

**DEFINING AND SHAPING THE MORAL SELF IN THE NINTH CENTURY:
EVIDENCE FROM BAPTISMAL TRACTS AND THE RECEPTION OF
AUGUSTINE'S *DE TRINITATE***

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Abstract

This dissertation explores concepts of the self in the ninth century, specifically in the Carolingian Empire. This work begins with a review of scholarship on the medieval self. Much scholarship on this concept has tended to focus on the twelfth century. As I hope to demonstrate, however, ninth-century writers were just as interested in their own constructions of the self. Ninth-century treatments of the self were unique and thus offer us a great deal of insight into the mentalities of the time. I also examine the ninth-century vocabulary of the self, focusing on the language inherited from patristic and early medieval writers, especially Gregory the Great, and the way in which this vocabulary was adapted by Carolingian writers.

Throughout the body of the dissertation, I focus on two main bodies of texts: ninth-century uses of Augustine's *De Trinitate* and the ninth-century baptismal expositions recently edited by Susan Keefe. Both sets of texts illustrate the ways in which the moral self was both defined and shaped in the ninth century. The treatments of *De Trinitate* were mainly concerned with the monastic self, while the baptismal expositions allow us a glimpse of the way in which churchmen perceived the lay self.

I conclude by briefly looking ahead to the middle of the ninth century and the controversies surrounding Gottschalk. The question of the moral self was at the centre of these debates, and this thus demonstrates the importance of the concept of the self to the ninth century. I have included as an appendix my translation of sections of the baptismal expositions.

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Abbreviations

- CCSL: *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* (Turnhout, 1952-)
- CCCM: *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis* (Turnhout, 1966-)
- CSEL: *Corpus Christianorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna, 1866-)
- MGH: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
- PL: *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1841-64)

Note on Personal and Place Names

The decision to use either an Anglicised or Latin version of a name of a medieval author has largely been the preserve of each modern scholar, and I have tried to employ the most commonly used versions as much as possible (using 'Alcuin' rather than 'Alcuinus,' for example, but retaining the Latin 'Hrabanus,' rather than 'Hraban'). I have also taken this same approach when deciding between different modern versions of both personal names (using 'Theodulf' rather than 'Theodulph,' for example) and place names ('Rheims' rather than 'Reims,' and 'Aachen' rather than 'Aix-la-Chapelle').

Introduction

I: Review of Scholarship on the Medieval Self

Over the past thirty years, the medieval self has been the subject of much scholarship. Each historian who has examined this concept has, by necessity, approached it from a unique angle and defined it in his or her own way. Therefore, before moving on to an explanation of how this work will address the topic, it may be useful to review the methods which other scholars have used. I shall first discuss the wide variety of approaches taken by these historians. The diverse methodologies employed by various historians reveal efforts both to delineate the subject to be studied and to establish the temporal context in which this subject could be examined. As we shall see, the former was often dependent upon the latter. Some scholars chose to take a modern concept, such as individualism, and trace its origins back as far as possible. Others chose to take an older idea, such as the Delphic command to know oneself, and follow its development forward.

Though I have chosen to use 'self' to describe the concept under discussion, this has not always been the obvious term of choice. Other scholars have instead used 'individual' and have defined the self, either explicitly or implicitly, as the individual human being, especially his or her personal character and opinions. One of the first works to do so in a medieval context was Colin Morris's *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050-1200*.¹ The central premise of this work was that the twelfth century witnessed a rebirth of interest in the self amongst European writers. This was a direct response to earlier works which had attributed the 'discovery of the individual' to Renaissance

¹C. Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050-1200* (Toronto, 1972).

thinkers of the fifteenth century.² Morris examined evidence found in a wide range of sources, including religious, theological, and literary texts (particularly biographies and autobiographies), art, and personal letters, and argued that much twelfth-century thought could be characterised by a concern for the personality and idiosyncrasies (both mental and physical) of the individual, both as a solitary being and in comparison with other individuals. Though interest in the individual had always been present in Christianity, Morris argued, this concern declined in the medieval period prior to 1050. Instead, Christian practice became ‘strangely external,’³ dominated by an emphasis on conformity to authority and social norms, in which the individual was of little value.⁴ After 1050, changes in social and intellectual conditions, such as the growth of cities, the spread of Latinity, and the rise of scholasticism and humanism, fostered an atmosphere in which individual thought and personal choice grew in importance.⁵ These developments were accompanied by a new emphasis on self-knowledge and self-examination, manifested in law codes, penitentials, and especially in texts by Cistercian writers, who saw self-knowledge as the pathway to salvation.⁶ An increasing amount of attention, Morris argued, was also paid to human emotion, such as the love celebrated by the troubador poets, the friendship expressed in personal letters, and the compassion evoked by images of the crucified Christ.⁷ All of these qualities, according to Morris, were present in the twelfth century at a level not known previously and, combined, can be seen as the beginning of our modern notion of the individual. Though the twelfth-century interest in the self had theological elements which differentiated it both from the

²*Ibid.*, pp. 4-6. Morris specifically cites only S. Neill, *A Genuinely Human Existence* (London, 1959) as an example of such an earlier work, though he also seems to be responding to the views put forth by Burckhardt in his *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*.

³*Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 5-36.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 37-63.

⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 65-78, 154-7.

⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 96-120, 139-44.

corresponding phenomenon in the fifteenth century and from our modern understanding of the concept, Morris argued that there were enough common threads running through both renaissances to safely push back the ‘discovery of the individual’ to the earlier period.⁸

Though Caroline Walker Bynum, writing in response to Morris, did not debate the temporal context established by him, she did seek to modify both Morris’s terminology and his approach. Firstly, Bynum saw great difficulty in the usage of the term ‘individual’ and believed ‘self’ was a more accurate term to use when discussing such a concept. ‘Individual’ was a particularly problematic term, Bynum argued, because of the meanings which our modern minds attach to it. Rather than our modern conception of the individual as a unique being with a personality worthy of attention on its own merits, the twelfth-century mind believed that human nature deserved study because it had been created in the image of God. To be holy, the human being must be brought, through grace and individual spiritual discipline, back into likeness with God. Thus, far from being unique, human nature was common to all, and therefore the term ‘individual’ is misleading for modern readers and anachronistic in relation to the twelfth century.⁹ Having made this caveat, Bynum agreed that the twelfth century may be seen to have ‘discovered the self’ in two senses. Firstly, there existed a greater interest, compared

⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 161-3.

⁹C.W. Bynum, ‘Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?’, in C.W. Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1982), pp. 87, 101-2. The need to keep in mind that medieval writers would have valued the human self only as the image of God has also been stated in J.F. Benton, ‘Consciousness of Self and Perceptions of Individuality’, in R.L. Benson and G. Constable (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 263-95. Colin Morris responded to Bynum in his ‘Individualism in Twelfth-Century Religion, Some Further Reflections’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31 (1980): 195-206, in which he argued that ‘self’ and ‘individual’ are both equally problematic and should both be used with caution. J.A. Aertsen, ‘Einleitung: Die Entdeckung des Individuums’, in J.A. Aertsen and A. Speer (eds.), *Individuum und Individualität im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1996), p. x saw Morris as

with the period immediately prior to 1050, in what Bynum described as the 'interior landscape' of the human being. Secondly, this concern became an *explicit* theme in twelfth-century literature.¹⁰ Though this was in agreement with Morris's work on the subject, Bynum followed with a significant qualification, namely that interest in the individual did not increase at the expense of a concern for the corporate. The variety of groups, such as religious orders and professions, amongst which those living the twelfth-century could choose was greater than ever before. These groups went to great lengths to define themselves and to delineate those things which separated them from other groups. These groups also came with their own ideas of the roles and models to which members ought to conform, and these were key aspects of an individual's perception of his or her own identity. Thus, corporate and individual identities were closely interrelated, and twelfth-century attitudes towards this relationship were perhaps more in harmony with earlier thought than Morris had postulated. Religious writers 'did not develop an interest in intention, personal change, and personal responsibility by escaping an earlier concern with types, patterns, and examples.'¹¹

Furthermore, Bynum emphasised that attention to the inner did not preclude attention to the outer. Members of religious groups were expected to conform to a shared mode of living, which sought to shape both the outer behaviour and the inner soul of the individual.¹² This interconnectivity of inner and outer remained an important feature of religious thought throughout the twelfth century. Indeed, Bynum argued that if twelfth-century thought could be 'characterized by a new concern for the "inner man," it is *because* of a new concern for the group, for types and examples, for the "outer

having equated 'individuality' with 'personality', and Bynum as having equated 'self' with the individual's 'Innerlichkeit.'

¹⁰Bynum, 'Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?', pp. 87-8 (emphasis my own).

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 85; Cf. Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual*, pp.12-3.

man”.’¹³ Imitation of an external exemplar remained as important as an inward-looking self-knowledge.¹⁴ According to Bynum, it was a unique sense of the relationship between inner and outer which characterised twelfth-century religious thought.¹⁵ Some religious groups accused others of paying too much attention to outward displays of piety such as fasting and silence, not because these activities were without value, but because they needed to be accompanied by the proper inner disposition and virtue. Moral improvement necessitated the conjunction of interior and exterior.¹⁶

Within twelfth-century religious groups, Bynum argued, this congruence was achieved through the imitation of a chosen model. These models could be Christ, the founders of the communities, and the members of the group themselves.¹⁷ Self-knowledge was not achieved by the individual in isolation, but through the adoption of patterns within the moral and behavioural context of other religious.¹⁸ Thus, although the twelfth century did witness a burgeoning of interest in interiority, this was accompanied by a new concern for roles and groups. Indeed, Bynum asserted, it was the increasing number of ecclesiastical orders, which necessitated the individual to choose amongst roles and groups, created at this time that allowed for a new sense of self.

The social consequences of, and need for, self-knowledge were more recently examined again by Caroline Walker Bynum and Susan Kramer.¹⁹ The twelfth-century

¹²Bynum, ‘Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?’, p. 90.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 85 (emphasis Bynum’s).

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 88.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 98-9.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 89-97, 102-4. The theme of members of religious groups serving as models for each other has been more fully explored by Bynum in her *Docere Verbo et Exemplo: An Aspect of Twelfth-Century Spirituality* (Missoula, 1979).

¹⁸Bynum, ‘Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual’, pp. 90, 104, 107.

¹⁹S.R. Kramer and C.W. Bynum, ‘Revisiting the Twelfth-Century Individual: The Inner Self and the Christian Community’, in G. Melville and M. Schürer (eds.), *Das Eigene*

writers discussed by Bynum and Kramer saw self-knowledge as a process of recognizing the sins one had committed. Though there existed a tendency to interiorize this sin in the twelfth century,²⁰ Bynum and Kramer argued, this by no means negated the need to orally confess one's sins in order to be forgiven. There was no punitive motive behind this requirement, however. Rather, the externalisation of one's inner self in this manner served as an example for others in the community, in this case the monastery, to follow.

Other historians have structured their research in this area around specific words or phrases related to the self. Whereas both Morris and Bynum used modern ideas of the self or the individual as a starting point and considered medieval treatments of the same concepts, Pierre Courcelle instead began with an ancient maxim and traced its subsequent development. Courcelle devoted three volumes to a detailed account of the appearance of the Delphic command 'Know thyself' in works from classical antiquity to the twelfth century.²¹ Courcelle chose to examine strictly the letter of the maxim, rather than its spirit, and limited the vocabulary he studied to such phrases as *se noscere* and *seipsum cognoscere*. Like Morris and Bynum, Courcelle perceived an increased interest in self-knowledge beginning in the twelfth century, as he found frequent use of the Delphic maxim in works of that time. He also found a corresponding lack of interest in the maxim during the early Middle Ages after Gregory the Great and noted only two later writers, Isidore of Seville (in the seventh century) and John Scottus Eriugena (in the ninth

und das Ganze: Zum Individuellen im mittelalterlichen Religiosentum (Münster, 2002), pp. 57-85.

²⁰C.M. Radding, 'Evolution of Medieval Mentalities: A Cognitive-Structural Approach', *American Historical Review* 83 (1978): 577-97.

²¹P. Courcelle, *Connais-toi toi-même de Socrate à Saint Bernard*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1974). See also his ' "Nosce teipsum" du Bas-Empire au Haut Moyen-âge: L'heritage profane et les développements Chrétiens', *Il passaggio dall'antichità al medioevo in occidente*, *Settimane di Studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 9 (Spoleto, 1962), pp. 265-95.

century), who discussed the command prior to the twelfth century.²² Courcelle attributed the increased use of the maxim in the twelfth century to the burgeoning Cistercian interest in anthropology, which in turn could be seen as an effect of interest in the doctrine of man as the image of God.²³ This doctrine also played a part in Eriugena's discussion of the command back in the ninth century, for he felt that it was precisely because man was merely an image that true self-knowledge could never be achieved without divine assistance.²⁴

Courcelle's sharply delineated approach to the study of self-knowledge was modified by Karl Morrison, who expanded Courcelle's list of phrases to include those which reflected the spirit of the Delphic command, rather than considering only those which could be directly translated as 'know yourself.'²⁵ As a result, Morrison pushed back the frontiers of interest in the self even further, as he found a great deal of evidence which suggested that the Delphic command was by no means an alien or undervalued maxim in the ninth century.²⁶ Morrison also placed self-knowledge in a wider context and saw it as an integral component of Carolingian interest in self-examination and spiritual formation. For example, Hincmar of Rheims had a view of self-knowledge which encompassed an ascetic concern for one's own sins and mortality and a recognition of how far one was from an ideal exemplar, such as Christ or the saints.²⁷ Furthermore, self-knowledge had

²²Courcelle, *Connais-toi toi-même*, v. 1, pp. 231-4.

²³*Ibid.*, v. 3, pp. 720-1; For a full discussion of interest in this doctrine in the twelfth century, see R. Javelet, *Image et ressemblance au douzième siècle de saint Anselme à Alan de Lille*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1967).

²⁴*Ibid.*, v. 1, pp. 233-4.

²⁵K.F. Morrison, ' "Know thyself": Music in the Carolingian Renaissance', *Committenti e produzione artistico-letteraria nell'alto medioevo occidentale*, Settimane di Studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 39 (Spoleto, 1992), pp. 369-479.

²⁶Like Bynum, Morris, and Courcelle, Morrison acknowledged a greater frequency of texts concerned with the self in the twelfth century but attributed this to a greater tolerance for pre-Christian works and a more widespread diffusion of texts amongst new religious orders, rather than a new explosion of interest in the subject.

²⁷Morrison, ' "Know thyself"', p. 377.

wider social implications. As in music, harmony could only exist when each member of Carolingian society knew the role they needed to play and strove to bring themselves into line.²⁸ Thus, as Bynum had for the twelfth century, Morrison perceived a coexistence and interdependence of interior and exterior concerns in the ninth.

The early medieval interest in the spirit of the Delphic maxim as described by Morrison is perhaps unsurprising. For, as Marius Reiser has demonstrated, this sentiment was amply present in the Bible.²⁹ Thus, all medieval writers could find ample source material. The portrait of self-knowledge painted in the New Testament, particularly in the Pauline epistles, however, was far different from the classical tradition. While those writing in antiquity had always asserted that self-knowledge was an immensely difficult process, Paul, Reiser asserted, portrayed self-knowledge as being fulfilled only through knowledge of Christ.³⁰ Reiser cites 2 Corinthians 13:5 as the clearest statement of Paul's belief: *An non cognoscitis vos ipsos quia Christus Iesus in vobis est?* This connection between self-knowledge and knowledge of the divine will be considered in more detail in the following chapter.

²⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 377-81. See also K.F. Morrison, '“Unum ex multis”: Hincmar of Rheims' Medical and Aesthetic Rationales for Unification', *Nascita dell'Europa ed Europa Carolingia: Un'equazione da verificare*, Settimane di Studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 27 (Spoleto, 1981), pp. 583-712. Harmony, in this instance between internal disposition and external acts, is also addressed in G. Constable, 'The Concern for Sincerity and Understanding in Liturgical Prayer, Especially in the Twelfth Century', in I. Vaslef and H. Buschhausen (eds.), *Classica et Mediaevalia: Studies in Honour of Joseph Szövérfy* (Leiden, 1986), pp. 17-30, reprinted in G. Constable, *Culture and Spirituality in Medieval Europe* (Aldershot, 1996), text XII. The topic of harmony between inner and outer is also explored in C.S. Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Philadelphia, 1994).

²⁹M. Reiser, 'Erkenne dich selbst!: Selbsterkenntnis in Antike und Christentum', *Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift* 101 (1992): 91-9.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 99; Indeed, though Courcelle ties Eriugena's discussion of self-knowledge to the Delphic maxim, it perhaps echoes the biblical treatment of the concept much more strongly.

Other scholars have taken a narrowly defined approach akin to Courcelle's, but have concentrated on a particular way of imagining the self, rather than on a specific phrase. Eric Jager has examined the use throughout the Middle Ages, with a concentration on post-eleventh-century sources, of the concept of the self as an interior text found in the heart.³¹ Jager argued that one way in which medieval notions of the self differed from classical and modern concepts was the tendency for writers in the Middle Ages, influenced by Scripture and Augustine (especially his *Confessions*), to equate the self with the heart (*cor*), rather than with the mind (*mens*) or soul (*animus*). The heart, Jager argued, was seen as the moral, spiritual, and emotional centre of the human being and was the location for such faculties as memory, volition, and conscience.³²

Thus, a remarkably diverse range of approaches have been taken by those studying medieval concepts of the self. How can an understanding of these approaches be helpful, then, in formulating a plan for examining this subject in a ninth-century context? For the number of directions in which the subject can be approached is indicative of the number of ways medieval writers themselves could interpret and present a concept of the human self, and it will therefore be fruitless to expect widespread consistency. Thus, if one defines the self too stringently, there is a risk that some of its important aspects may be overlooked. Caroline Walker Bynum has pointed out that some historians have opined that the topics of 'individual' and 'self' are perhaps out-of-date.³³ I would argue that this

³¹E. Jager, *The Book of the Heart* (Chicago, 2000). For the imagery of each individual's life as a text, see also D.L. Jeffrey, 'The Self and the Book: Reference and Recognition in Medieval Thought', in D.L. Jeffrey (ed.), *By Things Seen: Reference and Recognition in Medieval Thought* (Ottawa, 1979), pp. 1-17.

³²Jager, *The Book of the Heart*, pp. xv, 9-17, 28-43; For a brief discussion of the heart's connection to memory, see also M.J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), esp. pp. 48-9. Carruthers, on pp. 180-2 also makes a connection between memory and the self, arguing that the medieval self was in large part constructed out of bits and pieces of texts remembered by the individual.

³³Kramer and Bynum, 'Revisiting the Twelfth-Century Individual', p. 57.

might certainly apply to the ontological study of these subjects, particularly in the Middle Ages, but that the concepts described by these labels are still useful, as they continued to be developed and deployed throughout the medieval period and beyond.

Two inseparable themes seem to be present in the secondary literature on the self: the criteria by which the self was defined and the methods by which it could be altered. For though each scholar's definition of the self may be unique, there seems to be an underlying assumption, common to all, that the self was a malleable entity, capable of being shaped and reformed (and in need of such reshaping). For example, those scholars, both medieval and modern, who identified the self as the locus of human emotions have therefore seen self-reform as a primarily affective process. By evoking and training certain emotions through music, architecture, or ritual, the self would become infused with love for God and for fellow humans and would become more like the *imago Dei* in which it had originally been made.³⁴ Those who have attributed more importance to social context have suggested that the self could be shaped through identification with, and *imitatio* of, others in the community.³⁵ For those scholars who have considered the self to be the inner entity in which sins are committed and recorded, self-examination, confession and penitence are the all-important shaping mechanisms.³⁶

Thus, with the possible exception of Morris, few scholars have asserted that medieval writers were interested in the self as a subject of study on its own. Rather, it has been viewed in the processual context of self-reformation. The self only mattered as far as it

³⁴For example, Morrison, ' "Know thyself" ', p. 406, described the shaping of the self through psalmody as 'affective inebriation'. See also T. Asad, 'On Ritual and Discipline in Medieval Christian Monasticism', *Economy and Society* 16 (1987): 159-203.

³⁵Bynum, 'Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual'; Kramer and Bynum, 'Revisiting the Twelfth-Century Individual'.

³⁶Jager, *Book of the Heart*; Radding, 'Evolution of Medieval Mentalities'; Benton, 'Consciousness of Self'.

could be shaped and moulded to an ideal. This may perhaps become even more applicable when focusing on the ninth century, for though myriad texts concerned with the nature of the soul were written in this period, the information they contained was never considered knowledge for knowledge's sake. A moral and spiritual dimension was always present. Therefore, it may be counterproductive to define the self in terms of any set corpus of qualities and faculties. Instead, it may be more useful to view self-knowledge as an integral component of a wider process. And, as Jan Aertsen has pointed out, it may be more useful to focus on how the self was understood and imagined in the Middle Ages, rather than to debate the time period in which interest in the self arose.³⁷

II: The Vocabulary of the Self

As we have seen above, then, modern historians can choose from a variety of approaches to studying the medieval self. Each approach naturally has its own positive and negative aspects, but each must take into account the terms which the medieval writers themselves used to discuss what we have labelled as the self. Before examining the terms used by ninth-century writers, however, it may be useful to first discuss briefly one of their greatest possible sources of inspiration on the subject. No examination of medieval attitudes towards the self would be complete without a consideration of Gregory the Great (c. 540-604). The tension which existed between the inner and the outer informed almost every aspect of his work and has continued to be a central theme of the scholarship surrounding him. In addition, he developed a unique vocabulary for discussing matters of self and interiority, which continued to be used by Carolingian writers. This section does not seek to cover Gregory's treatment of interiority in

³⁷Aertsen, 'Einleitung: Die Entdeckung des Individuums', pp. x-xi.

anything approaching exhaustive detail, as several other scholars have admirably done.³⁸ It instead aims to review existing scholarship and a selection of relevant excerpts from his own works to explain why Gregory's works are invaluable specifically to understanding early medieval, particularly ninth-century, attitudes towards the self and to demonstrate, using manuscript and library evidence, that ninth-century writers were interested in, and made use of, Gregory's views on the subject. As we shall see later in this introduction and in the following chapters, the concepts of the self examined by Gregory, along with the vocabulary he employed, were a great legacy to the writers of the ninth century. Following this, we will examine ninth-century sources in order to explore the various ways in which a vocabulary of the self was understood and employed.

A: Gregory the Great and the Self

Gregory the Great lived in a time of great upheaval, both in the world surrounding him and in his own heart. Italy was in the midst of political and social change, having suffered the depredations of war and plague in the years which preceded and followed his birth. His own life was no more settled. Born into an aristocratic Roman family, he became a Prefect of the City in 573 but chose to enter the monastic life soon after, using his inheritance to found several monastic communities, including the one in which he dwelled. This quiet existence was soon disrupted, however, as Gregory was made a deacon and sent as a papal representative to Constantinople. He returned to his monastery in 585/6 but was again thrust into the public realm upon his election as pope in 590.³⁹ These events in the wider world and in Gregory's own life are integral to

³⁸Most notably C. Straw, *Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection* (London, 1988). C. Dagens, *Saint Grégoire le Grand: Culture et expérience chrétiennes* (Paris, 1977), and P. Aubin, 'Interiorité et extériorité dans les *Moralia in Job* de S. Grégoire le Grand', *Recherches de science religieuse* 62 (1974): 117-66.

³⁹R.A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and His World* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 8-10.

understanding and appreciating his spirituality as it pertains to the self.⁴⁰ As Carole Straw has pointed out, the troubles in Italy fuelled the apocalypticism found in Gregory's works.⁴¹ The anticipation of the end of the world caused him acute anxiety and must surely be considered a major influence on Gregory's insistence on constant self-examination. In such dark circumstances, Gregory's view of the human self might also be expected to be pessimistic. Remarkably, however, he shared (and indeed, expanded on) Augustine's optimism that change for the better was possible and lay within each individual's reach. Gregory's personal upheavals, in which he saw himself as continually being ripped from his desired life of contemplative peace, also profoundly influenced almost every aspect of his work and contributed to the dichotomy of internality and externality (to use Carole Straw's terminology) which is present in so many of his writings.⁴²

The extent to which this opposition of the interior and exterior informed Gregory's work has been most thoroughly demonstrated by Claude Dagens.⁴³ Dagens examined a

⁴⁰Practically every piece of scholarship on Gregory mentions at some point the effects which events in the wider world had on him. For example, see Straw, *Gregory the Great*, pp. 2-4; R.A. Markus, 'Gregory the Great's Europe', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, v. 31 (London, 1981), pp. 21-36, reprinted in his *From Augustine to Gregory the Great: History and Christianity in Late Antiquity* (London, 1983), text XV; J. Richards, *Consul of God: The Life and Times of Gregory the Great* (London, 1980), pp. 4-69.

⁴¹Straw, *Gregory the Great*, pp.14-5. Robert Markus has also devoted a chapter of biography of Gregory to this apocalypticism, see his *Gregory the Great and His World*, pp. 51-67.

⁴²This dichotomy has received a great deal of examination by modern scholars. Dagens, *Saint Grégoire le Grand* is exclusively devoted to studying its occurrence in all of Gregory's works, and it also forms the core of Straw, *Gregory the Great*. Dagens, *Saint Grégoire le Grand*, pp. 133-63 and Markus, *Gregory the Great*, pp. 14-33 have especially concentrated on Gregory's angst concerning the mixed life of external duties and internal contemplation, and R. Meens, 'Ritual Purity and the Influence of Gregory the Great in the Early Middle Ages', *Studies in Church History* 32 (1996): 31-43 and C. Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Great* (Oxford, 2000) have examined Gregory's use of interior/exterior terminology to interpret Old Testament rules about ritual purity and the nature of sin, respectively.

⁴³Dagens, *Saint Grégoire le Grand*.

wide range of Gregory's exegetical, pastoral, and homiletic compositions and located this antithesis at the centre of his spiritual doctrine, anthropology, theology, exegetical development, and his view of the monastic life.⁴⁴ Dagens also drew on the pioneering work of Paul Aubin, who had combed through Gregory's *Moralia in Job* and analyzed the frequency with which, and the context in which, Gregory employed adjectives and adverbs, such as *interior*, *exterior*, *intus*, and *foris*, which expressed the contrast between interiority and exteriority.⁴⁵ Carole Straw, in her impressive work on Gregory's thought,⁴⁶ expanded on the work of these two scholars, and demonstrated in great detail how Gregory utilised a language of opposition and paradox to structure his ideas.⁴⁷

Such antithetical language makes Gregory's texts invaluable to the study of medieval attitudes towards the self, as few other writers before or after him, with the obvious exception of Augustine, devoted so much time to delineating the nature of both the exterior body, and more importantly, the interior soul. As Dagens and Straw have aptly observed, however, these delineations were far from simplistic.⁴⁸ Gregory described the body as an object which covered and housed the soul, and though he followed the Pauline notion that both were separate entities, with the interior self always superior to the exterior, they were far more connected in his thought than in Augustine's.⁴⁹ As stated

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, *passim*, but explicitly stated on p. 134.

⁴⁵P. Aubin, 'Interiorité et extériorité', *passim*.

⁴⁶Straw, *Gregory the Great*.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, *passim*. On p. 10, Straw acknowledged that while these paradoxes had been omnipresent in the works of earlier writers such as Cassian, Augustine, and Ambrose, Gregory was unique in bringing them to the surface and in revealing them as the 'beams and buttresses' of Christian thought.

⁴⁸Dagens, *Saint Grégoire le Grand*, esp. pp. 133-245. Straw further expanded on Dagens's portrayal of the complexity of Gregory's oppositions, demonstrating that Gregory's central dichotomy of carnality and spirituality and its related terminology could be more accurately viewed as a continuum, rather than as two opposing forces. This forms the central thesis of Straw's book and is summarised in several diagrams on pp. 54, 248, and 258. She herself on pp. 18-21 has spelled out the way she intended to nuance the approach of Dagens and others.

⁴⁹Straw, *Gregory the Great*, pp. 42, 128-9, 133.

above, this piece will in no way attempt a thorough examination of Gregory's notions of interiority in their entirety. However, two aspects of his thought are essential to understanding his concept of the human self and deserve further discussion: his insistence on self-examination⁵⁰ and self-knowledge and his optimism concerning man's capacity for moral change.⁵¹

Gregory's portrayal of self-examination in his *Moralia in Job* was significantly different from the practice as depicted in Augustine's *De Trinitate*, a text deeply concerned with self-knowledge and self-examination, as will be discussed in the next chapter, and which was also written for a monastic elite. The *Moralia* was written soon after Gregory became pope and was based on talks he gave to the monks who had accompanied him to Constantinople during his time as papal representative there.⁵² The work both demonstrates the variety of things which can fall under the English language heading of self-examination and also, significantly, represents a tradition standing apart from Augustine's which was available to writers of the ninth century. As we shall see in the next chapter, Augustine desired his reader to become thoroughly acquainted with the mental processes which took place inside the *mens* or *animus*. The study of these things and their relationship to each other would lead to self-knowledge, which would in turn lead to an understanding, albeit imperfect, of the divine. For Gregory, however, though he was certainly influenced by Augustine's ideas, self-examination was much more concerned with an identification of one's own faults and sins. For example, in his commentary on Job 7:19 : 'How long will you not spare me, nor suffer me to swallow down my spittle' — Gregory described the spittle as that which proceeds from the head, which signifies Christ, and travels to the belly:

⁵⁰Straw, *Gregory the Great*, has remarked on Gregory's emphasis on self-examination throughout, but see esp. pp. 22-5, 205, 207, 215-7, 231, and 256.

⁵¹Straw, *Gregory the Great*, pp. 197, 207, 212, 214, 233.

‘...And what is our belly, save the mind, which, while it takes its food, namely understanding, being invigorated surely rules the members of all actions. For unless Holy Scripture did sometimes describe the mind by the name of ‘the belly,’ Solomon surely would never have said, “The spirit of a man is the lamp of the Lord, which searches all the hidden things of the belly.” (Proverbs 20:27) For as much as while the grace of heavenly visitation illumines us, it discloses even all the things of our mind hidden to us....’⁵³

Similarly, in his commentary on Job 39:21 — ‘He breaks up the earth with his hoof, he prances boldly, he goes forward to meet armed men’ — Gregory compares the breaking up of the earth to self-examination:

‘...Isaac is well described (Genesis 26:18) as having dug wells in a strange nation. By which example we learn, in truth, when dwelling in the sorrow of this pilgrimage, to penetrate the depths of our thoughts; and that, until the water of true wisdom comes in answer to our efforts, the hand of our enquiry should not desist from clearing away the soil of our heart.... Our mind must accordingly be always emptied out and unceasingly dug up, lest the soil of our thoughts, if left undisturbed, should be heaped upon us, even to a mound of evil deeds. Hence it is said to Ezechiel, “Dig in the wall,” (Ezechiel 8:8) that is, break through hardness of the heart by frequent blows of examinations....’⁵⁴

Only when faults and sins were perceived and expunged through penitence and compunction would self-knowledge and a recognition of the divine occur.⁵⁵

⁵²Markus, *Gregory the Great*, p. 15.

⁵³Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* 8.30.49, CCSL 143, p. 420 : *Quid autem venter noster est nisi mens? Quae dum cibum suum, supernum videlicet intellectum suscipit, refecta procul dubio omnium membra actionum regit. Nisi enim sacra eloquia aliquando mentem nomine ventris exprimerent, Salomon utique non dixisset: ‘Lucerna Domini spiraculum hominis, quae investigat omnia secreta ventris;’ quia nimirum dum nos gratia superni respectus illuminat, cuncta etiam mentis nostrae nobis absconsa manifestat.*

⁵⁴Gregory, *Moralia* 31.27.53, CCSL 143B, p. 1588 : *Unde bene et Isaac apud alienam gentem puteos fodisse describitur. Quo videlicet exemplo discimus ut in hac peregrinationis aerumna positi, cogitationum nostrarum profunda penetremus; et quousque nobis verae intelligentiae aqua respondeat, nequaquam nostrae inquisitionis manus ab exhaurienda cordis terra torpescat... Unde semper mens evacuanda est, incessanterque fodienda, ne si indiscussa relinquitur, usque ad tumorem perversorum operum, cogitationum super nos terra cumuletur. Hinc ad Ezechielem dicitur: ‘Fili hominis, fode parietem,’ id est, cordis duritiam crebris perscrutationum ictibus rumpe.*

⁵⁵Dagens, *Saint Grégoire le Grand*, pp. 165-78 and Straw, *Gregory the Great*, pp. 28, 33-4, 39, 115 and esp. 128-40 have both detailed at length the connections which Gregory drew between sin, repentance, and self-knowledge. Both saw Eastern

‘But the human soul has for the most part this thing proper to it, that as soon as ever it falls into transgression, it is still further removed from the knowledge of self. For this very evil that it commits inserts itself into the mind as a bar before the eye of reason. Whence it happens that the soul, being first encompassed by voluntary darkness, afterwards does not any longer even know the good it should seek...’⁵⁶

‘For our inner man proves like clay, in that the grace of the Holy Spirit is infused into the earthly mind, so that it may be lifted up to the understanding of its Creator. For the thinking faculty in man which is dried up by the barrenness of its sins grows green through the power of the Holy Spirit, like land when it is watered....’⁵⁷

As Gregory viewed the body and soul as intimately connected, subjugation of the flesh could actually assist in this process.⁵⁸ In his commentary on Job 5:7 — ‘Man is born to labour and the bird to fly’ — Gregory identified the bird as the mind and the man as the outer body:

‘For “man is born to labour” in that he, who is furnished with the gift of reason bethinks himself that it is wholly impossible for him to pass through this season of his pilgrimage without sorrowing. Hence when Paul was recounting his woes to his disciples, he justly added, “For yourselves know that you are appointed thereto.” But even in that the flesh is afflicted with scourges, the mind is lifted up to seek higher things, as Paul again bears witness, “For though our man who is outside is corrupted, yet he who is inside is renewed day by day.” (2 Corinthians 4:16) So then, “man is born to labour and the bird to

asceticism, particularly as transmitted through the Latin writings of Cassian, as the biggest influence on this aspect of Gregory’s thought and the chief reason why he often differed from Augustine.

⁵⁶Gregory, *Moralia* 20.14.37, CCSL 143A, p. 1029 : *Sed habet hoc plerumque humanus animus proprium, quod mox ut in culpa labitur, a sui adhuc longius cognitione separatur. Hoc ipsum namque malum quod agit menti se obicem ante oculum rationis interserit. Unde fit ut anima prius voluntariis tenebris obsessa postmodum bonum iam nec quod quaerat agnoscat.*

⁵⁷Gregory, *Moralia* 9.53.80, CCSL 143, p. 511 : *Sicut lutum quippe homo noster interior existit, quia sancti Spiritus gratia terrenae menti infunditur, ut ad intellectum sui conditoris erigatur. Humana namque cogitatio quae peccati sui sterilitate aruit, per vim sancti Spiritus quasi irrigata terra viridescit.*

⁵⁸Straw, *Gregory the Great*, pp. 133, 141.

fly” (Job 5:7), for the mind flies free on high for the very same reason that the flesh toils the more sorely below.’⁵⁹

Where Augustine viewed sin as the wilful misdirection of the soul, thus originating within the inner self, Gregory perceived it as much more externally triggered, brought about through the temptations of the flesh and the outside world, which led man away from his inner self.⁶⁰ In the epilogue of the *Moralia*, Gregory expressed his concern that the very writing of the book had placed him in moral danger:

‘This work then being completed, I see that I must go back to myself. For our mind, even when it endeavours to say what is right, is much distracted from itself. For when we think on how our words are spoken, it takes from the perfection of the mind, because it draws it out of itself. I must therefore return from the outward utterance of words to the council chamber of the heart, to summon together the thoughts of my mind in a kind of council of consultation, to examine myself....’⁶¹

Thus, while Gregory shared Augustine’s view that the greatest danger of sin was its ability to prevent the inner self from knowing and examining itself, thereby preventing it from knowing the good and the divine, it was the symbiosis between the outer and inner selves which allowed Gregory to be even more optimistic than Augustine concerning man’s capacity for moral reform. Since sin was engendered in part by forces outside the

⁵⁹Gregory *Moralia* 6.13.15, CCSL 143, p. 294 : *Ad laborem quippe homo nascitur quia nimirum is qui accepta est praeditus ratione, considerat quod valde sibi sit impossibile ut haec peregrinationis suae tempora sine gemitu evadat. Unde bene Paulus cum tribulationes suas discipulis enumeraret, adjunxit: ‘Ipsi enim scitis quod in hoc positi sumus.’ Sed in eo quod caro flagellis afficitur, mens ad appetenda altiora sublevatur Paulo rursus attestante qui ait: ‘Et licet is qui foris est noster homo corrumpitur, tamen is qui intus est renovatur de die in diem.’ Homo ergo ad laborem nascitur et avis ad volandum, quia inde mens ad summa evolat unde caro in infirmis durius laborat.*

⁶⁰Dagens, *Saint Grégoire le Grand*, pp. 165-70; Straw, *Gregory the Great*, pp. 132-7. To use Gregory’s imagery of a house, if Augustine portrayed sin as a soul spending too much time staring out of the window at bodily things, then Gregory viewed sin as these same bodily things breaking the window and attacking the soul.

⁶¹Gregory, *Moralia* 35.20.49, CCSL 143B, p. 1810 : *Expleto itaque hoc opere, ad me mihi video esse redeundum. Multum quippe mens nostra etiam cum recte loqui conatur, extra semetipsam spargitur. Integritatem namque animi, dum cogitantur verba qualiter proferantur, quia eum trahunt extrinsecus, minuunt. Igitur a publico locutionis redeundum est ad curiam cordis, ut quasi in quodam concilio consultationis ad meipsum discernendum convocem cogitationes mentis.*

body, which in turn was intimately connected to the inner self, it could be removed through the cooperation of grace and a will shaped and purified by spiritual and physical exercises.⁶² It naturally follows that if the body were a pathway by which sin could attack the self, then the subjugation of that body would ease the onslaught, thus allowing the inner self to assume its rightful place as master over the flesh. It is this interconnectedness of the external and internal which is perhaps most useful in understanding ninth-century attitudes towards the self. Though it is tempting to place an external force such as ritual in opposition to human agency, it might be more useful to see them as complementary, working together to bring about an inner change. Thus, as will be spelled out more thoroughly in the fourth section of this introduction, this dissertation will attempt to avoid imposing on medieval texts our modern notion that outer and inner are two opposing forces which are antithetical to each other.

What evidence do we have, then, that later writers, particularly those of the ninth century, received and made use of Gregory's ideas regarding the self? As well as being an invaluable tool for understanding Gregory's concept of the human self, his use of a structure of oppositional terminology made his writings easier to understand and contributed to the immense popularity of his works throughout the Middle Ages.⁶³ This popularity is well-attested to both in the number of manuscript copies of his texts, the presence of his works in medieval library catalogues, and in the number of medieval writers who continued to draw upon them.

⁶²Straw, *Gregory the Great*, pp. 136-40.

⁶³*Ibid.*, pp. 21-2. As Straw put it: 'If Gregory mentions God's sweetness in one breath, the next breath is certain to mention God's trials; and the third will doubtless convey his "sweet tortures" and "delectable pains".' Jean Leclercq has also remarked on the antithetical terminology used by Gregory in his *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, trans. C. Misrahi, 3rd ed. (New York, 1982), p. 25.

A complete conspectus of the diffusion of manuscript copies of Gregory's writings in the ninth century is obviously out of place here, but nonetheless even a selective indicator can demonstrate his enormous popularity. According to the list compiled by the editor of Gregory's *Moralia in Job*, thirty-nine eighth- and ninth-century manuscripts of the text survive.⁶⁴ There are twenty-three surviving copies of his *Homiliae in Hiezechielem* from the same period.⁶⁵ Würzburg possessed a five-volume set of the *Moralia*, as well as the *Homiliae in Hiezechielem*, the forty homilies on the Gospels, the *Dialogi*, and the *Regula pastoralis*.⁶⁶ A similar collection was housed in Murbach, with the addition of a volume of Gregory's letters and a copy of his *vita*.⁶⁷ Comparable collections were present in St. Wandrille, Reichenau, St. Riquier, Sankt-Gallen (which also possessed a volume of excerpts from the *Moralia*), Bobbio, and Lorsch.⁶⁸ The usefulness of Gregory is perhaps demonstrated by the monastery of Staffelsee's library catalogue of 812, which lists little else than copies of various books of the Bible, a sacramentary, and Gregory's Gospel homilies.⁶⁹

B: Ninth-Century Writers and the Self

Though ninth-century writers did not rival some twelfth-century writers in the explicitness and directness with which they discussed matters of the self, they did use a rich vocabulary of the self in a variety of situations. This is perhaps unsurprising, as at no time in late antiquity or the early Middle Ages was a single term used to designate the

⁶⁴M. Adriaen (ed.), *S. Gregorii Magni Moralia in Job*, CCSL 143, pp. xiii-xx. Many of these are partial copies, no surprise given the length of the text.

⁶⁵M. Adriaen (ed.), *S. Gregorii Magni Homiliae in Hiezechielem Prophetam*, CCSL 142 (Turnholt, 1971), pp. xiv-xxi.

⁶⁶B. Bischoff and J. Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kyliani: Die Würzburger Schreibschule und die Dombibliothek im VIII. und IX. Jahrhundert* (Würzburg, 1952), pp. 98, 102, 103, 104, 105, 112, 114, 117, 126, 139.

⁶⁷W. Milde, *Der Bibliothekskatalog des Klosters Murbach aus dem 9. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg, 1968), p. 42.

⁶⁸G. Becker (ed.), *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn, 1885), pp. 3, 6, 14, 15, 16, 25, 26, 33, 44, 65-6, 70, 114.

self.⁷⁰ Though the self was rarely, if ever, the primary focus of a ninth-century work, a discussion of the concept was often integral, even in texts, such as exegesis, where it might seem somewhat unexpected. For ninth-century writers, the self had two important aspects: the spiritual and the moral. The spiritual aspect was often described in terms of its relevance to communion with the divine or as a reflection of a divine reality. For example, Hrabanus Maurus (c.784 - 856) cited a passage from Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job* in which Gregory used two separate terms — *auris cordis* and *mens* — to denote the inner faculty capable of receiving and understanding divine inspiration (in this case delivered by an angel).

‘In Job it is also written, “As if by stealth, my ear received the veins of his whispering.”⁷¹ The ear of the heart received the veins of celestial whispering as if by stealth because the breathed-upon mind both hastily and secretly understood the subtlety of the secret speech. For unless it conceals itself from external longings, it does not penetrate the internal. It is concealed so that it may hear, and it hears so that it may be concealed, because it, having been hidden from visible things, perceives invisible things, and, having been filled with invisible things, perfectly disdains visible things.’⁷²

This spiritual self was not only portrayed as a faculty, but also as a locale in which communion could take place. The following passages from Paschasius Radbertus's (786 - c. 860) exposition on the gospel of Matthew are also interesting for the sheer variety of

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁷⁰H.K. Kohlenberger, ‘Der lateinische Geistbegriff von der Antike bis zum 12. Jahrhundert’, in J. Ritter (ed.), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, v.3 (Basel, 1974), cols. 169-73; A. Blaise, ‘L’homme intérieur, la conscience, l’ame’, in A. Blaise, *Le vocabulaire latin: Des principaux thèmes liturgiques* (Turnhout, 1966); A. Solignac, ‘Homme intérieur’, *Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique, et mystique* 7 (Paris, 1968), cols. 650-8; J. Chatillon, ‘Cor et cordis affectus’, *Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique, et mystique* 2 (Paris, 1953), cols. 2278-91.

⁷¹Job 4:12.

⁷²Hrabanus Maurus, *Enarrationum in epistolas beati Pauli*, PL 112, col.127, citing Gregory, *Moralia* 5.29.2, CCSL 143, p. 253 : *In Job quoque ita scriptum est: Quasi furtive suscipit auris mea venas susurri ejus. Venas superni susurri auris cordis furtive suscipit, quia subtilitatem locutionis intimae afflata mens, et raptim et occulte cognoscit; nisi enim se ab exterioribus desideriis abscondat, interna non penetrat. Occultatur autem ut audiat, et audit ut occultetur, quia et subtracta visibilibus invisibilia conspiciit, et repleta invisibilibus visibilia perfecte contemnit.*

terms used to identify this locale: *secretius mentis arcanum*, *cubiculum mentis*, *cubiculum cordis*, and *tacita conscientia*. Paschasius's commentary is also remarkable for the almost radical way in which he interiorized the meaning of the biblical verse which he discussed. The three passages below all discuss Matthew 6:6 : 'But when you shall pray, enter into your room, and having shut the door, and pray to your Father in secret, and your Father who sees in secret will repay you.' Though Jesus here admonished his disciples to shun the ostentatious, public praying performed by hypocrites, Paschasius further internalized the meaning and identified the room in which Christians were to pray as that which was located within their very selves:

' "Chamber," however means the very secret place of the mind, where no one can see what may be in it, except the spirit of a man which is in him.⁷³ Concerning this room David certainly sings by instructing, "You are made to repent in your rooms the things which you say in your hearts."⁷⁴ For it is seen that he wishes something very secret to be indicated through those things which, though we disclose them with the heart, we are commanded to first repent inwardly. Therefore, the wisdom of the Father knocks at the door of this room, saying, "Behold, I stand at the door and knock."⁷⁵ That door is undoubtedly opened to Him through faith, concerning which the bride says in the Canticles, "I opened the bolt of my door to my beloved."⁷⁶ Therefore, Christ knocks at the door as often as He affects the mind through the aspiration of good work, whose voice certainly repeats it very often with the affection of a flatterer, saying, "Open to me, my sister, my friend, my dove, my undefiled,"⁷⁷ which (mind), unless it will have opened to the knocking, returns inside to itself empty. For what good is it to speak in that room of the mind, or to remain in it, where neither the Father, nor the Son, nor the Holy Spirit coming are yet received? Therefore, whoever wishes to pray to God within the room of the heart, as is commanded, let him first open the door to the one knocking through faith... Because if by faith you now hold Him whom you love from your whole heart and from your whole soul and from your whole power, you rightly enter the room of the mind where God the

⁷³'the spirit of a man which is in him' : 1 Corinthians 2:11.

⁷⁴Psalm 4:5.

⁷⁵Revelations 3:20.

⁷⁶Song of Songs 5:6.

⁷⁷Song of Songs 5:2.

Trinity is cherished through faith, embraced through love, and strengthened more profoundly through hope.⁷⁸

‘Because Christ comes freely knocking at the door, He is received, and God the Trinity is embraced inwardly through love by the secret conscience. Then especially, just as was commanded, the door may be closed and God the Father may be prayed to. Prayed to, however, not merely by the sound of words, but by faith, hope, and love inside.... This is, I repeat, the true religion of Christianity, not that the *animus* may diffuse itself beyond the heavens, or below the abyss, or around the boundaries of the world in search of God, but that it may hold inside by faith Him whom it loves and by these same virtues with which it cherishes Him it may entreat Him more attentively.’⁷⁹

‘Not everywhere, but with a closed door, She (Hannah) was speaking to God, to whom all is at hand, so that she might be heard in the room with the closed door, namely, the secret conscience. And therefore, she was heard because, weeping copiously, she was living inwardly in herself with Him who is present everywhere. Therefore, whoever prays to God with a closed door rejects those things which wrongly immerse him from outside.... For visible things may attack our inner things, and howl at the door of the heart. Therefore, it is to be barred, and the whole inner man rallied on the inside, in order that it (the inner man) may enter the room. ... And therefore let the faithful soul first enter itself, and receive God in the dwelling place of the

⁷⁸Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo libri XII*, CCCM 56, pp. 371-2 : *Cubiculum autem dicit secretius mentis arcanum, ubi nemo videre potest quid sit in illo, nisi spiritus hominis qui est in eo. De hoc quippe cubili David monendo canit: Quae dicitis, inquit, in cordibus vestris, et in cubilibus vestris compungimini; videtur enim aliquid secretius per ea velle significari, dum quae corde promimus, quasi introrsus prius compungi jubemur. Ad hujus ergo cubilis ostium pulsat sapientia Patris ita dicens: Ecce sto ad ostium et pulso. Quod sane ostium ei per fidem aperitur, de quo in Canticis sponsa loquitur: Pessulum ostii mei aperui dilecto meo. Pulsat itaque Christus ad ostium, quoties per aspirationem boni operis mentem afficit, cujus profecto vox, quam saepe blandientis affectu ingeminat, ita dicens: Aperi mihi, soror mea, amica mea, columba mea, immaculata mea, quae nisi pulsanti aperuerit, vacua introrsus in se redit. Quid enim prodest orare in eo cubiculo mentis, ubi nec Pater, nec Filius, nec Spiritus sanctus venientes adhuc recepti sunt, neque mansionem apud eum fecere? Quapropter quisquis infra cubiculum cordis Deum, ut jussum est, vult orare, prius per fidem ostium pulsanti aperiat... Quod si fide jam tenes quem diligis ex toto corde tuo, et ex tota anima tua, et ex tota virtute tua, recte intras cubiculum mentis, ubi Deus Trinitas per fidem colitur, per charitatem amplectitur, per spem quoque profundius solidatur.*

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 372-3 : *quia gratis venit Christus pulsans ad ostium, suscipiatur, et per charitatem interius tacita conscientia amplectatur Deus Trinitas: tum, sicut praecipitur, claudatur ostium, et oretur Deus Pater. Oretur autem non strepitu verborum tantum, sed fide ac spe et charitate intus.... Haec est, inquam, vera religio Christianitatis, non ut ultra coelos aut infra abyssum, vel circa fines terrarum quaerendo Deum animus se diffundat, sed intus quem diligit fide teneat, et eisdem virtutibus quibus eum colit attentius exoret.*

heart, so that it may then someday attain through Him to be carried to Him.’⁸⁰

Thus, Paschasius’s portrayal of the self in his commentary on Matthew was remarkably complex. Not only was the self an inner room in which the Christian could communicate with God, but it was also the entity, the *anima* or *interior homo*, which must enter this room, in fact must enter itself — *sese ingrediatur* — in order to reach the divine. In short, the self was both contents and container. The self entered itself through separation from, and resistance to, external influences and then opened itself to God through faith and love. This inner activity, according to Paschasius, was the true religion of Christianity and was to be found nowhere else than inside the self. Equally complex imagery was used by Hrabanus Maurus in his homily on the gospel of Matthew. Here, commenting on Matthew 5:23-4 — ‘If, therefore, you offer your gift at the altar and there remember that your brother has anything against you, leave your offering there before the altar, and go first to be reconciled to your brother. Then, coming, you shall offer your gift’ — Hrabanus radically internalized the passage and portrayed the self, identified as the *animus* and the *interior homo*, as both a temple and the entity which journeyed from this temple in order to seek pardon:

‘Therefore, proceeding to reconciliation is when it will have come into our mind that perhaps we have offended our brother in some way. However, you must proceed not by the feet of the body, but by the movements of the soul, so that you may prostrate yourself with humble affection to your brother, to whom you will have hurried in affectionate thought in the sight of Him to whom you are to offer your gift.’⁸¹ Spiritually our temple is the inner man, the altar is faith, the gift is prophecy, teaching, prayer, hymn, psalm, and whatever such thing of the

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 373 : *Non ubique, sed clauso ostio, scilicet tacita conscientia, ut exaudiretur in cubiculo, Deum, cui praesto sunt omnia, rogabat. Et ideo exaudita est, quia cum eo qui ubique praesens est, largiter flens, in sese interius versabatur. Clauso itaque ostio Deum orat quisquis ea quae a foris improbe se immergunt.... Appetunt enim nostra interiora, et obstrepunt ad cordis ostium visibilia, et omnia quae hujus vitae sunt temporalia. Propterea obserandum est, et totus interior homo intrinsecus colligendus, quatenus cubiculum ingrediatur. ... Et ideo fidelis anima prius sese ingrediatur, Deumque mansione cordis suscipiat, ut deinde per ipsum ad ipsum subvecta quandoque pertingat.*

⁸¹ Augustine of Hippo, *De sermone Domini in monte* 1.27.621, CCSL 35, p. 29.

spiritual gifts has presented itself. For thus, if he may be present you will have been able to soothe him with an unfeigned soul and to be reconciled by requesting pardon, if you will have first done this before the Lord, proceeding to him not by the slow motion of the body, but by the quick affection of love. For every gift which is offered to God in good faith and with perfect love anywhere by man is accepted gladly by Him....⁸²

Thus, Hrabanus also portrayed the self's disposition as of utmost importance. Only when the self was properly contrite and filled with love for God and other humans could spiritual offerings be made. Similar sentiments were expressed by Jonas of Orléans in his handbook of advice for the laity:

'There are even more who with a cold heart, that is, with no inflamed ardour of love, both offer gifts to God at the altar and do not cease to repeat prayers and almsgiving, presuming to please God without that love. Especially when there is no good without love, and all things with love may please Him. For then outer things can be freely given and offered to God when the inner man is inflamed with the ardour of love and is made the temple of the Holy Spirit.'⁸³

A similar concept, that of the self, as *interior homo*, as a vessel which transported the divine, was also employed by Walafrid Strabo (c.808 - 849) in his commentary on Exodus 20:5 — 'I am the Lord your God, mighty, jealous, visiting the iniquity of the

⁸²Hrabanus Maurus, *Expositio in Matthaeum*, CCCM 174, p. 144 : *Pergendum est ergo ad reconciliationem, cum in mentem venerit quod nos forte fratrem in aliquo laesimus; pergendum autem non pedibus corporis, sed motibus animi, ut te humili affectu prosternas fratri, ad quem chara cogitatione cucurreris in conspectu ejus cui munus oblaturus es. Spiritualiter templum nostrum interior homo est, altare fides, munus prophetia, doctrina, oratio, hymnus, psalmus, et si quid tale spiritualium donorum aliquid occurrerit. Ita etiam si praesens sit, poteris eum non simulato animo lenire, atque in gratiam revocare veniam postulando, si hoc prius coram Domino feceris, pergens ad eum non pigro motu corporis, sed et celerrimo dilectionis affectu. Atque inde veniens, id est, intentionem revocans ad id quod agere coeperas offeres munus tuum; omne enim munus quod recta fide et perfecta dilectione a quoquam homine Deo offertur ab ipso gratanter accipitur....* This same passage, somewhat shortened, was also used by Smaragdus of St. Mihiel in his *Diadema monachorum*, PL 102, col. 662.

⁸³Jonas of Orléans, *De institutione laicali libri tres*, PL 106, col. 199: *Sunt quam plures qui frigido corde, nullo scilicet charitatis ardore succenso, Deo et munus ad altare offerunt, et orationes et eleemosynas frequentare non cessant, putantes ista sine charitate Deo placere; praesertim cum nulla bona sine charitate, cum charitate autem ei omnia placeant. Tunc enim Deo exteriora gratis dari, et offerri possunt, cum interior homo charitatis ardore succenditur, et templum sancti Spiritus efficitur.*

fathers upon the children' — in which he identified God and the devil as the two potential fathers of humans:

'Our inner man is said to hold either God the Father, if it lives according to God, or the devil, if it does his will.'⁸⁴

Amalar of Metz cited a passage from Augustine's sermon concerning the care of the dead which also used the image of an inner room in which the self, the *interior homo*, *cor*, or *animus*, may communicate with God:

'For those people who pray also make of the members of their bodies that which is fitting for supplicants, when they bend their knees or stretch out their hands or are prostrated on the floor, and whatever else they do visibly. However, their invisible will and the intention of their heart may be known to God, and He does not need these signs in order that the human soul may be opened to Him. But by these things, a man rouses himself more to praying and groaning more humbly and more fervently. And I know not how it is, that, while these motions of the body may not be able to be made except by a preceding motion of the soul, in return, by these same motions having been made outwardly, that inner invisible thing which made them is increased. And through this the affection of the heart, which preceded so that those things might be made, increases because they are made. However, if anyone is held, or even bound, in such a way that he may not be able to do these things with his members, it does not follow that the inner man does not pray, and before the eyes of God in its most secret room is made to repent and is prostrated.'⁸⁵

Interestingly, this passage, unlike the previous excerpts from Paschasius, detailed a symbiosis between the outer body and the inner self, in which the inner was undoubtedly

⁸⁴Walafrid Strabo, *Liber exodus*, PL 113, col. 253: *Sed interior homo noster aut dicitur habere Deum Patrem, si secundum Deum vivit; aut diabolum, si voluntatem illius facit.*

⁸⁵Amalar of Metz, *Liber officialis*, ed. J.M. Hanssens, *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, v. 2 (Vatican, 1948), p. 354, citing Augustine of Hippo, *De cura pro mortuis gerenda*, CSEL 41, p. 631 : *Nam et orantes de membris sui corporis faciunt, quod supplicantibus congruit cum genua figunt, cum extendunt manus vel etiam prosternuntur solo, et si quid aliud faciunt visibiliter, quamvis eorum invisibilis voluntas et cordis intentio Deo nota sit, nec ille indigeat his indiciis, ut animus ei pandatur humanus: sed his magis seipsum excitat homo ad orandum gemendumque humiliter atque ferventius. Et nescio quomodo cum hi motus corporis fieri nisi motu animi praecedente non possint, eisdem rursus exterius visibiliter factis, ille interior invisibilis, qui eos facit, augetur ac per hoc cordis affectus, qui ut fierent ista, praecessit, quia facta sunt, crescit. Verum tamen si eo modo quisque teneatur, vel etiam ligetur, ut haec de suis membris facere nequeat, non ideo non orat interior homo, et ante oculos Dei in secretissimo cubili compungitur, sternitur.*

superior but could also be uplifted by outward actions. Thus, we can see that ninth-century authors, when discussing the relationship between the outer and inner selves, were able to use a diversity of concepts that were not always internally consistent.

Paschasius once more portrayed the self as a space in which the divine was located in his commentary on Lamentations 4:20 — ‘The breath of our mouth, Christ, is caught in our sins’ — the self, here identified as the *interior homo* and the *cor*, carried God within itself.

‘We do nothing else in the heart or the mouth except the whole which we transfer within the inner man, that which is either Him or is from Him, and that which we bring forth with the mouth, that which is for Him and to Him. For the inner man is thus vivified and fed, and, thus disposed, it is continually renewed.’⁸⁶

An implicit analogy was thus drawn between the self, as the *interior homo*, and the physical human being. Like the body, the self required food. In this example, the acts of carrying the divine within the self and praying were nourishment. The self could also be fed by the act of reading, as Hrabanus Maurus stated in a homily on the study of

Scripture:

‘He who wishes to always be with God ought to pray and read frequently. For when we pray, we ourselves speak with God; when we read, God speaks with us.’⁸⁷ The reading of the Scriptures confers a dual good, whether because it instructs the understanding of the mind or because it leads the man drawn away by the vanities of the world to the love of God. The work of reading is virtuous and it benefits many to the purification of the soul. Just as the flesh is nourished with corporeal foods, so the inner man is nourished and fed with divine words, just as the Psalmist says, “How sweet are your words to my throat, over and above honeycomb to my mouth.”⁸⁸ But he is most blessed, who,

⁸⁶Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in lamentationes Hieremiae libri quinque*, CCCM 85, p. 299 : *Nihil aliud in corde aut in ore gestamus; sed totum quod infra interiorem hominem trajicimus, aut ipse aut ex ipso est, et quod ore proferimus, de ipso et ad ipsum est. Sic quippe interior homo vivificatur, pascitur, sicque animatus continuatim renovatur.*

⁸⁷Isidore of Seville, *Sententiarum libri tres*, PL 83, col. 679.

⁸⁸Psalm 118:103.

reading the divine Scriptures, transforms the words into works.’⁸⁹

Hrabanus here drew a much more explicit analogy between the inner and physical selves, likening the reading and understanding of Scripture by the *mens, animus, or interior homo* to the physical digestive process, with good works as the end product. A similar process is described by Paschasius in his work on the Eucharist:

‘ “When you sit at the table of a powerful man in order to eat with him, diligently attend to those things which are put before you”⁹⁰ ... “Diligently,” therefore, to perceive and to properly understand the sacraments with the palate of the mind and the taste of faith...while our inner man intelligibly receives divine things through the grace of Christ and through them is incorporated with Christ by the power of faith.’⁹¹

Paschasius, like Hrabanus, compared an inner process with an outer one. The *interior homo* had a sense of taste analogous to that possessed by the physical body, and once it had consumed its food, in this case the sacraments, it could be united with the divine.

Though the relationship between the self and the theological doctrine of man as the image of God will be more fully explored in the following chapter, it is perhaps worth including two such passages here, as each further illustrates the vocabulary employed by

⁸⁹Hrabanus Maurus, *Homiliae*, PL 110, col. 89: *Qui vult cum Deo semper esse, frequenter debet orare et legere: nam cum oramus, ipsi cum Deo loquimur; cum vero legimus, Deus nobiscum loquitur. Geminum confert bonum lectio sanctarum Scripturarum, sive quia intellectum mentis erudit, seu quia a mundi vanitatibus abstractum hominem ad amorem Dei perducit. Labor honestus est lectionis, et multum ad emundationem animi proficit: sicut ex carnalibus escis alitur caro, ita ex divinis eloquiis interior homo nutritur ac pascitur; sicut Psalmista ait: Quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua super mel et favum ori meo. Sed ille beatissimus est, qui divinas Scripturas legens, verba vertit in opera.* Alcuin cites this same passage, almost word for word, in his *De vitiis et virtutibus*, but I have not yet been able to figure out whether it originated with him or is from an older source. Only the first two sentences are from Isidore, and the rest differs significantly from him.

⁹⁰Proverbs 23:1.

⁹¹Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine domini*, CCCM 16, p. 21 : *Cum sederis ad mensam potentis, ut comedas cum principe, diligenter attende quae apponuntur coram te.... Diligenter ergo intelligere et spiritalia sacramenta palato mentis et gustu fidei digne percipere, quasi legaliter quintam partem ad ea quae prius per ignorantiam comederat, super addere est, dum divina intelligibiliter interior homo noster per Christi gratiam excipit, et per ea virtute fidei Christo incorporatur.*

ninth-century writers when they discussed such matters. Hrabanus Maurus, in a florilegium composed for an abbot, Bonosus, as in his homily cited above, compared a physical process with an internal one. He cited a passage from a letter of Augustine in which Augustine portrayed the sense of sight possessed by the body as analogous to, though of course far inferior to, an inner sense possessed by the eyes of the self, identified as the *interior homo* and the *cor*:

‘Indeed, behold that love, no matter how small, exists in our will and is visible to us. It is not seen in a place, is not searched for with the bodily eyes, is not delineated by sight, is not held by touch, is not heard by speaking, is not sensed by its approach. How much more is God Himself whose pledge this is in us! For if our inner man, however little His image, is not born of Him, but created by Him, though it may still be renewed from day to day, now dwells nevertheless in such a light, to which no sense of the bodily eyes approaches, if we contemplate the things which are in that light with the eyes of the heart....’⁹²

Sedulius Scottus (d. c.884), in his commentary on 2 Corinthians 4:16 — ‘Though our outer man is corrupted, yet the inner man is renewed day by day’ — instead equated the *interior homo* with the *mens*:

‘“The outer man,” that is, the living body. “The inner man,” that is, the mind, where the image of God is reformed.’⁹³

As stated above, ninth-century writers were not only interested in the spiritual aspect of the self, but also in its moral significance, the aspect with which this dissertation will be chiefly concerned. Sedulius Scottus, in his commentary on Romans 7:21-2 — ‘I find

⁹²Hrabanus Maurus, *De puritate cordis et modo poenitentiae libri tres*, PL 112, col. 1275, citing Augustine of Hippo, *Epistulae*, CSEL 44, letter 147, p. 318 : *Ecce etiam charitas quantulacunque in nostra voluntate consistit, nobisque conspicua est, nec in loco videtur, nec corporalibus oculis quaeritur, nec circumscribitur visu, nec tactu tenetur, nec auditur affatu, nec sentitur incessu: quanto magis Deus ipse cujus hoc pignus in nobis est! Nam si interior homo noster, quantulacunque imago ejus, non de illo genita, sed ab illo creata, quamvis adhuc renovetur de die in diem, jam tamen in tali luce habitat, quo nullus oculorum corporalium sensus accedit, si ea quae in illa luce cordis oculis intuemur....*

⁹³Sedulius Scottus, *Collectanea in omnes beati Pauli epistolas*, PL 103, col. 168: *Exterior homo. Id est, vivum corpus. Interior homo. Id est mens, ubi imago Dei reformatur.*

then a law, that when I have a will to do good, evil is present with me. For I am delighted with the law of God according to the inner man' — described the self, identified as the *interior homo*, the *voluntas*, and the *intentio*, as the source of all morality, the entity which must change its disposition before any good can follow:

'Therefore, because evil lies near me when I am wanting to do good, I find the law of God, and I delight in it according to the inner man. Through this (Paul) shows that the inner man, that is, the will and the intention with which he undertakes the beginning of converting himself to God, harmonizes with the law of God and delights in it, but not, as we have said, the moment someone has a will to convert to the good, yet the practice of good work follows. For the will is a quick thing, and it is turned without impediment, but work is slow, because it requires both the practice, and the skill, and the effort of working. ... An orderly way of life is to be had, and one of gentleness and patience and of every single virtue which is to be known, in all of which it is proper to say that "I delight in the law of God," that is, the virtues, "according to the inner man".'⁹⁴

In his commentary on the subsequent verse of Romans (Romans 7:23) — 'But I see another law in my members, opposing the law of my mind, and capturing me in the law of sin that is in my members' — Sedulius drew on Jerome and equated the *interior homo*, *voluntas*, and *intentio* with the *mens* and the *conscientia naturalis* and again identified them as the moral self, the location of the desire to do good:

' "Opposing the law of my mind." That is, (opposing) the natural conscience, or of the divine law which exists in the mind,⁹⁵ that which was said above, "For to will good lies near me." Here (Paul) calls the law of the mind the will of good. This law of the mind combines with the law of God and harmonizes with it. But contrary to this is the impulse of the body and the desires of the flesh, which he calls the law of the members, which leads the

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, col. 68: *Ergo quia malum mihi adjacet volenti facere bonum, invenio legem Dei, et condelector ei secundum interiorem hominem. Per quod ostendit quod interior homo, hoc est, voluntas, et propositum, quo initium accipit converti ad Dominum, legi Dei consentit, et delectatur in ea, sed, ut diximus, non statim ut voluntatem quis habuerit converti ad bona, etiam usus bonis operis sequitur: cita enim res est voluntas, et sine impedimento vertitur, opus vero tardum est, quia et usum, et artem, et laborem requirit operandi. ... Iste ordo de pudicitia habendus, et de mansuetudine, et patientia, et de singulis quibusque virtutibus sciendus est, in quibus omnibus dici convenit, quia condelector legi Dei, hoc est, virtutibus, secundum interiorem hominem.*

⁹⁵Jerome, *Commentarii in epistolas sancti Pauli*, PL 30, col. 678.

captive *anima*⁹⁶ and subjugates it to the laws of sin. And just as, if the law of the mind, which harmonizes with the law of God, will have been able to prevail upon the *anima*, it brings it to the law of God, so also, if the law which is in the members and the desire of the flesh will have seduced the *anima*, it subjugates it to the laws of sin.⁹⁷

Paschasius Radbertus, who so eloquently explored the spiritual aspects of the self, stressed its moral aspects to no lesser extent. In his discussion of Matthew 6:3 — ‘When you give alms, do not let your left hand know what your right hand is doing’ — Paschasius internalised the passage and identified the hands, not as those of the physical body, but as the moral capacity of the *interior homo*:

‘For our inner man has its right and has its left, but if only our whole man might be right! For the works of the virtues are indicated through the right, vices truly through the left. Therefore, it is said, “Let not your left hand know,” namely, no act of the vices, “what your right hand may do.”⁹⁸ Which is clearly to say, let not the vice of conceit, or pride, or vainglory, or whatsoever is from that side, know what the right hand of the virtues may do. Because, just as the darkness does not know the light, so should the vices not know the virtues.’⁹⁹

Paschasius also used similar imagery in his commentary on Matthew 6:23 — ‘However, if your eye has been evil, your whole body will be dark.’ Here, he equated the eye with the *intentio mentis*, which ultimately determined the moral character of the *interior homo*:

⁹⁶As *anima*, in this context, could correctly be translated as either ‘soul’ or ‘nature’, I have chosen to leave it in the original Latin.

⁹⁷Sedulius Scottus, *Collectanea in omnes beati Pauli epistolas*, PL 103, col. 68: *Repugnantem legi mentis meae. Conscientiae scilicet naturali, vel legi divinae, quae in mente consistit, quod supra dixit: velle enim bonum adjacet mihi, hic voluntatem boni legem mentis nominat, quae lex mentis convenit cum lege Dei et consentit ei. Sed rursus motus corporis et desideria carnis, legem membrorum dicit, quae captivam ducit animam, et peccati legibus subdit. Et sicut lex mentis, quae consentit cum lege Dei, si animam potuerit obtinere, adducit eam ad legem Dei, ita et lex quae in membris est, et concupiscentia carnis, si seduxerit animam, peccati eam legibus subdit.*

⁹⁸Matthew 6:3.

⁹⁹Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo libri XII*, CCCM 56, p. 368 : *Habet enim interior homo noster suam dexteram, habet et sinistram: sed utinam totus homo noster dexter esset! Per dexteram quippe virtutum opera designantur, per sinistram vero vitia. Ideo dicitur, nesciat sinistra tua, nulla videlicet vitiorum operatio, quid agat dextera tua. Quod est aperte dicere, nesciat vitium elationis, aut superbiae, vel vanae gloriae, seu*

That is, if the intention of the mind is not of faith, it is evil.
Because of this your whole body, that is, the whole inner man,
will be evil, although virtues may be seen to be in it.’¹⁰⁰

The unfortunate tendency of the self to choose darkness over light was also a concern of Amalar of Metz (c. 780 - 850/1), who identified the self as both the *interior homo* and the *anima*:

‘And when the inner man begins to fluctuate somewhat between vices and virtues, say, “Why are you sad, my soul, and why do you trouble me? Hope in God, for I will still praise Him, the salvation of my countenance and my God”.’¹⁰¹

As we saw with regards to the works concerned with the spiritual self, those which addressed the moral aspect of the self drew comparisons between body and spirit.

Hrabanus Maurus, in his commentary on Judges 5:10 — ‘Praise the Lord, you who ride upon packhorses, sitting on carts and gleaming asses’ — remarkably described the body as a horse serving its rider the self, identified as the *anima*, the *interior homo*, and the *mens*:

‘What is it to ride upon a packhorse? Precisely, this body is my packhorse, for it is given to the packhorse to serve the soul. Indeed, I am likewise the inner man which rode upon this packhorse and to whom it is said that I will praise the Lord. Therefore, if you truly rode upon the body and were made superior to bodily longings, and the motions of your body are governed by the bridle of your mind and the control of your inner man, it is said of you that you ride upon a packhorse so that you may praise the Lord.’¹⁰²

quodcunque ex illa parte est, quid agat virtutum dextera. Quia, sicut tenebrae lucem nesciunt, sic oportet vitia virtutes nesciant.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, p. 415 : *Si autem oculus tuus nequam fuerit, totum corpus tuum tenebrosum erit. Id est, si mentis intentio non est ex fide, nequam est: propter quod totum corpus tuum, licet videantur virtutes inesse, id est totus interior homo, nequam erit.*

¹⁰¹Amalar of Metz, *Forma institutionis canonicorum et sanctimonialium*, PL 105, col. 940: *Et cum paululum interior homo inter vitia atque virtutes coeperit fluctuare, dicito: Quare tristis es, anima mea, et quare conturbas me? Spera in Deo, quia confitebor illi, salutare vultus mei et Deus meus, citing Psalm 42:5-6.*

¹⁰²Hrabanus Maurus, *Incipiunt commentaria in librum iudicum*, PL 108, col. 1142: *Quid est ascendisse super jumentum? Denique corpus hoc meum jumentum est: ad jumentum enim animae et ad ministerium datum est. Ego autem sum idem interior homo, qui ascendi super jumentum hoc, cui dicitur ut benedicam Dominum. Si ergo vere ascendisti supra corpus, et superior effectus es corporalibus desideriis, et motus corporis tui freno*

The body was not portrayed as evil or wicked, but as a dumb animal in need of the moral control of the self. In his commentary on 1 Maccabees 4:33 — ‘Cast them down with the sword of those who love you’ — however, Hrabanus saw the body as passageway through which external influences could attack and damage the self, identified as the *interior homo*:

‘There are five books of the law of God, and there are five senses of the body, as we said previously. For he who checks the desire of the flesh according to the teaching of the law, by averting his eyes lest they may see vanity,¹⁰³ by stopping up his ears in the presence of men of the world lest they hear disparaging language and obscene songs, for the inner man is defiled when these things have been frequently heard.’¹⁰⁴

Paschasius Radbertus portrayed the relationship between outer and inner in a more positive light and saw outward actions as evidence of the disposition of the self, here identified as the *cubiles secretorum cordium*:

‘But (Beth) is first made to repent in the beds of the secret hearts and only then is she well rebaptized inwardly or outwardly by tears. For the tear and the sigh which are produced on the outside are born from the font inside.’¹⁰⁵

Though this has by no means been an exhaustive account of the ways in which ninth-century writers could employ a language of the self, the sheer diversity of the terms used in these examples amply demonstrates that Carolingian writers had a rich vocabulary at their disposal when they wished to discuss such matters. In addition, the ways in which they employed this vocabulary reveal the complexity of their thought and

mentis et interioris hominis moderamine gubernantur, de te dicitur quia ascendisti super jumentum, ut benedicas Dominum.

¹⁰³Psalm 118:37.

¹⁰⁴Hrabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in libros machabaeorum*, PL 109, col. 1158: *Quinque sunt libri legis Dei, et quinque sunt sensus, ut praediximus, corpori. Qui enim secundum doctrinam legis restringit concupiscentiam carnis, avertendo oculos suos ne videant vanitatem, obturando aures suas ne audiant linguam detrahentem, et obscena carmina adversus mundanos, quibus frequenter auditis inquinatur interior homo.*

¹⁰⁵Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in lamentationes Hieremiae libri quinque*, CCCM 85, p. 13: *Sed prius compungitur in cubilibus secretorum cordium, tunc demum exterius*

the futility of attempting to apply any single modern definition of the self to the medieval concept.

III: Setting Up My Approach to the Problem

Historians who have studied medieval attitudes towards the self, though differing significantly in their approaches to the subject, have all agreed on one thing: at no time in the Middle Ages was there a single term consistently used to designate this entity. As we have also seen in the above excerpts from ninth-century works, *anima*, *animus*, *mens*, *cor*, and *homo interior*, along with other terms, were all used, though far from systematically. As a result, an examination of a topic such as this can by no means be straightforward, and the scholar working on such a slippery subject must not only be a builder but an architect as well. Perhaps the most difficult task is the choice of a vocabulary with which to describe the concepts under study, especially with reference to the terms of 'individual' vs. 'self.' The debate between Morris and Bynum well illustrates the need to maintain a distinction between medieval perceptions of the self and our own ideas concerning such things as personality and individuality. Thus, the historian is presented with a conundrum. He or she might wish to avoid applying a modern term such as 'self' to a medieval concept but may have to resort to doing so as a result of the absence of any medieval term which could be easily substituted.

To ameliorate the difficulties presented by the use of modern terminology, a clear and concise delineation of the subject to be studied must therefore be made. If no one medieval term can serve as a foundation on which to build an analysis of such a potentially fluid and expansive concept, then the historian, guided by the sources, must

lacrymis interiusve bene rebaptizatur. De fonte quippe intus nascitur gemitus et lacryma.

set out clear basis for examination. The modern term 'self' must merely serve as a helpful device with which to examine a medieval concept, rather than a rigid structure into which medieval ideas must be made to fit, which is why I have chosen to use 'self' rather than 'individual.' A proper context for the subject must also be established, as context becomes all-important in the absence of a more concrete and precisely defined central concept. This approach eliminates the difficulties presented by a more narrowly defined lexical approach, such as that of Courcelle, for it ensures that we are not in danger of failing to notice when a ninth-century writer was discussing the self simply because he was not using a particular Latin term, especially as Latin (along with most other languages) does not have a term for 'self' in the same way that English does. To borrow from the German, we shall be more concerned with a *Begriffgeschichte* rather than a *Wortgeschichte*.

We must accept that the medieval self cannot be equated with its modern counterpart. Having mentioned some of the difficulties inherent in approaching such a subject, then, how will this dissertation seek to study ninth-century attitudes towards the self? As Morris, Bynum, and others have shown, many 'selves' existed in the Middle Ages: the self in relation to other people, the self in relation to the group, and the self as a political entity, to name a few. As personal choices regarding occupation and religious affiliation were far more limited in the ninth century than in the twelfth, however, it would be far more difficult to use the same criteria for examining the self in both centuries.

Therefore, this study will concentrate on the self in relation to Christian morality and spirituality. This by no means implies the individual in relation to the Church, with all of the related connotations, but rather that part inside each human being which could be

quae foris producitur.

shaped and reformed in relation to the ways in which this could be accomplished.

Though this entity could also be called the soul, ninth-century writers, as I have shown in the excerpts from their works, often equated the soul, the mind, and the heart and used the corresponding Latin terms interchangeably.

To further highlight this point, we may here consider a passage by Hrabanus Maurus, who demonstrates the interchangeability of Latin terms better than any other writer:

‘Therefore, when it vivifies the body, it is the *anima*. When it wills, it is the *animus*. When it knows, it is the *mens*. When it reflects upon something, it is the *memoria*. When it indicates right, it is the *ratio*. When it breathes, it is the *spiritus*. When it feels something, it is the *sensus*.’¹⁰⁶

Thus, studying only ninth-century treatises which dealt explicitly with the *anima* or *animus* would impose artificial restrictions. Furthermore, the metaphysical aspects of the soul, such as its incorporeality, though important, are perhaps less integral to a study of the self than to a study of the soul alone. For the purposes of this study, the self can perhaps be helpfully described as the soul on earth.

I have also consciously avoided the use of the expression ‘inner self,’ as it is perhaps a tautology when viewed in a ninth-century context. Regardless of the Latin term used to describe the self, it was *always* an interior entity. ‘Inner self’ may also inadvertently imply too extreme a division between body and spirit, different from that which ninth-century writers may have perceived. Even Augustine, as we shall see in the following chapter, though he held the outer body to be far inferior to the *interior homo* or *animus*, still admitted the interdependence of both. The self, an interior entity, could express itself through outward behaviour and in turn be shaped and reformed by both interior and exterior practices.

Nowhere is this clearer than in those exercises, largely monastic, which have been termed orthopraxes. An orthopraxis, according to one scholar, is a set of practices, which usually involve imitation and repetition, put forth as a traditional means by which wisdom or salvation may be gained.¹⁰⁷ Whereas an orthodoxy merely required adherents to conform to a relatively static set of rules, these praxes were a way to shape the spiritual, mental, and moral character of the practitioner.¹⁰⁸ These praxes in a monastic context could take many different forms: listening to oral reading, meditation on a written text, and psalmody to name a few. They did not have to be limited to a monastic setting, however. Gregory the Great, for instance, saw paintings and sculptures inside churches as means by which the illiterate members of the laity could be instructed in Christian doctrine.¹⁰⁹ It is therefore not improbable that these same works of art, especially those capable of evoking an emotional response, could have served as meditative devices. Repeated exposure to such works, and reflection upon them, could conceivably effect the same type of inner change in lay members of a congregation as the repetition of psalms could bring about in those dwelling in monasteries.

Thus, moral reform in the ninth century could potentially be triggered by non-textual sources. Alongside the textual practices of monastic life there may have existed parallel,

¹⁰⁶Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo*, PL 111, col. 141: *Dum ergo vivificat corpus, anima est. Dum vult, animus est. Dum scit, mens est. Dum recolit, memoria est. Dum rectum indicat, ratio est. Dum spirat, spiritus est. Dum aliquid sentit, sensus est.*

¹⁰⁷P.F. Gehl, 'Latin Orthopraxes', in C.D. Lanham (ed.), *Latin Grammar and Rhetoric: From Classical Theory to Medieval Practice* (London, 2002), p. 1.

¹⁰⁸Gehl, 'Latin Orthopraxes', pp. 1-12. Gehl here specifically discusses monastic psalmody. Though Brian Stock does not use the same technical terminology as Gehl, many of the same ideas inform his works on contemplative reading. See his *Augustine the Reader: Meditation, Self-Knowledge, and the Ethics of Interpretation* (London, 1996) and *After Augustine: The Meditative Reader and the Text* (Philadelphia, 2001).

¹⁰⁹C. Chazelle, 'Memory, Instruction, Worship: Gregory's Influence on Early Medieval Doctrines of the Artistic Image,' in J.C. Cavadini (ed.), *Gregory the Great: A Symposium* (Notre Dame, 1996), pp. 181-215.

though of course different, opportunities for moral and spiritual development provided for the laity. For example, though it is tempting to view baptism in the ninth century as a discrete moment at which supernatural forces were applied to an unwitting, usually infant, catechumen, it can also be examined as the start of a process in which the moral and spiritual self was shaped. As I shall discuss in the second chapter of this discussion, the baptismal rite could be seen as having a shaping effect not only on the catechumen, but on the parents, godparents and other spectators, as well. This process could then be continued throughout an individual's life by means of such practices as penance and private prayer.

Reformation in both the monastic and the lay contexts involved far more than mere adherence to a moral code. It was a mixture of morality and spirituality, in which moral and spiritual change would ideally lead to a recapturing of the original state of man before sin, namely that state described in Genesis 1:26, *Et ait faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram*. Self-knowledge, as we shall especially see in the discussion of Augustine in chapter 1 below, was in a sense knowledge of the divine. Combined with self-examination, it was meant to lead to an acknowledgment of the extent to which one had fallen from the divine image and a desire to return to that ideal. Though this study will not be concerned with theological developments, the idea of the human self created in the image of God provides a context in which the quest for self-knowledge was never an end to itself. No writer, before or during the ninth century, composed a text whose goal was solely an exploration of the self. Such ideas were always contained within a wider framework. For example, ninth-century writers made use of Genesis 1:26 in exegesis, works on the Trinity, and works dealing with the nature of Christ and of the created world. They also expounded on it in works on the vices and

virtues, works discussing the nature of sin, and in homilies. The latter types of works usually issued a call for a zealous pursuit of self-reform.

This view of the self as the part of a human capable of being shaped, however, presents its own difficulties, as many methods for shaping both thought and behaviour existed in the ninth century. Any study which sought to encompass all of these would lack depth, treating many subjects in a shallow manner. Therefore, I have chosen to concentrate on one aspect of the shaping process, the first, fundamental step, namely the need to define and demarcate the self before reformation can begin. In his study of the history of sexuality, Michel Foucault posited a model of morality which began with what he termed ‘the determination of the ethical substance.’¹¹⁰ This determination involved the choice, on the subject’s part, of what part of himself or herself would be designated as the material of moral conduct. The designated part could put its morality into practice via outward behaviour or through control of such things as intention and desire.¹¹¹ Regardless of the interiority or exteriority of the moral practice determined by the individual, however, a relationship with the self was always required.¹¹² This relationship entailed both self-knowledge and a set of practices by which the self could be formed and reformed.¹¹³ Though this reform implies introspection and a sense of interiority, I shall only examine interiority as it related to the self, rather than contemplation of external things. To phrase it slightly differently, I shall only be concerned with interiority in the sense of self-examination leading to self-knowledge.

¹¹⁰M. Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure: The History of Sexuality Volume 2*, trans. R. Hurley (London, 1992), p. 26.

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, pp. 26-7.

¹¹²*Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹¹³*Ibid.*

Though Foucault did not rely on medieval sources when formulating his model, it may be immensely useful, with some modification, in providing a general framework for approaching the issue of the self in the ninth century. If we accept that some form of delineation of the self must be accomplished as the first part of a process of moral reform, then this provides us with a context, sufficiently fluid yet stable, in which to examine this potentially slippery concept with some consistency.

The Use of Augustine's *De Trinitate* in the Ninth Century

I: Why Use *De Trinitate* as a Tool for Understanding Carolingian Ideas of the Self?

While Augustine's *Confessiones* and *De civitate Dei* have long been regarded as pivotal works which influenced thinkers of both the Middle Ages and our own time, comparatively little attention has been paid to one of his other great works, *De Trinitate*. Important not only for its exposition on the divine Trinity, the work is also an invaluable resource for the study of patristic and early medieval attitudes towards the concept of the human self. For, while many of Augustine's ideas concerning the self are present in various other of his works, in no other work are they so explicitly stated and well-developed.

I shall first discuss Augustine's *De Trinitate* itself, briefly examining the main ideas in the text and the characteristics which make it an ideal foundation for my original investigation of one aspect of early medieval spirituality. I shall reserve a more thorough treatment of specific passages, however, for the discussion of ninth-century uses of the text which forms the third section of this chapter. An essential background to this discussion will be the exploration of the manuscript evidence for *De Trinitate* that exists for the eighth and ninth centuries, which will form the second part of this chapter.

Though the exact date of the composition of *De Trinitate* is unknown, it was most likely begun around A.D. 400 and finished sometime around 420.¹ The writing of the work did take an extraordinary length of time, for Augustine stated in the letter written to Bishop Aurelius of Carthage which accompanied the original copy of the text, 'I began the books concerning the Trinity which is the true and most high God as a young man and

¹ E. Hill, *The Trinity* (Brooklyn, 1991), p. 20.

finished (them) as an old man.’² Augustine went on to state that several of his more overeager admirers became frustrated with the length of time he was taking to finish the work, took his incomplete manuscript, and published it without his consent.³ Frustrated, Augustine stopped working on the text altogether, only completing it at the urging of Aurelius and other acquaintances.⁴ The length of time of composition and Augustine’s reaction to the premature publication of his incomplete copy are important, for both demonstrate that Augustine had a conception of the work as a whole and that its structure was a deliberate and fully realised device on his part.

Unlike many of Augustine’s other works, such as his treatises against Pelagianism and *De civitate Dei*, *De Trinitate* appears not to have been written in response to any immediate theological threat nor at the request of any individual,⁵ though many of Augustine’s assertions in the text may be an indirect response to critics of the councils of Nicea (325) and Constantinople (381).⁶ Thus, the work is important as a detailed record of Augustine’s own thoughts on both trinitarian theology and human psychology, subjects on which several of his works touched, but which were most fully and deeply explored in *De Trinitate*.⁷

The first seven books of *De Trinitate* form an exposition on the nature and workings of the divine Trinity. For the purposes of this dissertation, however, the second half of *De Trinitate* is the most important. In books eight through fifteen, Augustine tied

² Augustine, *De Trinitate libri XV*, ed. W.J. Mountain, CCSL L (Turnhout, 1968), p. 25 : *De trinitate quae deus summus et verus est libros iuvenis inchoavi, senex edidi.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Hill, *The Trinity*, p. 20.

⁶ M.T. Clark, ‘*De Trinitate*’, in E. Stump and N. Kretzmann (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Augustine* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 91-102.

together his concept of the divine Trinity with his concept of the self. This connection is perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the work and virtually nothing comparable is to be found in works by Augustine's predecessors or contemporaries.⁸ While the content of *De Trinitate* will be more thoroughly discussed in the third part of this chapter, it is important to point out here the historical and theological significance of the work regarding Augustine's treatment of the concept of the self, especially his emphasis on interiority. As Phillip Cary has argued in recent treatment of Augustinian interiority (though Cary does not discuss *De Trinitate* in any detail), Augustine can be said to have 'invented' the idea of the self as a pathway to the divine.⁹ As we shall see below, this was a very attractive and useful notion to those ninth-century writers who employed the ideas found in *De Trinitate*.

Though Augustine drew heavily on Aristotle's ideas concerning relation and substance for the first half of *De Trinitate*,¹⁰ it is Plato's notion of the self, as transmitted to Augustine by Plotinus, which formed the basis for Augustine's connection between the Trinity and the self in the second half of the work.¹¹ In his *Republic*, Plato placed great importance on the ruling of reason, the highest part of the soul, over desire, the lower part of the soul, stating that only when a human allows reason to triumph in his

⁷ R. Williams, 'De Trinitate', in A.D. Fitzgerald (ed.), *Augustine Through the Ages: An Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids, 1999), p. 845.

⁸ C. Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 131; J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 5th ed. (London, 1977), p. 276; G. O'Daly, *Augustine's Philosophy of the Mind* (London, 1987), pp. 1-2. O'Daly points out that the fourth-century writer Marius Victorinus also draws a connection between the Trinity and the human soul, but only on an ontological and metaphysical level concerned with the soul as divine substance, rather than on a psychological plane, as Augustine had.

⁹ P. Cary, *Augustine's Invention of the Inner Self: The Legacy of a Christian Platonist* (Oxford, 2000), *passim*, but see esp. pp. 63-76.

¹⁰ A.C. Lloyd, 'On Augustine's Concept of a Person', in R.A. Markus (ed.), *Augustine: A Collection of Critical Essays* (Garden City, NY, 1972), pp. 191-204.

¹¹ Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, p. 127.

soul may he truly know unity with himself.¹² This view thus requires a view of the soul as a particular space in which thoughts and feelings occur and the self as a potentially unified being.¹³ To achieve this dominance of the soul by reason, and ultimately the unification of the self, the soul must be directed towards the immaterial and the eternal, rather than the bodily and changing.¹⁴

Augustine also placed great importance on the direction in which the soul faces, which he equated with *voluntas*, but radically revised the Platonic idea by directing the soul, not outward towards the contemplation of a universal order, but inward towards the contemplation of itself.¹⁵ Augustine, like Plato, acknowledged the existence of a universal order, but christianized it, seeing all creation as a product of God's thoughts and thus in some way like Him. The human self above all creation is most like God, though Augustine made sure to stress that it is not the physical body to which the relevant passage in the Bible (Genesis 1:26) refers, but to the mental faculties which separate us from the animals.¹⁶ Thus, to look towards the soul is to look towards God.¹⁷ The human self becomes a pathway to the divine. Augustine emphasized this through his insistence on what one scholar has referred to as 'radical reflexivity.'¹⁸ This reflexivity entails the awareness that each person's way of experiencing is different.¹⁹ Far from being an assertion of what modern readers would call individuality, however, Augustine

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 115-6.

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 118-20. Taylor sees both of these views as prerequisites for any process of interiorization and contrasts them to the Homeric treatment of a human as merely the sum of parts.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 121-4.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 129.

¹⁶Augustine, *De Trinitate*, pp. 295-6.

¹⁷E. Gilson, *The Christian Philosophy of Saint Augustine*, trans. L.E.M. Lynch (London, 1961), p. 20.

¹⁸Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, p. 130.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 130-1.

resolutely kept his concept of the self strictly within a Christian context. This reflexivity is merely a step on the path to knowing God.²⁰ By turning inward to the self and understanding the processes which occur within, one may eventually come to understand, albeit imperfectly, the divine Trinity.

This examination of the need for self-reflection, then, was Augustine's jumping off point for a detailed discussion of the processes that occur within the human soul and can be said to make up the self. This discussion is notable for several reasons. First, it marks Augustine's departure from the Platonic ideas which influenced much of his basis for the second half of the text.²¹ Second, as mentioned above, his discussion of the inner workings of the soul was the first of its kind to concentrate on the psychological, rather than the metaphysical aspects. Third, and perhaps most important, Augustine, in his effort to highlight the connection between the divine Trinity and what he comes to define as the psychological trinity, focused his attention purely on what he sees as the inner self, disregarding anything extraneous.²²

Thus, *De Trinitate* is an ideal text for studying one of the models of the self, indeed the fullest and clearest model, available to early medieval writers. Though Gregory the Great, in his *Cura pastoralis* and *Moralia in Job*, and St. Paul, in a number of his epistles, both wrote of the 'inner man', neither dissected this concept to reveal the specific qualities which they saw as unique to the self.²³ Far from being a diffuse, ill-defined concept, Augustine's image of this self, as we shall see later in this chapter, is comprised of identifiable qualities whose actions and interrelations are fully explained.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-4.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.130.

²² S. Harrison, 'Do We Have a Will?: Augustine's Way in to the Will', in G.B. Matthews (ed.), *The Augustinian Tradition* (Berkeley, 1999), p. 200.

²³ As we saw in the introduction to this dissertation, however, Gregory's vocabulary of

Inwardness was one of the trademarks of Augustine's works, especially and perhaps most explicitly in *De Trinitate* and was one of the most important aspects of his thought to have been bequeathed to Western tradition. As ninth-century writers were especially fond of drawing upon Augustine's works when composing their own, it is thus a valid assumption that this sense of interiority, and perhaps some understanding of the processes described so thoroughly in *De Trinitate*, were at least in some part transmitted to and absorbed by these writers.

II: Manuscript Evidence for *De Trinitate* for the Eighth and Ninth Centuries

What evidence, then, do we have that *De Trinitate* was a text available to Carolingian writers? First, I shall examine the extant manuscript evidence for the reception of the text, paying particular attention to evidence that the work was read in the ninth century. I shall also explore what conclusions, if any, may be drawn from the manuscripts' provenances, where known, and the texts with which the work was transmitted, where applicable. I shall then examine which libraries are known to have possessed a copy of *De Trinitate* in the ninth century.

Augustine's *De Trinitate* survives, either whole or in part, in twenty-four manuscripts dating from the eighth and ninth centuries.²⁴ No earlier manuscripts survive. The

the self was an important legacy to the ninth century.

²⁴ In compiling the list of eighth- and ninth-century manuscripts to survive, I have primarily relied on E.A. Lowe (ed.) *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (Oxford, 1934-66) for eighth-century manuscripts and *Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des Heiligen Augustinus*, produced by the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, and Bischoff's *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1998-2004) for ninth-century manuscripts. Where necessary, I have cited the relevant manuscript catalogues as well as the rather incomplete descriptions found in Mountain's edition of *De Trinitate*.

majority of the manuscripts are now distributed throughout present-day France, Germany, and Italy, with a particularly high concentration, eleven out of the twenty-four extant manuscripts, now in French hands. Before discussing the manuscripts and the possible conclusions that may be drawn from them in greater depth, it may be useful to give a brief characterisation of each manuscript first.

Four of the manuscripts can be fairly securely dated to the Caroline half of the eighth century.²⁵ One of these, now found in Monte Cassino, is merely a fragment, two folios in length, of unknown provenance.²⁶ Another, now found in Paris, only contains books eleven through fifteen and appears to have been written in an Anglo-Saxon centre on the Continent, possibly Echternach.²⁷ The manuscript currently in Cambrai, a complete text, was produced in a nunnery in the region of Meaux, possibly Jouarre or Faremoutiers.²⁸

These manuscripts, in alphabetical order, are Bloomington (Indiana), Indiana University, Lilly Library, Ricketts 157; Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale 51; Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale 300; Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale 152; Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. Ms. 18.7.8; Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare 34; Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Aug. perg. XVII; Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Aug. perg. CXCV; Laon, Bibliothèque municipale 130; Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana 23; Marburg, Staatsarchiv, Hr. 4,23; Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 19; Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia fragmentum; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14614; Namur, Musée Archéologique, Fonds de la Ville 33; Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale 160; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 126; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 9538; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 1445; Reims, Bibliothèque municipale 390; Sankt-Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 175; Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale 166; Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 202; Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare Eusebiana CIV.

²⁵Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale 300; Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia fragmentum; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 126; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 9538.

²⁶Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia fragmentum; M. Oberleitner (ed.), *Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des Heiligen Augustinus*, Band I/1 (Vienna, 1969), p.12.

²⁷Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 9538; E.A. Lowe (ed.), *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (hereafter *CLA*).V.588.

²⁸Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale 300; Lowe (ed.), *CLA*.VI.739); for attribution of the manuscript to Jouarre or Faremoutiers, see B. Bischoff, 'Die Kölner Nonnenhandschriften und das Skriptorium von Chelles', in B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien*, v.1 (Stuttgart, 1966), p. 33 and R. McKitterick, 'The Diffusion of Insular Culture in Neustria between

Finally, the manuscript now in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, again a complete text, appears to have been copied in northern or northeastern France, most likely at Chelles, and was at the monastery of St. Kilian in Würzburg by the ninth century.²⁹ The manuscript was also corrected by a contemporary hand.³⁰ The implications of the provenances of these last three manuscripts are quite important and will be discussed in greater detail below.

Three further extant manuscripts can be dated to either the late-eighth or early-ninth century. The first, now found in Edinburgh, is a palimpsest two folios in length containing an excerpt from the first book of *De Trinitate*.³¹ The second, now in Monte Cassino, is a complete text written in Spain in Visigothic minuscule, transmitted to Monte Cassino before or during the eleventh century.³² There is evidence that this copy of the text was corrected by a contemporary hand.³³ The third, now in the Vatican, was written in Anglo-Saxon majuscule and minuscule in an Anglo-Saxon centre on the Continent, possibly Lorsch.³⁴ If not actually penned at Lorsch, the manuscript was brought there quite soon after its composition.³⁵ This manuscript was corrected by

650 and 850', in H. Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie. Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850* (Sigmaringen, 1989), p. 411 n. 101.

²⁹Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 126; Lowe (ed.), *CLA*.II.252; for attribution to the nunnery at Chelles, see B. Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, ed. and trans. M. Gorman (Cambridge, 1994), p. 68.

³⁰Mountain (ed.), *De Trinitate*, p. lxxvii.

³¹Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. Ms. 18.7.8; F. Römer (ed.), *Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des Heiligen Augustinus*, Band II/2 (Vienna, 1972), pp. 115-6.

³²Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 19; Lowe (ed.), *CLA*.III.373.

³³Mountain (ed.), *De Trinitate*, p. lxxvii.

³⁴Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 202; Lowe (ed.), *CLA*.I.16.

³⁵B. Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch im Spiegel ihrer Handschriften*, 2nd ed. (Lorsch, 1989), p. 57.

several contemporary hands.³⁶ Again, the possible conclusions or inferences which may be drawn from the manuscripts' provenances will be discussed below.

A further seventeen manuscripts can be dated to the ninth century. Of these, six are either fragments of the text or contain excerpts from the text,³⁷ while eleven are complete copies of the work.³⁸ In those eleven manuscripts, *De Trinitate* is transmitted alone in the codex and represents a not inconsiderable investment of time and resources, filling an average of around two hundred folios. I shall now discuss these two manuscript groups in order.

The first of the incomplete copies, now in Bloomington, Indiana, was originally written in Fulda, though only the upper half of a page now survives.³⁹ The second, now in Boulogne, is an excerpt from the work twenty-seven folios in length and was written in or around Tours.⁴⁰ The two manuscripts now in Karlsruhe, from Reichenau, are of special interest because they transmit excerpts from *De Trinitate* along with excerpts from other works. The first, Cod. Aug. perg. XVIII, places an excerpt from the last book of *De Trinitate* along with excerpts from other works of Augustine. This manuscript seems to have been assembled as a sort of handbook of religious orthodoxy, with

³⁶Mountain (ed.), *De Trinitate*, p. lxxvi.

³⁷Bloomington (Indiana), Indiana University, Lilly Library, Ricketts 157; Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale 51; Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Aug. perg. XVII; Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Aug. perg. CXCV; Marburg, Staatsarchiv, Hr. 4,23; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14614.

³⁸Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale 152; Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare 34; Laon, Bibliothèque municipale 130; Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana 23; Namur, Musée Archéologique, Fonds de la Ville 33; Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale 160; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 1445; Reims, Bibliothèque municipale 390; Sankt-Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 175; Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale 166; Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare Eusebiana CIV.

³⁹Bloomington (Indiana), Indiana University, Lilly Library, Ricketts 157; B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, Teil I: Aachen-Lambach (Wiesbaden, 1998), p. 137 (#646).

excerpts which could be easily employed as a defense against heresy.⁴¹ The second Karlsruhe manuscript, Cod. Aug. perg. CXCIV, is of Irish origin, written in Irish minuscule, and appears to be much concerned with inner spirituality, especially self-knowledge; it combines an excerpt from *De Trinitate* of one folio in length with excerpts from Augustine's *De quantitate animae*, *Soliloquia*, and *De praesentia dei*.⁴² The importance of this manuscript will be further discussed below. The manuscript now in Marburg is merely a two-folio fragment containing parts of the eleventh and twelfth books of *De Trinitate*,⁴³ while the manuscript now found in Munich seems particularly eclectic, for it combines excerpts from the first and last books of the text, which deal with the nature of all creation and the means by which humans obtain wisdom, with excerpts from Augustine's treatise against the Manichaean Faustus and from his *De doctrina christiana*, concerned with the sin of pride.⁴⁴

The remaining eleven ninth-century manuscripts contain complete copies of the text, in which *De Trinitate* is transmitted alone, with only occasional, usually much later, additions to the leaves immediately before or after the text. The manuscript now in Chartres was originally copied in Saint-Germain-des-Prés sometime in the beginning of the ninth century.⁴⁵ Also sharing a Neustrian origin are the manuscript now located in Lucca, written in the region of Beauvais,⁴⁶ the manuscript now in Valenciennes, which

⁴⁰Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale 51; Bischoff, *Katalog*, p. 142 (#669).

⁴¹R. Kurz (ed.), *Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des Heiligen Augustinus*, Band V/2 (Vienna, 1979), p. 207.

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 214; A. Holder (ed.), *Die Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe: Die Reichenauer Handschriften*, v.1 (Wiesbaden, 1970), pp. 438-44.

⁴³Marburg, Staatsarchiv, Hr. 4,23; *Ibid.*, pp. 279.

⁴⁴Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14614. *Ibid.*, pp. 360-1.

⁴⁵Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale 152; Bischoff, *Katalog*, p. 195 (#897)

⁴⁶Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana 23; M. Oberleitner (ed.), *Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des Heiligen Augustinus*, Band I/2 (Vienna, 1970), p.123; Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries*, p. 26 n. 26.

was written at St. Amand,⁴⁷ and one of the copies of the text now in Paris, which was most likely written at Tours.⁴⁸ This manuscript was also once possessed by Cluny and was corrected by a ninth-century hand.⁴⁹ The overwhelmingly Neustrian character of a sizeable number of the extant manuscripts is a point which will be addressed below. Another Neustrian manuscript, the copy of *De Trinitate* now located in Reims, bears a ninth-century inscription stating that the manuscript was given to the church of St. Mary in Reims by the archbishop Hincmar of Reims.⁵⁰ This manuscript was also corrected by a contemporary hand.⁵¹ The manuscript now in Laon can be fairly securely said to have arrived in the cathedral library in the very late ninth or early tenth century, as an inscription, now partially destroyed, on the front flyleaf states that the manuscript was a gift of the bishop Rodulfus, who presided over the see from 895 to 921.⁵² This manuscript was also corrected by a contemporary hand.⁵³ Specific details regarding the origins of the remaining manuscripts, unfortunately, are not as easily ascertained, though evidence of their use in the ninth century can be found, which may be even more revealing. The manuscript now in Ivrea was probably copied in Italy and was corrected by a contemporary hand.⁵⁴ The manuscript now in Namur was in the monastery of St.

⁴⁷Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale 166; Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts (ed.), *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques des Départements de France*, v.25 (Paris, 1894), p. 258.

⁴⁸Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 1445; E.K. Rand and L.W. Jones, *The Earliest Book of Tours*, Studies in the Script of Tours v. 2 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1934), pp. 104-5.

⁴⁹Mountain (ed.), *De Trinitate*, p. lxxiv; L. Delisle (ed.), *Inventaire des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale, Fonds de Cluni* (Paris, 1884), pp. 74-5.

⁵⁰Reims, Bibliothèque municipale 390; Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts (ed.), *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques des Départements de France*, v.38 (Paris, 1904), pp. 519-20.

⁵¹Mountain (ed.), *De Trinitate*, pp. lxxvi-lxxvii.

⁵²Laon, Bibliothèque municipale 130; J.J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its Manuscripts and Masters* (Munich, 1978), pp. 35-6.

⁵³Mountain (ed.), *De Trinitate*, p. lxxvii.

⁵⁴Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare 34; Bischoff, *Katalog*, p. 329 (#1575); Mountain (ed.), *De Trinitate*, p. lxxvii.

Hubert in Ardennes at least as early as the seventeenth century.⁵⁵ The manuscript now at Sankt-Gallen was also corrected by a contemporary hand.⁵⁶

Now that a brief characterisation of each manuscript has been given, what clues to the nature of the reception and transmission of *De Trinitate* in the ninth century can be gleaned from this information? Two trends are immediately evident. First, as remarked above, a high proportion of the manuscripts were produced in Neustria. Second, the manuscripts not produced in northern France were almost exclusively copied in the area dominated by Anglo-Saxon and Irish foundations.

Though it is perhaps no surprise that a large number of the copies of *De Trinitate* were produced in what Bernhard Bischoff has labeled the 'writing province' of northeastern France,⁵⁷ as this area was filled with some of the most important cathedrals and monasteries in the Carolingian empire, the especially high percentage of copies originating there does seem to warrant investigation. Though a court impetus for the dissemination of the text cannot be definitively established, it is noteworthy that it was being read in many of the most prosperous and reform-minded centres. Of the thirteen manuscripts for which a definite or approximate place of composition has been established, eight of them were produced in Neustria.⁵⁸ Moreover, for the five manuscripts that have been attributed to specific scriptoria or are known to have been possessed by a specific monastery in the ninth century, the foundations involved were

⁵⁵Namur, Musée Archéologique, Fonds de la Ville 33; P. Faider (ed.), *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques de Belgique*, v. 1 (Gembloux, 1934), pp. 100-1.

⁵⁶Sankt-Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 175; Mountain (ed.), *De Trinitate*, pp. lxxv-lxxvi.

⁵⁷Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries*, pp. 20-1, 25-30.

⁵⁸Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale 51; Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale 300; Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale 152; Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana 23;

exceptionally well-connected to the Carolingian court. It is to these six manuscripts that I shall now turn.

The earliest Neustrian copy of *De Trinitate* for which a specific place of composition is known is the codex now in Oxford.⁵⁹ As mentioned above, this manuscript was copied at the nunnery of Chelles and could be found in the monastery of St. Kilian in Würzburg by the eighth or ninth century.⁶⁰ A great deal of attention has been paid to this copy, namely due to the list of books recorded on f. 260, presumed to be a list of books from the library of Würzburg lent to Fulda.⁶¹ The same hand which compiled the list, writing in Anglo-Saxon script, also copied Charlemagne's *Epistula de litteris colendis* on the first folio of the codex.⁶² Though Bernhard Bischoff has discounted the earlier theory that this copy of the letter signified that the manuscript was actually at court before traveling to Würzburg,⁶³ the fact that the person preserving the court letter chose this particular manuscript in which to copy it is still worthy of note. Chelles was a royal foundation of the mid-seventh century which retained its royal connections in Carolingian times, especially as Charlemagne's sister, Gisla, was abbess.⁶⁴

The other manuscripts which were produced at well-connected foundations include the codex now in Cambrai but probably originating from Jouarre or Faremoutiers⁶⁵ and

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 126; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 1445; Reims, Bibliothèque municipale 390; Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale 166.

⁵⁹Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 126.

⁶⁰See above, p. 8.

⁶¹Bischoff, *Libraries and Manuscripts*, p. 68; E.A. Lowe, 'An Eighth-Century List of Books in a Bodleian Manuscript from Würzburg and its Probable Relation to the Laudian Acts', *Speculum* 3 (1928): 3-15.

⁶²Bischoff, *Libraries and Manuscripts*, p. 68.

⁶³*Ibid.*

⁶⁴Bischoff, 'Die Kölner Nonnenhandschriften', pp. 26-7.

⁶⁵Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale 300; McKitterick, 'The Diffusion of Insular Culture', pp. 409-11. See above, p. 8.

the two copies currently found in Boulogne and Paris, both having been most likely copied at or very near Tours.⁶⁶ The writing centre of Saint-Germain-des-Près, at which the manuscript now in Chartres was produced,⁶⁷ had unmistakable connections to the reform movement emanating from the court. As early as the end of the eighth century, the writing school there was already producing manuscripts in what Bischoff has labeled a 'masterful Caroline minuscule.'⁶⁸ Thus, the copies of *De Trinitate* whose ninth-century locations can be determined were not mouldering away in isolated backwaters, but were being read and copied in some of the most vibrantly active foundations of the ninth century.

If we examine the evidence to be gleaned from ninth-century library catalogues, we can get a fuller picture of the extent to which *De Trinitate* was disseminated. As mentioned above, one of the two main loci for the production of copies of *De Trinitate* seems to have been the area of Germany dominated by Anglo-Saxon and Irish foundations. This is evidenced by Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 9538, written in Anglo-Saxon minuscule, possibly at Echternach,⁶⁹ Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palat. lat. 202, written in Anglo-Saxon majuscule and minuscule, possibly at Lorsch,⁷⁰ and the fragment now in Indiana, which was copied at Fulda.⁷¹ This trend is further corroborated by the library catalogue evidence, as *De Trinitate* makes an

⁶⁶ Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale 51 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 1445; Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries*, pp. 30-1. See above, pp. 10 and 11.

⁶⁷ Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale 152; See above, p. 10.

⁶⁸ Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries*, p. 25.

⁶⁹ CLA.V.588; N. Netzer, *Cultural Interplay in the Eighth Century: The Trier Gospels and the Making of a Scriptorium at Echternach* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 6

⁷⁰ CLA.I.16.

⁷¹ Bloomington (Indiana), Indiana University. Lilly Library, Ricketts 157; Bischoff, *Katalog*. p. 137 (#646).

appearance in the ninth-century holdings of Fulda,⁷² Lorsch,⁷³ Murbach,⁷⁴ Sankt-Gallen,⁷⁵ Reichenau,⁷⁶ and Würzburg.⁷⁷ Some of these manuscripts may, of course, be the extant copies which have been discussed. Further manuscripts are recorded in the catalogues of St. Wandrille,⁷⁸ St. Riquier,⁷⁹ and Bobbio.⁸⁰ Interestingly, the catalogue entry for Bobbio records *De Trinitate* as being amongst the books which were bequeathed to the monastery by Dungal.⁸¹ Though it is difficult at this stage to draw any definitive conclusions from this evidence, it does provide material for much profitable further investigation.

III: Direct Evidence of Use of *De Trinitate* by Carolingian Writers

Augustine's *De Trinitate* was also read and used by several very influential ecclesiastics of the eighth and ninth centuries. The work was a source for such treatises as Alcuin's *De animae ratione* written for Charlemagne's cousin Gundrada,⁸² and his

⁷² G. Schrimpf, *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse des Klosters Fulda und andere Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bibliothek des Klosters Fulda im Mittelalter*, Fuldaer Studien 4 (Frankfurt am Main, 1992), pp. 25-47, esp. p. 31.

⁷³ G. Becker (ed.), *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn, 1885),

⁷⁴ W. Milde, *Der Bibliothekskatalog des Klosters Murbach aus dem 9. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg, 1968), esp. p. 39.

⁷⁵ P. Lehmann (ed.), *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, v.1 (Munich, 1918), pp. 66-82, esp. p. 74.

⁷⁶ Becker (ed.), *Catalogi*, pp. 4-13, esp. p. 5.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-41, esp. p. 38.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-6, esp. p. 14.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-9, esp. p. 25.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 64-73, esp. p. 70.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 70. On the debate surrounding Dungal's identity, see the review of literature in M. Garrison, 'The English and Irish at the Court of Charlemagne,' in P. Butzer, M. Kerner,

and W. Oberschelp (eds.), *Karl der Grosse und sein Nachwirken: 1200 Jahre Kultur und Wissenschaft in Europa*, v.1 (Turnhout, 1997), p. 101.

⁸² J. Curry, 'Alcuin, *De ratione animae*: A Text with Introduction, Critical Apparatus, and Translation' (unpublished PhD thesis, Cornell University, 1966), pp. 5, 8-9.

De fide sanctae et individuae trinitatis,⁸³ as well as for several works by Gottschalk of Orbais, including *Excerpta de trinitate*, *De trina deitate*, and *De trinitate*.⁸⁴ The text was also cited by Theodulf of Orléans, Agobard of Lyon, Amalar of Metz, Smaragdus of St. Mihiel, and even in a letter written on Charlemagne's behalf to Pope Leo III.⁸⁵ And, as we have already seen, Hincmar of Reims valued the text enough to bestow a copy of it on a church in his diocese.⁸⁶ While the majority of these works, with the exception of Alcuin's *De animae ratione*, concentrate on the first half of Augustine's *De Trinitate*, there were at least two ninth-century writers who seem to have been interested especially in the second, psychological half of the work.

The first such writer whose use of *De Trinitate* I will now examine in some depth is Benedict of Aniane (c.745-50 / 821). Before discussing his use of this text, however, it may be useful to give a brief overview of Benedict's life and career. Benedict of Aniane was born in the middle of the eighth century to a noble Visigothic family. He left a military career and life at the court of Pippin III and retired to the monastery of Saint-Seine. Finding the discipline there too lax, he returned to Aniane and founded a monastery of his own, which eventually grew to become one of the largest in the kingdom.⁸⁷ Monastic reform became one of Benedict's most important preoccupations. When Louis the Pious came to power he appointed Benedict abbot of Cornelimunster, an abbey close to the court at Aachen. Within two years, at the synods of Aachen in 816 and

⁸³ Augustine, *De Trinitate*, p. li.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. xlvi, l, lxi.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. l, lx, lxx.

⁸⁶ Above, p. 11; Interestingly, however, Mountain (ed.), *De Trinitate*, p. 52 n. 65 points out that Hincmar's own *Collectio de una et non trina deitate* seems to have been based on an anonymous ninth-century collection of excerpts from Augustine's *De Trinitate*, rather than directly from Augustine's text. As Mountain provides no explanation for this assertion, however, further research is needed.

⁸⁷ F. Brunhölzl, *Histoire de la littérature latine du moyen âge*, trans. H. Rochais, rev. J.-P. Bouhot, v. I/2 (Turnhout, 1991), p. 189.

817, Benedict, with the support of Louis, began his efforts at imposing a strict observance of the Benedictine rule throughout the monasteries of the empire.⁸⁸ The bulk of Benedict's writings were devoted to this aim.⁸⁹

The first of these, the *Codex regularum*, was a collection of various monastic rules, with that of St. Benedict at the head.⁹⁰ This was followed by the *Concordia regularum*, in which Benedict compared each chapter of the Benedictine Rule to corresponding sections of more ancient rules in order to show that St. Benedict rooted his rule in ancient monastic tradition and was in no way guilty of any dangerous innovation.⁹¹ He also compiled a collection of patristic homilies, designed to be read during the Office.⁹² In addition to these monastic works, it has been definitively shown that Benedict was responsible for the Supplement to the *Hadrianum*, the Gregorian sacramentary sent by Hadrian I to Charlemagne.⁹³

However, monastic practice was not the only issue which concerned Benedict. Like Florus of Lyons, the next writer I will discuss, Benedict became involved in one of the doctrinal controversies of his day. Adoptionism had been a long-standing problem by the time Charlemagne came to power. The Council of Toledo had condemned it as heresy as far back as 675.⁹⁴ In the late eighth century, Elipand of Toledo (718-802) and Felix of Urgel (bishop c. 782-799, died 818) began teaching the doctrine, aspects of

⁸⁸*Ibid.*

⁸⁹ See especially P.R. McKeon, 'The Empire of Louis the Pious: Faith, Politics, and Personality', *Revue Bénédictine* 90 (1980): 50-62; T.F.X. Noble, 'The Monastic Ideal as a Model for Empire: The Case of Louis the Pious', *Revue Bénédictine* 86 (1976): 235-50

⁹⁰Brunhölzl, *Histoire de la littérature latine*, p. 190.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, pp. 190-1.

⁹²*Ibid.*, p. 191.

⁹³C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. and rev. W.G. Storey and N.K. Rasmussen (Washington, D.C., 1986), pp. 85-92.

⁹⁴Ganz, 'Theology and the Organisation of Thought', p. 762.

which had been retained in the Mozarabic liturgy, again.⁹⁵ Benedict, with Alcuin's urging, journeyed along with Leidrad of Lyons (bishop 798-814) and Nebridius of Narbonne to Septimania and Aquitaine to preach against the heresy to the Christians of the area and warn them of its consequences.⁹⁶ This mission led Benedict to write to his disciple Garnier, exhorting him to remain true to his faith and resist heresy. Also dedicated to Garnier was Benedict's *Testimoniorum nubecula de incarnatione Domini, sancta et individua Trinitate et iteratione baptismatis vitanda pernicie*, a collection of material, largely biblical, to be used by the monks of the monastery of Aniane in defense of orthodoxy. This was followed by a second text, the *Disputatio adversus Felicianam impietatem*, which contained Benedict's own personal views against Adoptionism.⁹⁷

Though Benedict's role as advisor to Louis the Pious and his involvement in the regulation of Carolingian monasteries have been well-studied, many of his writings have received comparatively little attention. One of these works, Benedict's *Forma fidei*, draws heavily on Augustine's *De Trinitate*. The *Forma* is part of a larger work, the *Munimenta fidei*, a massive collection of Benedict's treatises which unfortunately survives in only a single, late-eleventh-century manuscript.⁹⁸ Jean Leclercq, the editor of the *Forma fidei*, determined that Benedict most likely composed the writings contained in the *Munimenta fidei* during his time at Aniane (between 779/80 and 814), as he refers to himself in most of the works as *levita* rather than *abbas*.⁹⁹ Leclercq saw this as a conscious choice on Benedict's part to avoid the title of abbot after his reluctance to

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 762-3.

⁹⁶ Brunhölzl, p. 190; J.C. Cavadini, *The Last Great Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785-820* (Philadelphia, 1993), pp. 71-3, 185 n.10.

⁹⁷ Brunhölzl, p. 190.

⁹⁸ J. Leclercq, 'Les *Munimenta fidei* de Saint Benoit d'Aniane', *Studia Anselmiana*, v.20 (Rome, 1948), p. 22. This article also contains an edition of Benedict's text. When referring to this portion of the article, I have specified Benedict as the author. The manuscript is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 2390.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

assume the abbacy of his original monastery of Saint-Seine led to his flight to Aniane.¹⁰⁰

Though Leclercq also believed that Benedict probably assembled the entire collection himself,¹⁰¹ the lack of any definitive evidence supporting this assertion leaves the question open to doubt.

The debate over the nature of the Trinity and its constituent persons was as vibrant in the ninth century as it had been in the fifth, and thus it is perhaps unsurprising that Augustine's text was so valuable to many Carolingian writers. Benedict himself had previously shown a strong interest in the topic, engaging in the struggle against Adoptionism and even serving in the mission to Spain which attempted to resolve the controversy.¹⁰² Like Augustine's treatise on the Trinity, however, Benedict's text does not mention any particular threat to orthodoxy. Though Benedict does not refer directly to Adoptionism or its adherents in any part of his *Forma fidei*, the controversy does get a mention in another text included in the *Munimenta fidei*, and a polemical intent cannot be ruled out. Though this theological context is important for understanding the reasons why Benedict may have been familiar with *De Trinitate*, it will be his use of the psychological portions of the text that will be of concern to us.

Leclercq asserted that the text was didactic in nature, designed for the spiritual edification and formation of the reader, and identified the probable intended recipient of the treatise as a young monk, perhaps the Garnier to whom Benedict had addressed two

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* As the manuscript is considerably later than the supposed time of composition, however, the possibility that later copyists may have inserted this title must be considered, though one would assume that any later copyists inclined to amend the text in this way would have wished to emphasize Benedict's connection to the court and thus refer to him by a more illustrious title.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 67-9; J.C. Cavadini, *The Last Great Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785-820* (Philadelphia, 1993), pp. 71-3, 185 n.10; D. Ganz, 'Theology

other works, collections of patristic excerpts included in the *Munimenta fidei*.¹⁰³ The recipient is referred to once, at the beginning of the text, as a *bonus indoles*.¹⁰⁴ A didactic intent is perhaps supported by Benedict's use of the second, psychological half of *De Trinitate* rather than the first, theological half. Augustine himself saw this section of the work as a way of making the mystery of the Trinity more understandable, having introduced the psychological portion of his work by stating that the *imago hominis* is something that *familiarius...et facilius...intuetur nostrae mentis infirmitas*.¹⁰⁵ However, even a seemingly didactic intent on Benedict's part could conceal other motives.

By the ninth century, the selection of works to be found in libraries, especially for an individual as well-connected as Benedict, would have offered an author a wide choice of source material for discussing the ideas of self-knowledge and reformation. Thus, Benedict's choice of *De Trinitate*, particularly his concentration on the second half of the work, may be seen as a deliberate decision. He clearly felt that this portion of *De Trinitate* best suited his purpose. We can also infer that Benedict was working from a complete copy of *De Trinitate* when choosing which passages to include in his *Forma fidei*, rather than from another collection of excerpts. The three primary collections of extracts from Augustine's works which may have been available to Benedict, those by Prosper of Aquitaine, Eugippius, and an anonymous early-ninth-century compiler, did not transmit the vast majority of passages which Benedict used.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, with a few

and the Organisation of Thought', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History, v. II c. 700-900* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 762-6.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 68-70.

¹⁰⁴ Benedict of Aniane, *Munimenta Fidei*, in Leclercq, J. (ed.), 'Les *Munimenta fidei* de Saint Benoît d'Aniane', *Studia Anselmiana*, v.20 (Rome, 1948), p. 28 : 'man of good qualities'.

¹⁰⁵ Augustine, *De Trinitate*, p. 294, lines 60-1 : 'the image of man may be contemplated more familiarly and easily by the weakness of our mind'.

¹⁰⁶ Line by line comparison found in Mountain's edition of Augustine, *De Trinitate*, pp. xlviii-lxx.

exceptions, these collections rely almost exclusively on the first half of *De Trinitate*, omitting the psychological discussion found in books nine through fourteen. Benedict, however, would pay special attention to these latter books, as will be seen below, and only cite rather sparingly from the first half of the text. Benedict was therefore most likely in possession of a full copy of *De Trinitate*, a supposition also supported by the fact that this text was most often transmitted in its entirety, as demonstrated above in the discussion of the manuscript evidence. Accordingly, his decision to focus his attention on the second half of the work in his *Forma fidei* is even more remarkable.

The *Forma fidei* began with a discussion of faith as a precondition for understanding, a sentiment expressed both in the scriptural references cited and at the beginning of the psychological portion of *De Trinitate*.¹⁰⁷ The omnipotence of God and the inability of humans to ever truly comprehend the divine, along with a brief exposition on the three persons of the Trinity were then illustrated by means of biblical excerpts before Benedict moved on to an examination of the image of the Trinity to be found in the human soul.¹⁰⁸ Throughout the *Forma fidei*, Benedict inserted the excerpts he had chosen from his source material into his own commentary on the subjects covered. Thus, we are able to gain some insight into his reasons for selecting the passages from *De Trinitate* as well as his thoughts about them.

Benedict began his examination of the self with Augustine's introduction to the corresponding section of *De Trinitate*:

¹⁰⁷Benedict, *Munimenta fidei*, pp.28-9; Isaiah 7:9; Psalms 91:7; Augustine, *De Trinitate*, pp. 292-4, lines 1-61, esp. lines 24-5 : *Certa enim fides utcumque inchoat cognitionem* : 'In some way, sure faith begins understanding'.

¹⁰⁸Benedict, *Munimenta fidei*, pp. 28-9; i.e., Psalms 95:6, Job 23:8-9. Job 28:21, 1 Corinthians 8:6, Romans 9:5, 1 Corinthians 12:6. Interestingly, the section dealing with the persons of the Trinity is remarkably short compared with the following portions of the *Forma fidei* dealing with the inner self.

‘We are certainly searching for a trinity, not of any sort, but that Trinity which is God, the one true and supreme God.... With this being so, let us attend to those three things which we seem to have discovered. We do not yet speak about divine things, not yet about God the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, but about this inferior image, but image still, which is a human..¹⁰⁹

He then included a lengthy excerpt from Augustine concerning the first trinity which Augustine perceived in the human inner self: *mens, amor, and notitia*.¹¹⁰ Though the excerpt is far too long to include here in its entirety, Augustine perhaps best distilled the meaning of the whole passage in the statement,

‘Just as there are two somethings, the mind and its love, when it loves itself, so there are two somethings, the mind and its knowledge, when it knows itself. Therefore, the mind itself and its love and knowledge are three somethings, and these three are one, and when they are complete they are equal.’¹¹¹

Benedict then discussed the ideas expressed by Augustine, echoing the interchangeability of the terms *anima* and *mens* found in *De Trinitate*:

‘Therefore, the Creator made the soul of a man in his own image, which is called the whole soul. However, I do not mean something other than “soul of a man” when I say “mind”, but because of one thing “soul” and because of another thing “mind”. For the whole thing which animates a man is the soul.’¹¹²

Thus, we can see that the *Forma fidei*, like *De Trinitate*, was not interested in exploring the mystical, ontological aspects of the soul, but was concerned with the psychological

¹⁰⁹Benedict, *Munimenta fidei*, p.34; Augustine, *De Trinitate*, p. 292, lines 1-2 and p. 294, lines 57-60 : *Trinitatem certe quaerimus, non quamlibet sed illam trinitatem quae deus est, verusque ac summus et solus deus.... Quae cum ita sint attendamus ista tria quae invenisse nobis videmur. Nondum de supernis loquimur, nondum de deo patre et filio et spiritu sancto, sed de hac impari imagine attamen imagine, id est homine.*

¹¹⁰‘mind, love, and knowledge’.

¹¹¹Benedict, *Munimenta fidei*, p.34; Augustine, *De Trinitate*, p. 297, lines 1-5 : *Sicut autem duo quaedam sunt, mens et amor eius, cum se amat; ita quaedam duo sunt, mens et notitia eius, cum se novit. Ipsa igitur mens et amor et notitia eius tria quaedam sunt, et haec tria unum sunt, et cum perfecta sunt aequalia sunt.*

¹¹²Benedict, *Munimenta fidei*, p.35, lines 34-7 : *Ad imaginem ergo suam conditor fecit animam hominis, quae tota dicitur anima. Non autem aliud significo hominis quam animam cum mentem dico, sed propter aliud animam et propter aliud mentem. Nam totum quod vivit homo anima est.*

function of the *anima* or *mens*. Benedict then went on to reiterate Augustine's equation of the trinity of *mens*, *amor*, and *notitia* with the divine Trinity:

‘Let the mind be called the Father, because it begets knowledge. Let knowledge be called the Son, because it is from the other and is itself not other than that itself from which it is. Let love be called the Holy Spirit, because it is of both of them who love themselves.’¹¹³

This passage is useful not only for a determination of how Benedict interpreted Augustine's ideas about the Trinity, but also for an observation of how he understood Augustine's passages about the workings of the mind. Benedict included as an excerpt almost the entire first chapter of the ninth book of *De Trinitate*, which is almost exclusively concerned with an explanation, in exhaustive detail, of the process by which the mind proceeds from knowledge of itself to love of itself.¹¹⁴ Benedict then extended this further, using scriptural references to encompass Augustine's overall aim in *De Trinitate*, namely, that loving God proceeds from knowing God :

‘ “The love of God is poured forth in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, who is given to us”¹¹⁵, and “The Spirit searches even the deep things of God”¹¹⁶, because no one knows those things which are of God except the Spirit of God, through whose pouring out of itself as love into our hearts “the whole Trinity lives in us”¹¹⁷, by knowing God, or rather those known by God. If only the following, which the apostle and evangelist John says, “Let us love one another, for charity is of God, and everyone that loves is born of God and knows God.”^{118, 119}

¹¹³Benedict, *Munimenta fidei*, pp.35-6, lines 54-6 : *Dicatur mens Pater, quia gignit scire. Dicatur scire Filius, quia ex alio est, et non est aliud quam ipsud quod ipse est ex quo est. Dicatur amor Spiritus Sanctus, quia amborum est eorum qui se amant.*

¹¹⁴Benedict, *Munimenta fidei*, p. 34, lines 1-5 (Leclercq has included only the incipits and explicits of the passages concerned.); Cf. Augustine, *De Trinitate*, p. 294, line 57 and p. 298, line 39.

¹¹⁵Romans 5:5.

¹¹⁶1 Corinthians 2:10.

¹¹⁷Augustine, *De Trinitate*, p. 508, lines 28-9.

¹¹⁸1 John 4:7.

¹¹⁹Benedict, *Munimenta fidei*, p. 36, lines 59-65 : ‘*Caritas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum Sanctum qui datus est nobis*’ *quique* ‘*Spiritus scrutatur etiam profunda Dei*’, *quia quae Dei sunt nemo novit nisi Spiritus Dei, quo diffundente sese caritatem in cordibus nostris, ‘tota nos inhabitat Trinitas’, cognoscendo Deum, immo*

The section of the *Forma fidei* which discussed this first psychological trinity of *mens*, *amor*, and *notitia* thus gives us an important insight into Benedict's understanding of the self. The process whereby love of God was produced only through contemplation and the reception of knowledge may offer us a different perspective, unconcerned with outward behaviour, on the concerns of ninth-century writers. That this process was regarded as taking place solely inside the *mens / anima*, unassisted by any physical acts such as mortification, reinforces this sense of interiority. Though far from what we today would consider a thorough examination of the inner workings of the psyche, it nonetheless demonstrates that some educated people living in the ninth century wanted and used a way of imagining the self.

There was more of relevance and interest to Benedict to follow, for this first psychological trinity was not the only one devised by Augustine in *De Trinitate*. In the tenth book of *De Trinitate* he further refined his model and chose to concentrate on what he saw as the three most important components of the *mens / anima*: *memoria*, *intelligentia*, and *voluntas*.¹²⁰ Benedict included lengthy excerpts, too lengthy to be included here in their entirety, from this book in the *Forma fidei*. The first of these excerpts was concerned primarily with the location of the *mens / anima*:

‘(The mind) itself is more inward, not only than those sensible things which are clearly without, but even than their images, which are in a certain part of the soul which animals also have,

cognitos a Deo. Si tamen, secundum quod Iohannes apostolus et evangelista fatur, 'diligamus invicem, quia dilectio ex Deo est et omnis qui diligit ex Deo natus est, et cognovit Deum.'

¹²⁰Augustine, *De Trinitate*, p. 329, lines 1-3 : ‘memory, understanding, and will’.

although they do not have understanding, which is characteristic of the mind.’¹²¹

Thus, the interior location of *mens / anima* is further refined. Though the physical senses can also be found within a human, the true self is even more inward than this. Again, the selection of this excerpt demonstrates Benedict’s desire for a well-defined model of the inner man. Benedict then included Augustine’s discourse on how the mind may heed the Delphic command, *Cognosce te ipsam*:¹²²

‘Therefore, (the mind) should not add anything else to the fact that it knows itself when it hears that it should know itself. It certainly knows that this is being said to it itself, namely the self which is and lives and understands’.¹²³

That Augustine meant the inner self here, rather than the corporeal, is demonstrated by the specification that the self which must know itself is the self which is capable of understanding. As we saw in the preceding excerpt, understanding was a quality which Augustine viewed as unique to the human mind. Benedict also makes this distinction, observing:

‘And this is the image of the unity of almighty God which the soul has in itself ... because... God ... lives and understands, so the soul ... lives and understands’.¹²⁴

¹²¹Benedict, *Munimenta fidei*, p. 36, lines 6-8; Augustine, *De Trinitate*, pp. 324-5, lines 13-7 : *Interior est enim ipsa non solum quam ista sensibilia quae manifeste foris sunt, sed etiam quam imagines eorum quae in parte quadam sunt animae quam habent et bestiae, quamuis intelligentiam careant, quae mentis est propria.* Notice again the interchangeability of ‘mind’ and ‘soul’.

¹²²Benedict, *Munimenta fidei*, p. 36, lines 6-8; Augustine, *De Trinitate*, pp. 325-6, lines 1-21 : ‘Know thyself’.

¹²³Benedict, *Munimenta fidei*, p. 36, lines 6-8; Augustine, *De Trinitate*, p. 326, lines 21-3 : *Non ergo adiungat aliud ad id quod se ipsam cognoscit cum audit ut se ipsam cognoscat. Certe enim novit sibi dici, sibi scilicet quae est et vivit et intellegit.*

¹²⁴Benedict, *Munimenta fidei*, p. 36, lines 14-7 : *Et haec est imago unitatis omnipotentis Dei quam anima habet in se...quia...Deus...vivit et sapit, ita anima...vivit et sapit.*

According to another excerpt selected by Benedict, once the mind begins the attempt to know itself, it then recognizes its constituent parts, the most significant of which, as mentioned above, are *memoria*, *intelligentia*, and *voluntas*.¹²⁵

‘Therefore, these three, memory, understanding, and will, since they are not three lives but one life, not three minds but one mind, are consequently not three substances but one substance’.¹²⁶

Augustine had used this psychological trinity in the same manner in which he used his first trinity of *mens*, *amor*, and *notitia*, to demonstrate that just as memory, understanding, and will are each fully separate and yet are all inextricably contained in each other, so are the three persons of the Trinity.¹²⁷ Benedict summarized this treatment, but delved even further into the idea that *memoria*, *intelligentia*, and *voluntas* truly constitute the self:

‘It is indicated in the Gospel, when it is said: “You shall love the Lord your God with your whole heart, and with your whole soul, and with your whole mind,”¹²⁸ that is, from (your) whole understanding and from (your) whole will and from (your) whole memory’.¹²⁹

‘And just as there is God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, yet not three gods, but one God having three persons, so (there is) also the soul the understanding, the soul the will, and the soul the memory. But there are not three souls in one body but in one mind, which has three qualities, and in these three our inner man marvellously bears His image’.¹³⁰

¹²⁵Benedict, *Munimenta fidei*, p. 36, lines 6-8; Augustine, *De Trinitate*, pp. 326-9, lines 1-87.

¹²⁶Benedict, *Munimenta fidei*, p. 36, lines 6-8; Augustine, *De Trinitate*, p. 330, lines 29-32 : *Haec igitur tria, memoria, intelligentia, voluntas, quoniam non sunt tres vitae sed una vita, nec tres mentes sed una mens, consequenter utique nec tres substantiae sunt sed una substantia.*

¹²⁷Augustine, *De Trinitate*, pp. 329-32.

¹²⁸Matthew 22:37, Mark 12:30, Luke 10:27.

¹²⁹Benedict, *Munimenta fidei*, p. 36, lines 22-4 : *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 tota intellectu et ex tota voluntate et ex tota memoria.*

¹³⁰Benedict, *Munimenta fidei*, pp. 36-7, lines 29-33 : *Et sicut Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus Spiritus Sanctus est, non tamen tres dii, sed unus Deus tres habens personas, ita et anima intellectus, anima voluntas, anima memoria. Non tamen in uno corpore, sed una*

Thus, we can see that at least one important literate individual of the ninth century took a keen interest in Augustine's model of the self. The significance of his interest emerges even more clearly when we consider that although Augustine devoted the entirety of the eleventh book of *De Trinitate* to a discussion of the image of the Trinity to be found in the exterior man, Benedict did not include a single excerpt from this section in his *Forma fidei*. The total absence of any allusion to an external trinity is rather remarkable, especially as Augustine included a discussion of the exterior man simply because it was the easiest model of the Trinity to understand.¹³¹ As Benedict may have intended his text for didactic use, for explaining the ideas of self-knowledge and reformation, as discussed above, it would seem only logical that he include material which would make an exceedingly difficult subject more comprehensible.¹³²

Benedict of Aniane was not the only ninth-century writer to make use of the psychological portions of *De Trinitate*. Florus of Lyons was another ninth-century writer interested in the subject matter covered by Augustine in this text. Florus, deacon under three archbishops, was born about the end of the eighth century, probably in southern Gaul, and died c. 860.¹³³ Though never attaining an episcopal rank, Florus was one of the most prolific writers of the era. Through his writing, he participated in several doctrinal controversies, as well as composing works for the use of those in the diocese, poems, and a martyrology.

anima tres animae, tres habens dignitates, atque in his tribus eius imaginem mirabiliter gerit noster interior homo.

¹³¹ Augustine, *De Trinitate*, p. 332, lines 10-2.

¹³² Even Augustine admitted that writing an accurate, understandable treatise on the Trinity was an all but impossible task. Cf. Augustine, *De Trinitate*, pp. 27-36.

¹³³ F. Brunhölzl, *Histoire de la littérature latine du moyen âge*, trans. H. Rochais, rev. J.-P. Bouhot, v. I/2 (Turnhout, 1991), p. 177.

Many issues interested Florus throughout his career. One of his earliest works, produced in response to an order of Louis the Pious in 822, concerned the election of bishops.¹³⁴ A subsequent work was a collection of canon laws and statutes drawn from the Theodosian code, aimed at removing clerics from civil jurisdiction and placing them under ecclesiastical judgment.¹³⁵ In both of these works, Florus's interest in relations between Church and state are evidenced. In the tract written for Louis, Florus states that episcopal elections should be by the consent of the clergy and the people. This, according to Florus, was the tradition handed down from ancient times. Any involvement on the part of a secular leader such as an emperor was a modern development, only allowed to ensure good relations between worldly and ecclesiastical authority.¹³⁶ Florus was also concerned about religious practice in his diocese, and this led to his involvement in the first wider-ranging controversy of his career. Amalar of Metz, appointed bishop of Lyons in 835 after Agobard's deposition, composed his *Liber officialis* in an attempt to use allegory to explain the meaning behind liturgical practices. This sparked off a storm of protest by Agobard and by Florus, who composed three *Opuscula adversus Amalarium*, one addressed to three bishops and Hrabanus Maurus, one to the synod of Thionville (835), and one to the synod of Quierzy (838), the synod which condemned Amalar's teachings and removed him from the see of Lyons.¹³⁷

This controversy was part of the debate surrounding the nature of the Eucharist, and by extension, of Christ. This question occupied writers throughout the ninth century, though there seems to have been a flurry of activity from c.840 - c.860 under Charles the Bald, who received treatises on the subject from both the abbot Paschasius Radbertus of

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 177-8.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 178-9; D. Ganz, 'Theology and the Organisation of Thought', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 777-8.

Corbie and Ratramnus, a monk of the same location.¹³⁸ Throughout the three *Opuscula* and in the related work, the *Opusculum de actione missarum* (often abbreviated to *Expositio missae*), Florus opposed Amalar's ideas through an emphasis on the weight of authority. He included large numbers of excerpts from patristic writers, clearly indicating the authors from whom he drew.¹³⁹ Just as the only correct method of episcopal elections was that handed down by ancient tradition, Amalar's writings were dangerous, not only because they seemed to espouse an incorrect view of the nature of Christ, but because they were far too novel and relied on Amalar's authority, rather than established tradition.¹⁴⁰ In this, Florus showed himself very much a writer of his time.

Subsequent to his involvement in the Eucharistic controversy, Florus became involved in the debate over predestination which flared up in the middle of the ninth century. The first work he composed on the subject, written about 850, was the *Responsio ad interrogationem cuiusdam de praescientia vel praedestinatione divina et libero hominis arbitrio*, a commentary on Augustine's *De gratia et libero arbitrio*.¹⁴¹ Florus also compiled a collection of Augustinian excerpts which Amolo of Lyons (bishop 841-852) used in his letter to Gottschalk and wrote a treatise against the teachings of both Gottschalk and John Scottus Eriugena.¹⁴² However, he did believe that Gottschalk's views should be discussed, rather than condemned outright,¹⁴³ and wrote his *De tribus epistolis* against what he saw as the incorrect denunciation of some of

¹³⁸Ganz, pp. 778-80.

¹³⁹Brunhölzl, p. 179.

¹⁴⁰Brunhölzl, p. 179.

¹⁴¹Brunhölzl, p. 304; D. Ganz, 'The Debate on Predestination', in M.T. Gibson and J.L. Nelson (eds.), *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, 2nd ed. (Aldershot, 1990), pp. 294-5.

¹⁴²Ganz, 'The Debate on Predestination', pp. 297-8. In addition,

¹⁴³Ganz, 'Theology and the Organisation of Thought', p. 771.

Gottschalk's views by Hincmar of Rheims and Hrabanus Maurus.¹⁴⁴ Florus also protested against the *capitula* drawn up at the synod of Quierzy (853) which condemned Gottschalk's writings.¹⁴⁵ It is Florus's involvement in this debate that perhaps spurred his inquiry into the self, as the predestination controversy had at its heart a deep concern for the moral selves of those living in the Frankish lands.¹⁴⁶

In his works concerned with both these controversies, Florus's two main objectives were the elucidation of orthodox practice and belief and the setting out of the authority on which this practice and belief were based. Florus found this authority in patristic writers, especially Augustine. This may perhaps give us some insight into his purpose for assembling his *Expositio in epistolas beati Pauli ex operibus sancti Augustini collecta*, a large collection of Augustinian excerpts concerned with the letters of St. Paul. This work contains no dedication and no authorial commentary. It is similar to another collection attributed, though not definitively, to Florus, the *Quaestiones et responsiones in vetere et novo testamento*, an assemblage of exegetical extracts from various patristic writers.¹⁴⁷ Both works, perhaps, were composed as reference material to be used in response to questions about orthodox tradition or opinion.

The *Expositio in epistolas beati Pauli ex operibus sancti Augustini collecta*, unsigned by its author, was attributed in various manuscripts to Florus, Bede, and Peter of Tripoli, all of whom were also compilers of collections of Augustinian passages concerning Paul's letters, before finally being credited to Florus by the text's seventeenth-century

¹⁴⁴*Ibid.* This disapproval of Hincmar and Hrabanus's treatment of Gottschalk's ideas lay in Florus's view that certain aspects of Gottschalk's work were actually in agreement with Augustine, rather than in any inclination to agree with him.

¹⁴⁵Ganz, 'The Debate on Predestination', pp. 297-8.

¹⁴⁶The relationship between the predestination controversy and the moral self is an issue I address more fully in the conclusion to this dissertation.

¹⁴⁷Brunhölzl, p. 180.

editor.¹⁴⁸ Further palaeographical and textual evidence has supported this attribution.¹⁴⁹ The compilation survives in five ninth-century manuscripts,¹⁵⁰ a good total given the proximity to the actual time of the work's creation.¹⁵¹ That the ideas found an audience thus indicates lively contemporary interest.

Unlike Benedict of Aniane's *Munimenta fidei*, Florus's compilation is a more traditional florilegium, comprised entirely of excerpts with no authorial commentary binding them together, other than a very short summary (labeled *argumentum*) of each of Paul's letters at the beginning of each corresponding section. These sections are further divided according to the chapter divisions of the letters, with the Augustinian references to these chapters grouped accordingly. Authorial intent, however, is not totally absent from the collection. Though the selection of excerpts may have been nominally determined by their citation of Paul's epistles, the length of extract to include, as well as the placement of excerpts which contained references to more than one letter was solely up to Florus. His *Expositio* contains excerpts from a vast selection of Augustine's writings, including *De civitate dei*, *De baptismo parvulorum*, *Confessiones*, and various sermons and exegetical works.¹⁵² Most important for the purposes of this dissertation, it

¹⁴⁸C. Charlier, 'La Compilation Augustinienne de Florus sur L'Apôtre', *Revue Bénédictine* 57 (1947): 132-5.

¹⁴⁹For a very detailed discussion of the evidence supporting Florus's authorship of the compilation, see Charlier, 'La Compilation Augustinienne', pp. 136-67.

¹⁵⁰Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale 96, copied prior to 880; Sankt-Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 279-81, copied sometime between 872-83; Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale 105; Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale 83; Lyons, Bibliothèque Municipale 484, the manuscript from which the others seem to have been copied and which Charlier believed was the original autograph; Charlier, 'La Compilation Augustinienne', pp. 132, 143, 148.

¹⁵¹Florus died c. 860, and Charlier, 'La Compilation Augustinienne', p. 166 has dated the composition of the *Expositio* to between 840 and 850. Thus all of the existing ninth-century manuscripts were copied within sixty years of the work's creation.

¹⁵²Florus of Lyon, *Expositio in epistolas beati Pauli ex operibus sancti Augustini collecta*, ed. J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 119, cols. 279-420. Unfortunately, no critical edition of this text exists.

also includes lengthy extracts from both halves of *De Trinitate*. Florus's use of Augustine's text is, as we shall see, both distinctive and illuminating.

What interest, if any, in the self can therefore be detected in Florus's use of *De Trinitate* in his *Expositio*? As the dichotomy of the inner and outer man was a theme in several of Paul's letters, it is to be expected that some material relevant to that theme would find its way into the compilation. As we shall see, Florus perhaps went beyond what was strictly necessary, including not only Augustine's citations of Paul, but also excerpts, often quite lengthy, of Augustine's own discussion of the self which did not refer to any of Paul's epistles. This pattern of selection must surely reveal the great interest of the theme to him.

Unlike Benedict, Florus did not include any excerpts from Augustine's sections on the trinities found in the *mens / anima*. This is not completely surprising, as the ninth and tenth books of *De Trinitate*, where these trinities were most fully discussed, contained only slight references, often of only two or three words, to any of Paul's letters. The books of *De Trinitate* which followed, however, moved on to an examination of the manner in which the self may use the contemplation of itself, discussed in books nine and ten, as a device for contemplation of the divine. These books contained myriad references to Paul and provided Florus with the majority of his material.

Despite the fact that he did not include any material concerning either of Augustine's psychological trinities, Florus does demonstrate an interest in the general concept of the self and its capacity for renewal, especially with regard to its superiority over the outer man:

'No one has a doubt that just as the inner man is endowed with understanding, so the outer man is endowed with the sensation of

the body. Therefore, let us strive if we can to trace any vestige of the Trinity in this outer man, too, though not because it may also be the image of God in the same way (as the inner man). For in fact the apostolic opinion is clear, which declares that the inner man is renewed “in recognition of God, according to the image of Him that created him”¹⁵³, and elsewhere when he says: “And though our outer man is corrupted, yet the inner man is renewed day by day”^{154, 155}.

‘Well then, let us see where a certain boundary, as it were, of the inner and outer man may be. For anything in our consciousness which we have in common with an animal is rightly said to belong still to the outer man. Truly, it is not only the body which is to be considered the outer man, but...all the senses...with which it is provided to experience things outside’.¹⁵⁶

This last excerpt is remarkable for the fact that the entire chapter that it was selected from contains absolutely no reference to any of Paul’s letters. Florus attached it to the previous excerpt, however, presumably to more fully delineate what Paul meant by ‘inner man’ and ‘outer man’ in the first passage. Thus, we can perhaps argue that Florus allowed his interest in the self to override a strict organisation of his work in accordance with the Pauline epistles.

That Florus was especially concerned with the idea of self-renewal is also demonstrated in another passage:

¹⁵³Colossians 3:10.

¹⁵⁴2 Corinthians 4:16.

¹⁵⁵ Florus, *Expositio*, col. 356; Augustine, *De Trinitate*, p. 333, lines 1-9 : *Nemini dubium est sicut interiorem hominem intellegentia sic exteriorem sensu corporis praeditum. Nitamur igitur si possumus in hoc quoque exteriore indagare qualecumque vestigium trinitatis, non quia et ipse eodem modo sit imago dei. Manifesta est quippe apostolica sententia quae interiorem hominem renovari ‘in dei agnitionem’ declarat ‘secundum imaginem eius qui creavit eum’ cum et alio loco dicat: ‘Et si exterior homo noster corrumpitur, sed interior renovatur de die in diem.* Though this excerpt also refers to a passage from Paul’s letter to the Colossians, it is placed in the section dealing with the second letter to the Corinthians.

¹⁵⁶Florus, *Expositio*, col. 356; Augustine, *De Trinitate*, p. 356, lines 1-7 : *Age nunc videamus ubi sit quasi quoddam hominis exterioris interiorisque confinium. Quidquid enim habemus in animo commune cum pecore recte adhuc dicitur ad exteriorem*

‘If, therefore, we are renewed in the spirit of our mind, and if it is the new man himself who is renewed through the recognition of God according to the image of Him who created him, there is for no one a doubt that man was created in the image of Him who created him as regards neither the body nor whatever part of the consciousness, but as regards the rational mind, in which recognition of God can exist. Indeed, according to this renewal we are also made sons of God through the baptism of Christ, and, putting on the new man, we truly put on Christ through faith’.¹⁵⁷

‘That renewal and reformation of the mind (is) according to God or to the image of God. “According to God” is said lest it is supposed that it was done according to another creature; “according to the image of God” (is said) so that this renewal may be understood to take place in that thing in which the image of God exists, that is in the mind’.¹⁵⁸

Again, this last passage contains no reference to any of Paul’s letters and is actually from a different book of *De Trinitate* than the passage which precedes it. Florus placed them contiguously in his *Expositio*, however, perhaps to reinforce the idea that self-renewal can only take place within the self. Like Benedict, Florus seemed to be concerned with making a definition of the self and its capacities as specific as possible.

The majority of excerpts from *De Trinitate* which Florus chose for his *Expositio* are admittedly unconnected to the idea of the self. Many deal with Paul’s other concerns, such as the importance of charity,¹⁵⁹ the differences between men and women,¹⁶⁰ and

hominem pertinere. Non enim solum corpus homo exterior deputabitur sed...omnes sensus...quibus instructus est ad exteriora sentienda.

¹⁵⁷Florus, *Expositio*, col. 393; Augustine, *De Trinitate*, pp. 366-7, lines 80-8 : *Si ergo spiritu mentis nostrae renovamur, et ipse est novus homo qui renovatur in agnitionem dei secundum imaginem eius qui creavit eum, nulli dubium est non secundum corpus neque secundum quamlibet animi partem sed secundum rationalem mentem ubi potest esse agnitio dei hominem factum ad imaginem eius qui creavit eum. Secundum hanc autem renovationem efficimur etiam filii dei per baptismum Christi, et induentes novum hominem, utique induimus per fidem.*

¹⁵⁸Florus, *Expositio*, col. 393; Augustine, *De Trinitate*, p. 453, lines 52-6 : *Ista renovatio reformatioque mentis secundum deum vel secundum imaginem dei. Sed ideo dicitur secundum deum ne secundam aliam creaturam fieri putetur; ideo autem secundum imaginem dei ut in ea re intellegatur fieri haec renovatio ubi est imago dei, id est in mente....*

¹⁵⁹Florus, *Expositio*, col. 290.

the nature of faith.¹⁶¹ However, the fact that Florus not only transmitted passages from *De Trinitate* concerning the self which contained direct references to Paul's letters, but also included excerpts which made no such reference, often placing these excerpts in proximity to each other, shows that he at least carefully read through the second half of *De Trinitate* and understood, and was interested in, Augustine's formulation of the self and its capacity for renewal.

Benedict of Aniane's *Forma fidei* and Florus of Lyons's *Expositio* thus provide evidence that the self was an important and well-known concept to Carolingian writers. Furthermore, this idea was not vague or nebulous, but well-defined and well-understood. Benedict was chiefly concerned with a specific, detailed delineation of the components of the inner man, while Florus was interested in the notion of self-renewal. Their complementary preoccupations certainly reveal that Carolingian ecclesiastics were concerned with more interior issues, and explored them in a subtle and individual fashion, along with their interest in matters of form and outward behaviour. Thus, a close examination of the tensions present in ninth-century attitudes towards the importance of an exterior element such as ritual and the interior entity of the self will be both feasible and, it is hoped, profitable. Therefore, we may now move on to such a discussion.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, col. 337.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, cols. 308, 377.

Chapter 2: Baptism and the Self

I. Introduction

The beginning of the ninth century saw a concerted effort on the part of Charlemagne and those around him to set up the basic apparatus needed for the running of a Christian society. The wars of conquest and conversion in the east were over, and the empire could devote full attention to the continuation and expansion of the reform programme begun half a century earlier. Unsurprisingly, a major concern during this time was the issue of baptism. In the words of Joseph Lynch, baptism ‘was discussed, regulated, and revised to an extent unmatched by any other contemporary liturgical activity.’¹ During the latter half of the eighth century, it had been the baptism of adult converts that most occupied Carolingian writers, as controversy swirled around the forcible baptism of the Saxons and possible forced baptism of the Avars.² As the ninth century dawned, infant baptismal practices in the Carolingian heartland came to the fore, although the arguments formulated during the debate about adult baptism came to have an impact on these discussions.

The first part of this chapter will explore the overall meaning of baptism, both its social significance in the ninth century and, more importantly, its significance with regards to the moral self. This section also discusses the liturgical and theological context of ninth-century discussions of the baptismal rite. The second part of this chapter focuses on two of the prebaptismal ceremonies discussed in the ninth-century baptismal expositions: the touching of the ears and nose and the anointing of the breast and back. These ceremonies are useful for gaining an insight into Carolingian concepts of the self because in each act, a specific part of

¹J.H. Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, 1986), p. 297.

the body is touched for a specific spiritual reason. The majority of the writers who composed explanations of this ceremony looked ahead to the future life of the baptised individual and viewed these ceremonies as a mechanism for shaping the moral self. This section also links this shaping of the self to early medieval ideas of the transmission of divine wisdom, a concept to which many of the ninth-century writers refer. The third section of this chapter is closely tied to the preceding section, though focusing more closely on the role of the godparent in the shaping of the moral self of the catechumen at baptism. During the ninth century, the Carolingians made a concerted effort at increasing the importance of the role of the godparent. Perhaps the godparent's most important role was as moral guardian of the baptised. However, ninth-century writers balanced this guardianship against the personal responsibility the baptised had for himself or herself once he or she reached the age of understanding. Furthermore, the baptismal ceremonies can also be viewed as a mechanism for shaping the self of the godparent, as they could serve as a continuing reminder of the acts once performed on them.

A. Meaning of baptism

1. Social

First and foremost, baptism was the sacrament of Christian initiation, for adult converts and infants alike. Baptism was the sacrament that outwardly signaled that an individual was a Christian, subject to God and his laws,² and a member of Christian society. As Susan Keefe has put it: 'The rite of baptism, comprising the entire initiation process from catechetical

²D.A. Bullough, 'Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven: Liturgy, Theology, and the Carolingian Age', in D.A. Bullough, *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage* (Manchester, 1991), p. 189.

³And, by extension, subject to the laws of a Christian king. See S.A. Keefe, *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*, v. 1 (Notre Dame, 2002), p. 3 for the idea of a baptised person as a vassal.

preparation to reception of the Eucharist as a full member of the Church, put its stamp on every individual not only as a part of the Church, but as a member of society.’⁴ It was of the utmost importance for social cohesion, a vehicle for the formation of new ties between individuals and families.⁵ These earthly aspects of baptism, however, were balanced by its spiritual dimensions, with which this study will be primarily concerned.

2. Meaning of baptism as relates to self

Baptism was the ultimate sacrament of the self, symbolizing not only the transformation of the individual’s place in the world and in society, but also an inner rebirth, the throwing off of the old self in favour of the new.⁶ As we shall see in the second part of this chapter, the relation of baptism to the self perhaps extended even further than this. For, as stated in the introduction to this dissertation, the self was more than just the metaphysical soul; it was also a moral entity. Baptism, for ninth-century writers, not only effected a spiritual rebirth, but also shaped the moral self of the baptised infant. In return, this morality, once the infant had reached adulthood, was seen to validate the sacrament itself. Before considering these spiritual matters, however, it may be useful first to examine the context in which discussions of them took place in the ninth century.

⁴S.A. Keefe, ‘Carolingian Baptismal Expositions: A Handlist of Tracts and Manuscripts’, in U.-R. Blumenthal (ed.), *Carolingian Essays* (Washington, 1983), p. 171.

⁵See especially the works of Joseph Lynch: Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship*; J. H. Lynch, ‘*Spiritale vinculum*: The Vocabulary of Spiritual Kinship in Early Medieval Europe’, in T.F.X. Noble and J.J. Contreni (eds.), *Religion, Culture, and Society in the Early Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo, 1987), pp. 181-204; J.H. Lynch, *Christianizing Kinship: Ritual Sponsorship in Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1998).

⁶Social and spiritual rebirth could also be seen as connected in the ninth century. See W. Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship* (London, 1969) and the

B. Ninth-century context

1. Lack of liturgical uniformity

Why was baptism such an abiding concern for ninth-century writers? Before this question can be answered, it is first necessary to state that no standardized baptismal practice existed in the ninth century. Though extant liturgical evidence is rather limited, there are a large number of non-liturgical texts which discuss baptism. As more of these works, especially anonymous, previously undated ones have been identified as Carolingian, the full diversity of ninth-century liturgical practices has come to light.⁷ It is irrefutable that Charlemagne's reform initiatives were concerned with 'correct' liturgical practice.⁸ However, it may be misleading for us to equate correctness with uniformity. Many Carolingian churchmen, far from attempting to institute a single baptismal *ordo*, were indeed liturgical innovators, adapting older practices to fit local needs and inventing new ones where none existed.⁹ Nowhere was this more evident than in Benedict of Aniane's supplement to the sacramentary (now commonly known as the *Hadrianum*) sent by Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne between 786/7 and 791. Benedict drew on a variety of liturgical practices in composing the supplement, including older practices considered 'Roman' and Gallican material from the Old Gelasian and eighth-century Gelasian liturgical traditions.¹⁰

response by J.L. Nelson, 'On the Limits of the Carolingian Renaissance', *Studies in Church History* 14 (1977): 53-5.

⁷See especially Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 1, *passim*.

⁸J.N. Bakhuizen van der Brink, 'Sakrament und Ethik in der frühen Kirche', in P. Granfield and J.A. Jungmann, *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, v.1 (Münster, 1970), p. 68. See also A. Angenendt, *Geschichte der Religiosität im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 1997), p. 469.

⁹R.E. Sullivan, 'The Carolingian Age: Reflections on Its Place in the History of the Middle Ages', *Speculum* 64 (1989): 293-4; D.A. Bullough, 'Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven: Liturgy, Theology, and the Carolingian Age', in D.A. Bullough, *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage* (Manchester, 1991), pp. 161-240, esp. the discussion of Alcuin's baptismal concerns on pp. 188-91; R. McKitterick, 'Unity and Diversity in the Carolingian Church', *Studies in Church History* 32 (1996): 66-72.

Under Charlemagne, there was no attempt, even after he received the *Hadrianum*, to impose liturgical uniformity across the Carolingian Empire. Indeed, Rosamond McKitterick has postulated that the desire to impose a standard liturgical text throughout the empire was localized, confined to Louis the Pious and his court circle, especially Benedict of Aniane (interestingly, given his employment of diverse traditions when composing his supplement to the *Hadrianum*), in Aquitaine.¹¹ For many others, the concern with ‘correct’ practice was tempered by pragmatism. The baptismal expositions demonstrate that the ceremonies performed during baptism were rearranged or even omitted altogether to fit the needs of the local clergy.¹² Sacramentaries of both the Gregorian type represented by the *Hadrianum* and of the eighth-century Gelasian type, both, of course, with local variations, continued to be produced throughout the ninth century.¹³ Paradoxically, the great interest in baptism in the ninth century, resulted not in the standardization of practice, but in diversification.¹⁴ Indeed, the baptismal rite throughout the Carolingian Empire was more varied at the end of the ninth century than it had been at the beginning.¹⁵

2. Theological context

If, then, the form of the baptismal rite was not necessarily of utmost concern to Charlemagne and his bishops at the beginning of the ninth century, what was? As Yitzhak Hen has pointed out, ‘correctness’ in the eyes of Charlemagne and his advisers, had more to

¹⁰Y. Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul* (London, 2001), pp. 74-8.

¹¹R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms 789-895* (London, 1977), pp. 132-3.

¹²Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v.1, pp. 66 and 93.

¹³Y. Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul* (London, 2001), p. 80.

¹⁴J.H. Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship*, p. 297.

¹⁵R. McKitterick, ‘Unity and Diversity in the Carolingian Church’, *Studies in Church History* 32 (1996): 72.

do with doctrinal and theological orthodoxy than to liturgical uniformity.¹⁶ Indeed, one of the ninth century's defining characteristics was the attention paid to doctrinal and theological concerns, in addition to the cultural initiatives of the preceding decades.¹⁷ The practice of baptism in the very late eighth and early ninth centuries was inextricably linked to contemporary theological controversies. At least two baptismal commentaries composed around the year 800, one usually attributed to Alcuin and another, anonymous, text from Spain, were concerned with aspects of baptism that could be seen as related to the Adoptionist heresy.¹⁸ And, although a full exploration of the theological context of baptism is beyond the scope of this work, it is perhaps noteworthy that the Council of Aachen in 809, two to four years before Charlemagne's baptismal inquiry, discussed below, was concerned with another major doctrinal matter involving the nature of the Trinity, the *filioque* controversy, and reaffirmed the Carolingian stance on the issue.¹⁹

3. Charlemagne's inquiry

Luckily for modern scholars, the interest in baptism shown by ninth-century writers resulted in a relative glut of extant source material. Much of this material was in response to one event, Charlemagne's baptismal inquiry. Sometime between 811 and 813,²⁰ Charlemagne sent a questionnaire to the archbishops of the Frankish empire inquiring of them 'how you and your suffragan bishops may teach and instruct the priests of God and the

¹⁶Y. Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul* (London, 2001), pp. 83-9.

¹⁷R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms 789-895* (London, 1977), p. xx.

¹⁸Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v.1, pp. 80-1 n. 2 and 106-7.

¹⁹Ganz, 'Theology and the Organisation of Thought', p. 766. The Council of Gentilly in 767 was the first which dealt with this issue. For a discussion of the connection between theological issues and liturgical practices in Saint-Riquier in the very late eighth century, see S.A. Rabe, *Faith, Art, and Politics at Saint-Riquier: The Symbolic Vision of Angilbert* (Philadelphia, 1995), pp. 122-37.

²⁰Though the date of the circulatory cannot be dated to a specific year, it can firmly be placed between 811, when Maxentius, one of the respondents, was made archbishop of Aquileia and

people entrusted to you about the sacrament of baptism.²¹ Though this questionnaire directly spurred the composition of many of the ninth-century texts which discussed baptism, its influence extended even further. If we accept that the inquiry took place sometime between 811 and 813, this places the questionnaire's composition immediately prior to the five reform councils held at Arles, Rheims, Mainz, Tours, and Chalon-sur-Saône during the spring of 813.²² The jurisdiction of these councils, taken as a whole, covered the vast majority of Frankish territory.²³ Baptism was a major concern of these synods,²⁴ and many bishops composed baptismal instructions in their aftermath. The result was a corpus of baptismal expositions which gives us a unique opportunity to examine how early ninth-century writers from all over the Carolingian Empire interpreted the sacrament of Christian initiation. That these expositions were not merely esoteric, theoretical works but represented contemporary thought about baptism which was disseminated throughout all levels of the clergy and then transmitted to the laity has been persuasively illustrated by Susan Keefe.²⁵

Charlemagne's letter and its replies have been a rich source of material for those who have studied Carolingian liturgical practices. However, though the form of the baptismal rite was

the beginning of 813, when Amalar of Metz left for Constantinople. See Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 1, pp. 88-9.

²¹Text 14 (Charlemagne), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 262 : *qualiter tu et suffraganei tui doceatis et instruatis sacerdotes dei et plebem vobis commissam de baptismi sacramento.*

²²Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 1, p. 88; A. Werminghoff (ed.), *MGH Concilia II, Concilia aevi karolini I*, pp. 245-306.

²³R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms 789-895* (London, 1977), pp. 12, 217.

²⁴Werminghoff (ed.), *MGH Concilia II, Concilia aevi karolini I*, pp. 250, 254, 261, and 288-9.

²⁵Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 1, pp. 22-38.

also a concern of Charlemagne, the questionnaire's chief concern was didactic.²⁶ That Charlemagne was unconcerned with ensuring that his bishops were adhering to any kind of strictly defined baptismal *ordo* is evidenced by the language of the letter. The most frequently occurring word is *cur*, 'why?'. Charlemagne asked *why* the different aspects of the sacrament took place, rather than simply inquiring in what order they were done or what words were said while each ceremony was performed. This was not merely for Charlemagne's personal benefit or for the edification of the elite, for the questionnaire inquired into what was taught to the clergy and the people. Thus, the replies provide insight into the kind of information that might have been transmitted to the parents and godparents of the infants to be baptised. As we shall see next, however, the didactic aspect of baptism extended further than merely teaching the laity the basic tenets of Christian faith.

II. Prebaptismal ceremonies

A. Why study the *effeta* and prebaptismal anointing?

An examination of the meanings attributed to all of the ceremonies performed during the baptismal rite would be at least a dissertation in itself, far beyond the scope of this work. Therefore, I have chosen to concentrate only on those ceremonies which involve the touching of specific body parts, as these perhaps most directly demonstrate the connection between the physical act and its intended spiritual effect. For, as this section will demonstrate, the body parts which were touched during the rite were those which ninth-century writers viewed as the locations of the intellectual, moral, and spiritual faculties of the catechumen. Indeed, when they discussed these ceremonies, these writers used language similar to the vocabulary of the self discussed in the introduction to this dissertation: *mens*, *animus*, *cor*, etc. Though of course it depended on the baptismal *ordo* in use, there were three moments during the

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 90.

baptismal rite in which specific places on the body were touched by the officiating priest: during the *effeta*, in which the ears and/or nose were touched; during the prebaptismal anointing, in which the breast and/or shoulder blades were touched; and during the postbaptismal anointing, in which the head was touched.²⁷ I have omitted a detailed discussion of the postbaptismal anointing, as it was less concerned with the head as a bodily location and more concerned with the head as representative of the catechumen as a whole. This ceremony, however, is useful for understanding Carolingian attitudes towards anointing rituals in general, and therefore I will briefly discuss it in the second section of this chapter.

I have chosen to concentrate on the touching of specific places during the baptismal rite in order to understand what effect, if any, ninth century writers envisaged this would have on the self of the catechumen. Most methods of shaping the self (asceticism, contemplative reading, psalmody) were usually available only to the monastic and/or noble elite. Did ninth-century writers, then, consider the selves of the great mass of the laity to be incapable of being shaped? Was it considered enough that their behaviour be controlled? As baptism was perhaps one of the only sacraments which all Christians received at some point in their lives, could ninth-century churchmen have envisaged that some sort of shaping effect could occur during the ritual? If so, how could this be accomplished with infant catechumens?

²⁷It could also be said that the tongue was touched during the part of the rite in which salt was given to the catechumen, but it seems to me that the focus of that ceremony was the consumption of a particular material, rather than any particular part of the catechumen's body.

C. Effeta

1. History and liturgical context

Virtually no research has been done on the meaning of the *effeta* ritual in the ninth century, or indeed, at any time in the early Middle Ages. For the ninth century, this is perhaps unsurprising, as up until recently an examination of the corpus of baptismal writings has been hampered by the lack of critical editions of the majority of works. This has now been rectified by Susan Keefe, who has edited sixty-four texts, twenty-five of which have not been edited previously.²⁸ These editions offer an unprecedented opportunity to fully appreciate the variety of meanings which ninth-century writers assigned to the various ceremonies performed during the rite of baptism.

The location of the *effeta* in the structure of most of the ninth-century baptismal expositions seems to imply that it was seen, at least by some writers, as linked in some way to the prebaptismal anointing of the breast and/or shoulder blades. The *effeta* rite is found in the same forty texts as the prebaptismal anointing, usually directly before the anointing, but occasionally joined to it.²⁹ Unlike the prebaptismal anointings, the *effeta* followed a biblical model: the touching by Jesus of the ears and mouth of the deaf man with his saliva.³⁰

²⁸Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 151.

²⁹In Text 38 (Anonymous), for example, the nose is anointed after the anointing of the breast but before the anointing of the shoulder blades. The ears are not touched at all. The forty texts in which the prebaptismal ceremonies of the *effeta* and the anointing of the breast and/or shoulder blades are mentioned are the only texts in the corpus which discuss the meanings of each ceremony performed during the rites of baptism. The other texts in the corpus edited by Keefe are concerned with such things as the overall meaning of baptism or the meaning of the water in the font. Others were glosses on the words used in baptismal prayers. No text which discusses the meaning of the prebaptismal ceremonies omits any of the three ceremonies with which this chapter is concerned.

³⁰Mark 7:32-5. This model also provided the name of the ceremony: *Eppheta, quod est adaperire*.

However, this example served as an inspiration, open to interpretation at the local level.

Leidrad of Lyon acknowledged a number of variations on the procedure, stating:

‘However, it ought to be known that different practices concerning this matter may be maintained in different regions. For some touch the ears and nostrils of catechumens with holy oil, others with spittle, others without spittle or oil, and still others touch the mouth with oil, according to the Lord’s example.’³¹

In the liturgical sources for which we have evidence, no major variations in the ceremony occurred. In *Ordo XI*, Benedict of Aniane’s supplement to the *Hadrianum*, and the Gellone Sacramentary, the priest used spittle in performing the *effeta*. He said to each ear: *Effeta, quod est adaperire, in odorem suavitatis. Tu autem effugare diabolo appropinquabit enim iudicium dei.*³²

2. Meanings attributed to the ceremony

One of the few scholars to discuss the *effeta*, Peter Cramer, has characterized it as an objective exorcism, a means by which supernatural forces were inflicted upon a passive catechumen for the sole purpose of removing evil influences.³³ However, as with the prebaptismal anointing (which will be discussed in the next section of this chapter), few texts

³¹Text 25 (Leidrad of Lyon), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 360 : *Sciendum tamen quod de hac re in diversis regionibus diversus teneatur usus. Alii namque oleo sancto tangunt catichuminum aures et nares; alii vero sputo; alii absque sputo et oleo; alii etiam os tangunt oleo ad exemplum dominicum.* Texts 2 (Anonymous), 3 (Anonymous), 4 (Anonymous), 17 (Anonymous), and 42 (Anonymous) specified that oil was used for the *effeta*. All of the other texts specified saliva.

³²M. Andrieu (ed.), *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, v.2 (Louvain, 1948), p. 443; J. Deshusses (ed.), *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien, ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, v. 1 (Fribourg, 1971), p. 377; A. Dumas (ed.), *Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis: Textus*, CCSL CLIX (Turnhout, 1981), p. 331 : ‘Open, that is, to throw open, in the odour of sweetness. Indeed, flee from the devil, for the judgement of God has drawn near.’

³³P. Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 143.

attributed an exorcistic purpose to the *effeta*. Rather, the ritual was usually seen as having a transformative effect on the mind, heart, or soul.

The language used by the writers of the ninth-century baptismal expositions to describe the effect or purpose of the *effeta* often mirrored that used to describe the prebaptismal anointing. Many saw the touching of the ears and/or nose as having an effect on the mental faculties of the catechumen. Angilmodus of Soisson portrayed the *effeta* as a form of instruction: 'To put the fingers with spittle on the nostrils and the ears is to instruct the heart with the word of faith.'³⁴ The nose and the ears were both seen as entrances to the very self of the catechumen: 'Indeed, the ears and nostrils are touched by a finger so that they who strayed from the path of truth may hear of the gifts of the Holy Spirit and may grasp them in their heart.'³⁵ The *effeta* could also be tied more explicitly to the anointing of the breast. Theodulf of Orléans believed the rite was performed so that it 'may open the nostrils with which they may seize the good odour of Christ. For the breast of him who is baptised ought always to be both filled with the nectar of the divine odour and smeared by the spiritual anointing.'³⁶

The ears, unsurprisingly, were viewed as integral to the mental processes of hearing and understanding. Occasionally, the touching of them was portrayed as a sort of consecration. Leidrad of Lyon, for example, held the view that the ears ought to be touched because 'the

³⁴Text 32 (Angilmodus of Soissons), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 452 : *Digitos cum sputo in nares et auriculas mittere est verbo fidei eorum corde instruere.*

³⁵Text 30 (Jesse of Amiens), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 417 : *Tanguntur autem nares et aures digito ut dona sancti spiritus hi qui a via veritatis aberraverant. audiant. et corde percipiant.*

³⁶Text 16 (Theodulf of Orléans), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 295-6 : *nares quibus bonum christi odorem capiant aperiat. Pectus enim illius qui baptizatur refertum semper esse debet et divini odoris nectare et spiritali unctione delibutum.*

beginning of faith and of all holy learning is admitted to the mind through the ears, and understanding arises from hearing. ... Therefore, his organs of sense, without which faith cannot reach the mind, are rightly blessed.³⁷ More often, however, the *effeta* was seen as facilitating this mental process. For example, the same five texts which cited John the Deacon's explanation of the anointing of the breast also cited his explanation of the touching of the ears: 'the ears are touched because faith enters the understanding through them.'³⁸ Amalar of Metz, too, viewed the touching of the ears in this way and believed the rite was performed so that 'the ears, with God being merciful, may be always open to understanding the words of God's teaching.'³⁹ One anonymous text, which cited a passage from Ambrose, emphasized the internal nature of the desired effect of the ceremony and stated that the ears were touched so that 'each one to come to grace may understand what is asked and what he may respond and commit to memory.'⁴⁰ Another anonymous text explicitly viewed the ears as openings into the self of the catechumen and affirmed that the *effeta* was performed 'so

³⁷Text 25 (Leidrad of Lyon), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 360 : *Introitus fidei et totius sanctae doctrinae ad animum per aures admittitur, et de auditu intellectus exoritur. ... recte ergo eius sensus organa sanctificantur, sine quo fides ad animum non potest pervenire. See also Text 26 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), Water and the Word, v. 2, p. 386, which expressed the same views with slightly altered phrasing.*

³⁸Texts 1 (Anonymous), 2 (Anonymous), 3 (Anonymous), 4 (Anonymous), and 32 (Angilmodus of Soissons), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 162, 177, 188, 201, and 453 : *Ideo tanguntur aures eorum quia per eas ad intellectum fides ingreditur. Texts 2 (Anonymous), 3 (Anonymous), and 4 (Anonymous) further specified that the ears were touched with oleum sanctificationis, perhaps carrying it over from John's description of the prebaptismal anointing.*

³⁹Text 23 (Amalar of Metz), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 345 : *aures ... deo miserante, semper aperte sint ad intelligenda verba disciplinae dei.*

⁴⁰Text 1 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 162 : *venturus unusquisque ad gratiam quid interrogetur agnoscat et quid respondeat (et) memoriae commendat, citing Ambrose, De mysteriis 1.3.12, CSEL 73, p. 90.*

that the entrance into man may be opened to Christ our Lord through the ear, and he will fill him with the spirit of wisdom and understanding.’⁴¹

What may strike us today as odd was the belief that the touching of the nose could also affect the mental faculties of the catechumen. This view perhaps becomes more understandable if we consider the location of the nostrils and view them as a direct passageway to what we would refer to as the brain, but which medieval writers could have referred to as the mind, heart, or soul. As one anonymous text explicitly stated: ‘This whole thing is done so that the ears may be opened to hearing the word of God and his mind, which is signified through the nostrils, to receiving it.’⁴² This belief appeared in many of the expositions. To give just two examples from anonymous texts: ‘The nostrils are also touched so that they may fully enjoy the odour of the knowledge of Christ’⁴³ and ‘so that through the saliva and the touch of the priests, wisdom and divine power may effect the salvation of the same catechumen so that the nostrils may be opened for him to grasp the odour of the wisdom of God and to store it with the innermost sense of the heart.’⁴⁴ The mental act of

⁴¹Text 42 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 547-8 : *Ut per aurem aperiatur ingressus in homine christo domino nostro et ille implebit eum spiritu sapientiae et intellectus.*

⁴²Text 45 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 563-4 : *Hoc autem totum fit ut aperiatur aures ad audiendum verbum dei et mens eius, que per nares significatur, ad suscipiendum.*

⁴³Text 38 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 535 : *Tanguntur et nares ut odore notitiae dei perfruantur.*

⁴⁴Text 47 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 570 : *Ut per salivam sacerdotum et tactum sapientia et virtus divina salutem eiusdem catechumini operetur ut aperiatur ei nares ad perci[pi]endum odorem notitiae dei sensusque intimo cordis reponendum.* See also Text 48 (Anonymous), which used a shorter version of this passage, and Text 44 (Anonymous), which used a slightly different version.

understanding was also paralleled to the physical act of breathing. ‘Truly, the nostrils are opened, and the sweetest odour of the knowledge of God is drawn in.’⁴⁵

For many of the authors of the baptismal expositions, the touching of the ears and/or nose during the *effeta* was an outward sign of an inward effect on the spiritual senses. The touching of the location of the physical senses could be employed to bring about an interior change because ‘the senses of the body announce the bodily things to the heart’⁴⁶ and ‘through the saliva of (the priest’s) mouth and his touch (the catechumens) may be made partners of spiritual grace, and divine power may enlighten and strengthen all the senses of those to be baptised to the divine mysteries to be revealed, sensed, and understood.’⁴⁷ ‘In fact, in the holy Scriptures, the spiritual powers of the soul are generally understood through the members of the body.’⁴⁸

The nose was seen as having its own particular spiritual sense of smell, which many of the writers of the expositions equated with the virtue of *discretio*, not only the ability to tell right from wrong, good from evil, but also the will to choose the right course. ‘Indeed, (the priest) may smear (the nose) with oil so that (the catechumen) may receive discernment ... so that he may know through this same anointing to reject evil and choose good.’⁴⁹ This *discretio* even

⁴⁵Text 5 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 212 : *Nares vero aperiuntur et suavissimus odor notitiae dei trahitur.*

⁴⁶Text 32 (Angilmodus of Soissons), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 454 : *Sensus enim corporis corporalia nuntiant cordi.*

⁴⁷Text 47 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 570 : *Per salivam oris eius ac tactum participes fiant gratiae spiritualis et ad aperienda et sentienda et intelligenda mysteria divina, et omnis (lege: omnes) sensus baptizantium virtus divina perlustret et confirmet.* See also Text 48 (Anonymous), which used a shorter version of this passage.

⁴⁸Text 16 (Theodulf of Orléans), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 295 : *In sacro etenim eloquio plerumque per membra corporis spiritalis animae virtutes intelleguntur.*

⁴⁹Text 17 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 325 : *Et liniat oleo ut discretionem suscipiat ... ut per eandem unctionem sciat reprobare malum et eligere bonum.*

extended to the ability to recognize virtuous and sinful desires and direct the will accordingly. 'And because, generally, the sweetness of odour and other perfumed things combine with dissolute desires, (the catechumens) on the contrary, having been made both chaste and lovers of Christ, may always embrace only his lifegiving odour.'⁵⁰ Several other writers also equated the will to do good with Christ himself. Recognition of this was accomplished 'through the touch of the nose, so that, with harmful delights having been abandoned, it may always embrace only the odour of Christ.'⁵¹ The recognition of virtue could also be combined with the reception of faith, not only spiritually but mentally as well. 'The nostrils are touched so that the former foulness may be shunned, and it may receive the sacraments of faith through the spiritual sense of smell.'⁵² 'But still, the finer understanding is marked in this matter by the blessing of the nostrils. For that touch to the faithful rouses the spiritual sense of smell, so that they may be able to perceive Christ with inestimable sweetness, not with the senses of the body, but with the senses of the mind.'⁵³

The ears were also seen as having a parallel spiritual sense of hearing and were touched so that they 'may always listen to spiritual things with spiritual hearing ... so that those hearing spiritually those things which are said spiritually may come to the profits of spiritual

⁵⁰Text 16 (Theodulf of Orléans), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 294 : *Et quia plerumque odoris suavitas et diversa timiamata dissolutis amoribus conveniunt, isti e contrario et continentes et christi amatores effecti illius solummodo salutiferum semper amplectantur odorem.*

⁵¹Texts 5 (Anonymous), 34 (Anonymous), 35 (Anonymous), 36 (Anonymous), and 50 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 213, 475, 485, 524, and 581 : *Per tactum vero narium ut abiectis delectationibus noxiis, solum christi semper amplectantur odorem*, citing Bede, *Homiliarum euangelii libri ii*, CCSL 122, p. 75.

⁵²Texts 54 (Anonymous) and 54.1 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 604 and 608 : *Nares vero ideo tanguntur ut pristinus fugetur fetor et spiritaliter odorando sacramenta fidei suscipiant.*

⁵³Text 25 (Leidrad of Lyon), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 361 : *Sed adhuc subtilior intellectus in hac narium sanctificatione signatur. Ille enim tactus ad odoratum*

works.’⁵⁴ One anonymous writer placed the *effeta* within the context of the baptismal rite and saw it as a preparation for the recitation of the Creed which evidently followed immediately after. The ears were touched ‘so that they may attentively hear the Creed of the faith with the spiritual ears.’⁵⁵ These spiritual ears were superior to the physical ears, and though the bodily organs were touched, they were ultimately unnecessary. ‘And just as the body has all members and senses, so the whole soul also has both senses and members, and also ears amongst other things. He who might have these will not greatly require these ears of the body to receive the gospel of Christ’⁵⁶ because ‘the soul truly discerns incorporeal things with its sense.’⁵⁷ These spiritual ears could be located not only in the soul but in the heart as well. Three writers referred to them as the ‘ears of the heart’⁵⁸

As with the prebaptismal anointings of the breast and/or shoulder blades, many writers looked to the future life of the catechumen when they discussed the *effeta*. This was especially applicable to the touching of the nose, perhaps because of the nose’s physical role in sustaining life.

fideles provocat spiritalem ut non corporis sed mentis sensibus christum inaestimabili suavitate sentire possint.

⁵⁴Text 16 (Theodulf of Orléans), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 295 : *spiritali auditu semper spiritalia auscultent ... ut quae spiritaliter dicuntur, spiritaliter audientes, ad spiritalium operum emolumenta perveniant.*

⁵⁵Text 55 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 614 : *ut spiritalibus auribus intente audiant fidei symbolum percipiant.*

⁵⁶Text 32 (Angilmodus of Soissons), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 454 : *Et quomodo corpus omnia membra et sensus habet, ita anima quoque universa et sensus et membra habere, et inter cetera etiam aures. Quas qui habuerit non magnopere indigebit his auribus corporis ad christi evangelium recipiendum.*

⁵⁷*Ibid.* : *Incorporea vero animus suo ... sensu diiudicat.*

⁵⁸Texts 5 (Anonymous), 30 (Jesse of Amiens), and 58 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 212, 418, and 623 : *cordis aures.*

‘When, indeed, their nostrils are touched, they are reminded that as long as they draw breath with their nostrils they may endure in the service of God and in His commands.’⁵⁹

‘Those who come to baptism may be reminded to preserve the sacrament of so great a mystery inviolate and entirely all the way up to death’⁶⁰

‘The nostrils are touched so that as long as he may draw breath with the nostrils, he may persevere in the faith received.’⁶¹

‘We touch the nostrils so that they may be reminded as long as they draw the breath of life with these nostrils, they might always persevere in those things which they have already learned and still learn from the mouth of Catholic men, and therefore they are touched with the spittle of the priest.’⁶²

A similar emphasis on the future life of the catechumen, however, can also be seen during the discussion of the touching of the ears:

‘The ears are similarly touched so that they may always listen to and strictly attend to the saving doctrine of the Christian religion and faith and may reject all ridiculous persuasions of the devil.’⁶³

⁵⁹Texts 1 (Anonymous), 2 (Anonymous), 3 (Anonymous), 4 (Anonymous), and 32 (Angilmodus of Soissons), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 162, 177, 188, 201, and 453 : *Cum vero tanguntur nares eorum, ammonentur ut quamdiu spiritum naribus trahunt, in dei servitio mandatisque perdurent.*

⁶⁰Text 2 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 177. : *Hii qui ad baptismum veniunt admoneantur tanti misterii sacramentum usque ad mortem inviolatum adque integrum custodire.*

⁶¹Texts 9 (Alcuin?), 10 (Anonymous), 12 (Anonymous), 19 (Anonymous), 27 (Anonymous), 34 (Anonymous), 36 (Anonymous), 40 (Anonymous), 41 (Anonymous), 42 (Anonymous), 52 (Anonymous), 55 (Anonymous), and 59 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 242-3, 248-9, 255, 330, 391, 475, 524, 540, 543, 547, 595, 614, 627 : *Tanguntur et nares, ut quamdiu spiritum naribus trahat, in fide accepta perduret.*

⁶²Text 23 (Amalar of Metz), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 344 : *Nares tangimus ut ammoneantur, quamdiu spiritum vitae huius naribus trahunt, semper in his perseverent, quae iam didicerunt et adhuc discunt ab ore catholicorum virorum, et ideo sputo presbiteri tanguntur.*

⁶³Texts 15 (Magnus of Sens) and 15A (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 269 and 275 : *Et aures similiter tanguntur, ut salutarem doctrinam christianae religionis ac fidei semper auscultent et intente audiant et omnes ridiculas daemonis suasiones respuant.*

Similarly, we say of the ears as the priest says: Remember always to hold as a reminder the faith which you learnt from that mouth, and which entered the soul through the ears.’⁶⁴

The prebaptismal anointings and the *effeta* are integral to understanding the involvement of the catechumen in the sacrament. For they are multifaceted, involving not only the properties perceived to be present in the oil or saliva itself, but also the significance of the area(s) to be anointed and expectations for the catechumen’s future life. As we saw above in the discussion of the expositions which placed more importance on the apotropaic nature of the prebaptismal anointing, and especially in the discussions of the *effeta*, many writers looked towards the catechumens’ futures and saw these two ceremonies as some form of preparation. Those texts which portrayed the unction and the touching with saliva as a tool for somehow shaping the minds and hearts of the catechumens also implicitly emphasized the future, for why else would the self need to be transformed? Theodulf of Orléans, in a remarkably explicit manner, portrayed the prebaptismal anointing of the breast and shoulder blades as something the catechumens should constantly refer to throughout their lives: ‘Let them be strengthened before and behind, that is, be cautious in the face of all prosperity or adversity, and be filled by the imitation of all celestial beings before and behind the eyes, that is, let them not lose the care of their salvation looking into the past or the future.’⁶⁵

⁶⁴Text 23 (Amalar of Metz), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 344-5 : *Similiter dicimus de auribus, quasi dicat presbiter: fidem quam ab isto ore didicisti, et quae per aures intravit ad animam...semper tenere memento.*

⁶⁵Text 16 (Theodulf of Orléans), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 296 : *ante et retro muniti, id est contra omnia prospera sive adversa sint circumspecti, et caelestium animalium imitatione ante et retro pleni sint oculis, id est, in praeteritum et futurum respicientes salutis suae custodiam non amittant.*

C. Prebaptismal anointing

1. History and liturgical context

The second prebaptismal ceremony I shall consider is the prebaptismal anointing of the breast and/or back. Very little has been written about the prebaptismal anointing of the breast and/or shoulder blades during the ninth century, or, indeed, any time during the Middle Ages. Those scholars who have addressed the issue have largely considered the anointing within the context of beliefs concerning demonic influence. Some have focussed their attention on the perception of some medieval writers that the prebaptismal anointing had an exorcistic effect,⁶⁶ while others have concentrated on the portrayals of the anointing as having a more positive, apotropaic, effect on the catechumen.⁶⁷ Arnold Angenendt and Victor Saxer, especially, have viewed the unction of the breast and shoulder blades within the context of the medieval belief in the ongoing struggle between Christ and the devil on earth, with the human soul as both battleground and booty.⁶⁸ As with the *effeta*, the limited sources previously available in edited form have perhaps also limited the meanings which modern scholars have attached to the prebaptismal anointing. For, when the large number of

⁶⁶Cramer, *Baptism and Change*; A. Angenendt, 'Die Liturgie und die Organisation des kirchlichen Lebens auf dem Lande', in *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell'alto medioevo: espansione e resistenze*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 28.1 (Spoleto, 1982), pp. 186-91; L.L. Mitchell, *Baptismal Anointing*, Alcuin Club Collection 48 (London, 1966).

⁶⁷E.J. Lengeling, 'Vom Sinn der präbaptismalen Salbung', in *Mélanges liturgiques offerts au R.P. Dom Bernard Botte O.S.B.* (Louvain, 1972), pp. 327-57; H.A. Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism: Ritual, Theology, and Drama* (Ithaca, 1985), pp. 123-35. The apotropaic nature of the anointing of the breast and back was also attested to in the fourth and fifth centuries. See V. Saxer, 'L'initiation chrétienne du IIe au VIe siècle: esquisse historique des rites et de leur signification', in *Segni e riti nella chiesa altomedievale occidentale*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 33.1 (Spoleto, 1987), pp. 185-6.

⁶⁸Saxer, 'L'initiation chrétienne', p. 186; A. Angenendt, 'Der Taufritus im frühen Mittelalter', in *Segni e riti nella chiesa altomedievale occidentale*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 33.1 (Spoleto, 1987), pp. 306-9; Angenendt, *Geschichte der Religiosität*, p. 467.

ninth-century baptismal expositions are considered side by side, the full richness and range of the meanings of the anointing put forward by their writers immediately becomes clear.

The prebaptismal anointing of the breast and/or shoulder blades is perhaps the most richly symbolic ceremony for the purposes of this dissertation, as it involved the unction of the physical location of the heart. It is unclear exactly where and when the style of prebaptismal anointing found in early medieval texts originated. Unlike the ceremonies of the touching of the nose and ears and the postbaptismal anointing, there was no biblical precedent for the anointing of the breast and/or shoulder blades. The earliest reference to the anointing of specific body parts before immersion in the font was by John the Deacon.⁶⁹ According to a letter written by John to the senator Senarius in Ravenna around the year A.D. 500, the ears, nose, and breast were anointed with oil.⁷⁰ The prebaptismal anointing had previously consisted of an anointing of the whole body, originally as a means by which the person was cleansed (both externally and spiritually),⁷¹ and the reason behind the transition to the anointing of a specific place on the body is unknown.⁷² It has been posited that the shift was due to the increase in infant baptism,⁷³ though there is no firm evidence to support this. It is interesting, however, that the letter by John the Deacon in which the anointing of the breast,

⁶⁹B. Kleinheyer, *Sacramentliche Feiern*, v. 7.1 (Regensburg, 1984-89), p. 113. This view has also been set forward by scholars studying the ceremony in the East. See G. Winkler, 'The Original Meaning of the Prebaptismal Anointing and its Implications', in G. Winkler, *Studies in Early Christian Liturgy and its Context* (Aldershot, 1997), text I, pp. 24-45.

⁷⁰Lengeling, 'Vom Sinn der präbaptismalen Salbung', p. 334. John the Deacon, *Epistola ad Senarium virum illustrem*, PL 59, cols 399-406.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, p. 331.

⁷²Kleinheyer, *Sacramentliche Feiern*, v. 7.1, p. 113.

⁷³*Ibid.* Kleinheyer did not give his reasons or evidence for this hypothesis, but we may be able to assume that he was thinking of the practical difficulties in covering an infant with oil and then trying to hold on to him or her for the rest of the ceremony(!)

as opposed to the whole body, was first mentioned concerned the pre-baptismal rites for infants.⁷⁴

In the Carolingian period, though practices differed depending on local circumstances,⁷⁵ most, if not all, variations of the rite involved some sort of anointing before immersion in the baptismal font. In the 'Roman' rite⁷⁶ as represented by the mid-eighth century Gelasian Sacramentary (Vat. Reg. lat 316) and those Carolingian baptismal *ordines* found in the *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum*,⁷⁷ the infants to be baptised were anointed by a priest with exorcized oil on their breasts and shoulder blades during the final prebaptismal scrutiny that took place on Holy Saturday morning.⁷⁸ These anointings were also took place in those rites thought to have been 'Gallicanized' in some way after their introduction into Francia.⁷⁹ Variations did occur, however. For example, in the baptismal *ordo* found in the Bobbio Missal, the nose and ears, which in the Roman rite were touched with the priest's spittle, were instead anointed with oil along with the breast, but not the back, before baptism.⁸⁰ In the *Ordo Romanus XI* of Andrieu's collection, however, all prebaptismal anointings were

⁷⁴Lengeling, 'Vom Sinn der präbaptismalen Salbung', p. 334.

⁷⁵Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 1, p. 42.

⁷⁶It is important to keep in mind, however, that the baptismal rite varied even in those sacramentaries considered Roman by Carolingian writers. See Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 1, p. 42.

⁷⁷Though the manuscripts of the *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* are all post-ninth-century, the baptismal *ordines* can be shown to be Carolingian: Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 1, p. 47 n. 14.

⁷⁸Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 1, p. 45. Though the scrutiny procedure in the ninth century was often compressed into a single set of ceremonies conducted immediately prior to immersion, the anointing of the breast and back was still performed. See Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 1, p. 49; Angenendt, *Geschichte der Religiosität*, pp. 464-5.

⁷⁹Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 1, p. 48.

⁸⁰Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 1, p. 50. Text 25 (Leidrad of Lyons), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 360 acknowledged that spittle and oil were used differently in various locales.

omitted.⁸¹ Though little scholarship has explored the significance of the prebaptismal anointings, much evidence survives which concerns them. In the sixty-four ninth-century baptismal expositions edited by Susan Keefe, forty include a discussion of some form of prebaptismal anointing, whether just of the breast or of the breast and shoulder blades.⁸²

In the liturgical rites for which we have evidence, the prebaptismal anointing was tied closely to the renunciation of the devil. Indeed, in almost none of these rites (with the exception of Andrieu's *Ordo L*) is a prayer recited during the anointing. Rather, the anointing was performed silently and then followed by the renunciation of the devil, or the two rites were performed simultaneously. In Andrieu's *Ordo XI*, the renunciation of the devil was omitted along with any prebaptismal anointing, which perhaps also indicates the connection between the two. The following are some examples of the liturgical connection between these two ceremonies:

Ordo L

The priest used oil to anoint the breast and back. There was no prayer as such said during the anointing. Rather, it was performed in conjunction with the renunciation of Satan. The catechumen (with the godparent answering on his or her behalf) was asked if he or she renounced Satan and all his works and pomps. The priest then said the prayer, *Et ego te linio oleo salutis, in Christo Iesu domino nostro, in vitam aeternam*. One manuscript, however,

⁸¹ Andrieu (ed.), *Les Ordines romani*, pp. 417-47.

⁸² These are: Texts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 12, 15, 15A, 16, 17, 19, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 38, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54, 54.1, 55, 58, and 59 in Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 2; in addition, Text 14 (Charlemagne's questionnaire) asks about the meaning of the anointing. The twenty-three texts which do not mention the prebaptismal anointing also do not discuss most of the other prebaptismal ceremonies. Many are concerned with other topics, such as the different types of baptism (according to Isidore of Seville), or are glosses of the prayers said during baptism.

specified that this prayer was to be said after the anointing. Instead, while anointing the breast, the priest said: *Fuge, immunde spiritus, da honorem Deo vivo et vero*. While anointing the shoulder blades, he said: *Exi, immunde spiritus, da locum spiritui sancto*.⁸³

Ordo XI

There was no renunciation of Satan or anointing of the breast and back.

Hadrianum

After touching the breast and shoulder blades with oil, the priest (as in Ordo L) asked the catechumens whether they renounced Satan and his works and pomps.⁸⁴

Benedict of Aniane's Supplement to the Hadrianum

After touching the breast and shoulder blades with oil, the priest (as in the Hadrianum) asked the catechumens whether they renounced Satan and his works and pomps.⁸⁵

Gellone Sacramentary

After touching the breast and shoulder blades with oil, the priest (as in the Hadrianum) asked the catechumens whether they renounced Satan and his works and pomps.⁸⁶

2. Meanings attributed to ceremony

⁸³ M. Andrieu (ed.), *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, v. 5 (Louvain, 1948), p. 263.

⁸⁴ J. Deshusses (ed.), *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien, ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, v. 1 (Fribourg, 1971), p. 183.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 377-8.

⁸⁶ A. Dumas (ed.), *Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis: Textus*, CCSL 159 (Turnhout, 1981), pp. 331-2.

Unsurprisingly, many writers did view the unction as having an exorcistic or apotropaic effect. Those which portrayed the anointing in this manner necessarily depicted the catechumen as a passive object on which supernatural forces acted. Furthermore, those works which attributed an exorcistic meaning to the unction necessarily saw the anointing as a finite act, an end in itself. However, a great many of these texts also paid great attention to the role which the anointing played in shaping the self of the catechumen. These works, in contrast, portrayed the catechumen working in symbiosis with the anointing. The unction was indeed an application of spiritual forces, but it was the beginning of a process, rather than the end of one. The anointing, rather than merely expelling demons or protecting the catechumen from evil forces, actually helped to shape the self and prepare the catechumen for later life. In addition, it was the baptised individual's later character, once he or she reached adulthood, which validated the sacrament and continued the process. It is the shaping of the self with which this section will be concerned.

Before examining the shaping of the self, however, it may be useful to first briefly discuss those expositions which attributed an exorcistic or apotropaic purpose to prebaptismal anointing. Texts which viewed the anointing in an exorcistic light were by far in the minority: out of the forty texts which discuss prebaptismal anointing, only four view the unction as having an exorcistic purpose:

Truly, the breast is anointed with oil, and the shoulder blades are signed or smeared so that through the anointing of this very creature, the purging of the mind and body may be bestowed with the Holy Spirit working, so that if those blemishes of opposing spirits might remain, they may depart at the touch of this sanctified oil.⁸⁷

⁸⁷Text 5 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 213 : *Pectus vero ideo ungitur oleo scapulaeque signantur vel liniuntur ut per istius creaturae unctionem purgatio mentis et corporis operante spiritu sancto tribuatur, ut si quae maculae adversantium spirituum inheserunt, ad tactum sanctificati olei huius abscedant.*

The catechumens are then anointed on the chest and between the shoulder blades with blessed oil while they renounce Satan and his works and pomps. Therefore, we think that it was instituted so that the abode of the heart may be marked before and behind with the sign by which the devil, the author of treachery, may be expelled, and Christ, the dispenser of faith and charity, may enter.⁸⁸

The breasts of the catechumen, both on the breast and between the shoulder blades, are also anointed with exorcized oil when they renounce Satan and his works and pomps. Therefore, we suppose that it is done so that ... the devil, the author of treachery, may be expelled by this sign, and Christ, the dispenser of faith and charity, may enter.⁸⁹

(The breast is anointed) so that no remainders of the hidden enemy may remain in him....⁹⁰

The scarcity of expositions which attribute an exorcistic meaning to the prebaptismal anointing, of course, does not refute the idea that some ninth-century writers saw an exorcistic component as an integral part of the baptismal rite. Most, indeed, viewed the exsufflation of the catechumen (in which the priest blew on the catechumen to chase away demonic forces) as having this very effect. However, it is important to note that the great majority of churchmen who wrote about baptism did not see the oil used during the anointing of the breast and/or shoulder blades in a purely instrumental way, as a vehicle for the ritual purification or exorcism of the catechumen, but as something perhaps more complex.

⁸⁸Text 25 (Leidrad of Lyon), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 361 : *Unguntur etiam nunc caticumini in pectore et inter scapulas oleo exorcizato cum abrenuntiant satanae et operibus ac pompis eius; quod ideo fieri arbitramur ut habitaculum cordis ante et retro signetur, quo signo diabolus auctor perfidiae pellatur et Christus largitor fidei et caritatis ingrediatur.*

⁸⁹Text 26 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 386 : *Unguntur etiam et pectus caticumini [et?] in pectore et inter scapulas oleo exorcizato cum abrenuntiant sathane et operibus eius hac (lege: ac) pompis. Quod ideo fieri arbitramus ut ... quod (lege: quo) signo diabolus auctor perfide perellatur (lege: pellatur), et christus la[r]gitor fidei et caritatis ingrediatur.*

Far more ninth-century writers viewed the prebaptismal anointing as having, at least in part, a protective effect. This preventative, or apotropaic, view of baptismal anointing was a long-established idea that can be seen as far back as late-antique Eastern baptismal rites, and it is thus perhaps unsurprising that such a belief is frequently to be found in the ninth century baptismal expositions.⁹¹ The baptismal text most often cited by scholars discussing the apotropaic effect of the anointing of the breast and/or shoulder blades, and, indeed, most often copied by ninth-century writers,⁹² was a description of a baptismal *ordo* usually attributed to Alcuin.⁹³

‘The breast is also smeared with the same oil so that the entrance may be closed to the devil by the sign of the holy Cross. The shoulder blades are also signed so that he may be strengthened on all sides. Also, in the anointing of the breast and shoulder blades, firmness of faith and perseverance in good works are signified.’⁹⁴

The first half of this excerpt is irrefutably apotropaic, envisioning the breast as a potential point of entry for demonic influence which must be fortified on all sides. However, the

⁹⁰Text 47 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 570 : *Ut nullae reliquiae latentis inimici in eo resideant....* Citing Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum*, chapter 27, PL 107, col. 312.

⁹¹Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism*, pp. 123-35. V. Saxer, ‘L’initiation chrétienne du IIe au VIe siècle: esquisse historique des rites et de leur signification’, in *Segni e riti nella chiesa altomedievale occidentale*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo 33.1 (Spoleto, 1987), pp. 185-6.

⁹²Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 1, p. 80.

⁹³Text 9 (Alcuin?) in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 238-45. Though this description is often found in surviving examples of two letters written by Alcuin to the priest Oduin and Septimianian monks in 798, and was certainly endorsed by him, it is unclear whether it actually originated with Alcuin. See also Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 1, p. 80.

⁹⁴Text 9 (Alcuin?), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 243 : *Pectus quoque eodem perungitur oleo, ut signo sanctae crucis diabolo claudatur ingressus. Signantur et scapulae, ut undique muniatur. Item in pectoris et scapulae unctione signatur fidei firmitas et operum bonorum perseverantia.* This passage is also cited in Texts 10 (Anonymous), 12 (Anonymous), 15 (Magnus of Sens), 15A (Anonymous), 19 (Anonymous), 27 (Anonymous), 28 (Anonymous), 34 (Anonymous), 35 (Anonymous), 36 (Anonymous), 38 (Anonymous), 40 (Anonymous), 41 (Anonymous), 42 (Anonymous), 52 (Anonymous), 53 (Anonymous), 54 (Anonymous), 55 (Anonymous), and 59 (Anonymous) in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the*

second half looks forward to the catechumen's postbaptismal life, specifying that he or she is to continue with correct belief and practice. This sentiment is echoed in Hrabanus Maurus's *De institutione clericorum*, cited in three later baptismal expositions:

‘His breast is anointed with oil so that his mind may be strengthened by faith. He is anointed between the shoulder blades so that he may be fortified on all sides and may be strengthened to good works through the grace of God.’⁹⁵

Even when the prebaptismal anointing was portrayed as a protective device, this did not always imply that divine forces acted alone. Angilmodus of Soissons saw the guarding of the heart as the postbaptismal responsibility of the catechumen, having been armed by God's grace, and the anointing itself as merely a visible sign and reminder of this obligation:

Thus, they are blockaded on all sides by the holy anointing so that they may be reminded that they ought to guard their heart, free by the gift of divine redemption, with every protection received from grace, lest the renewed corruption of the enemy may find, through the negligence of more lukewarm caution, the entrance through which it was expelled and through which it may return. And because this is not of any human faculty, unless he is aided by God's power, by the power of whose mercy he is redeemed, it is also deservedly figured visible by the oil of anointing.⁹⁶

This portrayal of the anointing as a sign of the spiritual arming of the catechumen is even more explicitly expressed in an anonymous exposition:

Word, v. 2, pp. 249, 256, 269, 275-6, 330, 391, 404, 475-6, 486, 524, 535, 540, 543-4, 548, 595, 601-2, 604, 614-5, and 627.

⁹⁵Texts 44 (Anonymous) and 46 (Anonymous) in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 559 and 567 : *Unguitur pectus eius oleo ut mens eius fide confortetur. Unguitur inter scapulas ut undique muniatur et ad bona opera per gratiam dei roboretur.* Text 45 (Anonymous), p. 564 uses a slightly different phrasing, most notably omitting the references to the mind and good works : *Deinde pectus eius perungitur oleo ut fide roboretur, et ad extremum inter scapulas oleo eodem perungitur ut undique magis magisque muniatur.* These texts cite Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum*, chapter 27, PL 107, col. 312.

⁹⁶Text 32 (Angilmodus of Soissons) in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 455-6 : *Ita undique sacra circumvallantur unctioe quatenus admoneantur cor suum, divinae redemptionis munere liberum, omni custodia in percepta servare debere gratia, ne rediviva hostis corruptio incuria tepidioris cautela aditum inveniat, per quod, unde expulsus fuerat,*

The breast and shoulder blades are touched so that they may be strengthened by the holy anointing and they may prevail against diabolical wickedness with powerful spiritual weapons. The shoulder blades are signed to carry the breastplate of justice and the shield of faith with the power and strength for conquering all enemies, and having thus been strengthened, the spears of the enemy may be long repelled.⁹⁷

As we can see here, this text, like those attributed to Alcuin and Angilmodus, looked to the future. The attacks of the devil were not vanquished at the moment of baptism through the power of oil, but rather, the anointing armed the catechumens to *longe* protect themselves. However, this writer attributed an even more explicitly apotropaic purpose to the anointing than either of the other two writers and kept the catechumen in a purely passive role. The self of the catechumen was not changed by the unction; the anointing acted independently to repel the forces of darkness.

From the diversity of views in the previous examples, we can see the futility of characterizing the ninth-century view of the prebaptismal anointing as a purely exorcistic or apotropaic one. To the majority of writers, the unction did not act solely to expel evil demons, nor was it some sort of charm which would repel them throughout the life of the catechumen. Rather, the anointing was seen as having a long term effect which involved not only the bestowal of divine grace, but also some integral change within the self of the infant being anointed. It must of course be acknowledged, however, that the infant could not have played an active role in this process. What, then, was this change, and how was it effected? To answer these questions, we must examine the baptismal expositions' views on the area of the

redeat. Et quia hoc non alicuius humanae est facultatis, nisi eius iuvetur ope, cuius redimitur misericordiae virtute, merito hoc quoque visibilis figuratur olei unctione.

⁹⁷Text 54.1 (Anonymous) in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2. p. 609 : *Pectus et scapula[e] ideo tanguntur ut sancta unctione firme[n]tur et contra diabolicas nequitas valeant spiritalia tela ferre (lege: ferrae). Scapulae signantur ad portandam lorica[m] iustitiae et scutum fidei cum virtutem (lege: virtute) [et?] roboratione ad expugnandos omnes inimicos; et unde munitus longe repellantur iacula inimici.*

infant being anointed, the oil being used, and the anticipated interaction between, and symbolism of, the two.

Although we cannot say with any certainty why the prebaptismal anointing changed from one in which the whole body was anointed to one in which oil was applied to a specific place on the body, what did ninth-century writers have to say about the area being anointed? The baptismal expositions used a variety of terms to describe the significance of the *pectus* and *scapulae*. The breast represented ‘conscience’⁹⁸, ‘heart,’⁹⁹ ‘the mind,’¹⁰⁰ ‘the place of the heart,’¹⁰¹ the abode of thoughts,¹⁰² ‘the abode of the heart,’¹⁰³ ‘reason,’¹⁰⁴ ‘the seat and abode of the heart,’¹⁰⁵ and ‘thought.’¹⁰⁶ Though the shoulder blades were often portrayed as signifying action, good works, or the burden of earthly existence, they were also viewed as representing one of the enclosing walls of a ‘temple dedicated to God,’¹⁰⁷ an interior space which needed to be fortified ‘on all sides.’¹⁰⁸ Thus, the anointing of the breast and back

⁹⁸Texts 1 (Anonymous), 3 (Anonymous), 4 (Anonymous), and 32 (Angilmodus of Soissons), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 163, 177, 188, and 455 : *conscientia*.

⁹⁹Texts 1 (Anonymous), 3 (Anonymous), 4 (Anonymous), and 32 (Angilmodus of Soissons), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 163, 177, 188, and 455 : *cor*.

¹⁰⁰Texts 5 (Anonymous), 16 (Theodulf of Orléans), 44 (Anonymous), 46 (Anonymous), and 47 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 213, 296-7, 559, 567, and 570 : *mens*.

¹⁰¹Text 16 (Theodulf of Orléans), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 296 : *cordis locus*.

¹⁰²Text 23 (Amalar of Metz), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 345 : *cubiculum cogitationum*.

¹⁰³Texts 25 (Leidrad of Lyon) and 26 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 361 and 386 : *habitaculum cordis*.

¹⁰⁴Texts 12 (Anonymous) and 30 (Jesse of Amiens), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 255 and 419 : *ratio*.

¹⁰⁵Text 32 (Angilmodus of Soissons), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 455 : *sedes et habitaculum cordis*.

¹⁰⁶Text 50 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 583 : *cogitatio*.

¹⁰⁷Texts 15 (Magnus of Sens) and 15A (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 269 and 276 : *templum dei dicatum*.

¹⁰⁸Texts 4 (Anonymous), 9 (Alcuin?), 10 (Anonymous), 12 (Anonymous), 15 (Magnus of Sens), 15A (Anonymous), 16 (Theodulf of Orléans), 19 (Anonymous), 27 (Anonymous), 28

could also delineate a boundary around the heart, separating the inner space, the abode of virtue, from the outer, the abode of the devil. Thus, we have a very specific idea of what these ninth-century writers had in mind when they discussed the physical location of the anointing. The oil marked out and spatially defined the location of the moral and intellectual faculties of the person.

However, as we have already seen, few Carolingian writers viewed the prebaptismal anointing as curing the catechumen of any evil influence. The anointing was indeed an application of spiritual forces, but the child was considered something quite different from merely a passive battleground for the forces of good and evil. However, some transformation was indeed seen as taking place. As indicated earlier in this chapter, most writers concentrated on the shaping effect which the unction provided for the catechumen's later life, rather than on any immediate effect on demonic influence at the time of the anointing itself. Chief among the effects which Theodulf of Orléans envisaged was the effect of this part of the sacrament on the catechumen's will. The unction of the breast took place 'so that they may will well', the anointing of the shoulder blades 'so that they may not will in error.'¹⁰⁹ Amalar of Metz, too, foresaw a resulting change in the will of the catechumen and saw the anointing as the provider of the divine mercy without which the catechumen could not 'desire good.'¹¹⁰ Interestingly, none of the forty baptismal expositions which discussed the

(Anonymous), 30 (Jesse of Amiens), 32 (Angilmodus of Soissons), 34 (Anonymous), 35 (Anonymous), 36 (Anonymous), 38 (Anonymous), 40 (Anonymous), 41 (Anonymous), 42 (Anonymous), 44 (Anonymous), 45 (Anonymous), 46 (Anonymous), 47 (Anonymous), 50 (Anonymous), 52 (Anonymous), 53 (Anonymous), 54 (Anonymous), 55 (Anonymous), and 59 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 202, 243, 249, 256, 269, 276, 297, 330, 391, 404, 419, 455, 476, 486, 524, 535, 540, 544, 548, 559, 564, 567, 570, 583, 595, 601, 604, 615, and 627 : *undique*.

¹⁰⁹Text 16 (Theodulf of Orléans), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 296 : *ut bene velint...ne frustra velint*.

¹¹⁰Text 23 (Amalar of Metz), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 345 : *bonum...velle*.

prebaptismal anointing referred to the soul. Rather, it was the heart (mentioned twenty times) and the mind (mentioned eight times) that were emphasized. Theodulf acknowledged that, because ‘the mind is often indicated in the name of the heart,’¹¹¹ the location of the physical heart was anointed ‘so that the mind of the Christian may abound on all sides with the fullness of the Holy Spirit and with works of light and mercy.’¹¹² The anointing also imparted knowledge, ‘for his anointing teaches us about all things.’¹¹³ Amalar, too, foresaw a mental, rather than a metaphysical effect: ‘Through the breast, where in a way exists the abode of thoughts, we wish good thoughts to be indicated.’¹¹⁴ Oil was used ‘so that it might direct their hearts.’¹¹⁵ Angilmodus of Soissons saw the oil as having a more restorative effect, imparting an invisible anointing which ‘reforms the brightness of the former dignity of the heart.’¹¹⁶

Amalar, Theodulf, and Angilmodus were not the only authors to view the prebaptismal anointing as having some sort of transforming effect on the mind and heart of the catechumen. Several of the anonymous texts used John the Deacon’s explanation for the prebaptismal anointing. This anointing consisted of the unction of the breast only, not the shoulder blades, and was done so that the catechumens ‘may understand with a firm conscience and pure heart that they ought to promise that they now, with the devil having been abandoned, follow the

¹¹¹Text 16 (Theodulf of Orléans), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 296 : *in cordis nomine saepe mens designatur.*

¹¹²*Ibid.* : *ut undique mens christiani et pinguedine sancti spiritus, et operibus luminis atque misericordiae exuberet.*

¹¹³*Ibid.* : *Sicut unctio eius docet nos de omnibus*, citing 1 John 2:27.

¹¹⁴Text 23 (Amalar of Metz), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 345 : *Per pectus, ubi quodammodo consistit cubiculum cogitationum.*

¹¹⁵*Ibid.* : *ut dirigat corda.*

¹¹⁶Text 32 (Angilmodus of Soissons), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 454 : *in corde ... nitorem priscae reformat dignitatis.*

commands of Christ.’¹¹⁷ Two other anonymous texts stated that the anointing imparted faith, which the breast ‘may then hold completely in the heart’¹¹⁸ and by which ‘his mind may be strengthened.’¹¹⁹ Jesse of Amiens expressed similar views. After equating the breast with reason, he went on to state: ‘For faith which is captured by the hearing is believed in the heart, is pledged to salvation by the mouth, is to be established in the secret place of the mind, and is to be entrusted to the very vital parts of our breast.’¹²⁰

These passages may appear odd to us, as the writers who employed it were most definitely writing at a time in which infants would have been the ones receiving the anointing.¹²¹ How, therefore, could babies possibly possess ‘a firm conscience and pure heart’? How could anointing impart faith, especially when this was characterized as ‘hearing?’ Though it is perhaps tempting to suggest that ninth-century writers were merely looking for any authoritative reference to prebaptismal anointing, regardless of its particular applicability to their own circumstances, this may not necessarily be the case.

D. Materials used

In order to gain further understanding of the perceived effects of the touching of the ears and/or nose of the catechumen and prebaptismal anointing, and their relation to the shaping of the self, it may be useful to examine what the ninth-century writers of the baptismal

¹¹⁷Texts 1 (Anonymous), 2 (Anonymous), 3 (Anonymous), 4 (Anonymous), and 32 (Angilmodus of Soissons) in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 163, 177, 188-9, and 455 : *intellegant firma conscientia et puro corde debere promittere quia iam relicto diabolo christi mandata secentur*. Citing John the Deacon, *Epistola ad Senarium*, PL 59, col. 403.

¹¹⁸Text 17 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 325 : *tunc ... funditus in corde teneat*.

¹¹⁹Text 44 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 559 : *mens eius ... confortetur*.

¹²⁰Text 30 (Jesse of Amiens), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 419 : *Fides enim quae capitur auditu, corde creditur, ore promittitur ad salutem, secreto mentis est conlocanda, et ipsis est nostri pectoris vitalibus commitenda*.

expositions believed concerning the materials, saliva and oil, used in the rites. The anonymous author of one text stated that ‘through saliva... the flood of divine contemplation is designated,’¹²² and that spittle represented ‘divine grace.’¹²³ This equation of saliva with the gift of grace was by no means unique, as two other anonymous texts referred to spittle as ‘celestial grace’¹²⁴ and ‘the grace of the Holy Spirit.’¹²⁵ Saliva was also often portrayed as bestowing wisdom upon the catechumen. Three anonymous texts cited a homily by Bede which affirmed that ‘truly, through the saliva of their mouth they are designating the taste of divine wisdom by which they are to be inspired.’¹²⁶ A fourth anonymous text expressed a similar view: ‘Through the saliva we receive wisdom.’¹²⁷ Yet another anonymous text prescribed the use of saliva during the rite because ‘the mouth of the priest ought to be filled with wisdom.’¹²⁸ Another anonymous text went so far as to equate the saliva with Christ himself and the human head with God, for just as Jesus was born from God’s substance, so the saliva originated from the head.¹²⁹

¹²¹Indeed, as mentioned earlier, even John the Deacon, the model for several of the expositions, was writing specifically about infant, not adult, baptism.

¹²²Text 1 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 161 : *Per salivam ... supernae contemplationis inrigatio designatur.*

¹²³*Ibid.*, p. 162 : *superna gratia.*

¹²⁴Text 50 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 582 : *superna gratia.*

¹²⁵Text 53 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 601 : *gratia spiritus sancti.*

¹²⁶Texts 5 (Anonymous), 34 (Anonymous), and 36 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 213, 475, and 523-4 : *Per salivam quidem oris sui gustum quo iniciandi sunt supernae sapientiae designantes*, citing Bede, *Homiliarum euangelii libri ii*, CCSL 122, p. 85.

¹²⁷Text 45 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 563 : *Per salivam accipimus sapientiam.*

¹²⁸Texts 47 (Anonymous) and 48 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 570 : *Sacerdotis os sapientia repletum esse debet.*

¹²⁹Text 12 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 255.

Up until the early ninth century, the laity were often given holy oil to use as they saw fit: as an agent of healing, strengthening, or fertility.¹³⁰ Oil could thus be seen as a magical substance, both ‘containing and transferring a supernatural *virtus*.’¹³¹ Is this the effect which ninth-century writers envisaged the prebaptismal anointing as having? Unfortunately, few of the baptismal expositions explicitly discussed the perceived power of the oil or what it symbolized. Phrases such as ‘sanctified oil,’¹³² ‘holy oil,’¹³³ ‘blessed oil,’¹³⁴ ‘exorcized oil,’¹³⁵ and ‘sacrosanct oil’¹³⁶ were used to describe the substance being used, though these referred to what had been done to the oil, rather than what the oil was capable of doing. Five texts used the phrase ‘oil of consecration,’¹³⁷ but four of these, all of which cited the passage by John the Deacon concerning prebaptismal anointing, presented the anointing as having an effect on the mental faculties of the catechumen (an effect which I shall discuss more fully below), rather than as consecrating anything as such. The fifth text, the exposition by Angilmodus of Soissons, saw the oil as a sign of ‘the infusion of spiritual grace’ into an already (presumably through the exsufflation) purified catechumen.¹³⁸ Thus, none of these

¹³⁰M.J. Enright, *Iona, Tara, and Soissons: The Origin of the Royal Anointing Ritual* (Berlin, 1985), pp. 148-50.

¹³¹*Ibid.*, p. 143. Cf. Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 1, p. 126.

¹³²Texts 5 (Anonymous), 42 (Anonymous), 47 (Anonymous), and 48 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 213, 547, 570, and 574 : *oleum sanctificatum*.

¹³³Texts 15 (Magnus of Sens), 15A (Anonymous), 16 (Theodulf of Orléans), 19 (Anonymous), 23 (Amalar of Metz), 30 (Jesse of Amiens), 42 (Anonymous), 48 (Anonymous), and 50 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 269, 275, 296, 330, 345, 419, 548, 574, and 583 : *oleum sanctum*.

¹³⁴Text 50 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 583 : *oleum benedictum*.

¹³⁵Texts 25 (Leidrad of Lyon), 26 (Anonymous), and 58 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 361, 386, and 623 : *oleum exorcizatum*.

¹³⁶Text 55 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 614 : *oleum sacrosanctum*.

¹³⁷Texts 1 (Anonymous), 2 (Anonymous), 3 (Anonymous), 4 (Anonymous), and 32 (Angilmodus of Soissons), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 163, 177, 188, 202, and 454 : *oleum consecrationis*.

¹³⁸Text 32 (Angilmodus of Soissons) in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 454 : *per infusionem spiritualis gratiae. abrasa vetusti erroris rubigine*. Also note the depiction of the

baptismal expositions clearly defined the reasons why oil, rather than another substance, was used. One of the anonymous texts came close, referring to oil as ‘eminent over all fluids,’¹³⁹ but did not explain why this was so. Amalar of Metz, through Gregory the Great’s comparison of the Greek *eleos* with the Latin *oleum*, equated the oil with divine mercy: ‘For we know that the mercy of God is signified through the oil, just as that (saying) of Gregory is: “Whom, however, do we understand through the olive, except those who are merciful, because in Greek, *eleos* is also called mercy?”’¹⁴⁰ Theodulf of Orléans, though more obliquely, did the same: ‘The breast is touched for them so that they may be able to say with David: “And let his mercy come before me.”’¹⁴¹ The shoulder blades are touched so that they may say with the same man: “And let his mercy follow me.”’^{142,143} However, neither author elaborated further, and they were the only writers to characterize the oil this way.¹⁴⁴ It may be useful, then, to look at other ninth-century rituals which involved the use of oil in order to understand its significance in the prebaptismal anointing.

anointing as a process which removed the ‘rust’ of sin, very appropriate for a ceremony involving oil!

¹³⁹Text 58 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 623 : *omnibus namque humoribus oleum supereminet.*

¹⁴⁰Text 23 (Amalar of Metz), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 345 : *Per oleum namque misericordiam dei novimus signari, sicut illud est Gregorii: ‘Quos autem per olivam, nisi misericordes accipimus, quia et grece eleos misericordia vocatur?’* Citing Gregory the Great, Homily 20, *Homilia in evangelium*, PL 76, col. 1167. Indeed, several copies of Amalar’s text have *oleus* or *oleos* instead of *eleos*; Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 345 n. 11.

¹⁴¹Psalm 58:11.

¹⁴²Psalm 22:6.

¹⁴³Text 16 (Theodulf of Orléans), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 296 : *Tangitur eis pectus ut cum David discere possint: ‘Et misericordia eius praeveniat me.’ Tangitur scapulae ut cum eodem dicant: ‘Et misericordia eius subsequatur me.’*

¹⁴⁴However, see also Text 28 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 404, which (in the ablative), used *eleo* instead of *oleo*, the word originally used in Text 9 (Alcuin?), which it cited. This may or may not have been one of the scribal errors in which this text abounds. Oil, in many earlier Christian texts, was a symbol of mercy. See A. Blaise.

Oil was used in many ninth-century religious and politico-religious practices which involved the anointing of persons. The practice which perhaps springs first to mind is the anointing of kings during their coronations. Carolingian royal anointing has, rightly, received a great deal of attention, as the anointing of Pippin III as king is the first royal unction in the medieval West for which we have detailed evidence.¹⁴⁵ Much of this attention has focused on the outward effects of the anointing, namely that the unction conferred political legitimacy on the Carolingians, who were, after all, usurpers,¹⁴⁶ and that secular power was thus seen to be dependent on, and subordinate to, episcopal and papal authority.¹⁴⁷ The unction has also been seen as having another outward effect, in that it served as a visible sign that the king was man set apart, one who occupied a divinely conferred office.¹⁴⁸ This use of oil as a means of marking social boundaries was not a novel practice. Anointing rituals

'Vocabulaire figuré des Psaumes', in A. Blaise, *Le vocabulaire latin: Des principaux thèmes liturgiques* (Turnhout, 1966), p. 296 n. 5.

¹⁴⁵J. Funkenstein, 'Unction of the Ruler,' in J. Fleckenstein and K. Schmid (eds.), *Adel und Kirche. Gerd Tellenbach zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden und Schülern* (Freiburg, 1968), p. 12; J.L. Nelson, 'The Lord's Anointed and the People's Choice: Carolingian Royal Ritual', in D. Cannadine and S. Price (eds.), *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 137. The origins of this anointing have been hotly debated. While scholars have agreed that Roman liturgical rites can safely be ruled out as the place of origin, some have postulated that the Visigothic anointing of Wamba in 672 served as a model for Pippin, while others have seen the Old Testament unction of kings as the primary exemplar, whether directly or mediated through Irish and Anglo-Saxon sources. Other scholars have hypothesized that the unction of Pippin was a papal strategy. See R. Kottje, 'Die Personensalbung', in *Studien zum Einfluss des Alten Testaments auf Recht und Liturgie des frühen Mittelalters* (Bonn, 1964), pp. 94-105 and M.J. Enright, *Iona, Tara, and Soissons: The Origin of the Royal Anointing Ritual* (Berlin, 1985), pp. 119-37 for a detailed examination of this debate.

¹⁴⁶J. Funkenstein, 'Unction of the Ruler,' in J. Fleckenstein and K. Schmid (eds.), *Adel und Kirche. Gerd Tellenbach zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden und Schülern* (Freiburg, 1968), p. 12; M.J. Enright, *Iona, Tara, and Soissons: The Origin of the Royal Anointing Ritual* (Berlin, 1985), pp. 122-4.

¹⁴⁷J.L. Nelson, 'National Synods, Kingship as Office, and Royal Anointing: An Early Medieval Syndrome', *Studies in Church History* 7 (1971): 53-4; J. Funkenstein, 'Unction of the Ruler,' in J. Fleckenstein and K. Schmid (eds.), *Adel und Kirche. Gerd Tellenbach zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden und Schülern* (Freiburg, 1968), p. 13.

¹⁴⁸W. Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship* (London, 1969), pp. 71, 77.

were used in both Byzantium and western Europe, though in different ways, as a means of separating one group from another: Christian from non-Christian, kings and clergy from the rest of the *populus christianus*.¹⁴⁹ It is this usage of oil, as a means of division and identification that is perhaps most useful for understanding the relevance of anointing to a discussion of ninth-century attitudes towards the self.

In a liturgical sense, royal anointings were most analogous to the postbaptismal anointing of the head, with the head as representative of the whole body, rather than as the perceived location of the mental faculties.¹⁵⁰ In several pre-Carolingian sources, those just anointed were compared to kings,¹⁵¹ and this idea was carried through into the ninth century. Indeed, the Old Testament anointings of kings were frequently alluded to in the chapters on postbaptismal anointing in many of the ninth-century baptismal expositions, along with an emphasis that the postbaptismal anointing was the means by which the newly baptised were outwardly identified as Christians. It is with regards to the meaning of this ceremony that the baptismal expositions seem to have shown the greatest consistency. To give just a few examples:

‘After washing, we are anointed, so that we may be distinguished by the name of Christ. ... Through this anointing, we are made a race of

¹⁴⁹J.L. Nelson, ‘Symbols in Context: Rulers’ Inauguration Rituals in Byzantium and the West in the Early Middle Ages’, *Studies in Church History* 13 (1976): 114-8; M.J. Enright, *Iona, Tara, and Soissons: The Origin of the Royal Anointing Ritual* (Berlin, 1985), p. 139.

¹⁵⁰J.L. Nelson, ‘National Synods, Kingship as Office, and Royal Anointing: An Early Medieval Syndrome’, *Studies in Church History* 7 (1971): 52; W. Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship* (London, 1969), p. 75; A. Angenendt, *Kaiserherrschaft und Königstaufe: Kaiser, Könige und Päpste als geistliche Patrone in der abendländischen Missionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1984), p. 163; A. Angenendt, ‘*Rex et sacerdos: Zur Genese der Königssalbung*’, in N. Kamp and J. Wollasch (eds.), *Tradition als historische Kraft* (Berlin, 1982), pp. 100-18. Indeed, ninth-century commentaries on royal anointing often used baptismal language. See M.J. Enright, *Iona, Tara, and Soissons: The Origin of the Royal Anointing Ritual* (Berlin, 1985), pp. 138-9.

¹⁵¹Nelson, ‘National Synods’, p. 52.

kings. ... All members of the Church are made Christians through chrism.¹⁵²

‘Therefore, the heads of the baptised are smeared with chrism so that, having been anointed into the kingship and priesthood of the Church, they may receive the token of the name “Christian” and may be able to be made the members of him who redeemed them and who is their head.’¹⁵³

‘His head is anointed with holy chrism, whence we know in the Old Testament that priests and kings were anointed, so that the baptised may know that he has received the royal and priestly mystery, because he has been joined to the body of him who is the highest king and true priest.’¹⁵⁴

This association of postbaptismal anointing with the identification of those who are Christian also appeared in the poem *De conversione Saxonum*, written c.777 and attributed variously to Angilbert of Riquier, Lul, Alcuin, before Dieter Schaller convincingly attributed it to Paulinus of Aquileia.¹⁵⁵ Though this source is considerably earlier than the baptismal expositions, it is useful for understanding the extent to which this view of the postbaptismal anointing prevailed. The poem is divided into three sections, in which, respectively, God the Father, Jesus, and Charlemagne act as the main protagonists.¹⁵⁶ Charlemagne and Christ are identified with each other throughout the poem, with Charlemagne being presented as

¹⁵²Text 25 (Leidrad of Lyon), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 371 : *Qua unctione efficitur genus regium.*

¹⁵³Text 16 (Theodulf of Orléans), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 308 : *Baptizatorum itaque capita chrismate liniuntur, ut in regno et sacerdotio ecclesiae delibuti, et christiani nominis praerogativam accipiant et ejus membra qui eos redemit et eorum caput est, effici valeant.*

¹⁵⁴Text 23 (Amalar of Metz), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 347 : *Linitur caput eius sacro chrismate, unde sacerdotes et reges unctos esse novimus in veteri testamento, ut intellegat baptizatus regale ac sacerdotale mysterium se accepisse, quia illius corpori adunatus est, qui rex summus et sacerdos est verus.*

¹⁵⁵S.A. Rabe, *Faith, Art, and Politics at Saint-Riquier: The Symbolic Vision of Angilbert* (Philadelphia, 1995), pp. 54-9. Rabe herself attributes it to Angilbert, though Dieter Schaller, in his article ‘Der Dichter des *Carmen de conversione Saxonum*’, in G. Bernt, F. Rädle, and G. Silagi (eds.), *Tradition und Wertung: Festschrift für Franz Brunhölzl zum 65. Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen, 1989), pp. 27-45, persuasively attributes it to Paulinus.

¹⁵⁶Rabe, *Faith, Art, and Politics*, p. 66.

completing the work that Christ began.¹⁵⁷ This parallel between the two figures offers us an interesting insight into Angilbert's perception of the purpose of post-baptismal anointing. One line from the section in which Christ is the protagonist: 'And marked the pious with the purple dye of His precious blood'¹⁵⁸ is paralleled with one from the portion of the poem which concerns Charlemagne: 'He anointed with chrism those washed by holy baptism.'¹⁵⁹ Thus, the chrism is compared to the blood spilled through Christ's crucifixion, and both are portrayed as a means of designating a certain group : the *pii* and the *baptismate loti*.

Though royal anointings undoubtedly shared many more similarities with postbaptismal anointings, and both perhaps had more social significance than any importance with regards to morality or interiority, they may also be able to help us understand something about prebaptismal anointing as well. As we have seen, during both the postbaptismal anointing of the head and the anointing of a king, the thing being anointed was a symbol of a larger reality. The head of the newly baptised represented the entire human being; the king represented God-given earthly power. Similarly, the breast and back represented the *interior homo*, the abode of the will. In all three ceremonies, the person or thing receiving the unction was set apart by the anointing: the king was set apart from his people, the faithful were set apart from non-believers, and the *interior homo* was set apart from a world of sin.

In ninth-century religious practices, there were few other occasions for the application of oil to a specific place on the human body. One occasion during which oil could be seen as

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

¹⁵⁸ *De conversione Saxonum*, in E. Dümmler (ed.), *MGH Poetae latini aevi carolini*, I, p. 380, line 19 : *Signavitque pios pretiosi sanguinis ostro*. The immediately preceding line directly refers to baptism : *Et facinus mundi Jordanis lavit in undis* : 'And washed away the crime of the world in the waves of the Jordan.'

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 381, line 60 : *Chrismatibus sacro inunxit baptismate lotos*.

having an effect on a specific place on the body was the anointing of the sick and dying. Though oil had long been used as a cleansing and healing agent, often with the Church's sanction, it was not until the second half of the seventh century that a set of rituals was devised for the anointing of the sick.¹⁶⁰ The Carolingians further clericalised these rites, no longer providing the laity with oil which they could apply to themselves or others.¹⁶¹ For example, in the rite for the anointing of the sick found in the *Hadrianum*, the priest was instructed to anoint the ill person with sanctified oil 'on the neck, on the throat, between the shoulder blades, on the breast, or where the pain is greatest.'¹⁶² As Frederick Paxton has pointed out, this anointing came to be viewed during the ninth century as effecting not only a physical, but a spiritual, healing.¹⁶³

Another occasion for the unction of specific body parts was ordination, during which the hands of a priest and the head of a bishop were anointed. An anointing of the head of a bishop was part of the Roman episcopal ordination rite from at least the sixth century.¹⁶⁴ While anointing the bishop, the celebrant called on God and asked 'that the power of your Spirit may both renew his innermost parts and guard his outermost parts on all sides.'¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁰A.G. Martimort, 'Prayer for the Sick and Sacramental Anointing', in A.G. Martimort (ed.), *The Church at Prayer*, trans. M.J. O'Connell, v. 3 (Collegeville, MN, 1988), p. 127.

¹⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 128.

¹⁶²F.S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1990), p. 151; Martimort, 'Prayer for the Sick', p. 130 : *Et sic perungat infirmum de oleo sanctificato, crucem faciendo in collo, in gutture et inter scapulas, et in pectore seu in loco ubi dolor imminet amplius perungatur*. My thanks to Rob Meens for drawing my attention to this use of oil.

¹⁶³Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, p. 160.

¹⁶⁴P. Jounel, 'Ordinations', in A.G. Martimort (ed.), *The Church at Prayer*, trans. M.J. O'Connell, v. 3 (Collegeville, MN, 1988), pp. 153-5. The century in which episcopal anointing appeared in the Roman ordination rite has been a contested issue. See H. Leclercq, 'Onctions dans l'ordination', in F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq (eds.), *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, v. 12 (Paris, 1936), cols. 2130-2133.

¹⁶⁵Jounel, 'Ordinations', p. 155 : *ut tui Spiritus virtus et interiora eius repleat et exteriora circumtegat*.

Priests were not anointed, and the imposition of hands remained the main focus of the rite.¹⁶⁶ By the tenth century, however, Roman ordination rites became more elaborate, incorporating Frankish rites which represented much more visually the effects which the ceremony was meant to have on the man being ordained.¹⁶⁷ The bishop's head was still anointed with chrism, as were his hands and thumb if he had not already been ordained a priest.¹⁶⁸ A new development, however, was the anointing of priests. During the ordination of a priest, his hands were anointed, to consecrate them and symbolise his Eucharistic power.¹⁶⁹

Both of these anointings were part of Frankish liturgical practice during the ninth century. Hincmar of Rheims mentions his own episcopal anointing in a letter to Adventius of Metz in 869-70, though he does not elaborate on what he felt was the meaning behind the ceremony.¹⁷⁰ The anointing of the priest's hands had been attested to at the beginning of the eighth century in the *Missale Francorum* and remained part of the rite throughout the Carolingian period.¹⁷¹ The prayer said during the anointing in the *Missale Francorum* perhaps sheds some light on what may have been seen as the meaning behind the anointing: 'His hands are consecrated and sanctified through that anointing and our benediction so that whatever they might bless might be blessed and whatever they might sanctify might be sanctified.'¹⁷² The *Missale* then goes on to link the anointing of the priest's hands to the Old

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 163-4.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 165; M. Andrieu, 'L'onction des mains dans le sacre épiscopal', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 26 (1930): 343-7.

¹⁶⁹ Jounel, 'Ordinations', pp. 164-5.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 167; Hincmar of Rheims, 'Epistula 29 ad Adventium episcopum Metensem', PL 126, cols. 186-8.

¹⁷¹ Jounel, 'Ordinations', p. 167; L.C. Mohlberg (ed.), *Missale Francorum* (Rome, 1957), p. 10.

¹⁷² Mohlberg (ed.), *Missale Francorum*, p. 10: *Consecrentur manus istae et sanctificentur per istam unctionem et nostram benedictionem, ut quaecumque benedixerint benedicta sint, et quaecumque sanctificaverint sanctificentur.*

Testament anointing of David by Samuel.¹⁷³ Amalar of Metz, in his work on the liturgy in 823-5, instead connected the anointing of the priest's hands to the anointing of priests mentioned in Numbers 3:3: 'These are the names of the sons of Aaron, the priests that were anointed, and whose hands were filled and consecrated to do the functions of the priesthood.'¹⁷⁴

III. The future life of the catechumen

A. Link to prebaptismal ceremonies

As we have seen in the previous section, the majority of ninth-century writers who composed explanations of the two prebaptismal ceremonies were primarily concerned with the catechumen's future life. There is no doubt that these writers saw the ritual acts performed on the catechumen as having a lasting effect of their own. As this chapter has hopefully shown, however, the ninth-century view of this effect was far more complex than merely a belief in all powerful supernatural forces applied to a passive infant. Though some writers chose to emphasise the purely exorcistic or apotropaic aspects of the prebaptismal ceremonies, the majority chose instead to focus on the effects the ceremonies had on the moral selves of the catechumens. Indeed, a certain tension was present in many of the works, and many writers attached a condition to the power of the ceremonies: once the catechumens reached adulthood, they would either nullify or validate the ritual act through the morality of their lives.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, referring to 1 Kings 16:13.

¹⁷⁴ Jounel, 'Ordinations', p. 168; Amalar of Metz, *Liber officialis*, in J.M. Hanssens (ed.), *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, v. 2 (Vatican, 1948), p. 227.

Thus, two factors need to be addressed in order to gain further insight into the connection between the prebaptismal ceremonies and the future life to which so many of the writers looked: the godparents who looked after the moral life of the catechumens while they were infants and children and the personal responsibility the catechumens took for themselves once reaching adulthood. In addition to the material relating to the two prebaptismal ceremonies discussed above, many of the composers of ninth-century baptismal expositions addressed the issue of infant baptism specifically in their works. Of the forty writers who produced explanations of the *effete* and the prebaptismal anointing, fourteen, over one third, also provided some explanation of the practice of infant baptism.¹⁷⁵ As the manuscript chart (Appendix II) shows, the texts which contain specific reference to infant baptism do not seem to have been confined to any particular geographical area(s) of the empire or to any one period within the ninth century. Four of the writers who discussed infant baptism: Magnus of Sens, Theodulf of Orléans, Amalar of Metz, and Leidrad of Lyons, composed their texts around the year 812 in response to Charlemagne's questionnaire. Charlemagne did ask about infants: 'First, why is an infant made a catechumen or what may a catechumen be?',¹⁷⁶ though this phrasing of the question seems to imply that Charlemagne was perhaps more concerned with the meaning of 'catechumen' in general, rather than with the infant status of

¹⁷⁵Text 1 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 164; Text 2 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 173; Text 3 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 185-6; Text 4 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 202; Text 5 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 209-10; Text 15 (Magnus of Sens), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 267; Text 16 (Theodulf of Orléans), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 283-4; Text 23 (Amalar of Metz), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 348-9; Text 25 (Leidrad of Lyons), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 379-80; Text 28 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 394; Text 32 (Angilmodus of Soissons), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 443; Text 44 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 558; Text 45 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 564; Text 58 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 622.

¹⁷⁶Text 14 (Charlemagne), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 262 : *Cur primo infans catechuminus efficitur vel quid sit catechuminus.*

most of the catechumens of the ninth century. Angilmodus of Soissons wrote his exposition much later, around the year 861. The other works were all by anonymous writers, but the manuscript evidence shows that, aside from one copy of Text 1, all of these texts survive in manuscripts dating from the second half of the ninth century. As this is also the case for the majority of the manuscripts which contain copies of texts that do not discuss infant baptism (with the notable exception of manuscripts containing copies of the letters attributed to Alcuin), there seems to be no reason to posit that churchmen in the latter half of the ninth century were any more interested in infant baptism than were those in the first half. Rather, it may be more correct to say that it was an issue which continued to be of interest throughout the century.

B. Godparents and the moral self

Ninth-century writers undoubtedly viewed the prebaptismal ceremonies as having a shaping effect on the moral self of the catechumen. This, however, was not the only means by which this could be accomplished. Baptismal sponsors in the ninth century also came to play an increasingly large role, both during the rite itself and afterwards. These individuals would not only answer for the infant during the ceremony, but were responsible for the continual shaping of the catechumen's moral character throughout the rest of his or her childhood.

Joseph Lynch's work on baptism in the early Middle Ages has shown how important godparenthood was to the Carolingians. Prior to the ninth century, there was a comparatively minor emphasis on the post-baptismal moral and religious education of infant catechumens. Instead, in some areas, such as fifth-century North Africa and Italy, the baptismal rite was modified to place greater emphasis on the more ritualistic aspects of the rite, such as

exorcisms and blessings.¹⁷⁷ During the ninth century, however, aspects of the liturgy were changed in order to stress the importance of the baptismal sponsors.¹⁷⁸ This shift in the rite was also accompanied by a corresponding emphasis on the responsibility the godparents had to morally shape the children they sponsored.

Theodulf of Orléans did not mention godparents specifically, but looked forward to a time after baptism when the children, presumably now adults, would be taught about the meaning of the sacrament:

‘Therefore, both infants and the hearing are made catechumens, not so that they may be able to be taught and instructed at the same time, but so that the ancient practice may be preserved, by which the apostles first taught and instructed those whom they were about to baptise...’¹⁷⁹

Angilmodus of Soissons likewise emphasised the role of the godparent while looking towards the future life of the catechumen:

‘Whence even in the case of children, who still on account of their young age, understanding nothing, cannot respond for themselves, through the hearts and mouths of those carrying them and attesting to their future faith and instruction all of the things to be done solemnly are fulfilled.’¹⁸⁰

Leidrad of Lyons, as might be expected, took less of an interest in the personal agency which

¹⁷⁷Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship*, p. 289.

¹⁷⁸For a full discussion of these changes, see Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship*, pp. 297-303 and T. Maertens, *Histoire et pastorale du rituel du catéchuménat et du baptême* (Bruges, 1962), pp. 229-78. Of course, as demonstrated in the previous section of this chapter, there was nothing that approached liturgical uniformity in the ninth century, and therefore changes to the baptismal rite would not have occurred uniformly.

¹⁷⁹Text 16 (Theodulf of Orléans), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 284 : *Infantes ergo et audientes et catechumeni fiunt, non quo in eadem aetate et instrui et doceri possint, sed ut antiquus mos servetur, quo apostoli eos quos baptizaturi erant primum docebant et instruebant.*

¹⁸⁰Text 32 (Angilmodus of Soissons), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 443 : *Unde etiam in parvulis, qui adhuc pro ipsius aetatis primordio nihil intelligentes pro se respondere nequeunt, per corda et ora gestantium futurae fidei eorum et disciplinae attestantium cuncta solemniter agenda complentur.*

could be taken by the child later in life, and instead focused purely on the godparents:

‘They are therefore rightly called faithful because they in a way profess faith through the words of those carrying them.’¹⁸¹

‘Whether they may be deaf, or mute, or infants, they are added to the number of the faithful through the hearts and mouths of those offering them and taking them up.’¹⁸²

The sponsor’s role entailed more than shaping merely the baptised child’s behaviour as they grew older. They were advised to repeat the Lord’s Prayer and the Creed as often as possible. In this we can perhaps see parallels to *orthopraxes*, as mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation.

The ritual acts of anointing specific body parts, perhaps, were not only a visible sign to the baptismal sponsors as to what was expected of them with regards to the infant’s future moral life, but also their own. ‘Godparentage was a popular institution, one in which virtually everyone participated.’¹⁸³ Those who had been baptised as infants most likely would have witnessed the baptismal ceremony several times as adults: when their own children were baptised and when they acted as godparents for other children. Furthermore, it was a common practice in the ninth century for several adults to act as sponsors for the same child, thus increasing the number of adults who would have witnessed the ceremonies.¹⁸⁴ In addition, there was a concerted effort to regulate the times when baptism could be performed

¹⁸¹Text 25 (Leidrad of Lyons), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 379 : *Recte fideles vocantur quoniam fidem per verba gestantium quodammodo profitentur.*

¹⁸²*Ibid.*, p. 380 : *Sive sint surdi sive muti sive infantes per corda et ora offerentium et suscipientium numero adgregant fidelium.*

¹⁸³Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship*, p. 305.

¹⁸⁴Lynch, ‘*Spiritale Vinculum*’, p. 193.

and ensure that it only occurred at Easter and Pentecost.¹⁸⁵ As Easter was one of the few times when the laity were likely to attend church,¹⁸⁶ it made it even more likely that the average lay person would witness several baptisms during their lives. Thus, the prebaptismal ceremonies, with their emphases on reminding, understanding, and looking towards the future moral life may not only have been a way of spiritually shaping the selves of the catechumens but also a means by which the effects of the ceremonies could be reinforced continually throughout the catechumens' adult lives.

The Council of Paris (829) lamented the poor state of the education of godparents:

‘They who in their pledge receive others from the sacrosanct font are not instructed in faith or the sacrament of baptism, and therefore they are unable to teach those whom they receive and ought to have taught according to the lessons of the holy fathers. This in no doubt pertains to the negligence of the priests as well as the pupils.’¹⁸⁷

Here we see that just as much stress was placed on the teaching of the godparents as on the teaching of the catechumens. Thus, baptismal instructions which refer to adult converts, or which speak in terms which seem to imply adult catechumens, may not have been merely remnants of a time when adult converts were taught, but were a part of the instruction of adult godparents. Also, this passage placed instruction in the faith and instruction in baptism on

¹⁸⁵Though the success of this enforcement was mixed. See D. Bullough, ‘The Carolingian Liturgical Experience’, *Studies in Church History* 35 (1999): 57-60.

¹⁸⁶J.M.H. Smith, ‘Religion and Lay Society’, in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History, v. II c. 700-900* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 663. Susan Keefe, in her ‘An Unknown Response from the Archbishop of Sens to Charlemagne’s Circulatory Inquiry on Baptism’, *Revue Bénédictine* 96 (1986): 79 also points out that baptismal instruction could have been conducted in the days following Easter, as it was for the benefit of both the godparents and the laity in general.

¹⁸⁷Werminghoff (ed.), *MGH Concilia II, Concilia aevi karolini I*, p. 614 : *Illi, qui in sua sponsione aliquos de sacrosancto fonte suscipiunt, nec fidei nec baptismatis sacramento sunt instructi et idcirco eos, quos suscipiunt et secundum sanctorum patrum documenta docere debuerant, erudire nequeunt.*

the same level. Thus, the meaning of the sacrament was held to be very important knowledge for both sponsors and catechumens.

The existence of godparents did not absolve the baptised from a responsibility for their own lives. Indeed, many commentators on baptism emphasized the necessity of the baptised to continue the process begun at baptism once they reached an age of understanding. Interestingly, none of the composers of the ninth-century baptismal expositions included any mention of the godparents' responsibilities or roles after the rite itself had been completed.¹⁸⁸ Though this may be due to the expositions' aim of offering an explanation for each part of the baptismal ritual, it is still a remarkable omission, given the emphasis which the Carolingians placed on godparenthood.

C. Personal responsibility and agency

As we have seen, the ninth century was a time in which no single view of any aspect of the sacrament of baptism dominated. Rather, writers who addressed the subject approached it with a complexity of thought for which they ought to be given full credit. This same sophistication is also true of the ways in which Carolingian writers justified the practice of performing ritual acts on an uncomprehending infant and treated the issue of the responsibility which catechumens would assume for themselves once they reached adulthood. Ninth-century approaches to the subject of the self when discussing infant baptism can be seen to have been a balancing act between an established practice and its accompanying theological doctrine and the distinctively Carolingian effort to spread Christian doctrine and morality throughout all levels of society. It is here, where the act of

¹⁸⁸Keefe, 'An Unknown Response', p. 75.

baptising an unknowing infant encountered the ninth-century ethos of *correctio* and *renovatio* that Carolingian attitudes towards the self were perhaps most tellingly revealed.

While there is evidence that infants were occasionally baptised as early as the second century, the widespread shift from adult to infant baptism was largely the result of Augustine's teachings on original sin.¹⁸⁹ As infants were consequently held to be tainted by sin from birth, it was imperative to baptise them as soon as possible after they were born, lest they die in a state of sin.¹⁹⁰ Augustine's teachings were taken up, albeit in a somewhat modified form, at the Council of Orange in 529.¹⁹¹ The council concluded that original sin could be cured only by grace, rather than by human efforts, and that baptism was the vehicle of this grace.¹⁹² Thus, since an individual could not participate in the salvation of his or her own soul, it did not matter whether that person was an adult or infant. Both were equally powerless to cleanse themselves of original sin. No ninth-century writer, of course, questioned the practice of infant baptism. However, a tension did exist between the need to baptise children and the need to instruct catechumens. When the majority of catechumens were adults, they could be taught the rudiments of the faith and the meaning of baptism before receiving the sacrament. This instruction was of the utmost importance to many Carolingian writers, as can be seen by the debates sparked by the forcible baptism of the Saxons.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁹ Cramer, *Baptism and Change*, pp. 136-7; J.H. Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 118-9.

¹⁹⁰ Cramer, *Baptism and Change*, pp.131-33, 138; Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship*, p. 120.

¹⁹¹ Cramer, *Baptism and Change*, pp. 136-7.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ See the descriptions of the debates in R.E. Sullivan, 'Carolingian Missionary Theories'. *The Catholic Historical Review* 42 (1956): 273-95 and R.E. Sullivan, 'The Carolingian Missionary and the Pagan', *Speculum* 28 (1953):705-40

It would be natural to view the changes to the baptismal liturgy which took place as a result of the shift to infant baptism as de-emphasising the didactic elements of the rite, and therefore de-emphasising the catechumens themselves, and instead focusing on the power of the ritual. Indeed, this has been the chief criticism of early medieval baptismal practice.¹⁹⁴ As we have seen in the discussion of the prebaptismal ceremonies, however, ninth-century thought on the effects of the ritual was complex and varied. Far from being marginalised, the catechumen, and the shaping effects of the ceremonies on his or her moral self, was central to the rite. Though prebaptismal instruction would naturally have been pointless for infant catechumens, the education of godparents, as demonstrated above, was deemed to be of the utmost importance, both because they would be held responsible for the moral shaping of the newly baptised while he or she was still a child and because they needed to be reminded of the ceremonies performed on themselves. The third element addressed by ninth-century writers in relation to baptism and the self was the personal responsibility the catechumen assumed for his- or herself once reaching adulthood. Interestingly, none of the composers of baptismal expositions discussed infant baptism in terms of Augustine's doctrine of original sin. Rather, most focused on the fact that catechumens were not responsible for the sin they inherited at birth but would be held accountable for the promises made on their behalf at baptism.

Leidrad of Lyons, who perhaps emphasised the exorcistic aspects of the prebaptismal ceremonies more than any other composer of a baptismal exposition, expressed a correlating viewpoint when he discussed the baptism of infants. He first chose to emphasise the overwhelming power of the sacrament:

¹⁹⁴Cramer, *Baptism and Change*, pp. 130-44.

‘And when they are baptised, by means of the strength and celebration of so great a sacrament, although they do not perform by means of their own heart and mouth what pertains to believing and professing, nevertheless they are reckoned in the number of the faithful.’¹⁹⁵

After this statement, however, Leidrad focused more on the catechumen’s nature. He explained that there was no danger in individuals being baptised by a heretic if they only rushed to them unthinkingly because they were in danger of imminent death, as ‘the sacrament is judged acceptable according to the faith of the recipients.’¹⁹⁶ The recipients would not be considered heretics because ‘they had never changed into them in heart.’¹⁹⁷ Though this statement would seem to pertain only to adult catechumens, Leidrad referred to infants throughout this part of his work. As we saw in the previous section of this chapter, he focused on the faith of godparents as an assurance of the faith of the infant. However, there seemed to be an implicit acknowledgement of the future life of the catechumen once they had reached adulthood. Not only did he indicate that the godparents would ensure that the child eventually did accept the faith professed for them at baptism, but he placed his chapter on infant baptism directly before a final chapter which dealt with the need for an individual to constantly monitor the morality of one’s life and the condition of one’s soul:

‘The Church fathers say that the mirror of the soul is the divine commandments, so that every single most faithful (soul) contemplating itself in it may detect in itself either the foulness of vices or the beauty of virtues.’¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵Text 25 (Leidrad of Lyons), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 379 : *Et cum baptizantur propter virtutem celebrationemque tanti sacramenti, quamvis suo corde atque ore non agant quod ad credendum confitendumque pertineat, tamen in numero credentium computantur.*

¹⁹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 380 : *Secundum fidem accipientium sacramentum acceptum iudicatur.*

¹⁹⁷*Ibid.* : *Ad quos numquam corde transierant.*

¹⁹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 381 : *Dicunt ecclesiastici doctores speculum animae esse mandata divina ut unaquaeque fidelissima in eo se intuens deprehendat in semetipsa vel feditatem vitiorum vel pulchritudinem virtutum.*

Six of the fourteen writers who addressed the issue of infant baptism used John the Deacon's sixth-century letter to Senarius, in which he described the rite of baptism known to him.¹⁹⁹ The anonymous writers of Texts 1, 2, 3, and 4, who drew upon a now lost florilegium based on John's letter,²⁰⁰ also used his justification for infant baptism:

‘You ought to know that while they are offered by parents or by any others, it is necessary that they who had been damned by another's sin are saved by the mouth of another's profession.’²⁰¹

Interestingly, though John placed this passage at the very end of his work, in what Keefe has described as ‘a sort of postscript,’²⁰² each of the anonymous ninth-century writers instead included this explanation in chapters relating to the renunciation of the devil. Though this may be a result of the organisation of the florilegium upon which each of the anonymous texts was based, each of the ninth-century writers adapted their source text in ways which best served their purposes,²⁰³ and we must therefore see the connection made between the topics of infant baptism and the renunciation of Satan as a deliberate decision.

Thus, we can perhaps conclude that, for these four anonymous writers at least, the issue of personal responsibility permeated their understanding of this part of the baptismal rite, and they each felt the need to reconcile this issue with the practice of baptising infants who had no responsibility for themselves. Others could answer on behalf of the infant only because

¹⁹⁹John the Deacon, *Epistola ad Senarium*, PL 59, cols 399-406

²⁰⁰Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 1, p. 70.

²⁰¹Text 1 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 164; Text 2 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 173; Text 3 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 185-6; Text 4 (Anonymous), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 202; citing John the Deacon, *Epistola ad Senarium*, PL 59, col. 403 : *Scire debetis, quia dum a parentibus an a quibuslibet aliis offeruntur. ore alieno professionis salvari necesse est qui fuerunt ore alieno damnati.*

²⁰²Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 1, p. 73.

²⁰³Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 1, pp. 70-9.

the sin in question had not actually been committed by the catechumen. The placement by the four anonymous writers of the excerpt from John's work in their chapters on the renunciation also ties the idea of personal responsibility to the prebaptismal anointing of the breast and back. As mentioned in the second section of this chapter, the prebaptismal anointing of the catechumen was also closely tied to the renunciation of the devil, his works, and his pomps. That this renunciation, with the baptismal sponsors answering on behalf of the child, either occurred simultaneously or subsequently to the prebaptismal anointing in most of the baptismal rites for which we have evidence lends further credence to the view of the anointing as a sign of preparation for the catechumen's future life. This connection is further supported by the fact that no other prayer accompanied the unction.²⁰⁴ The writers of Texts 1 and 4 explicitly emphasised the relationship between these two ceremonies by altering John the Deacon's order of topics, grouping the chapters on the renunciation of the devil, the anointing of the breast and back and infant baptism together.²⁰⁵

Amalar of Metz also used John's letter, and like John he placed the passage concerning infants at the end of his work, after a section on the reception of the Eucharist and before a

²⁰⁴Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 1, pp. 164-7; Dumas (ed.), *Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis*, pp. 331-2. As mentioned previously, in Andrieu's *Ordo XI* the renunciation of the devil was omitted along with any prebaptismal anointing, which perhaps also indicates the connection between the two.

²⁰⁵In John the Deacon's letter, the renunciation of the devil was the second topic discussed, the anointing of the breast was the thirteenth, and, as already mentioned, infant baptism was the final subject covered. See Chart C1 in Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 1, p. 173. Though, as Keefe points out on p. 74, many of the changes made by the composer of Text 1 made the order of topics conform more closely to the order of ceremonies in *Ordo XI*, I would argue that this is not the case with regards to the renunciation and the prebaptismal anointing, as *Ordo XI* did not include either the prebaptismal anointing or any discussion of the renunciation of infants.

final discussion of the orthodox Christian belief held in his diocese.²⁰⁶ Amalar, unlike the four anonymous writers, did not link the excerpt to the renunciation of Satan. Rather, he positioned it immediately after an excerpt from a letter of Augustine to Boniface concerning infant baptism:

‘Thus, the sacrament of faith itself indeed makes the child faithful, though not yet that faith which exists in the will of believers. For just as they respond that they believe, so they are called the faithful, not by promising the thing itself with the mind, but by receiving the sacrament. However, when a man begins to understand, he does not repeat that sacrament, but understands it, and he will be joined to its will with a harmonious will. As long as he cannot do this, the sacrament will prevail as his protection against hostile powers, and it will prevail so much that if he might depart from this life before the age of reason, through the sacrament itself commending (him) to the love of the Church he may, with Christian aid, be saved from that condemnation which entered the world through one man.’²⁰⁷

Augustine, and therefore Amalar, here discussed a tension, but also a symbiosis, between the power of the sacrament and the future adult self of the infant catechumen. The effects of the ritual were all powerful while the newly baptised was a child. However, once the child reached the age of understanding, it was his or her will which fulfilled and validated the sacrament. This was consistent with Amalar’s treatment of the prebaptismal ceremonies of the *effeta* and the anointing of the breast and back. The ears and nose of the catechumens were touched:

²⁰⁶Text 23 (Amalar of Metz), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 349. Amalar also modified the wording of the passage : *Potest fieri ut qui alieno peccato sunt ligati, aliena professione solvantur.*

²⁰⁷*Ibid.*, citing Augustine, *Epistulae*, CSEL 34.2, letter 98, p.531 : *Itaque parvulum, etsi nondum fides illa quae in credentium voluntate consistit, iam tamen ipsius fidei sacramentum fidelem facit. Nam sicut credere respondentur, ita etiam fideles vocantur, non rem ipsam mente annuendo sed ipsius rei sacramentum percipiendo. Cum autem sapere homo coeperit, non illud sacramentum repetit, sed intellegit, eiusque voluntati consona etiam voluntate coaptabitur. Hoc quamdiu non potest, valebit sacramentum ad eius tutelam adversus contrarias potestates, et tantum valebit, ut si ante maioris usum ex hac vita emigraverit, per ipsum sacramentum commendantem ecclesiae caritatem ab illa condemnatione quae per unum hominem intravit in mundum, christiano adiutorio liberetur.*

‘so that they may be reminded as long as they draw the breath of life with these nostrils, they might always persevere in those things which they have already learned and still learn from the mouth of Catholic men’ and ‘to remember to hold always the faith which you learnt from that mouth, and which entered the soul through the ears.’²⁰⁸

The breast and back were anointed with oil:

‘so that “it may direct their hearts” and their works “in the love of God and the patience of Christ,”²⁰⁹ and so that they may recollect that they cannot otherwise perform or will good except through the mercy of God.’²¹⁰

Here again we see an interaction between the power of the ritual and the responsibility the catechumen would have for his or her life in the future. The touching of the ears, nose, breast, and back would have the immediate effect of instilling faith in the soul and of pointing the heart in the right direction, but this was implicitly dependent on the catechumen reflecting upon these things once he or she reached adulthood. The ritual may be a powerful sign of God’s mercy, but the catechumen still had a role to play in assuming some personal responsibility.

The final Carolingian writer to use John the Deacon’s justification for infant baptism was Angilmodus of Soissons, writing in the latter half of the ninth century. Unlike all of the other writers we have just discussed, Angilmodus placed his discussion of infant baptism after a section which listed the reasons why the names of the catechumens were recorded and before

²⁰⁸Text 23 (Amalar of Metz), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 344-5 : *ut ammoneantur, quamdiu spiritum vitae huius naribus trahunt, semper in his perseverent, quae iam didicerunt et adhuc discunt ab ore catholicorum virorum and fidem quam ab isto ore didicisti, et quae per aures intravit ad animam ... semper tenere memento.*

²⁰⁹2 Thessalonians 3:5.

²¹⁰Text 23 (Amalar of Metz), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 345 : *ut dirigat corda et opera eorum in caritate dei et patientia christi; et recognoscant se non aliter bonum operari posse neque velle, nisi per misericordiam dei.*

an explanation of the reasons why the male catechumens were to be on the right side of the church and the females on the left:

‘It ought not to be judged absurd, while they are brought forward by parents or by anyone else, that they who were bound by the sin of another are saved by the confession of another.’²¹¹

Angilmodus’s work, as discussed in the previous section of this chapter, is richly scattered with what we have termed the ‘language of the self’, and thus the issue of personal responsibility is implicit throughout. He further emphasised this at the end of his section on the anointing of the breast and back, after discussing the need for the catechumen to guard against future immorality:

‘And because this is not of any human faculty, unless he is aided by the power of Him, by whose power of mercy he is redeemed, it is also deservedly made visible by the oil of anointing.’²¹²

Here, as in Amalar, we see a symbiosis between the catechumen and the power of the ritual. The catechumen is aided, *iuvetur*, by God’s power as present in the rite, but once reaching adulthood, he or she must play an active role. The ceremony is not all powerful.

The churchmen who met at the Council of Paris in 829 also emphasised the future life of infant catechumens and the need for them to be taught the meaning of baptism:

‘Truly, since the faith of Christ is strong everywhere, and children born of Christian parents receive the sacrament of baptism before they may reach the age of understanding, it is necessary, so that what a helpless age cannot learn, an understanding age may try to learn.’²¹³

²¹¹Text 32 (Angilmodus of Soissons), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 443 : *Nec absurdum sentiri debet, dum a parentibus vel a quibuslibet aliis offeruntur, eos aliena salvati confessione, qui fuerant alieno obligati errore.*

²¹²*Ibid.*, p. 456 : *Et quia hoc non alicuius humanae est facultatis, nisi eius iuvetur ope, cuius redimitur misericordiae virtute, merito hoc quoque visibilis figuratur olei unctione.*

²¹³Werminghoff (ed.), *MGH Concilia II, Concilia aevi karolini I*, p. 614 : *Verum quoniam fides Christi ubique pollet et parvuli de Christianis parentibus nati, antequam ad intelligibilem aetatem veniant, baptismatis sacramenta percipiunt, necesse est, ut quod inbecillis aetas nequivit intelligibilis discere satagat.*

Immediately before this passage, the composer of this canon referred to two canons of the fourth-century Council of Laodicea. The first specified that those (presumably adult) individuals who desired to be baptised ought to undergo a five day scrutiny before the ceremony.²¹⁴ The second stipulated that if a person had been baptised as a result of illness before he or she had been taught about the sacrament, then he or she ought to be instructed afterwards.²¹⁵ The writer thus adapted these older decrees, composed at a time when adults made up the majority of converts, to ninth-century conditions, when infant baptism was the norm, in order to demonstrate that the education of catechumens after baptism, rather than before, was perfectly consistent with ancient practice.

Thus, many ninth-century commentators justified the baptism of infants, not by referring to the dangers of original sin as established by Augustine's doctrine, but by emphasizing the issue of personal responsibility. As infants were not responsible for the sin they inherited at birth, they did not need to take an active role in its remission. The *pactum* of baptism, however, would be invalidated if they later, once they had reached an age of understanding, committed sins for which they could be held responsible.

The idea of baptism as a pact to be fulfilled later in life originated long before the ninth century. Ambrose likened the sacrament to a promissory note (*chirographum*) given by the newly baptised to God, thus forming a lifelong obligation.²¹⁶ Caesarius of Arles also saw baptism as a moral *pactum* to be fulfilled throughout a Christian's life. Any sin committed

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ J.A. Jungmann, 'Taufe als Lebensweihe', in H. Auf der Maur and B. Kleinheyer (eds.), *Zeichen des Glaubens: Studien zu Taufe und Firmung* (Köln, 1972), pp. 199-200.

would violate the terms of the pact.²¹⁷ Martin of Braga, too, when he warned his audience against what he saw as improper practices and beliefs in his *De correctione rusticorum*, referred back to the contract (*pactum*) with God that was sealed during baptism.²¹⁸ This passage was later used in a seventh-century collection of homilies²¹⁹ and by Pirmin in the 8th century. Interestingly, Pirmin used the reminder as a transition from an exposition on salvific history to a moral instruction,²²⁰ which may perhaps constitute an acknowledgment of the spiritual and moral dimensions of the sacrament.

Though the above writers had adult converts in mind when formulating a connection between the moment of baptism and the life which came afterwards, many writers who lived in an age in which infant baptism predominated held similar views. Leidrad and Theodulf both describe the renunciation of the devil as an *adjuratio*²²¹ or a *pactio*²²², a contract with God to be held ‘with an unshakeable intention of mind.’²²³ Frederick Paxton has pointed out a shift towards similar legalistic thinking in Benedict of Aniane’s rite for death and burial as found in his supplement to the *Hadrianum*:

‘By introducing terms with legal connotations...Benedict brought a new element of personal guilt and responsibility into the penitential quality of the prayers for the dead. This suggestion of guilt contrasts sharply with the traditional language, in which sin is represented as the result of earthly fragility and the snares of the devil. The new tone in Benedict’s opening prayer suggests a more juridical approach to sinfulness as well as a heightened sense of personal

²¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 200.

²¹⁸*Ibid.*

²¹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 200-1

²²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 201.

²²¹Text 25 (Leidrad of Lyons), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 358.

²²²*Ibid.*, p. 367; Text 16 (Theodulf of Orléans), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 300.

²²³Text 16 (Theodulf of Orléans), in Keefe (ed.), *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 358: *inconvulse mentis intentione*.

responsibility. Sin is the result not of corporeal fragility in the face of the devil's wiles but of conscious choice and responsible action.²²⁴

As we have seen, none of the ninth-century writers of baptismal expositions, remarkably, discussed infant baptism in terms of the need to cleanse catechumens of original sin in order to protect their souls. Rather, their primary concern was the issue of personal responsibility and the inability of an infant to assume such responsibility for him- or herself. These writers, and others, revealed an undercurrent of tension beneath the practice of infant baptism by choosing to focus on the need for the catechumen to live morally once reaching adulthood, and the means by which the prebaptismal ceremonies could assist them in achieving this. For the majority of ninth-century writers, the sacrament was always a mixture of the passive and the active. The infant was undoubtedly passive during the ceremony, with the ritual as the active element. However, as we have seen, many of the writers of the baptismal expositions regarded the prebaptismal ceremonies as a way of shaping the self of the catechumen so that he or she would be more likely to live a moral life upon reaching adulthood. These writers may have had one eye on the ritual itself, but they also had one on the future, a future in which the catechumen, having been freed from the sin for which they were not responsible, would need all of the spiritual help possible to avoid the sins for which they would be responsible. The baptismal ceremonies were there to provide this assistance while the catechumen was a child, but their power was ultimately dependent on the catechumen continuing to 'will well' once he or she reached the age of understanding. The wealth of Carolingian baptismal texts, made available thanks to Susan Keefe's most valuable work editing them, have allowed us to fully appreciate the complexity of thought which ninth-century writers devoted to the subject.

²²⁴Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, pp. 141-2.

Conclusion

Throughout all of the texts studied in the two previous chapters, one thing remained constant: the relationship, as perceived by ninth-century writers, between the human moral self, with its attributes of rationality and free will, and divine grace. In short, ninth-century writers had to constantly wrestle with the tension between human agency and divine power. This was an issue as old as Christianity itself and one, of course, that was never to be completely resolved. As a way of illustrating how this tension occupied writers throughout the ninth century, and how discussions of the self, therefore, continued to be integral to the crucial debates of that time, it may be worth looking forward into the middle of that century and briefly examining two issues which ultimately revolved around the self: child oblation and the inquiry into the soul.

I have chosen to address these issues in a much more circumscribed way than the topics previously examined for two reasons. Firstly, the primary focus of this dissertation has been on the earlier part of the ninth century, a time with a very different political and theological situation to that which existed later in the century. Secondly, as discussed in the introduction to this dissertation, a concept as wide-ranging and fluid as the self necessitated a strict focus in studying it. I therefore chose to focus on the moral aspects of the self and its capacity to be shaped. As we shall see below, in neither the debate surrounding child oblation nor the inquiry into the soul was the moral self the central issue. Rather, it was the aspects of the self concerned with personal freedom and will that were of concern to those who wrote about oblation, and the issue of morality was completely absent from the mid-ninth-century texts on the soul, as the composers of these works focused instead on its more metaphysical qualities.

These caveats aside, however, the debate on child oblation and the inquiry into the soul do give us a useful glimpse of the persistence of the perceived tension between human agency and divine power and the ways in which concepts of the self continued to be used and developed. It is also noteworthy that both of these mid-ninth-century discussions had Gottschalk of Orbais at their centre, for here we can see how so many issues related to the self seemed to collide, and how an abstract debate seemed to crystallise, in one articulate individual.

I: Child Oblation and the Gottschalk Controversy

As Mayke de Jong's thorough and nuanced examination of child oblation in the early Middle Ages¹ has demonstrated, this practice, especially for the Carolingians, always had the self at its centre. As stated above, it was the aspects of the self concerned with free will and personal agency, rather than morality and personal responsibility, that were most relevant to the discussions of oblation in the ninth century. However, there are striking parallels to the ninth-century baptismal practices which we examined in the second chapter of this dissertation. First, in both child oblation and infant baptism, promises were made by active adults on behalf of a passive child. Second, just as baptism was a rite which could be performed on both infant and adult catechumens, so entry to the monastic life could be a process undergone by both children and adults. Thus, many of the same tensions between human agency and divine power which affected ninth-century attitudes towards infant baptism were also present in the texts which addressed the practice of child oblation. Before discussing these tensions, it may be useful to first provide a short narrative explaining the history and performance of the rite.

¹M. de Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Leiden, 1996).

Parents gave their children into the care of monks from the very beginning of coenobitic monasticism.² Their reasons for doing so were incredibly varied. Some, conforming most closely to the biblical model of Hannah,³ donated their children as an act of faith, seeing the oblation as the fulfillment of a religious duty and expecting spiritual rewards after death in return for making a sacrifice on earth.⁴ Others, according to some historians, saw oblation as the ideal way to dispose of disadvantageous children, those who were physically or mentally defective, those born of incestuous or illegitimate unions, or those who simply strained the finances of the family.⁵

No matter the precise reason and theological understanding that motivated parents to hand over their children, in the early years of monasticism the procedure itself was usually informal, devoid of ritual, and did not always result in the child entering the religious life.⁶ In the East, Basil of Caesarea made the procedure of child oblation more formal by requiring third parties to witness the handing over of the child, but no further requirements were imposed.⁷ In the West, though children were omnipresent in monasteries regardless of the rule followed by the community, their entry into the religious life remained unformalised until the sixth century.⁸ Only the Benedictine Rule gave precise instructions for a formal ritual of child oblation.⁹ Benedict required the parents of the boy being given to the monastery to draw up a petition in which they promised, on behalf of their son, stability, conversion to the monastic way of life, and

²*Ibid.*, p. 16.

³1 Samuel 1:27-8.

⁴J.E. Boswell, 'Expositio and Oblatio: The Abandonment of Children and the Ancient and Medieval Family', *The American Historical Review* 89 (1984):22, 31-2.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 20-1.

⁶de Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, pp. 17-8.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 22-3, 33-6, 38.

⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 24-5.

obedience. In this same petition, the parents were also required to disinherit their son of all his worldly possessions. They were to then lead the boy to the offertory and wrap the petition and the boy's hand in the altar cloth, offering him as one would offer the eucharistic sacrifice of bread and wine.¹⁰

The practice of child oblation became increasingly widespread throughout the West during the following centuries until reaching its zenith in the Carolingian empire.¹¹ During this time, those who had entered the monastery as child oblates most likely outnumbered those who had entered as adult converts.¹² The two groups of monks, former oblates and non-oblates, were treated quite differently, at least until the *oblato* had reached the age of discretion. This age was never clearly defined, either by commentators on the Rule of Benedict or by the Rule itself. Benedict stated that boys up to the age of fifteen are required to be more strictly supervised, but the end of this supervision was also dependent on the personal maturity of the boy in question.¹³ While they were still considered children, the *oblato* were subject to a relaxed form of the Rule.¹⁴ As children as young as three are known to have been present in monasteries, we can assume that many of the *oblato* had spent a considerable percentage of their lives within the monastery walls.¹⁵ The fact that these children had thus been exposed to fewer of the corrupting influences of the outside world led many commentators of the

¹⁰Benedict of Nursia, *The Rule of St. Benedict*, ed. T. Fry (Collegeville, 1981), c.58-9; J. Doran, 'Oblation or Obligation? A Canonical Ambiguity', *The Church and Childhood*, ed. D. Wood, *Studies in Church History* 31 (1994): 128. In Hildemar's commentary on the Rule, composed in the mid-ninth century, the boy also holds the offering of bread and water in his hand, thus reinforcing his image as a sacrifice; M. de Jong, 'Growing up in a Carolingian monastery: Magister Hildemar and his oblates', *Journal of Medieval History* 9 (1983): 102.

¹¹de Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, p. 14.

¹²de Jong, 'Growing up', p. 99.

¹³*Rule of St. Benedict*, c. 70; de Jong, 'Growing up', p. 108.

¹⁴de Jong, 'Growing up', pp. 103-5

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 102.

day to prefer oblates to adult converts. Throughout the ninth century, the popularity of private masses grew, and ordained monks, especially those untainted by the secular world, came to be seen as the ideal celebrants.¹⁶

Perhaps the most marked difference between the treatment of *oblati* and *conversi* within the monastery was the process of their admittance into monastic life. As we have already seen, the oblation ritual was relatively brief and was conflated with the celebration of the mass. We can here see parallels to the sacrament of baptism, where the infant was necessarily passive and the adults present were the main actors. Under the Benedictine Rule, from the moment the boy was given over to the monastery, he was considered monk. No further ritual was required to confirm his status.¹⁷ Therefore, it was divine power acting through the promises made on behalf of the child by his parents that was the only important element of the process. No room was left for personal agency on behalf of the child, even after he had reached adulthood. As we shall see shortly, this idea was deeply problematic for many Carolingian writers.

In contrast, adult converts to the religious life were required to spend a probationary period in the monastery before being fully admitted. After expressing a wish to become a monk, the potential convert was granted admittance to a guest house, where he remained for a few days before moving to the novitiate. During this time, he was questioned by a senior monk in order to examine his internal motives for becoming a monk and to test his ability to submit to the hardships of monastic life. After two months, the Rule was read out to him, and he was sent back to the novitiate to be questioned for another six months. The Rule was then read out to him once more. If the potential convert promised to abide by the Rule he was then accepted into the community and

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 120-3.

required to remain there for the rest of his life.¹⁸ This practice was largely adhered to, though with some modifications, in the ninth century. In Hildemar's commentary on the Rule, the convert remained in the guest house for two months. The Rule was read to him during this time, and if he renounced arms at the end of the two months, he was tonsured and dressed in the clerical habit and sent to live in the novitiate. He was then questioned and taught the Rule for ten months before making his final profession. Other authorities, such as Benedict of Aniane, disagreed with Hildemar's modifications and favoured Benedict's original procedure.¹⁹

The procedures for the admittance of *oblati* and *conversi* to the monastic life, then, differed most strikingly in their treatment of the wills of those being admitted, and it is this issue of will, and the concomitant issue of personal agency, which concern us chiefly. During the oblation ritual, only the will and intention of the parents was of any importance. The boy was apparently only an object upon which to be acted. The procedure for the acceptance of adults into the community, in contrast, placed an incredible amount of emphasis on the inner disposition and intention of the convert. The Rule was read out several times, and the novice was examined for months. Benedict was adamant that the novice came to a full understanding and acceptance of the nature of monastic life before fully committing himself.

The differences between the two procedures are indicative of the debates which took place in the ninth century concerning the issue of admittance into the monastic life, and they thus illuminate the questions of the self which have concerned us. In one of the first capitularies to deal with this matter, the *Capitula de causis cum episcopis et abbatibus*

¹⁷Doran, 'Oblation or Obligation', p. 129.

¹⁸*Rule of St. Benedict.*, c. 58.

¹⁹de Jong, 'Growing up', p. 119.

tractanda issued in 811, Charlemagne, concerned with the practice of forcibly tonsuring or veiling serfs, warned that a religious community could not be composed of unwilling entrants.²⁰ However, this only applied to those who were already adults at the time of their forced conversion, and later capitularies failed to address the issue of child oblation in any detail, merely referring to the relevant chapter of the Benedictine Rule.²¹ It was an issue that continued to fester, however, and at the councils of Aachen in 816 and 817 a compromise was struck. Parents could continue to give their children into the monastic life, but the child had to ratify the decision when he reached the age of discretion.²²

Even this decree, however, did not end the debate on the issue. For, while an oblate was given the opportunity to express his own will once he reached adulthood, this did not necessarily mean that he could nullify the previous promises made by his parents.²³ This conflict was at the root of the controversy surrounding the monk Gottschalk of Orbais, the individual on whom so many issues of the self seemed to collide within a relatively short span of time. Two major controversies swirled around him in less than half a century.

Gottschalk, son of a Saxon count, was born around 804 and as a small boy was given to the monastery of Fulda by his mother after his father's death. At the age of twenty-one, however, arguing that he had been forcibly tonsured and made to profess a monastic vocation against his will, Gottschalk appealed to be released from monastic life at Fulda. The Council of Mainz in 829 agreed that Gottschalk's profession had been forced and was therefore invalid. However, his abbot, Hrabanus Maurus, appealed this decision to

²⁰ de Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, pp. 60-1.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 62.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

Louis the Pious. Hrabanus composed his *Liber de oblatione puerorum* and argued that the vow made by Gottschalk's parents was valid and binding and could not be nullified by the oblate later in life. Hrabanus steered clear of the issue of will, concentrating instead on Old Testament and patristic teachings to lend his argument authority. Gottschalk and Hrabanus both had their supporters, who argued both sides of the case with equal vehemence. Ultimately, Gottschalk was allowed to leave Fulda but was required to remain a monk, this time at Orbais.²⁴

Gottschalk, then, was not allowed to nullify the decision that had been made by his mother on his behalf, and it may therefore seem as if the importance of personal agency was considered to be of less importance than ritual power. However, the arguments generated by the controversy and the lack of consensus reached by those involved illustrate beautifully the tension between personal agency and divine power felt by Carolingian writers. This tension, and the resulting absence of uniform agreement on child oblation, continued throughout the ninth century and was further expressed in later Church councils. The Council of Worms in 868 decreed that the vow made on behalf of the child by his parents at the time of his oblation was equivalent to his personal conversion. The Council of Tribur in 895 stated that the parental vow was binding only if the child also consented to the oblation. If the child did not consent, he was still given over to the monastery, but should be allowed to leave the monastery at the age of twelve if he so wished.²⁵

²⁴ de Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, pp. 85-91; Doran, 'Oblation or Obligation', p. 130; Ganz, 'The Debate on Predestination', p. 287; D.E. Nineham, 'Gottschalk of Orbais: Reactionary or Precursor of the Reformation?', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 40 (1989): 1-2.

²⁵ Doran, 'Oblation or Obligation', p. 131.

The debate over Gottschalk's wish to leave the monastery to which his parents had given him clearly illustrates the difficulty which ninth-century writers had in reaching any kind of consensus on issues in which the human self and divine power could both be seen to be acting. What ought to hold precedence: the power of the ritual or the will of the person at the ritual's centre? Here, as mentioned earlier, we can observe striking parallels to ninth-century treatments of baptism. Both oblation and infant baptism were rites performed on passive children. In both the baptismal expositions and ninth-century discussions of oblation we see an effort on the part of Carolingian churchmen to reconcile ritual power and personal agency. And, as in the baptismal expositions, attitudes towards the issue of child oblation were complex and far from uniform.

II: The Inquiry into the Soul

Approximately forty years after Charlemagne's baptismal questionnaire was sent out to the bishops of his empire, there was a second inquiry in the ninth century which can also help to round off this study, namely by allowing us a vantage point from which to perceive how the issues we have discussed came to fruition. This was the inquiry into the soul. As we shall see, though scholars have disagreed as to whether this inquiry originated with Charlemagne's grandson, Charles the Bald, the king was definitely involved in it. And, like the debate on child oblation, the issues of the self with which the inquiry was concerned seemed once again to collide in Gottschalk. As mentioned at the beginning of this conclusion, the texts generated as a result of the inquiry into the soul were not concerned with the moral self, and thus I have not examined them in the same amount of depth as the uses of *De Trinitate* and the ninth-century baptismal texts. However, these works are still worth looking at, as the context in which they were composed, the controversy over predestination, was most definitely concerned with morality. It is therefore noteworthy that three of the individuals involved in this

controversy felt it was necessary to compose texts on the nature of the soul as part of the larger debate. We can perhaps see this as an example of Foucault's idea of 'the determination of the ethical substance,'²⁶ discussed in the introduction to this dissertation. As we may recall, this concept referred to the need to define and demarcate the self before any process of moral reform could begin.

As the context of the inquiry may thus offer us a great deal of understanding into the reasons why a need was felt to compose several texts on the soul, it is necessary to resort to a brief narrative in order to explain the wider controversy surrounding Gottschalk and predestination. This debate, which grew to embroil many of the most prominent thinkers of the mid-ninth century, has been thoroughly and expertly examined by David Ganz,²⁷ and therefore I shall seek only to give an outline of the issues concerned and the people involved. I shall first sketch a chronology of events and then discuss the ideas which the participants debated.

A: The Predestination Controversy as Context

The controversy first began in 845, when Gottschalk was to be found teaching his theories of double predestination at the court of Eberhard of Friuli. In 848, Gottschalk's teachings were condemned at the Synod of Mainz, and he was sent to Hincmar of Rheims. In the following year, with Charles the Bald presiding, he was again condemned at the Synod of Quierzy. His works were burned, and he was imprisoned in the monastery of Hautvilliers. Hincmar, in consultation with Lupus of Ferrières and Prudentius of Troyes, then wrote a treatise to the religious of his diocese, warning them of the danger posed by Gottschalk's teachings. At the same time, Charles the Bald asked Lupus about

²⁶Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure*, p. 26.

²⁷D. Ganz, 'The Debate on Predestination', pp. 283-302. See also his 'Theology and the Organisation of Thought', pp. 758-85.

predestination, free will, and the redemption and asked Ratramnus of Corbie for a patristic dossier on predestination. John Scottus Eriugena, at the request of Pardulus of Laon, dedicated a treatise on predestination to Charles the Bald. Eriugena's treatise was then attacked by Prudentius of Troyes and Florus of Lyons. Florus also attacked Hrabanus and Hincmar for errors on their part and stated that some aspects of Gottschalk's teachings were wrong, but that his works ought to have been discussed, not burned.

In 853, Charles the Bald and several clerics drew up at Quierzy four *capitula* defining orthodox doctrine on predestination. Two years later, fourteen Lotharingian bishops condemned these *capitula* at the Council of Valence. However, in 859 the Lotharingian bishops met again at Langres and implicitly retracted their condemnation of Quierzy while attacking the position taken by Eriugena. A week or so later, the decrees of Langres were presented to the Synod of Savonnières, which Charles the Bald had assembled. The first six *capitula* of the decrees concerned predestination, and Charles asked Hincmar to respond to them. In 860 the Synod of Tusey met under the authority of Charles the Bald and Lothar II and rejected Gottschalk's idea of predestination to damnation. Three years later, Nicholas I sought a meeting between Gottschalk, Hincmar and two papal legates in order to resolve the dispute once and for all, but Hincmar defied the summons. In 866, a monk called Guntbert brought a copy of Gottschalk's writings to Nicholas and entreated him to intervene in the controversy, but Nicholas died in 867. No more was subsequently heard from Gottschalk, and it is assumed he died before 870.

Why did so many writers of the mid-ninth-century involve themselves in this debate? Why was the issue of predestination, a deeply esoteric and essentially unprovable notion, felt to be so important? Once again, we find the tension between human agency

and divine power at its centre. After the Synod of Mainz, Hrabanus wrote a letter, sent with Gottschalk, to Hincmar emphasising the danger to moral behaviour posed by Gottschalk's teachings. After the Synod of Quierzy, Hincmar wrote a treatise to the religious of his diocese, warning them against abandoning faith and good works. When Eriugena's treatise was attacked by Prudentius of Troyes and Florus of Lyons, the chief point of disagreement between the writers was the relationship between free will and grace. Florus also acknowledged that some aspects of Gottschalk's teachings were wrong about free will. In Hincmar's third treatise in defense of Quierzy, he stated that predestination was a dangerous doctrine, as it undermined human responsibility.²⁸

As we have seen, the individuals who became involved in the controversy surrounding Gottschalk's theory of predestination debated heatedly the relationship between human agency and divine power and the resulting effects on personal morality, precisely the same themes which we have already explored in the previous chapters on baptism and Augustine's concept of the self. That the controversy continued to plague the realm for over twenty years demonstrates not only the complexity of the theological arguments put forward by the writers involved in the dispute but also the importance these writers attributed to the matters under discussion. These writers did not view Gottschalk's theories of predestination as esoteric ideas which were of interest only as intriguing philosophical concepts to ponder, but as teachings which threatened the very moral fabric of Christendom because they undermined the notion of personal responsibility. Several of those who wrote in response to Gottschalk were in turn criticised for seemingly diminishing the role which divine grace played in morality and redemption. As with those writers who had responded to Charlemagne's baptismal inquiry at the beginning of the ninth century, and those who had participated in the

²⁸Ganz, 'The Debate on Predestination', pp. 288-99; Ganz, 'Theology and the

debates concerning Gottschalk and oblation in 829, we can thus unquestionably see the difficulties these mid-ninth-century writers had in reconciling the forces of human agency and divine power. This is unsurprising, as this has been a perennial problem in Christianity, from Pelagianism in the fifth century to the Reformation in the sixteenth (particularly in the doctrines espoused by Calvinists and Anabaptists) and beyond. And, as with the topics examined in the previous chapters, the moral self of the individual Christian was at the centre of the discussion.

B: The Texts on the Soul

We can then turn to the texts which comprise what has been termed the inquiry into the soul. The inquiry is a far from straightforward subject to study. The few scholars who have approached it have disagreed as to the impetus to the inquiry and, indeed, whether or not it can even correctly be called an inquiry on Charles the Bald's part. Although these disagreements may seem peripheral to the topic of the moral self with which this dissertation is concerned, they must still be addressed in order to gain a better understanding of how these texts on the soul were related to the broader context in which they were written.

The one aspect of this matter on which scholars have not disagreed is that three texts on the soul were composed in the middle of the ninth century: one by Ratramnus of Corbie, one by Hincmar of Rheims, and one by Gottschalk. It is also without question that these three writers were deeply involved in the controversy over predestination and composed their texts on the soul during the height of that controversy. The relationships between these texts and the reasons for their composition, however, have generated

conflict. These disagreements have arisen chiefly because one of the texts involved, that of Ratramnus, did not explicitly name its intended recipient. The work was definitely composed at the request of someone, as Ratramnus begins by stating: *Duo, quantum memini, proposuistis ecclesiarum vobis auctoritate solvenda.*²⁹ Wilmart, the editor of the text, along with Traube, believed that the text was a reply to a circular sent by Charles the Bald, who was following in the footsteps of his father and grandfather by questioning the churchmen of his kingdom about theological matters.³⁰ Gérard Mathon, who discussed the inquiry in his dissertation on early medieval anthropology, also cited Charles as the recipient and posited that it was Eriugena's work on predestination in 850/1 which sparked the need for a discussion about the soul. According to Mathon, two questionnaires on the soul had been composed as a result: one from Charles the Bald to Hincmar of Rheims and Ratramnus and another by an unnamed monk of Orbais to Gottschalk.³¹

Bouhot, in his book on Ratramnus, cast doubt on all of the previous scholarship on the matter. In his opinion, there was no inquiry on Charles's part. Rather, the whole matter began with a letter (which does not survive), concerned with the nature of the soul, written by Gottschalk to a monk of Orbais at the end of 852. This letter was seized by Hincmar, who then composed his *De diversa et multiplici animae ratione* as a refutation of Gottschalk's letter.³² This text was addressed to Charles, though Bouhot believed that

²⁹Ratramnus of Corbie, *De anima*, ed. A. Wilmart, 'L'opuscule inédit de Ratramne sur la nature de l'âme', *Revue Bénédictine* 43 (1931): 210 : 'As far as I remember, you proposed two things pertaining to the church to be explained to you with authority.'

³⁰Wilmart, 'L'opuscule inédit', p. 208; L. Traube, *MGH, Poetae Latini medii aevi* III, 2, 2 (1896), p. 715 n. 1.

³¹J.P. Bouhot, *Ratramne de Corbie* (Paris, 1976), p. 42, citing G. Mathon, *L'anthropologie chrétienne en Occident de saint Augustin à Jean Scot Érigène*, Thèse Lille, Faculté de Théologie (Lille, 1964), pp. 241-332, esp. p. 290. Unfortunately, I have been unable to obtain Mathon's work.

³²It must be pointed out, however, that the attribution of this text to Hincmar has also been controversial. Jacques Sirmond, whose seventeenth-century edition is the one

Hincmar intentionally did not mention the letter to him. Simultaneously, Gottschalk composed his *Responsa de diversis* in his own defense and sent it to an unnamed recipient to check for errors. Bouhot hypothesised that the addressee may have been Lupus of Ferrières, though he acknowledged that no definitive evidence existed to support this attribution. After the Council of Quierzy in 853, the recipient of Gottschalk's text asked Ratramnus about the soul, and he composed his *De anima* as a result.³³

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to determine the precise relationships between the three texts and the reasons why each was composed. To contextualise these works, it is enough to conclude that Charles the Bald did play some part in fostering the discussions of the soul which took place in the middle of the ninth century, whether as the generator of an inquiry, as his grandfather had been with regards to baptism, or in a slightly more passive role as the recipient of at least one of the texts concerned, and that these works were all composed by writers involved in the larger predestination controversy which was plaguing the kingdom at the same time. What, then, do the three treatises tell us about the aspects of the soul which mid-ninth-century writers felt were in need of discussion?

Unfortunately, Gottschalk's original letter is not preserved, and the central part of his *Responsa de diversis*, found in only one extant manuscript, has been mutilated.³⁴ From

found in Migne, published this anonymous text under Hincmar's name. This was then disputed by four subsequent scholars until Mathon, who seems to have authoritatively assigned the text to Hincmar once and for all. See Bouhot, *Ratramne de Corbie*, p. 44.

³³Bouhot, *Ratramne de Corbie*, pp. 41-8.

³⁴Bouhot, *Ratramne de Corbie*, p. 43.

the portion, including a table of contents, that remains, Bouhot detected six chapter titles which were concerned with the soul³⁵:

X - *De natura animae*

XI - *Si sit sedes animae corpus*

XII - *Si sunt inlocales qui deo adhaerent, angeli videlicet et animae sanctorum*

XIII - *Si plene deum cernunt animae sanctorum et si est modo quod dixit*

Johannes

'Videbimus eum sicuti est', an adhuc id plenius expectant in resurrectione corporum

XV - *De incorporalitate: Quomodo sit in anima ad animam ad deum apud deum*

These chapter titles, as Bouhot pointed out, were quite similar to those found in

Hincmar's *De diversa et multiplici animae ratione*³⁶:

I - *Utrum anima corporea sit*

II - *Utrum anima localiter teneatur in corpore*

III - *Utrum anima cum corpore moveatur per loca*

IV - *Utrum omnis creatura corporea sit et solus deus incorporeus*

V - *Utrum animae natura terminos corporales excedat*

VI - *Utrum deus per tempora et loca moveatur*

VII - *Utrum anima solo tempore moveatur*

VIII - *Utrum substantia divinitatis corporalibus oculis post resurrectionem corporum videatur*

Ratramnus's text had a much more limited, though closely related, scope. In it, he set out to answer two specific questions: whether the soul could be said to be circumscribed or localised.³⁷ It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to examine exhaustively the content of the texts by Hincmar and Ratramnus. However, it may be useful to give a short characterisation of each work. These characterisations in turn will more fully reveal the preoccupations of each of the writers with regards to the soul.

It is no surprise that Ratramnus and Hincmar did not fully agree with each other in their discussions of the nature of the soul. After all, in the work on predestination which

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 45.

³⁶*Ibid.*; Hincmar of Rheims, *De diversa et multiplici animae ratione*, ed. J.P. Migne, PL 125, cols. 929-52.

Ratramnus had composed at the request of Charles the Bald, the monk of Corbie had taken a stance closely akin to that of Gottschalk, whereas Hincmar had always been Gottschalk's nemesis and had refuted his teachings at every opportunity. However, it is also unfair to say that Hincmar and Ratramnus's treatments of the soul were directly opposed to each other. It is difficult to directly compare the two texts in detail, as the scope of Ratramnus's was far more limited, but several generalisations can be made. Unsurprisingly for ninth-century works, both treatises were in the form of florilegia, with plentiful excerpts from Scripture and patristic works, particularly Augustine on Hincmar's part and Ambrose on Ratramnus's. Both writers agreed that the soul was distinct from both God and material things.³⁸ It was in the degree of separation between soul and body that Hincmar and Ratramnus differed. Hincmar viewed body and soul as being much more closely akin to each other than did Ratramnus. The monk of Corbie, instead, sought at every turn to emphasise the differences between the two selves, outer and inner. For example, Ratramnus contrasted the nature of the soul with that of the body and concluded that the differences between the two made it impossible for the soul to be said to be contained by the body:

'Next, if the soul is the whole reason, the whole will, and the whole memory. For it does not consider with one of its parts, love with another, remember with another. For the body, which has the head in one place, the breast in another, and the heart also not in the same place, so the soul is discerned by the parts of members, but is of a single nature. Therefore, neither is it, as a body is, circumscribed or confined to one place.'³⁹

Hincmar, conversely, though he acknowledged that the soul and the body were comprised of different substances, argued that the soul was contained within the body, in

³⁷Ratramnus, *De anima*, p. 210.

³⁸Hincmar, *De diversa*, cols. 939-40; Ratramnus, *De anima*, p. 211.

³⁹Ratramnus, *De anima*, p. 214 : *Item si tota est anima ratio, tota voluntas, tota memoria. Neque enim alia sui parte ratiocinatur, alia diligit, alia meminit. Quoniam non tamquam corpus quod alibi caput, alibi pectus, nec in eodem quoque loco ventrem habet, sic anima membrorum partibus discernitur, sed simplicis est naturae. Qua de re nec more corporis circumscripta nec localis est.*

a *mirabilis* and *ineffabilis* way, and cited a passage of Job which referred to those ‘who inhabit clay houses’ in order to demonstrate the relationship between body and soul.⁴⁰

Regardless of the exact nature of the relationship between the three texts, they all give us an indication of the issues related to the soul which were of interest to Gottschalk, Hincmar and Ratramnus. At the heart of all three texts is the question of the soul’s place in the continuum which had God at one end and the body at the other. This question was nothing new, as discussions about the nature of the soul had been a part of theological discourse since before Augustine’s time. What is interesting for the purposes of this dissertation is that these three writers chose to address this topic when they did and in the manner in which they did. Gottschalk, Hincmar and Ratramnus were three of the most important and active figures in the predestination controversy. As the scholars who have studied the three texts have at least agreed that they were all composed sometime between 850 and 853, we can say with some certainty that these writers chose to address the issue of the soul at the height of the controversy. What, then, could be the connection between the debate on predestination and the need for a discussion of the soul, and how does all of this pertain to our examination of ninth-century attitudes towards the self?

Arguably, both Hincmar and Ratramnus (and most likely Gottschalk, judging by the table of contents of his text) took a more purely philosophical, less moral angle in their discussions of the soul than did Augustine in his *De Trinitate* or the ninth-century composers of the baptismal expositions.⁴¹ However, the predestination controversy

⁴⁰Hincmar, *De diversa*, col. 933, citing Job 4:19 : *qui habitant domos luteas*.

⁴¹ This philosophical approach would be taken even further by Ratramnus in his second text on the soul, written in 863 for Odo of Beauvais. In this text, Ratramnus sought to argue against the teachings of an Irish monk named Macarius concerning the universal soul. See P. Delhaye, *Une controverse sur l’âme universelle au IX^e siècle* (Namur, 1950).

which comprised the larger context in which these treatises were composed was ultimately concerned with the moral selves of individual Christians. Those who opposed Gottschalk did so because his teachings seemed to undermine the notion of personal agency and responsibility. If the eternal fate of every human were already preordained, there would be no reason to shape the will or behaviour of any individual during this life. However, both these writers and those who supported Gottschalk found it difficult to reconcile an emphasis on the moral self with the need to also express belief in divine grace, omniscience and omnipotence. The complexity, and sheer amount, of thought which the debate generated illustrate how important and how difficult these writers felt these issues of the self to be.

III: Final Thoughts

As we have seen, ninth-century writers employed concepts of the self for widely varied purposes and in very different contexts. Alongside the frequently noted preoccupation with outward form and correct practice, we see an abiding concern for human agency, personal responsibility and the moral self. It is my hope that I have been able to show that these writers possessed as deep and complex an understanding of the inner life as they did of the outer. Through Scripture and patristic texts, a rich vocabulary of the self was available to, and used and developed by, the composers of texts in the ninth century. Discussions of the self were not limited to those writers, such as Eriugena, who have come to be thought of as before their time. Even a writer as avowedly opposed to anything which smacked of innovation as Florus of Lyons could express his understanding of the self through the construction and organisation of a florilegium.

For ninth-century writers, the gradual Christianisation of the empire required more than simply the control of behaviour. As Benedict of Aniane's use of Augustinian psychology shows, self-knowledge was an indispensable tool in both understanding the divine and in shaping one's inner being. That this idea was not limited to the monastic elite is clearly evident in the numerous baptismal expositions of the ninth century. And, as our brief foray into the controversies of the mid-ninth century has shown, the definition of the self and the consideration of its importance in relation to the divine continued to form integral parts of the most important issues of the day.

The writers of the ninth century were constantly forging a new language for, and new concepts of, the self. In doing this, they were partly impelled by the immediate political context in which they operated. After all, most of the texts we have discussed were generated, either directly or indirectly, as a result of the unceasing activity of Charlemagne, his son and his grandson. Never before had kings and emperors involved themselves so deeply in the theological affairs of their realms. Ninth-century writers were also partly woven into a long Christian history, one that had always been concerned with the moral selves of the faithful.

It is my hope that this dissertation has been able to demonstrate the rewards that may be reaped by a close reading and careful scrutiny of such texts as we have examined. Such an approach to the works of the ninth century most definitely reveals that the issue of the *interior homo* was of abiding concern throughout this time. It is also my hope that all those who have, quite rightly, celebrated the twelfth century's wealth of material on the self may, as a result of this research, fully appreciate the subtle and nuanced thought which Carolingian writers brought to the subject. Perhaps no era can lay claim to the 'discovery' of the self, but each may claim its own 'redevelopment.'

Touching of the Ears and Nose

Anonymous - Text 1

Gregory: Therefore, through saliva, which slides from the forehead into the mouth, the flood of divine contemplation is designated. What, therefore, is our head if not the divinity through which we undertake the beginning of existing, so that we may be the creature, as that of Paul: 'The head of man is Christ.'¹? And what else is portrayed by the name of the mouth if the order of preachers is not designated? A certain man added: 'Whence in fact Philip, who is understood as the mouth of day, took a taste, as it were, of saliva from the head when Jesus said, 'Follow me.'² Then he, the good odour of the Lord, as it were, acquainted Nathaniel with the very bright sacrament of holy law when saliva touched his ears, saying, 'We found Jesus, the son of Joseph of Nazareth, of whom Moses also wrote about in the law of the prophet.'³

Again Gregory: In fact, the Saviour, coming, mixed spittle with mud and repaired the eyes of the man born blind, because divine grace illuminates our carnal understanding through the admixture of its contemplation and reforms man from original blindness to understanding.

John: Therefore, the ears are touched because faith enters the understanding through them.

And Ambrose: Therefore, the ears are touched by the priest so that they may be opened to the speech and eloquence of the priest.

¹1 Corinthians 11:3.

²John 1:43.

And the same man elsewhere: 'Effeta,' which is to throw open, so that each one to come to grace may understand what is asked and what he may respond, commit to memory, etc.

John: When, indeed, their noses are touched, they are reminded that as long as they draw breath with their noses they may endure in the service of God and in His commands.

Ambrose: He is to touch the nose, moreover, so that they may receive the good odour of eternal piety, as is indicated: 'For we are the good odour of Christ,'⁴ just as the holy apostle said, and so that an abundant blazing of faith and devotion may be in him.

Again in that book: After these things are disclosed to you in the holy of holies, you enter the chapel of regeneration.

Anonymous - Text 2

Why the ears of the catechumens are smeared with holy oil.

Among the rest (of the sayings?) of the holy Augustine: Indeed, after your ears are smeared with blessed oil, you are elected into the number of wise listeners, so that, rightly hearing the words of God and fulfilling that which you hear, you may hear Christ's voice saying on the day of judgment, 'Come, blessed of my father, receive the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.'⁵

³John 1:45.

⁴2 Corinthians 2:15.

⁵Matthew 25:34.

However, let you not think over the act of the mystery fearlessly or without struggle because we anointed your nose with the oil of benediction. Because it is understood to be done for that reason, so that those who come to baptism may be reminded to preserve the sacrament of so great a mystery inviolate and entirely all the way up to death, so that as long as he draws the breath of this life with his nose, they may not withdraw from the sacrament and care of Christ our God.

And John: Their ears are touched with the oil of sanctification because faith enters into the understanding through them.

Concerning the touch of the nose.

The same (writer) (John): Truly, when their noses are touched they are without doubt reminded that as long as they draw breath with the nose, they may persevere in the service and commands of God.

Anonymous - Text 3

Concerning the touch of the ears.

John: Their ears are touched with the oil of sanctification because faith enters into the understanding through them, and the rest.

Concerning the touch of the nose.

John: Truly, when their noses are touched, they are without doubt reminded that as long as they draw breath with the nose, they may persevere in the service and commands of God, and the rest.

Anonymous - Text 4

Concerning the touch of the ears.

John: Their ears are touched with the oil of sanctification because faith enters into the understanding through them.

Augustine: Indeed, after your ears are smeared with blessed oil, you are elected into the number of wise listeners, so that, rightly hearing the words of God and fulfilling that which you hear, you may hear Christ's voice saying on the day of judgment, 'Come, blessed of my father,'⁶ and the rest.

Concerning the touch of the nose.

John: Truly, when their noses are touched, they are without doubt reminded that as long as they draw breath with the nose, they may persevere in the service and commands of God.

Anonymous - Text 5

The nose and ears are touched with spittle, and it is called 'Effeta,' so that it may indicate that the ears of the heart have been opened to grasp the divine gifts (and) holy mysteries. Truly, the nose is opened, and the sweetest odour of the knowledge of God is drawn in. Whence the

apostle also says: 'Thanks to God who always makes us to triumph in Christ Jesus and manifests the odour of his knowledge through us in every place.'⁷ For we believe that this practice grew from that which was done by the Lord in the gospel of the Church, where he touched the deaf and mute man with the saliva of his mouth and said, 'Effeta,'⁸ so that his priests, first amongst the other beginnings of consecration, may touch with the saliva of their mouth the nose and ears of those whom they are preparing to receive the sacraments to be received of baptism, saying, "Effeta." Truly, through the saliva of their mouth they are designating the taste of divine wisdom by which they are to be inspired; through the touch of the nose, so that, with harmful delights having been abandoned, it may always embrace only the odour of Christ, concerning which the apostle says: 'We are the good odour of Christ unto God in every place.'⁹ Moreover, through the touch of the ears so that, with the hearing of worthless speech having been abandoned, they may hear the words of Christ and practice them, truly similar to the prudent man who built his house upon a rock.¹⁰

Alcuin(?) - Text 9

The nose is touched so that as long as he may draw breath with the nose, he may persevere in the faith received.

Anonymous - Text 10

The nose is touched so that as long as he may draw breath with the nose, he may persevere in the faith received.

⁶Matthew 25:34.

⁷2 Corinthians 2:14.

⁸Mark 7:33-4.

⁹2 Corinthians 2:14-5.

Anonymous - Text 12

Why does the priest touch the ears and nose with his saliva? According to the example of God put forth, we read in the Gospel that he acted for the deaf and mute man.

Or differently: By praying and listening it gave Christ, because just as saliva comes forth from the inner parts of the head, so the Son is born from the substance of the Father. As the apostle says: 'God is the head of Christ.'¹¹

Likewise, the nose is touched so that as long as he draws breath with the nose, he may endure in the faith received.

Magnus of Sens - Text 15

The ears and nose are touched with spittle, and it is called the Effeta, which is to throw open.

The nose is touched so that as long as life is a companion and the breath and odour of life may remain in the nose, he will endure continually in the service of Christ.

And the ears are similarly touched so that they may always listen to and strictly attend to the saving doctrine of the Christian religion and faith and may reject all ridiculous persuasions of the devil.

Anonymous - Text 15A

The ears and nose are touched with spittle, and it is called the Effeta, which is to throw open.

¹⁰Matthew 7:24.

¹¹1 Corinthians 11:3.

The nose is touched so that as long as life is a companion and the breath and odour of life may remain in the nose, he will endure continually in the service of Christ.

And the ears are similarly touched so that they may always listen to and strictly attend to the saving doctrine of the Christian religion and faith and may reject all ridiculous persuasions of the devil.

Theodulf of Orléans - Text 16

And so the nose and ears are touched with spittle and it is called the 'Effeta.' The nose, so that it may follow Christ in the odour of ointments and may say, 'Draw me; we will run after you,'¹² and may confess with the apostle, saying: 'We are the good odour of Christ unto God,'¹³ and may be made his members, of whom it is said: 'And the odour of your garments above all things perfumed.'¹⁴ Which odour they will well be able to have, if with Mary, who is interpreted as queen or illuminator and holds the figure of the holy Church, they may receive the box of perfume, which is the purity of the holy faith and the exercising of good work, and may anoint the feet of Jesus, namely fulfilling the admonitions of the apostles or of those preachers anywhere, through whom Christ walks to and fro, and so that the house, namely the world or universe of the holy Church, may be filled by a certain sweet and pleasant odour, as it were, by their good belief. And because, generally, the sweetness of odour and other perfumed things combine with dissolute desires, they on the contrary, having been made both chaste and lovers of Christ, may always embrace only his life-giving odour.

¹²Song of Songs 1:3.

¹³2 Corinthians 2:15.

The ears are also touched so that, hearing the words of God and practicing them, they may be similar, according to the Gospel, 'to the wise man who built his house upon a rock,'¹⁵ and may always listen to spiritual things with spiritual hearing, and may be able to say with David: 'I will hear what the Lord God will speak in me,'¹⁶ and with Isaiah: 'The Lord God has opened my ear; indeed, I do not resist; I have not gone back,'¹⁷ so that those hearing spiritually those things which are said spiritually may come to the profits of spiritual works. Therefore, when the Lord says in the Gospel: 'He who has ears to hear, let him hear,'¹⁸ and John in his apocalypse: 'He who has ears to hear, let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches,'¹⁹ the bodily ears are not sought out here, but the spiritual, and through the name of the ears the inner sense of hearing of a man is indicated. In fact, in the holy Scriptures, the virtues of the soul are generally understood through the members of the body.

Therefore, because the divine, taking up man, made from the connection of two substances a **collirium** in the one person of God the Son, whence he illuminated the human race, which was born blind from its first parents, the nose and ears are touched, not unhelpfully, with spittle so that he who, spitting, had touched the tongue of the mute man and had made mud with the spit, and had opened the eyes of the man born blind, now, through the ministry of priests, may also bestow the spiritual sense of hearing on those who are to be baptized, and may give the faculty of rightly

speaking, that is, of confessing, true faith, and may open the nose with which they may seize the

¹⁴Song of Songs 4:10-1.

¹⁵Matthew 7:24.

¹⁶Psalms 84:9.

¹⁷Isaiah 50:5.

¹⁸Matthew 11:15.

¹⁹Revelations 2:7.

good odour of Christ. For the breast of him who is baptized ought always to be both filled with the nectar of the divine odour and smeared by the spiritual anointing.

Anonymous - Text 17

Indeed, (the nose) is smeared with oil so that he may receive the discernment by which we distinguish smells and stenches through the nose. Through this, discernment is also indicated so that he may know through this same anointing to reject evil and choose good.

Anonymous - Text 19

Question: Why are the nose or ears touched with spittle?

Response: The nose is touched so that as long as he draws breath with the nose, he may persevere in the faith received.

Amalar of Metz - Text 23

Concerning the touch of the nose and ears.

After this speech, we touch their noses and ears and say to them 'Effeta to the odour of sweetness.' We touch the nose so that they may be reminded as long as they draw the breath of life with these noses, they might always persevere in those things which they have already learned and still learn from the mouth of Catholic men, and therefore they are touched with the spittle of the priest.

Similarly, we say of the ears, as it were, the priest says, to hold always *memento* the faith which you learnt from that mouth, and which entered the soul through the ears, as long as you

draw the breath of life through this nose, and you may be able to say with the apostle Paul:

‘We are the good odour of Christ unto God.’²⁰ And again he may say of the ears (that) those ears, with God being merciful, may be always open to understanding the words of God’s teaching, and he who has ears so opened may be able to say, ‘I obeyed you in the obedience of the ear.’²¹

Leidrad - Text 25

The beginning of faith and of all holy learning is admitted to the mind through the ears, and understanding arises from hearing. For no one can understand the sacraments of faith unless he may hear preaching, as the blessed Apostle affirms when he says, ‘Faith (comes) from hearing, indeed, hearing the word of God.’²² Therefore, his organs of sense, without which faith cannot reach the mind, are rightly blessed. However, it ought to be known that different practices concerning this matter may be maintained in different regions. For some touch the ears and nostrils of catechumens with holy oil, others with spittle, others without spittle or oil, and still others touch the mouth with oil, according to the Lord’s example. Whence it is written in the Gospel concerning the deaf and mute man, ‘He put His fingers into his ears.’²³ But whether by the touch of oil, or by something else, for this reason the ears are blessed, so that those about to come to baptism may guard their unstained ears from all wicked and disgraceful speech, as it is written, ‘Fence your ears with thorns, and do not listen to worthless speech.’²⁴ And again, ‘Give your heart over to discipline and your pair of ears to prudent words.’²⁵ Therefore, the blessing of the ears signifies that the faithful may repulse and shun

²⁰2 Corinthians 2:15.

²¹Psalm 17:45.

²²Romans 10:17.

²³Mark 7:33.

²⁴Ecclesiasticus 28:28.

²⁵Ecclesiasticus 2:2.

all speech free from discipline, that is, contradicting the teaching of Christ, and may direct themselves only to hearing the words of God because they consecrate their hearing by the words of Christ.

The nostrils are also blessed with a similar touch so that those who are coming to baptism may be reminded that the sacrament of so great a mystery protects the inviolate and virtuous man until death, so that as long as they draw the breath of life with their nostrils they may not withdraw from the care and servitude of our Lord Christ. Whence the holy man Job said, 'While there is breath left in me and the breath of God in my nostrils, my lips will not speak iniquity nor will my tongue utter a lie.'²⁶ But still, the finer understanding is marked in this matter by the blessing of the nostrils. For that touch to the faithful rouses the spiritual sense of smell, so that they may be able to perceive Christ with inestimable sweetness, not with the senses of the body, but with the senses of the mind, and to say to Him, 'We hurry after you in the fragrance of your perfumes.'²⁷ The Apostle commends this fragrance to Christians when he says, 'Grace to God, who triumphs us in Jesus Christ, and through us reveals the fragrance of his fame in every place, because we are the good fragrance of Christ to God.'²⁸ Therefore, the faithful ought thus to live so that the sweetest fragrance ascends from the sanctity of their life to God.

Anonymous - Text 26

The ears are touched so that the entrance of faith and of all holy doctrine may be admitted into the soul through the ears, and understanding may arise from hearing, with the blessed

²⁶Job 27:3-4.

²⁷Song of Songs 1:3-4.

²⁸2 Corinthians 2:14-5.

Paul affirming, who said: 'Faith from hearing, indeed hearing through the word of God.'²⁹

And therefore the ears are sanctified so that those about to come to baptism may guard their unstained ears from every evil and disgraceful word, just as it is written: 'Hedge in your ears with thorns, and do not wish to hear worthless speech,'³⁰ and again: 'Give instruction to your heart and prepare your ear for the word of prudence.'³¹

The nose is also indicated by a similar touch so that as long as they draw the breath of life with these noses, they may not withdraw from the care and service of Christ our Lord.

Whence it is written: 'We hasten after you in the odour of your ointments.'³²

Anonymous - Text 27

The nose is also touched so that as long as he may draw breath with the nose, he may persevere in the faith received.

Anonymous - Text 28

They (the ears) are touched so that those about to come to baptism may guard their unstained ears from every evil and disgraceful word. And as long as he might hear and understand the teaching of Christ, he may both hold it firmly in his soul and may fulfill by works that which he might hear.

Jesse of Amiens - Text 30

Question: Why are the nose and ears touched with saliva?

²⁹Romans 10:17.

³⁰Ecclesiasticus 28:28.

³¹Cf. Proverbs 23:12; Ecclesiasticus 2:2; Proverbs 5:1.

³²Song of Songs 1:3.

Response: Man is touched with saliva before baptism so that he may be brought to baptism afterwards. Indeed, the Lord, when he enlightened the man blind from birth, ‘spit on the ground and made mud from his saliva and anointed the eyes of the blind man,’ and he sent him to the pool, and he washed, and he saw.³³ “When he anointed,’ says Augustine, ‘he made him a catechumen; when he washed, he was baptized in Christ. He was anointed and did not see; he washed, and he saw. For when he baptized himself, in a way, then he illuminated. For the Lord mixed the spittle, which came down from his head, with earth so that he may indicate his divine nature, which is from God, and his human nature, which was taken up from men, so that “the Word became flesh and dwelled in us”³⁴.’

Indeed, the ears and nose are touched by a finger so that they who strayed from the path of truth may hear of the gifts of the Holy Spirit and may grasp them in their heart. And, with those things which they heard having been grasped, they may endure in faith so that they may be able to say, ‘He obeyed you in the obedience of the ear.’³⁵ Whence also the Lord: ‘He who has ears to hear, let him hear.’³⁶ That is, he who has the understanding to understand, let him understand, for the Lord also, ‘taking the deaf and mute man apart from the crowd, put his fingers in his ears.’³⁷ The first entrance of salvation is that the ill man, with the Lord leading, went out apart from the crowd, that is, that he called out to faith from heathen association. He puts his fingers in the ears when he opens the ears of the heart to the words of salvation to be received and understood through the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, the nose is touched so that it may take in the odour of good works through the invocation of the Holy

³³John 9:6-7.

³⁴John 1:14.

³⁵Psalm 17:45.

³⁶Mark 4:9.

Spirit, with putrid and fetid works having been rejected, and it may deserve to enjoy the delight of the flowers of the virtues, aspiring to the Lord. Whence, therefore, the prayers for the making of a catechumen are found: 'Open to him, oh Lord, the door of your mercy, and with him having been imbued with the sign of your wisdom, let him abstain from the stench of all desires, and let him, pleasing to you in your Church, serve the sweet odour of your commands.' And with them having been made, according to the apostle, 'the good odour of Christ,'³⁸ we say, 'We hasten to the odour of your ointments.'³⁹

Angilmodus of Soissons - Text 32

Therefore, during the remaining beginnings of consecration, the priests touch the nose and ears with the touch of fingers with the saliva of his mouth for those whom they are preparing especially for the sacraments of baptism, saying 'Effeta,' from which a purpose is not improbably believed, since our Lord Jesus Christ, about to cure the deaf and mute man, in whom they who deserve to be liberated from the error of demonic deception by divine grace through the font of saving cleansing are designated, it is read that he put his fingers in his ears and touched his tongue with the spittle of his mouth.⁴⁰ Where, however, the exterior action of things was also a mystical indication of interior, that is, spiritual, power. For because of the division of joints, corresponding to the distribution of the spiritual gifts, the gifts of the Holy Spirit are symbolized by the fingers. Just as the Lord says, saying: 'If I by the finger of God cast out devils,'⁴¹ which is shown even more clearly by another evangelist: 'If I by the spirit of God cast out devils,'⁴² and by the psalmist: 'For I will behold the heavens, the works

³⁷Mark 7:33.

³⁸2 Corinthians 2:15.

³⁹Song of Songs 1:3.

⁴⁰Mark 7:33-5.

⁴¹Luke 11:20.

⁴²Matthew 12:28.

of your fingers.’⁴³ To put the fingers with spittle on the nose and the ears is to instruct the heart with the word of the faith (of the saints).

The ears are also touched because faith enters into the understanding through them as the apostle says: ‘Faith from hearing, hearing by the word of Christ.’⁴⁴

It is not so strange that ‘in the odour of sweetness’ is said to the ear, for although it is permitted that the sense of smell is attributed differently in the members of the body to the nose, when an effect, not on the outer man but on the inner man is suggested, where the nectar of good belief usually attends the ear of humble obedience, and where, just as in the distinction of members, it is heard in one place and smelled in another. For the senses of the body announce the bodily things to the heart, and one is not the faculty of all, because it is not seen when it is heard, nor is the taste captured when the odour is. ... So the soul truly discerns incorporeal things with its sense, and it touches all differences with one motion. And whatever of discernment it finds rationally is the effect of one intention, where one is also the same, because the mind can do as much as it can.

And just as the body has all members and senses, so the whole soul also has both senses and members, and also ears amongst other things. He who might have these will not greatly require these ears of the body to receive the gospel of Christ.

Anonymous - Text 34

Concerning the touch of the nose and ears.

⁴³Psalm 8:4.

⁴⁴Romans 10:17.

Bede, in the homily of the Gospel selection, 'Jesus going out from the borders': For he puts fingers in the ears for the deaf man so that he may hear, as those long unbelieving people may be turned through the gifts of spiritual grace to the hearing of the word of God. Whence the creed might strengthen us so that his priests, first among the other beginnings of consecration, may touch with the saliva of his mouth the nose and ears of those whom they are preparing for the sacraments of the baptism to be received, just as the Lord did to the deaf and mute man, saying, 'Effeta.'⁴⁵ In fact, through the saliva of his mouth, they designate (the taste) of divine wisdom by which they are to be initiated. Truly, it is done through the touch of the nose so that, with harmful delights having been abandoned, they may always only embrace the odour of Christ, concerning which the apostle says: 'We are the good odour of Christ unto God in every place,'⁴⁶ and so that they may remember, like Job, that 'as long as breath remains in them, and the spirit of God in their noses, they ought not to speak iniquity or contrive a lie with the tongue.'⁴⁷ Moreover, (it is done) through the touch of the ears so that, with the hearing of worthless speech having been abandoned, they may hear the words of Christ and practice them. The nose is also touched so that as long as he may draw breath with the nose, he may endure in the faith received.

Anonymous - Text 35

Bede, in the homily of the Gospel selection, 'Jesus going out from the borders of Tyre': it is done through the touch of the nose so that, with wicked and harmful delights having been abandoned, they may always only embrace the odour of Christ, concerning which the apostle

⁴⁵Mark 7:34.

⁴⁶2 Corinthians 2:14-5.

⁴⁷Job 27:3-4.

says: 'We are the good odour of Christ unto God in every place,'⁴⁸ and so that they may remember, like the example of the blessed Job, that 'as long as breath remains in them, and the spirit of God in their noses, they ought not to speak iniquity or contrive a lie with the tongue.'⁴⁹ Moreover, it is done through the touch of the ears so that, with the hearing of worthless speech having been abandoned, they may hear the words of Christ and practice them.

Anonymous - Text 36

Concerning the touch of the nose and ears.

Bede, in the Gospel homilies, 'Jesus going out from the borders of Tyre': For he puts fingers in the ears for the deaf man so that he may hear, as those long unbelieving people may be turned through the gifts of spiritual grace to the hearing of the word of God. Whence the creed of the Church might strengthen us so that his priests, first among the other beginnings of consecration, may touch with the saliva of his mouth the nose and ears of those whom they are preparing for the sacraments of the baptism to be received, just as the Lord did to the deaf and mute man, by saying, 'Effeta.'⁵⁰ In fact, through the saliva of his mouth, they designate the taste of divine wisdom by which they are to be initiated. Truly, (it is done) through the touch of the nose so that, with harmful delights having been abandoned, they may always only embrace the odour of Christ, concerning which the apostle says: 'We are the good odour of Christ unto God in every place,'⁵¹ and so that they may remember, like the example of the blessed Job, that 'as long as breath remains in them, and the spirit of God in their noses, they

⁴⁸2 Corinthians 2:14-5.

⁴⁹Job 27:3-4.

⁵⁰Mark 7:34.

⁵¹2 Corinthians 2:14-5.

ought not to speak iniquity or contrive a lie with the tongue.’⁵² Moreover, (it is done) through the touch of the ears so that, with the hearing of worthless speech having been abandoned, they may hear the words of Christ and practice them. The nose is also touched so that as long as he may draw breath with the nose, he may endure in the faith received.

Anonymous - Text 38

The nose is also touched so that it may fully enjoy the odour of the knowledge of Christ and so that in them, that apostolic (saying?) may be fulfilled which is said: ‘Thanks to God who always makes us to triumph in Christ Jesus and manifests the odour of his knowledge through us in every place.’⁵³

Or, indeed, under this promise, so that as long as he may draw breath with the nose, he may persevere in that promise of faith.

Anonymous - Text 40

The nose is touched so that as long as he may draw breath with the nose, he may persevere in the faith received.

Anonymous - Text 41

The nose is touched so that as long as he may draw breath with the nose, he may persevere in the faith received.

⁵²Job 27:3-4.

⁵³2 Corinthians 2:14.

Anonymous - Text 42

Why is the nose touched by the priest with sanctified oil?

The nose is touched so that as long as man may draw breath with the nose, he may persevere firmly in the faith received.

Why are the ears touched with the same sanctified oil?

It is written in the Gospel, 'Effeta' in Hebrew and 'to throw open' in Latin.⁵⁴ That is, so that the entrance into man may be opened to Christ our Lord through the ear, and he will fill him with the spirit of wisdom, and understanding, and the rest. And again, their ears are touched with the oil of sanctification because faith enters into the understanding through them, etc.

Anonymous - Text 44

Then, with the nose and ears having been touched with saliva, that which the Saviour said to the cured deaf and mute man is said: 'Effeta,' 'putting fingers into his ear, etc.'⁵⁵ This sacrament is performed here so that divine wisdom, through the saliva, and divine power, through the touch, may operate in him so that the ears may be opened to hearing the word of God and the nose to grasping his knowledge.

Anonymous - Text 45

Then the priest touches him on the ears and nose with saliva, saying that which the Saviour

⁵⁴Mark 7:34.

⁵⁵Mark 7:33-4.

said to the possessed deaf and mute man: 'Effeta, that is, to throw open.'⁵⁶ Through the saliva we receive wisdom and through the fingers the gifts of the Holy Spirit. However, this whole thing is done so that the ears may be opened to hearing the word of God and his mind, which is signified through the nose, to receiving it.

Anonymous - Text 46

Then, with the nose and ears having been touched, that which the Lord said to the deaf and mute man may be said: 'Effeta,' and the rest.⁵⁷ Therefore, it is done so that, through the saliva, wisdom, and, through the touch, divine power, may work in him and the ears may be opened to hearing the word of God and the nose to grasping knowledge.

Anonymous - Text 47

Question: Why are the nose and ears touched with spittle and 'Effeta, which is, to throw open' is said?

Response: So that through the saliva and the touch of the priests, wisdom and divine power may work the salvation of the same catechumen so that the nose may be opened for him to grasp the odour of wisdom of God and to store it with the innermost sense of the heart. And because the mouth of the priest ought to be filled with wisdom, through the saliva of his mouth and his touch they may be made partners of spiritual grace, and divine power may enlighten and strengthen all the senses of those to be baptized to the divine mysteries to be revealed, sensed, and understood.

⁵⁶Mark 7:34.

⁵⁷Mark 7:34.

Anonymous - Text 48

Question: Why are the nose and ears touched with spittle for them and 'Effeta, which is, to throw open' is said to them?

Response: So that because the mouth of the priest ought to be filled with wisdom, through the saliva of his mouth and his touch they may be made partners of spiritual grace, and they may be opened to the divine mysteries to be sensed and understood, and divine power may enlighten and strengthen all the senses of those to be baptized

Anonymous - Text 50

Question: Why are fingers put in the ears?

Answer: The placing of fingers in the ears indicates the receiving of the Holy Spirit. Truly, the touch of saliva designates the gift of celestial grace. For this reason, priests have the example in which it is read that the Lord, about to cure the deaf and mute man, placed his fingers in his ears and, spitting, touched his tongue. He said, 'Effeta, that is, to throw open,'⁵⁸ for the ears to be healed, which deafness had long closed but which the touch of the Lord opened to hearing. He who wishes to know more fully may read the tractate on the Gospel by Bede

The nose is also touched so that, with harmful delights having been abandoned, it may embrace only the good odour of Christ and may be able to say with the apostle, 'We are the good odour of Christ in every place,'⁵⁹ and also, 'Thanks to God who always makes us to

⁵⁸Mark 7:33-4.

⁵⁹2 Corinthians 2:14-5.

triumph in Christ Jesus and manifests the odour of his knowledge through us in every place.'⁶⁰

The ears are also touched so that, with the hearing of worthless speech having been abandoned, they may hear the words of Christ and practice them, and it is said to them, 'He who has an ear to hear, let him hear,'⁶¹ and the rest.

Anonymous - Text 52

Question: Why are the nose and ears touched with spittle for him?

Answer: The nose is touched so that as long as he draws breath into the nose, he may persevere in the faith received. The ears are touched so that from this time they may be opened to hearing the word of God.

Anonymous - Text 53

The nose and ears are touched with spittle for the catechumen because we read that the spittle, which came down from the head of the Lord, was designated the grace of the Holy Spirit, so that as long as he draws breath through the nose, he may then apply himself to persevere, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, to things grasped with the spiritual ears.

Anonymous - Text 54

Question: Why are the nose and ears touched with spittle?

⁶⁰2 Corinthians 2:14.

⁶¹Matthew 11:15.

Answer: The nose is touched so that the former foulness may be shunned, and it may receive the sacraments of faith through the spiritual sense of smell, and the sweet odour of Christ may enter, just as it is written: ‘We are the good odour unto God.’⁶²

The ears are touched so that they may be opened in this speech and the hearing of faith may enter into the new man and the evil hearing and the suggestion of the enemy may be rejected. ‘Effeta’ to hearing the divine words, which is barren without some fruit of good work, so that he may hear with the ears that which he may hold with the heart for the purpose of salvation, just as it is written: ‘Let the meek hear and rejoice.’⁶³

Anonymous - Text 54.1

Question: Why are the nose and ears touched with spittle?

Answer: The nose is touched so that the former foulness may be shunned, and it may receive the sacraments of faith through the spiritual sense of smell, and the sweet odour of Christ may enter, just as it is written: ‘We are the good odour unto God.’⁶⁴

The ears are touched so that they may be opened in this speech and the hearing of faith may enter into the new man and the evil hearing and the suggestion of the enemy may be rejected. ‘Effeta’ to hearing the divine words, which is barren without some fruit of good work, so that he may hear with the ears that which he may hold with the heart for the purpose of salvation, just as it is written: ‘Let the meek hear and rejoice.’⁶⁵

⁶²2 Corinthians 2:15.

⁶³Psalm 33:3.

⁶⁴2 Corinthians 2:15.

⁶⁵Psalm 33:3.

Anonymous - Text 55

Question: Why are the ears and nose of the catechumens touched by priests?

Response: Their noses are touched by priests so that as long as they draw breath with their noses they may persevere in the faith received, and so that they may attentively hear the symbol of faith with the spiritual ears and may grasp the grace of the Holy Spirit in the odour of sweetness.

Anonymous - Text 58

The ears and nose are touched with spittle, and he says, 'Effeta,' to throw open or evacuate, that is, to put to flight. 'He put fingers in the ears,'⁶⁶ that is, he put the Holy Spirit into the ears of his heart. 'Spitting, he touched his tongue,'⁶⁷ that is, he opened his mouth in a confession of faith.

Anonymous - Text 59

The nose is touched so that as long as he may draw breath with the nose, he may persevere in the faith received.

⁶⁶Mark 7:33.

⁶⁷Mark 7:33.

Prebaptismal Anointing of the Breast and Shoulder blades

Anonymous - Text 1

Concerning the anointing of the breast and shoulder blades.

John: Their breast is smeared with the oil of consecration so that they may understand with a firm conscience and pure heart that they ought to promise that they now, with the devil having been abandoned, follow the commands of Christ.

Elsewhere: The shoulder blades are also marked so that he may be strengthened everywhere.

Anonymous - Text 2

Concerning the anointing of the breast.

The same John: Then their breast is smeared with the oil of consecration so that they may understand with a firm conscience and pure heart that they ought to promise that they now, with the devil having been abandoned, follow the commands of Christ.

Anonymous - Text 3

Concerning the anointing of the breast.

The same man (John): Then their breast is smeared with the oil of consecration. And later: so that they may know that they ought to promise with a firm conscience and a pure heart that, with the devil having been abandoned, they may follow the commands of Christ.

Anonymous - Text 4

Concerning the anointing of the breast.

John: Then the breast is smeared with the oil of consecration so that they may know that they ought to promise with a firm conscience and a pure heart, who, with the devil having been abandoned, now follow the commands of Christ.

The shoulder blades are also signed so that they may be strengthened on all sides. Also, in the anointing of the breast and shoulder blades, firmness of faith and perseverance in good works are signified.

Anonymous - Text 5

Truly, the breast is anointed with oil, and the shoulder blades are signed or smeared so that through the anointing of this very creature, the purging of the mind and body may be bestowed with the Holy Spirit working, so that if those blemishes of opposing spirits might remain, they may depart at the touch of this sanctified oil. And therefore, the breast and shoulder blades are anointed so that the mind and action may be purified, which are signified through the breast and the shoulder blades.

Alcuin(?) - Text 9

The breast is also smeared with the same oil so that the entrance may be closed to the devil by the sign of the holy Cross. The shoulder blades are also signed so that he may be strengthened on all sides. Also, in the anointing of the breast and shoulder blades, firmness of faith and perseverance in good works are signified.

Anonymous - Text 10

The breast is also smeared with the same oil so that the entrance may be closed to the devil by the sign of the holy Cross. The shoulder blades are also signed so that he may be strengthened on all sides. Also, in the anointing of the breast and signing of the shoulder blades, firmness of faith and perseverance in good works are signified.

Anonymous - Text 12

Why are the shoulder blades also marked?

Because he is consecrated into the kingdom of Christ. Concerning us, the apostle truly says, 'the heirs, in fact, of God, indeed the co-heirs of Christ.'¹

Why does he make a cross with oil itself between the breast and the shoulder blades?

It demonstrates that he may apply himself, by preaching and labouring, to be of use to the kingdom of Christ, which is the Church. He indicates reason in the breast; truly, he shows the burden in the shoulder blades. For the apostle says: 'Glorify and bear God in your body.'² Glorify by preaching, bear by sustaining. The breast is also smeared with oil so that the entrance may be closed to the devil by the sign of the holy Cross. The shoulder blades are marked so that they may be strengthened on all sides. In the anointing of the breast and shoulder blades, firmness of faith and perseverance in good works are signified.

¹Romans 8:17.

²1 Corinthians 6:20.

Magnus of Sens - Text 15

Indeed, the breast is smeared with holy oil so that the entrance may be shut off by the sign of the Christian Cross and the entrance may be prepared for the Lord Christ.

The shoulder blades are also marked so that the temple dedicated to God may be fortified on all sides from every hindrance of Satan.

And in this anointing of the breast and shoulder blades, it is also designated that firmness and perseverance in good works may arise for them.

Anonymous - Text 15A

The same man (unspecified): Truly, the breast is anointed with holy oil so that the entrance may be blocked to Satan by the sign of the cross of Christ and the entrance may be prepared for Christ the Lord.

The same man: The shoulder blades are also signed so that the temple dedicated to God may be strengthened on all sides from every impediment of Satan.

Again: In this anointing of the breast and shoulder blades it is signified, that firmness and perseverance in good works may be made for them.

Theodulf of Orléans - Text 16

Whence the breast and shoulder blades are also touched with oil for those who are to be baptized, so that by the smeared anointing of this holy oil, namely of the Holy Spirit.

concerning which the apostle says: 'Just as his anointing teaches us about all things,'³ they may be strengthened before and behind, that is, they may be cautious in the face of all prosperity or adversity, and may be filled by the imitation of all celestial beings before and behind the eyes, that is, they may not lose the care of their salvation looking into the past or the future.

The breast is touched for them so that they may be able to say with David: 'And let his mercy come before me.'⁴ The shoulder blades are touched so that they may say with the same man: 'And let his mercy follow me.'⁵ That is, the anterior things so that they may will well; the posterior things, so that they may not will in error. Indeed, it is given to us to will and to complete well by him from whom every good is given and every gift completed. And since the mind is often indicated in the name of the heart, just as that (saying) is: 'I searched for you in my whole heart,' and the anointing of the Holy Spirit or works of light and mercy is understood in the name of the oil, the place of the heart is strengthened by anointing on both sides, that is in front and behind, so that the mind of the Christian may abound on all sides with the fullness of the Holy Spirit and with works of light and mercy.'

Anonymous - Text 17

The breast is anointed and strengthened so that it may receive the faith which it may then hold completely in the heart. Because all the things we do we preserve in the breast and the heart. But in this it also teaches that the shoulder blades be smeared. This demonstrates to us that the authority of Christ thus orders him to be smeared and signed before and behind so

³ 1 John 2:27.

⁴ Psalm 58:11.

⁵ Psalm 22:6.

that he, who once might have repulsed the grace of baptism from himself, the practice of old may not find an entrance of penetrating further.

Anonymous - Text 19

Question: Why is the breast smeared with holy oil?

Response: The breast is also smeared with the same oil so that the entrance may be closed to the devil by the sign of the holy Cross.

Question: Why are the shoulder blades signed?

Response: The shoulder blades are also signed so that they may be strengthened on all sides.

Amalar of Metz - Text 23

Afterwards, we touch the shoulder blades and breast with holy oil, and we say to them, 'Do you renounce Satan?', and the rest which follows. For we know that the mercy of God is signified through the oil, just as that (saying) of Gregory is: 'Whom, however, through the olive, unless we accept the merciful, because in Greek, *eleos* is also called mercy?' In the shoulder blades, or in the shoulders, we place the strength of the earthly arm of man. The arms and the hands which are positioned on the arms work, and therefore we assert that the strong work of men is indicated through the shoulder blades, and through the breast, where in a way exists the abode of thoughts, we wish good thoughts to be indicated. They are anointed with holy oil, that is, the mercy of God, so that 'it may direct their hearts' and their works 'in the love of God and the patience of Christ,' and so that they may recollect that they cannot otherwise perform or will good except through the mercy of God.

Leidrad of Lyon - Text 25

The catechumens are then anointed on the chest and between the shoulder blades with exorcised oil while they renounce Satan and his works and pomps. Therefore, we think that it was instituted so that the abode of the heart may be marked before and behind with the sign by which the devil, the author of treachery, may be expelled, and Christ, the dispenser of faith and charity, may enter. For the heart of a man is the abode of error and vices when it is possessed by the devil, and it is made the dwelling place of faith, hope, and charity when it is defended and illuminated by Christ. As it is written: 'Thoughts of evil, adulteries, fornications, and murders come out of the heart.'⁶ And, 'Love the Lord, your God, with your whole heart.'⁷ Therefore, the hearts of catechumens are anointed well during the renunciation of the devil, so that he may depart from them with all his works and pomps.

Anonymous - Text 26

The breasts of the catechumen, both on the breast and between the shoulder blades, are also anointed with exorcized oil when they renounce Satan and his works and pomps. Therefore, we suppose that it is done so that the abode of the heart may be signed before and behind, the devil, the author of treachery, may be expelled by this sign, and Christ, the dispenser of faith and charity, may enter.

Anonymous - Text 27

The breast is also smeared with the same oil so that the entrance may be closed to the devil by the sign of the holy Cross. The shoulder blades are also signed so that he may be

⁶Mark 7:21.

⁷Matthew 22:37.

strengthened on all sides. Also, in the anointing of the breast and signing of the shoulder blades, firmness of faith and perseverance in good works are signified.

Anonymous - Text 28

The breast is also smeared with the same mercy so that the entrance may be closed to the devil by the sign of the holy Cross. The shoulder blades are also signed so that he may be strengthened on all sides. Also, in the anointing of the breast and signing of the shoulder blades, firmness of faith and perseverance in good works are signified.

Jesse of Amiens - Text 30

Concerning the anointing of the breast and shoulder blades with oil.

Indeed, the breast is touched with holy oil so that the entrance may be protected from the unclean spirit. Indeed, the shoulder blades are signed with the same oil so that he may be strengthened on all sides by the protection of the Cross and, brought to the grace of Christ, he may deserve to share and to cling to Christ the Lord, 'who is anointed with the oil of gladness before his fellows.'⁸ He is touched between the shoulder blades so that the consecrated shoulder, with the shoulder blades, may subject itself totally to the power and rule of God, 'whose rule and sovereignty is shown to be upon his shoulder,'⁹ where he carried his cross and having 'a name above all names.'¹⁰ For we may bend both our shoulder and necks, believing in and adoring him to whom every knee bends. For we may carry a cross, and we may follow him, 'because his yoke and burden are sweet and light:'¹¹ so that, believing, we

⁸Psalm 44:8.

⁹Isaiah 9:6.

¹⁰Philippians 2:9.

¹¹Matthew 11:30.

may deserve to hear, 'Come to me all who labour and are burdened.'¹² We may guide our works to reason, hastening to faith with longing, because work is understood in the shoulder and shoulder blades, and reason in the breast. For faith which is captured by the hearing is believed in the heart, is pledged to salvation by the mouth, is to be established in the secret place of the mind, and is to be entrusted to the very vital parts of our breast. 'For unto justice it is believed by the heart, but confession unto salvation is made by the mouth.'¹³ Whence the Lord also touched the tongue of the mute man, and he spoke, and the man confessed. For the Lord touches the tongue of the mute man when instructs for the confession of faith from the mouth of those catechized, saying, 'Open your mouth, and I will fill it.'¹⁴ That is, you are opened by confessing, and I will fill it by the sacrament of that confession; I will enrich by sacred speech, so that you may be able to respond, 'I hid your words in my heart so that I would not sin against you.'¹⁵

Angilmodus of Soissons - Text 32

Next, in the birth itself of his renewal, the catechumens are anointed with the oil of consecration, with that heavenly and invisible anointing radiating in this visible anointing of the body, which, through the infusion of spiritual grace, with the blight of old error having been scraped off, reforms the brightness of former dignity in the heart of the one being reborn.

¹²Matthew 11:28.

¹³Romans 10:10.

¹⁴Psalms 80:11.

¹⁵Psalms 118:11.

For at the end of the ages, when the true sun lay in suffering, the Holy Spirit held out to the world the gift of the grace of reconciliation by which it might be gladdened. Therefore, it is said, 'God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness above your fellow men.'

Truly, they are anointed on the breast and between the shoulder blades, where the seat and abode of the heart is, so that they may understand that they ought to pledge with firm conscience and pure heart that, with the devil having been forsaken, they will follow the commands of Christ. Thus, they are blockaded on all sides by the holy anointing as far as they may be reminded that he ought to guard his heart, free by the gift of divine redemption, with every protection in the grace received, lest the renewed corruption of the enemy may find, through the negligence of more lukewarm caution, the entrance through which it was expelled and through which it may return.

And because this is not of any human faculty, unless he is aided by God's power, by whose power of mercy he is redeemed, it is also deservedly made visible by the oil of anointing.

Anonymous - Text 34

Why the breast may be anointed with oil.

Alcuin: The breast is also smeared with the same oil so that the entrance may be closed to the devil by the sign of the holy Cross.

Why the shoulder blades may be signed.

Alcuin: The shoulder blades are also signed so that he may be strengthened on all sides.

Why the breast and shoulder blades may be smeared.

Alcuin: Also, in the anointing of the breast and signing of the shoulder blades, firmness of faith and perseverance in good works are signified.

Anonymous - Text 35

The breast is also smeared with the same oil so that the entrance may be closed to the devil by the sign of the holy Cross. The shoulder blades are also signed so that he may be strengthened on all sides. Also, in the anointing of the breast and signing of the shoulder blades, firmness of faith and perseverance in good works are signified.

Anonymous - Text 36

The breast is also smeared with the same oil so that the entrance may be closed to the devil by the sign of the holy Cross. The shoulder blades are also signed so that he may be strengthened on all sides. Also, in the anointing of the breast and signing of the shoulder blades, firmness of faith and perseverance in good works are signified.

Anonymous - Text 38

The shoulder blades are also signed so that he may be strengthened on all sides, as in that anointing of the breast and signing of the shoulder blades, he may indicate firmness of faith and perseverance in good works.

Anonymous - Text 40

The breast is also smeared with the same oil so that the entrance may be closed to the devil by the sign of the holy Cross. The shoulder blades are also signed so that he may be strengthened on all sides. Also, in the anointing of the breast and signing of the shoulder blades, firmness of faith and perseverance in good works are signified.

Anonymous - Text 41

The breast is also smeared with the same oil so that the entrance may be closed to the devil by the sign of the holy Cross. The shoulder blades are also signed so that he may be strengthened on all sides. Also, in the anointing of the breast and signing of the shoulder blades, firmness of faith and perseverance in good works are signified.

Anonymous - Text 42

Why are the breasts touched with sanctified oil by the priest?

The breast is touched with oil so that the entrance may be closed to the devil by the sign of the holy Cross.

Why are the shoulder blades smeared with the same holy oil by the priest?

The shoulder blades are also signed so that man may be fortified and strengthened on all sides against the devil.

Again: In the anointing of the breast and shoulder blades, perseverance firmly in faith and good works is designated.

Anonymous - Text 44

Then he is fortified by the benediction of the priest so that he may be preserved in the faith received. His breast is anointed with oil so that his mind may be strengthened by faith. He is anointed between the shoulder blades so that he may be strengthened on all sides and may be strengthened to good works through the grace of God.

Anonymous - Text 45

Then his breast is smeared with oil so that he may be strengthened by faith, and lastly he is smeared between the shoulder blades so that he may be strengthened more and more on all sides.

Anonymous - Text 46

Then his breast is anointed with oil so that the mind may be strengthened by faith. He is anointed between the shoulder blades so that he may be strengthened on all sides and may be strengthened to good works through the grace of God.

Anonymous - Text 47

Question: Why is his breast then anointed with sanctified oil with the invocation of the holy Trinity?

Response: So that no remainders of the hidden enemy may remain in him, but his mind may be strengthened in the faith of the holy Trinity, and through this anointing they might know that they are fortified by the power of Christ.

Question: Why is he anointed between the shoulder blades with the same oil?

Response: So that he may be strengthened on all sides and may be strengthened to the good works to be performed through the grace of God.

Anonymous - Text 48

Question: Why are his breasts and shoulder blades touched with sanctified oil?

Response: So that through this anointing they might know that they are fortified by the power of Christ to be known, and so that just as they are touched with holy oil, so (they are touched) by the one connected, that is, Christ, so they might know that they are called Christians.

Anonymous - Text 50

Question: Why are the shoulder blades and breast smeared with blessed oil?

Response: So that original and committed sins may be remitted together, since just as past things, that is, those things which we receive from our parents, are signified through the back, so those things which we committed ourselves are signified through the breast.

Or: The breast and shoulder blades are signed with holy oil so they he may be strengthened on all sides and may be pure in thought and deed.

He is signed with chrism on the head or forehead so that he may be of those of whom it is

said: 'You are a chosen people, a royal priesthood.'¹⁶

Anonymous - Text 52

Question: Why is the breast smeared with oil?

Response: So that the entrance may be closed to the devil by the sign of the holy Cross.

Question: Why are the shoulder blades also signed with the same anointing?

Response: So that he may be strengthened on all sides. For in the anointing of the breast and shoulder blades, firmness of faith and perseverance in good works are signified.

Anonymous - Text 53

The breast is also smeared with oil so that the entrance may be closed to the devil by the sign of the holy Cross.

The shoulder blades are also signed so that he may be strengthened on all sides, as, with the yoke of the devil having been laid aside, he may pass over to the glorious freedom of the Son's.

Also in the anointing of the breast and shoulder blades, firmness of faith and perseverance in good works are signified.

¹⁶ | Peter 2:9.

Anonymous - Text 54

Question: Why is the breast anointed with oil?

Response: So that the entrance may be closed to the devil by the sign of the holy Cross.

Question: Why are the shoulder blades signed?

Response: So that he may be strengthened on all sides.

And: In the anointing of the breast and shoulder blades, firmness of faith and perseverance in good works are signified.

Anonymous - Text 54.1

Concerning the anointing of the breast and shoulder blades.

Response: The breast and shoulder blades are touched so that they may be strengthened by the holy anointing and they may prevail against diabolical wickedness with powerful spiritual weapons. The shoulder blades are signed to carry the breastplate of justice and the shield of faith with the power and strength for conquering all enemies, and having thus been strengthened, the spears of the enemy may be long repelled.

- passage on handing down of Creed included in this section -

Anonymous - Text 55

Question: Why are the breast and shoulder blades of the catechumens smeared with

sacrosanct oil under the sign of the holy Cross by the priest, the breast also smeared with the same oil?

Response: So that the entrance may be closed to the devil by the sign of the holy Cross. The shoulder blades are also signed so that he may be strengthened on all sides. Also, in the anointing of the breast and signing of the shoulder blades, firmness of faith and perseverance in good works are signified.

Anonymous - Text 58

For we are commanded to make a cross with exorcised oil twice on the breast because love and mercy are understood through the oil. For (just as) oil is eminent over all fluids, so the precept of the love and mercy of God and *proximi* is also eminent over all commands.

For it is read that the Holy Spirit was given twice. First, the Lord breathed into the face of the apostles after the Resurrection, saying, 'Receive the Holy Spirit.'¹⁷ ... **(Keefe's note: text lacking here)** ... in flaming tongues so that the love of God and *proximi* may be understood.

Then between the shoulder blades so that, with the sins and pomps of the devil having been purged, the base pride of the world may be made the grace of the virtues.

Anonymous - Text 59

The breast is also smeared with the same oil so that the entrance may be closed to the devil by the sign of the holy Cross. The shoulder blades are also signed so that he may be

¹⁷John 20:22.

strengthened on all sides. Also, in the anointing of the breast and signing of the shoulder blades, firmness of faith and perseverance in good works are signified.

Infant Baptism

Anonymous – Text 1

XV. Whether children may make the confession for themselves. Isidore: Because children cannot renounce for themselves, it is accomplished through the hearts and mouths of those carrying them. John: You ought to know that while they are offered by parents or by any others, it is necessary that they who had been damned by another's sin are saved by the mouth of another's profession.¹

Anonymous – Text 2

Concerning the renunciation. ... Isidore: Because children cannot renounce for themselves, it is accomplished through the hearts and mouths of those carrying them. ... John: You ought to know that while they are offered by parents or by any others, it is necessary that they who had been damned by another's sin are saved by the mouth of another's profession.²

Anonymous – Text 3

IV. Concerning the renunciation or confession of children. Isidore: Because children cannot renounce for themselves, it is accomplished through the hearts and mouths of those carrying them. John: You ought to know that while they are offered by parents or by any others, it is necessary that they who had been damned by another's sin are saved by the mouth of another's profession.³

¹Text 1 (Anonymous), ed. Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 164.

²Text 2 (Anonymous), ed. Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 173.

Anonymous – Text 4

Because children are not able to renounce for themselves. You ought to know that while they are offered by parents or by any others it is necessary that they who had been damned by another's sin are saved by the mouth of another's profession.⁴

Anonymous – Text 5

I. Why an infant is made a catechumen. ... Catechumen, which is called one who hears, namely so that recognising the one God, he may foresake the various sins of idols. But because it cannot now be done by children just as it was then done by adults, this is now accomplished through the hearts and mouths of those carrying them.⁵

Magnus of Sens – Text 15

[qualiter credere in Deum patrem] ... Although children may not be able to profess by themselves, nevertheless the catholic faith is confessed through the hearts and mouths of those holding them (then lists the beliefs that make up the catholic faith).⁶

Theodulf of Orléans - Text 16

‘“Even as infants are made catechumens, ancient practice is preserved.” For whoever, believing, came to the apostles to be baptised was taught and trained by them and, having been trained and taught about the sacrament of baptism and the rest of the symbols of faith, received the sacrosanct mystery of baptism. Thus the apostle says, “Surely you are not

³Text 3 (Anonymous), ed. Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 185-6.

⁴Text 4 (Anonymous), ed. Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 202.

⁵Text 5 (Anonymous), ed. Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 2, pp. 209-10.

⁶Text 15 (Magnus of Sens), ed. Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 267.

ignorant, brothers, that whoever was baptised in Jesus Christ was baptised into his death?”⁷ In whose words it is shown that those who were baptised were not ignorant of the mystery of the sacrament of baptism. But the Lord, as he did not whatsoever say, “Go, baptise”: but, “Go, teach all peoples, baptising them,”⁸ so that we might be able to know that we ought first to teach and instruct him who is to be baptised, and baptise afterwards. Therefore, both infants and the hearing are made catechumens, not so that they may be able to be taught and instructed at the same time, but so that the ancient practice may be preserved, by which the apostles first taught and instructed those whom they were about to baptise, just as was already said.’

Amalar of Metz - Text 23

‘ “Concerning children not understanding and yet having faith.” Although infants, because of their age, may not be able to understand conversion to God and belief, we believe, however, that they convert to God because of the sacrament of conversion and have faith because of the sacrament of faith, just as we read in the letter of Augustine to the bishop Boniface, who was inquiring about children, where he says, “The response itself pertains to the celebration of the sacrament, just as the apostle says concerning baptism itself. ‘We were buried,’ he says, ‘with Christ through baptism into death.’”⁹ He does not say we will signify burial, but absolutely says ‘We were buried.’ Therefore, he did not call the sacrament of so great a thing except by the name of the same thing. Thus, the sacrament of faith itself indeed makes the child faithful, though not yet that faith which exists in the will of believers. For just as they respond that they believe, so they are called the faithful, not by promising the thing itself with the mind, but by receiving the sacrament. However, when a man begins to

⁷Romans 6:3.

⁸Matthew 28:19.

understand, he does not repeat that sacrament, but understands it, and he will be joined to its will with a harmonious will. As long as he cannot do this, the sacrament will prevail as his protection against hostile powers, and it will prevail so much that if he might depart from this life before the age of reason, through the sacrament itself commending (him) to the love of the Church he may, with Christian aid, be saved from that condemnation which entered the world through one man.”

‘ “Concerning children not speaking.” It can be done so that they who were bound by the sin of another, may be freed by the promise of another.’

Leidrad of Lyons – Text 25

‘ “Concerning infants or those who cannot respond for themselves.” The custom of the Church holds, and the fathers hand down, that we may celebrate the mysteries of baptism with entirely the same words for those who are infants and those who are adults. Hence it is so that the priest performing the same sacraments does not question one on behalf of the other, that is the adult on behalf of the child, whether he may renounce the devil or may believe in God, but questions the one himself who is to be baptized by saying, “Do you renounce?” or, “Do you believe?” Truly, he who takes him up does not respond and say, as if one on behalf of the other, “He renounces” or, “He believes,” but, “I renounce” or, “I believe.” And this is the reason, so that children and penitents both may be able to be called the faithful. From this, a response from the fathers to certain deniers is found as follow. “If, therefore, they are not to be called penitents because they do not have an understanding of repenting, then they are not to be called faithful because they similarly do not have an understanding of believing. If, on the other hand, they are therefore rightly called faithful because they in a way profess faith

⁹Romans 6:4.

through the words of their parents, why then are they not called previously, when through the words of the same parents they are shown to renounce the devil and this world? All this is done in hope by the power of the sacrament and of the divine grace which the Lord bestowed on the Church. And when they are baptized, by means of the strength and celebration of so great a sacrament, although they do not perform by means of their own heart and mouth what pertains to believing and professing, nevertheless they are reckoned in the number of the faithful. It strikes very many people, that, with a catholic soul and a heart having not been alienated from the unity of grace, with the necessity of death pressing in one way or another, they might rush to any heretic and might receive the baptism of Christ from him without (also receiving?) his heresy. And whether they are the dead or the saved, by no means may they remain among (the heretics); they had never changed into them in heart. How can this be done, that what one ruinously hands over, another may beneficially accept? Unless is it because the sacrament is judged acceptable according to the faith of the recipients, not according to the faith of the giver. And it happens for this reason that those who were born deaf or mute may be found among the number of either catholics or heretics. And although the apostle may say, 'How will they believe unless they will hear?'¹⁰, and again, 'Therefore, faith is from hearing,'¹¹ nevertheless by this wonderful way, whether they may be deaf, or mute, or infants, they are added to the number of the faithful through the hearts and mouths of those offering them and taking them up.'

Anonymous – Text 28

Why is a catechumen made? ... And if children are unable to respond for themselves, they

¹⁰Romans 10:14.

¹¹Romans 10:17.

ought to thus accomplish everything through the hearts and mouths of those carrying them.¹²

Angilmodus of Soissons – Text 32

‘Whence indeed in the case of children, who still on account of their young age, understanding nothing, cannot respond for themselves, through the hearts and mouths of those carrying them and attesting to their future faith and instruction all of the things to be done are solemnly fulfilled. It ought not to be judged absurd, while they are brought forward by parents or by anyone else, that they who were bound by the sin of another are saved by the confession of another.’

Anonymous – Text 44

After catechumens they are *competentes*, that is, those hurrying to the grace of Christ for the learning of the faith. Catechumens only hear but they do not yet seek. For, the salvation of the children who because of their age still are not able to renounce the devil or to believe is accomplished through the heart and mouth of those carrying them. Similarly, the deaf and mute who are now brought forward by others for baptism may be healed, just as it is also read in the gospel that the paralytic was saved through the faith of those carrying him to Jesus because the nature of human infirmity does not stand in the way of the grace of the all powerful god.¹³

Anonymous – Text 45

¹²Text 28 (Anonymous), ed. Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 394.

¹³Text 44 (Anonymous), ed. Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 558.

Indeed, the salvation of children is accomplished through the faith of their *patrini*, because the nature of human infirmity does not stand in the way of divine grace.¹⁴

Anonymous – Text 58

And because children cannot renounce for themselves, it is accomplished through the hearts and mouths of those carrying them.¹⁵

¹⁴Text 45 (Anonymous), ed. Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 564.

¹⁵Text 58 (Anonymous), ed. Keefe, *Water and the Word*, v. 2, p. 622.

Text Number (Keefe)	Composer	Probable Origin	Date of Composition	Ninth-Century Manuscripts
1	Anonymous	?	?	St. Gall, SB 235, c. 800, St. Gall St. Gall, SB 40, s. ix ^{2/3-3/3} , Switzerland St. Paul im Lavanttal 5/1, s. ix ^{2/3} , Reichenau Vienna, ÖNB 823, s. ix ^{2/2} , western Germany or eastern France Bamberg, SB Lit. 131, s. ix ^{4/4} or ix/x, southern Germany
2	Anonymous	northern Italy	?	Paris, BN lat. 1248, s. ix ^{med} , northern France Novara, BC XXX, s. ix ^{2/2} , probably northern Italy Zürich, ZB Car. C. 102, s. ix ^{3/3} , Switzerland or northern Italy Monza, BC e-14/127, s. ix/x, northern Italy
3	Anonymous	?	?	Escorial, RB L.111.8, 860-70, Senlis Vatican Reg. lat. 69, s. ix ^{2/2} , possibly Tours Milan, BA L 28 sup., s. ix ^{3/3} , probably northern Italy Munich, Clm 14508, s. ix ^{3/4} , northeastern France Zürich, ZB Rh. 95, s. ix/x, probably southwestern Germany
4	Anonymous	northern Italy	?	none (earliest manuscript: s. xi)
5	Anonymous	northern Italy or Switzerland	?	St. Paul im Lavanttal 5/1, s. ix ^{2/3} , Reichenau Bamberg, SB Lit. 131, s. ix ^{4/4} or ix/x, southern Germany
9	Alcuin (?)	Tours	c. 798	Vienna, ÖNB 795, c. 798, vicinity of Salzburg Munich, Clm 6407, c. 800, Verona Paris, BN lat. 13373, s. ix ⁱⁿ , Corbie Troyes, BM 1528, s. ix ⁱⁿ , probably Orléans Cologne, DB CXV, s. ix ^{1/3} , Cologne Munich, Clm 14727, 817-47, Regensburg Paris, BN lat. 1012, s. ix ^{1/3} Munich, Clm 14760, 817-47, Regensburg Autun, BM 184, s. ix ^{2/3} , western France St. Gall, SB 40, s. ix ^{2/3-3/3} , Switzerland

				<p>St. Gall, SB 222, s. ix^{2/3-3/3}, probably eastern France St. Paul im Lavanttal 5/1, s. ix^{2/3}, Reichenau Vatican Reg. lat. 272, s. ix^{med}, Rheims Vienna, ÖNB 823, s. ix^{2/2}, western Germany or eastern France Milan, BA L 28 sup., s. ix^{3/3}, probably northern Italy St. Gall, SB 446, s. ix^{3/3}, St. Gall Bamberg, SB Lit. 131, s. ix^{4/4} or x, southern Germany</p>
10	Anonymous	?	?	<p>Autun, BM 184, s. ix^{2/3}, western France Vatican Reg. lat. 69, s. ix^{2/2}, possibly Tours</p>
12	Anonymous	?	?	Paris, BN lat. 1248, s. ix ^{med} , northern France
15	Magnus of Sens	Sens	c. 812	none (earliest manuscript: s. x)
15A	Anonymous	?	?	<p>Angers, BM 277, s. ix^{3/4}, region of Lyons Paris, BN lat. 10741, s. ix^{3/3}, region of Lyons Paris, BN lat. 1687, s. ix^{ex}</p>
16	Theodulf of Orléans	Orléans	c. 812	<p>Troyes, BM 804, s. ix^{2/4 or 2/3}, Loire Montpellier, BI Méd. 310, s. ix^{2/3}, western France Vatican Pal. lat. 278, s. ix^{2/3 or med}, northeastern France Albi, BM 42, s. ix^{ex}, probably southern France Munich, Clm 14532, s. ix^{ex}, northeastern France or Lotharingia Vatican Reg. lat. 284, s. ix^{2/3}, northern France Leningrad, RNB Q.V.I.34, s. ix^{ex}, northeastern France Paris, BN lat. 12279, s. ix^{ex}, possibly northern France Naples, BN VI G 37, s. ix</p>
17	Anonymous	archdiocese of Sens	c. 812	Troyes, BM 804, s. ix ^{2/4 or 2/3} , Loire
19	Anonymous	archdiocese of Sens	c. 812	<p>Verdun, BM 27, s. ix^{2/3}, eastern France Monza, BC e-14/127, s. ix/x, northern Italy</p>
23	Amalar of Metz	Trier	c. 812	<p>Vatican Reg. lat. 284, s. ix^{2/3}, northern France Freiburg, UB 8, s. ix^{2/2}, eastern France</p>

				Paris, BN lat. 10741, s. ix ^{3/3} , region of Lyons St. Gall, SB 446, s. ix ^{3/3} , St. Gall Zürich, ZB Car. C. 102, s. ix ^{3/3} , Switzerland or northern Italy Angers, BM 277, s. ix ^{3/4} , region of Lyons Munich, Clm 13581, s. ix, western France
25	Leidrad of Lyons	Lyons	c. 812	Paris, BN lat. 12262, s. ix ^{med} , France Paris, BN lat. 1008, s. ix/x, France
26	Anonymous	southeastern France or northern Italy	?	Albi, BM 43, s. ix ^{4/4} , probably southern France
27	Anonymous	?	?	Paris, BN lat. 10741, s. ix ^{3/3} , region of Lyons Angers, BM 277, s. ix ^{3/4} , region of Lyons
28	Anonymous	?	?	Orléans, BM 116, s. ix ^{3/4} , western France
30	Jesse of Amiens	Amiens	Possibly c. 802	Florence, BM L Ash. 1923, s. ix ^m , Corbie St. Gall, SB 124, 804-20, region of St. Amand Vatican Pal. lat. 485, 860-75, Lorsch
32	Angilbert of Soissons	probably Corbie	c. 861	none (earliest manuscript: s. xi)
34	Anonymous	?	?	Vienna, ÖNB 1370, s. ix ^{1/4-2/4} , Mondsee
35	Anonymous	archdiocese of Salzburg	?	Munich, Clm 6325, s. ix ^{1/3} , Freising Munich, Clm 6324, s. ix ^{3/4-4/4} , probably Freising area
36	Anonymous	?	?	none (earliest manuscript: s. xi)
38	Anonymous	northern Italy	?	Munich, Clm 14410, s. ix ^{1/3} , northern Italy or Bavaria
40	Anonymous	?	?	Montpellier, BI Méd. 387, s. ix ^{2/3} , France Monza, BC e-14/127, s. ix/x, northern Italy
41	Anonymous	western Germany	possibly c. 812	none (earliest manuscript: s. x)
42	Anonymous	?	?	Sélestat, BM 132, s. ix ^{med} , Mainz
44	Anonymous	?	?	St. Paul im Lavanttal 5/1, s. ix ^{2/3} , Reichenau
45	Anonymous	?	?	none (earliest manuscript: s. xii/xiii)
46	Anonymous	?	?	none (earliest manuscript: s. xii/xiii)

47	Anonymous	?	?	none (earliest manuscript: s. x/xi)
48	Anonymous	?	?	none (earliest manuscript: s. xii)
50	Anonymous	southern France or northern Italy	?	none (earliest manuscript: s. x)
52	Anonymous	?	?	none (earliest manuscript: s. x/xi)
53	Anonymous	?	?	Paris, BN lat. 2796, c.813-5, France
54	Anonymous	?	?	Orléans, BM 116, s. ix ^{3/4} , western France
54.1	Anonymous	southern France or northern Italy	?	Paris, BN lat. 2328, s. ix ^{2/4} , southern France
55	Anonymous	?	?	Vienna, ÖNB 823, s. ix ^{2/2} , western Germany or eastern France
58	Anonymous	archdiocese of Mainz	?	none (earliest manuscript: s. xi/xii)
59	Anonymous	?	?	none (earliest manuscript: s. xi/xii)

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