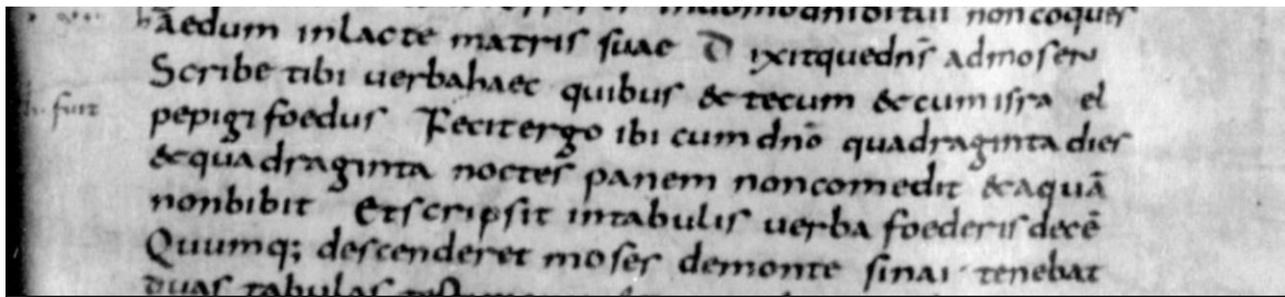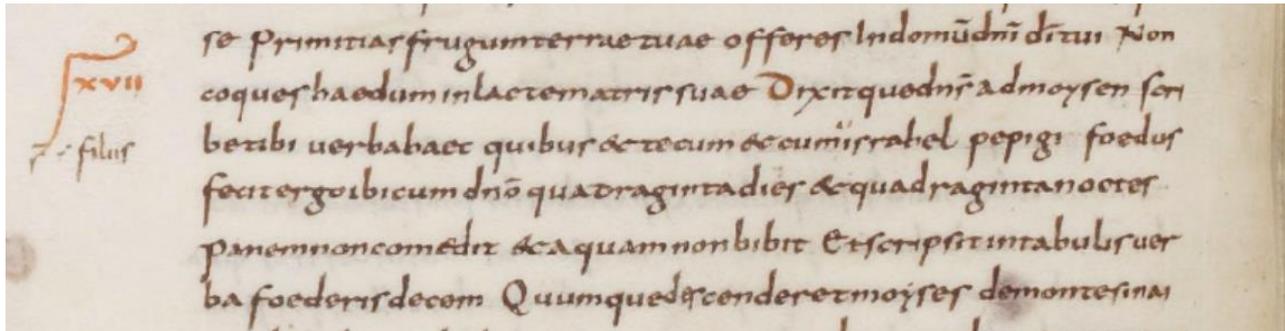
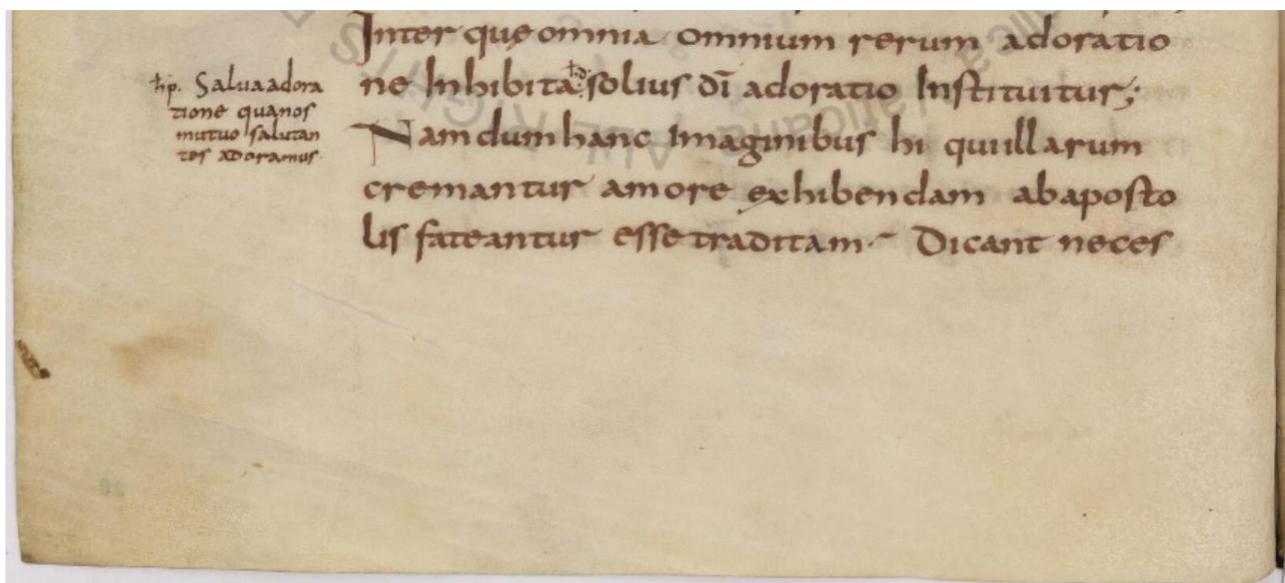Figure 15: BnF Lat. 11937, f. 19r.

Figure 16: BnF Lat. 9380, f. 22v.

Figure 17: Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 90v (Copyright © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

& alterius imagines; Si igitur angeli siue ho
mines ut presentis exempli ratio docet mini
me adorandi sunt salua adoratione quaecarita
tis & salutationis officio exhibetur. multo
minus imagines quaerationis expertes sunt neq; sa
lutatione nec adoratione dignae eo quod Insen
sate sint adorandae sunt. Quaesi adorandae

Figure 18: Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 91r (Copyright © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

contraire se quis quis eas uel frangit uel adorat
modis omnibus recognoscat;   Q uum prae
XVIIII ter Dm solum nihil aliud debeat adorari aliud
I est hominem adorare caritatis et salutatio
nis officio aliud imagines manu facias.
A deogenus humanum dilexisse credendus est
ut In ipso conditionis eius & ordio non ut cu
que sed ad suam Imaginem & similitudine id

Figure 19: Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 89v (Copyright © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

apostolo. Nusquam enim angelos adprehendit
sed semen abrahae adprehendit; Vnde datur
Intelligi aliud & longe aliud esse hominem
mortuorum
adorare salutationis gratia qui tot praerogatiuus

Figure 20: Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 89v (Copyright © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

polla aliud imagines quaehis omnibus caret
Aliudest hoc homini humilitatis gratia exhi
beri quiopusdi est quam imagini quaeopus astifi
cirest Aliud est illam naturam humilitatis
officio adorare quae incaeli rege abangelis & ar
changelis adoratur aliud illam quae usibus
nonsolum hominum sed & ceterorum animaliu
adhibita famulatur; Quantum ergo operati

Figure 21: Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 90r (Copyright © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

en abrahae adprehendit;
aliud & longe aliud
e salutationis gratia quito

Figure 22: Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 89v (Copyright © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

polla aliud imag
Aliudest hoc hor

Figure 23: Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 90r (Copyright © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

diligere (to cherish)	*venerari* (to venerate)	*adorare* (to adore)
Potential actions: • *osculari* • *amplecti* **Recipients:** • Living beings (mostly people)	**Potential synonym:** • *honorare* **Recipients:** • Saints (and their relics?) **Can include:** • *diligere*	**Potential synonym:** • *colere* **Recipients:** • The Trinity **Can include:** • *venerari* • *honorare* • *diligere*

Figure 24: Diagram showing the relationship between the devotional terms in the OC lexicon.
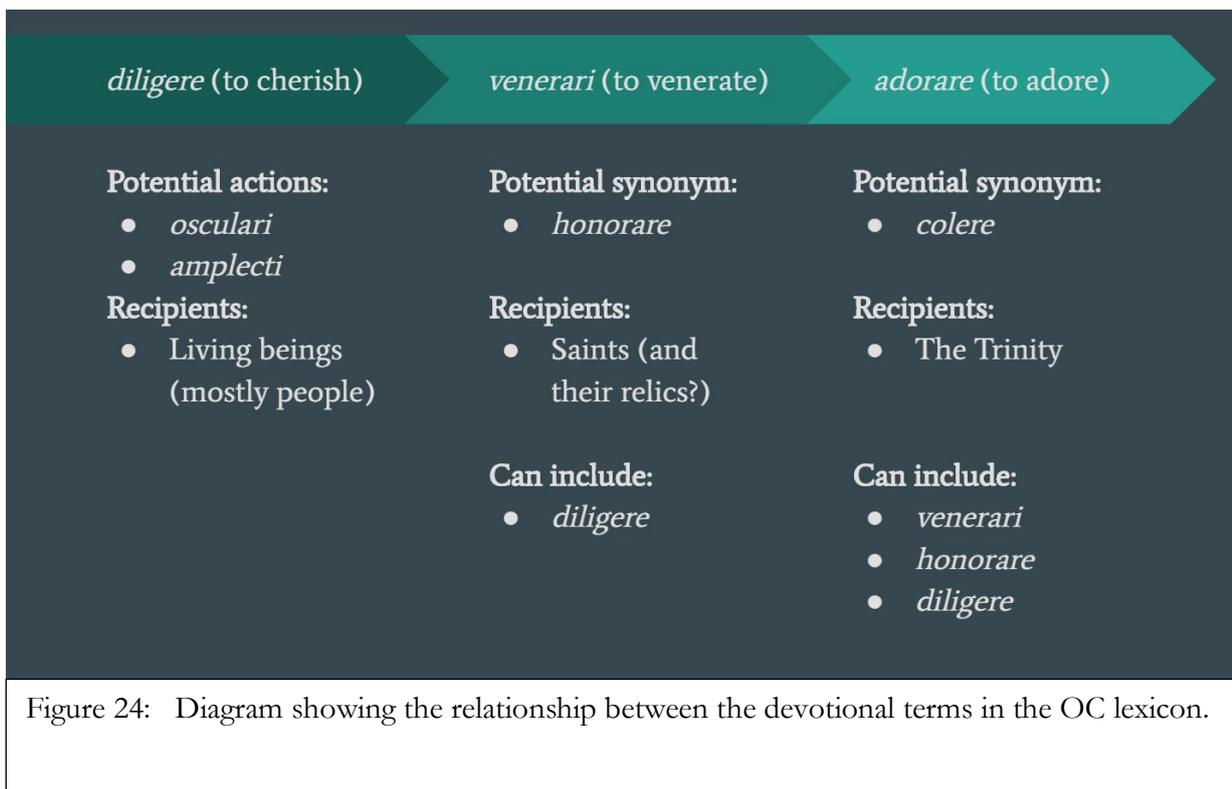
Figure 25: Vat. Lat. Reg. 123, ff. 143v-144r (Copyright © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

XCIIII ... ... Quod non
sint coaequandae Imagines reliquiis sanctorum
martyrum & confessorum ut illi Insua erronea
synodo facere nituntur eo quod reliquiæ aut de
corpore sunt aut de his quæ Incorpore aut de his
quæ circa corpus cuiusdam sancti fuerunt Imagines
uero Nec Incorpore Nec circa corpus fuisse
uel fore creduntur illis quibus adscribuntur
Sicut igitur sacratis rebus siue quæ per legis
latorem siue quæ per dei & hominum me
diatorem sacratæ sunt Siue etiam quæ quo
tidie a sacerdotibus diuini nominis Inuocatio
ne sacrantur & In mysterium nostræ redemp
tionis sumuntur Imagines nequaquam co ae
quandæ sunt Ita etiam nec sanctorum martyrum

Figure 26: Vat. Lat. 7207, f. 173v (Copyright © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

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