

The Politics of Interpretation:
Language, Philosophy, and Authority in
the Carolingian Empire
(775-820)

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Abstract

Is language a tool of empire or is empire a tool of language? This thesis examines the cultivation of Carolingian hegemony on a pan-European scale; one defined by a renewed interest in the study of language and its relationship to Carolingian eagerness for moral and spiritual authority. Intended to complement previous work on Carolingian cultural politics, this thesis reiterates the emergence of active philosophical speculation during the late eighth and early ninth centuries. Prior research has ignored the centrality of linguistic hermeneutics in the Carolingian literate programme. This thesis addresses this lacuna, demonstrating the symbiotic relationship between spirituality, language, and politics within the Carolingian world.

The work appropriates prior investigations into the connection of semiotics and Christian philosophy and proposes the development of a renewed interest into ontology and epistemology by Carolingian scholars, notably Alcuin of York and Theodulf of Orléans. The correlation between linguistic philosophy and spiritual authority is confirmed by the 794 Synod of Frankfurt, at which accusations towards both the Adoptionist movement of northern Spain and the repeal of Byzantine Iconoclasm were based on the dangers of linguistic misinterpretation. The thesis also explores the manifestation of this emergent philosophy of language within the manuscript evidence, witnessed by the biblical pandects produced by Alcuin and Theodulf. Desire for the emendation of texts, not to mention the formation of a uniform script (Caroline Minuscule), abetted the larger goal of both infusing a text with authority (both secular and divine) and allowing for broader spiritual and intellectual understanding of a text. Increasing engagement with classical philosophy and rhetoric, the nature of Carolingian biblical revision, and the cultural politics as seen at the Synod of Frankfurt depict the primacy of language to the Carolingians, not only as a tool of imperialism, but the axis of their intellectual and spiritual world.

Abstract II: 2500 Words

This thesis examines the origins and development of a Christian philosophy of language as seen in the writings of the scholars at the Carolingian court, specifically Alcuin of York and Theodulf of Orléans. In the multi-regional court assembled by Charlemagne in the late eighth century, Alcuin and Theodulf, along with other representatives of the enduring European intellectual tradition, furthered a Christian perspective towards language begun in the patristic period with work by Augustine and Origen. Concurrent with Charlemagne's increased political reliance upon the authority of texts, court scholars dedicated themselves to the question of establishing a means by which the Bible (along with other religious texts) could be invested with spiritual authority. This concern stemmed from a belief in the underlying divine wisdom inherent to the biblical text coupled with a concern as to the extent to which this wisdom could be contained and transmitted via a human semiotic system. The promotion of grammar, spelling, and other secular disciplines, in addition to the Carolingian development of a uniform script (Caroline Minuscule) and the *mise en page* were a direct result of this attempt to "clarify" language. Additionally, investigations into the ontology of man and his relationship to God helped Christian scholars elucidate the means by which man could understand divine wisdom, relying heavily on classical philosophical ideas of language, specifically language's potential to convey abstract (and in the case of Christianity, divine) concepts. Man's unique *ratio*, given to him by God, allowed him to penetrate the "visible" or secular nature of language to see the transcendent divine wisdom underneath.

We discuss how Augustine, along with other patristic writers, incorporated pagan philosophical ontology, specifically the works of the Stoics, Aristotle, and elements of Neoplatonism, in order to form a Christian understanding of semiotics. These aspects helped the Christian intellectual tradition to fully explore an increasingly binary understanding of reality, defined by the relationship between the visible and invisible, or better put, the physical and the spiritual. The

application of this relationship was pervasive throughout the Christian tradition: defining not only the nature of Christ (both fully human and divine), but also the make up of Scripture and even humanity itself (conceptualized as the interaction between the *imago* and *similitudo* of God). Although many of these texts and perspectives continued throughout the late antique and early medieval period within the monastic textual tradition, it was only Charlemagne and the political stability which his rule brought that fostered an intellectual atmosphere with which to merge these divergent strands of inherited classical and patristic spiritual philosophy. The creation of a court literary culture, one increasingly based upon the value and authority of the written word, prompted scholars such as Alcuin and Theodulf of Orléans to use the newfound and newly accessible resources provided by Boethius (in his translation of Aristotle and his own work on the benefits of philosophy) and Augustine in order to advocate a Christian semiotic spiritual framework. Such a philosophy furthered the binary invisible/visible Christian context, this time with specific application towards the written word. As Charlemagne increasingly sought to endorse his authority (and, more generally, the Frankish agenda) via text, so too was there a new concern for the validation of divine authority within the inherited texts of the Bible, seen in the traditions of Jerome's Vulgate and the *Vetus Latina*. The growing popularity of the Vulgate text and the new emphasis on the dissemination of the written word provoked the court scholars to ascertain how differing textual traditions of the Bible could equally be considered the authentic (and authoritative) word of God. While maintaining the standards of the linguistic "form" of the text (emphasizing grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic, not to mention the makeup of the physical page itself), Alcuin and Theodulf in their biblical recension and treatises asserted the "invisible" and "transcendent" power of Scripture. The divine wisdom of God was not (indeed, could not be) confined to a limited and imperfect system such as human language. Yet God had *chosen* to employ it as a means by which to communicate with humanity. Human *ratio* provided the key to accessing this wisdom: although language was limited, it had the potential to transmit abstract or divine concepts, those things

which existed on a level beyond the literal. Thanks to human *ratio*, a gift given by God only to humanity, man could perceive aspects of divine wisdom via language (e.g. Scripture) despite the limitations of the format that conveyed it. This complex dichotomy of both the promotion and denigration of language fostered an equally convoluted attitude toward the written word at the Carolingian court. Such a perspective created a promotion of the written word, but one that did not insist on uniformity between texts; the divine wisdom of God was not considered dependent upon word-for-word transcription. This lack of any perceived need for exact standardization between texts amends our standard understanding of the goals of Carolingian *correctio* and its goals of textual uniformity.

Chapter Two demonstrates how Augustine and other textual traditions of the early medieval west fostered the intellectual climate of the Carolingian court. The availability of Augustine, the translation of Aristotle's works by Boethius, and the acceptance and promotion of late antique grammarians intersected at the Carolingian court in order to produce a new, more comprehensive attitude towards semiotics, and the means by which the human intellect could process and comprehend linguistic symbols. The importance of language not only as a secular discipline but as a conduit of communication between human and divine fostered a new emphasis on the structure of language, highlighted by Alcuin's various treatises on grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic.¹ In and of themselves these treatises appear to conform to the wealth of grammatical material prevalent in intellectual circles throughout Europe during this period; however, Alcuin's incorporation of ontological material, drawn from both Aristotle and Christian traditions, illustrates a new alliance between grammar and philosophy. Early medieval scholars embraced texts by late antique grammarians such as Donatus and Priscian, one of the few secular disciplines to enjoy continued popularity after the end of the Roman educational system.² Grammar, or *grammatica*, during this period implied the

¹ Alcuin, *De Dialectica*, PL 101: 949-976; *De Grammatica*, PL 101: 849-902; *De Orthographia*, PL 101: 901-920; *Dialogus de rhetorica et virtutibus*, PL 101: 919b-949.

² V. Law, *Grammar and Grammarians* (London, 1977), p. 80.

examination of not only the “structure” of language, but also the various literary devices used in texts: allegory, tropes, metaphors, etc., many of which dealt with the same aspects of hermeneutics which increasingly were being applied to Scripture. An appreciation of the structure of language and its ability to impart multiple meanings gave rise to explorations of various literary genres within the Carolingian court, including acrostic poetry, one of the most figurative poetic genres from the classical period. The revival of this genre in the Carolingian court by Alcuin, Theodulf, and Josephus Scottus (alongside other imitations of classical genres) indicates a resurgence in interest in the grammatical and literary disciplines, but more specifically in their hermeneutic abilities. Nowhere would this be clearer than in relation to the Bible. The ability for language to contain abstract or divine concepts solidified Scripture as a holy text with holy meaning. The popularization of man as having been created as both the *imago* and *similitudo* of God fostered the understanding of man’s ability to understand the holy meaning of Scripture—transcending the physical (visible) words of language to reach an invisible and abstract comprehension of the divine.

Chapter Three examines the development of this semiotic philosophy in terms of its application beyond the Carolingian court and its role in the cultural politics of the late eighth century. Charlemagne’s attempt to cultivate moral hegemony on a European-wide scale relied heavily on his court scholars’ ability to establish a semiotic orthodoxy in terms of Scriptural, ontological, and christological concepts. This was nowhere more apparent than during the 794 Synod of Frankfurt at which both the Byzantine Empire and the Adoptionist Controversy of northern Spain were castigated for their perceived heresy. The Franks rejected the repeal of Byzantine Iconoclasm at the 787 Council of Nicaea, arguing for their inappropriate understanding of Christian hermeneutics and literal (and false) interpretation of Scripture. The spiritual and linguistic rationale of the Franks can be found nowhere as clearly expressed than in Theodulf of Orléans’ *Opus Caroli regis contra*

Synodum, the longest treatise on Carolingian spirituality from the period.³ The growing heresy of Adoptionism in northern Spain provoked similar condemnation from the Frankish clergy, particularly in terms of the Adoptionists' perceived misunderstanding of the fundamental binary nature of Christ. As witnessed by the numerous anti-Adoptionist treatises penned by influential Carolingian scholars, such as Alcuin and Paulinus of Aquileia, again we find a concentration on semiotics: the fundamental misunderstanding of the relationship between the visible and the invisible, the sign and its signified.

Finally, in Chapter Four, we discuss how this semiotic development was actualized within the biblical manuscript culture of the late eighth and early ninth century. Looking at both Alcuin and Theodulf's biblical revision during the late eighth and early ninth century, nowhere can there be found an emphasis on standardization between texts, either between monastic scriptoria or even between revision texts produced by the same compiler. Alcuin and Theodulf's poetry with regards to Scripture also reinforces the means by which they incorporated the Christian philosophical *ratio* within their textual revision—asserting the potential for understanding Scripture on an abstract, rather than physical, level. When looking at Theodulf's Bibles (specifically the Le Puy Bible and the Mesmianus Codex), we find not an emphasis on standardization but rather an acceptance or even promotion of awareness of variant forms of the biblical text (incorporating Spanish, Alcuinian, and Hebrew variants, alongside a Vulgate text interpolated with *Vetus Latina* quotations).⁴ His ever-changing revision shows not a programme of strict textual adherence to one established Bible, but an acceptance of the multiple recensions available throughout Europe. In attaching four appendix texts to his two extant biblical pandects, the Le Puy Bible and the Mesmianus Codex, Theodulf demonstrates a concern for the reader's "visible" comprehension of the text: identifying the Bible's place in human history (in Isidore of Seville's

³ Theodulf of Orléans, *Opus Caroli regis contra Synodum (Libri Carolini)*, (ed.) A. Freeman, *MGH Conc. 2, Supp. 1* (Hannover, 1998).

⁴ Le Puy-en-Velay, Trésor de la Cathedral & BN Lat. 9380.

Chronicon) and clarifying foreign place names and general vocabulary so as not to impinge the reader's understanding (as we see in Eucherius of Lyons' *Instructionum ad Salonius*). This is complemented by other metaphorical and tropological texts (such as within the *Clavis Melitonis* and the pseudo-Augustinian *Speculum*). Each text does not provide an authoritative "meaning" to the biblical text, but rather parallel ways of approaching it via the various tropes and literary devices used within the text, a clear appropriation of the value of the "secular disciplines" in the context of Christian exegesis.

Although neither Alcuin nor Theodulf minimized the emphasis on the linguistic structure of these texts, they both adhered to a clear "meaning over matter" philosophy with regards to Scripture. This is particularly evident when examining Theodulf's extant biblical pandects, the Le Puy Bible and the Mesmianus Codex, and the appendix texts contained in both manuscripts. Any of the remaining texts of Theodulf's Bibles demonstrate no distinct affiliation with an established Vulgate or *Vetus Latina* edition and, rather than producing one new authoritative text, these manuscripts incorporate variants from other established traditions, furthering the thesis that Theodulf's agenda was not one of textual consistency. The perceived *unitas* of the Carolingian Empire cannot be found here; and alongside Alcuin's texts, this evidence calls into doubt whether such a programme was ever in the minds of Carolingian scholars. The appendix texts further our understanding of the role of the linguistic arts within the Carolingian period: providing a hierarchical scale by which readers could expand their knowledge on the various meanings of Scripture on a corporeal or spiritual level based on Augustine's tripartite sense of vision. Yet the underlying divine meaning, the true "heart" of the Bible, remains an intellectual process for the *ratio* of the human mind, unencumbered by the secular disciplines of *grammatica*. This intellectual understanding of the Bible transcends the visible semiotics of language and fosters a "true" knowledge of divine wisdom.

This linguistic philosophy was an integral element to the Carolingian intellectual culture in the late eighth century, one which would continue to develop

and proliferate during the ninth (particularly with the work of John Scottus Eriugena). The incorporation of patristic and classical philosophy fostered a promotion of the visible/invisible dichotomy of texts within the works of Alcuin of York and Theodulf of Orléans, as we have seen. Although the application of the “secular” arts and the appropriation of Neoplatonic theories (mostly through the lens of Augustine) had been expanding throughout the monasteries and schools of Europe and the Mediterranean basin since the late antique period, it was only with the reign of Charlemagne that these concepts could be developed with respect to an emergent intellectual culture (in terms of his pan-European court scholars) but also as a vehicle of cultural politics (in the face of both the Byzantine Empire and the Adoptionist controversy in northern Spain). Man’s intellectual nature and the semiotic underpinning of human language was now conceptually linked to the revision of texts and exegetical philosophy.

In setting themselves to the task of biblical revision, Alcuin and Theodulf demonstrated their philosophies, not for a standardized version of the Bible, but instead, for a focus on the corporeal/spiritual relationship embodied by the concept of Scripture. Both advocated the necessity in maintaining the “structure” of the Bible: i.e. care for its “physical” form. This did not imply a standardized version, one which would insist on a single orthodox version of the Bible. Rather, both Theodulf and Alcuin advocated this care of the physical so as to cultivate the spiritual: providing readers the means by which they could approach Scripture for themselves, using their divinely-given *ratio* as a way to contemplate the divine wisdom contained within the pages of Scripture.

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Abbreviations

- ACO: *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* II, 2.1: *Concilium universale Nicaenum secundum, Concilii actiones I-III*, (ed) E. Lamberz (Berlin, 2008).
- ARF: *Annales Regni Francorum unde ab. a. 741 usque a. 829, qui dicuntur Annles laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*, (ed.) F. Kurze, *MGH SRG* 6, (Hannover, 1895).
- BL: British Library, London
- BN: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
- CCCM: *Corpus Christianorum continuatio mediaevalis* (Turnhout, 1966-)
- CCSL: *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* (Turnhout, 1953-)
- CLA: Elias Avery Lowe (ed.), *Codices Latini Antiquiores. A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts prior to the Ninth Century*, I-XI plus Supplement (Oxford, 1935-71).
- Clm: *Codices latini monacenses*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich
- CSEL: *Corpus scriptorium ecclesiasticorum latinorum*
- GL: *Grammatici Latini ex recensione Henrici Keilii*, 8 Volumes, (ed.) H. Keil (Leipzig, 1855-80); repr. Hildesheim 1961 & 1981.
- JE: Ph. Jaffé, ed., *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, I, 2nd revised edn by W. Wattenbach, S. Löwenfeld, F. Kaltenbrunner, P. Ewald (Leipzig, 1885); repr. Graz, 1956.
- LdGl: Leiden Glossary, Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. lat. Q. 69, fols. 7-46, at 20^r-37^r using J.H. Hessels' edition of the text in *A Late Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary*

(Cambridge, 1906).

LLT:

Library of Latin Texts
Series A or B

MGH:

Monumenta Germanica Historiae

Cap.

Capitularia, Legum Sectio 11, Capitularia regum francorum, 1 (ed.) A. Boretius (Hanover, 1883)

Conc.

Concilia, Legum Sectio III, Concilia: II, (ed.) A. Werminghoff (Hanover, 1906-08); III, (Ed.) W. Hartmann (Hanover, 1984)

Epp.

Epistolae III-VII (= Epistolae merowingici et karolini aevi) (Hanover, 1892-1939).

Fontes

Fontes iuris germanici antiquae in usum scholarum ex monumentis germaniae historicis separatim editi, 13 vols. (Hanover, 1909-86).

Poetae

Poetae latini aevi carolini (ed.) E. Dummler, L. Traube, P. von Winterfeld & K. strecker, 4 vols. (Hanover, 1881-99)

SS

Scriptores in folio, 30 vols. (Hanover, 1824-1924).

NNPF:

Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers

PL:

Patrologia Latina, (ed.) J.P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completes, series Latina*, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-55).

Chapter One: Introduction

Pepin: What is a letter?

Alcuin: The guardian of history.

Pepin: What is a word?

Alcuin: The betrayer of the mind.¹

These words begin one of the many didactic treatises written by Alcuin of York² in the late eighth century; a hypothetical dialogue with Pepin, the young son of the Frankish king Charlemagne (ca. 742-814).³ The style and subject of Alcuin's text mirrors a philosophical treatise from the second century, in which the Roman Emperor Hadrian (76-138) and the Stoic philosopher Epictetus (ca. 55-135) discuss abstract definitions of the body, the mind, and nature.⁴ Epictetus' philosophy highlighted the need for self-knowledge, arguing for the primacy of reason in our daily lives.⁵ In adopting this classical treatise, Alcuin's paralleling of Pepin (Charlemagne's heir during this period) and the Emperor Hadrian evokes the Carolingian presentation of the classical ideal, the lauded resemblance of Charlemagne's Empire to the glory of Rome. Pepin as the imperial heir within

¹ "Pippinus. Quid est littera?---Albinus. Custos historiae. P. Quid est verbum?---A. Proditor animi." Alcuin, *Pippini regalis et nobilissimi juvenis disputatio cum Albino scholastico*, (trans.) P. Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization* (Ontario, 2004), p. 139. PL 101: 975. This treatise was probably composed ca. 796-798. The use of "proditor" in this text is particularly noteworthy. Although it traditionally means "betrayer" or "traitor" in the classical sense (as used in Horace), the early Christian and medieval sense often indicates a more prescient or prophetic meaning, as used in Arnobius (*Adversus Nationes* 4.14) and Boethius (*Consolatio Philosophiae* 4.6.56). A. Souter, "Proditor" *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 AD* (Oxford, 1949).

² c. 732-804. An Anglo-Saxon scholar from York who became the head of Charlemagne's court school during the late 780s and 790s. He was eventually appointed as head of the monastery of Tours in 796. S. Allott, *Alcuin of York* (York, 1974), p. v.

³ Pepin was one of many sons of Charlemagne. Originally named Carloman, he was Charlemagne's second son by his wife, Hildegard. He was crowned ruler of Lombard Italy in 781 by Pope Hadrian. Pepin died after a prolonged siege of Venice in 810. R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 91.

⁴ P. Dutton (ed.), *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader* (Plymouth, 2004), p. 139.

⁵ Epictetus, "Altercatio Hadriani Augusti et Epicteti philosophi" in *Dialogues and Selected Writings*, (trans.) R. Dobbin (London, 2008). K. Algra, "Epictetus and Stoic Theology" in A. Mason & Theodore Scaltsas (eds.), *The Philosophy of Epictetus* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 22-23.

Alcuin's treatise fits nicely within this model; yet, Alcuin's role as the Stoic philosopher merits further investigation. The treatise is devoid of Christian themes; Alcuin challenges Pepin to consider abstract definitions to the surrounding world, including aspects of the zodiac, part of the body, and physical features of the earth and sky. Alcuin's application of classical philosophy within this treatise should spark our interest, not for its curious incorporation of pagan themes, but rather the prevalence of philosophical inquiry at the Carolingian court during this period. The increasing blend of Christian and pagan philosophical topics, particularly in relationship to epistemology and language (as seen in Alcuin's treatise above), merits an investigation with regard to its influence on the emergent Carolingian textual culture of the late eighth century.

The importance of the written word to the Frankish world, under the reins of Charlemagne, has long been established, not only by the significant amount of modern scholarship dedicated to the period, but by the texts themselves.⁶ The exponential increase in available written material during this period (over 7,000 texts survive from the eighth and ninth century alone) cannot help but suggest a culture dedicated to both the production and distribution of manuscripts.⁷ Yet the philosophical context of this development has often been overlooked or unbalanced in comparison to the increasing reliance on and promotion of written texts in the spheres of both political and religious Carolingian society. The rise in education and literacy, the development of a standardized script (Caroline Minuscule), and the arguable emergence of a textual culture during the eighth and ninth centuries within Francia necessitate an appreciation of the intense semiotic and ontological introspection undertaken by Carolingian scholars during this period. Treatises such as the example provided above cannot be viewed solely as a promotion of textuality

⁶ As we will examine via the work of Rosamond McKitterick, David Ganz, Bernhard Bischoff, Bonifatius Fischer, and Samuel Berger, among many others.

⁷ Bischoff estimated that the number of manuscripts made during this period may be as high as 50,000. B. Bischoff, 'Die Hofbibliothek Karls des Grossen' and 'Panorama der Handschriftenüberlieferung aus der Zeit Karls des Grossen' *Mittelalterliche Studien* III (Stuttgart, 1966), pp. 149-69 and 5-38. R. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 163.

within the Carolingian court, but indicate a deeper, more philosophical, attitude toward language within a Christian setting. This emergent philosophy of language contextualizes the foundation of what would eventually be called the Carolingian Renaissance.

This thesis explores the framework of Carolingian textual culture in terms of the philosophical and spiritual underpinnings that allowed manuscripts to achieve authority and legitimacy within the early medieval world. The work of the Carolingian court scholars during this period reshaped the inheritance of both patristic and classical material, re-opening discussions regarding the semiotics of language that echoed the work of Augustine (354-430) and Origen (ca. 184-253), and more remotely, topics as to the relationship between language and philosophy posed by the Stoics, Varro, Cicero, Aristotle, and Plato.⁸ It was the application of these topics to biblical study that fostered not only an emphasis on manuscript correction, but also synthesized the uncertain relationship between the textual “form” of the Bible and the belief that the wisdom contained therein transcended human language. The combined inheritance of late antique grammatical treatises, the increased authority (and availability) of Augustine, and the received Latin translations of the works of classical philosophers such as Aristotle, created the perfect atmosphere within the late eighth century to expand Christian epistemology and ontology, but more specifically, these disciplines’ relationship to textual culture. The relative stability of Charlemagne’s kingdom provided the means by which a pan-regional group of scholars could approach questions regarding the philosophy of language, creating a textual semiotic theory that established standards for both the “matter” and “meaning” of texts. Although most noticeable with regards to the Bible, these developments underpinned the entirety of the Carolingian textual revolution.

⁸ M. Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 171.

Yet none of this could have happened without the leadership of Charlemagne, a king who sought not only the success accorded a war leader but also the political and moral hegemony associated with a Roman emperor. Indeed, Charlemagne's transformation from a Frankish warlord to the leader of an empire was one that needed to happen off the battlefield. Despite following in the footsteps of his predecessors, his father Pepin (d. 768) and his grandfather Charles Martel (688-741), by battling Saxons, Bavarians, and Lombards for increased hegemony throughout Europe, Charles' political dominance was destined to remain fragmented unless a unifying cause could be found with which to assert his authority. Charlemagne's circle of scholars developed predominantly in the 770s and 780s, first drawing heavily on Italian traditions (in the case of Peter of Pisa⁹ and Paul the Deacon¹⁰), and eventually also comprising the significant influences of Alcuin of York and Theodulf of Orléans¹¹. Yet to what extent was this promotion of intellectual culture an influential aspect of Charlemagne's expanding political hegemony? The degree of royal control or influence over this band of Christian writers and Charlemagne's ability to influence their literary output is still to some extent unknown. The court scholars' reliance upon Charlemagne's ability to provide political and military stability complemented the king's desire to claim a pan-European cultural and religious authority. As the court circle produced increasing amounts of written material on various elements of the liturgy, the nature of

⁹ ca. 744-799. An Italian scholar who instructed Charlemagne in grammar. A friend of Alcuin and a prior scholar at Pavia, he returned to Italy no later than 790. R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity*, p. 349. Charlemagne's education by Peter is attested to by Einhard in his *Vita Karoli. MGH SS rer. Germ.* 25, c. 25. We shall discuss him in depth in Chapter Two.

¹⁰ ca. 720-799. Paul the Deacon arrived at court in 782 to appeal to Charlemagne for the release of his brother, Arichis. Peter of Pisa, an important figure in the court of the Lombard Desiderius, arrived shortly after Charlemagne's conquest in 774. G. Brown, "The Carolingian Renaissance" in R. McKitterick (ed.) *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 29.

¹¹ ca. 760-821. A Spanish scholar who arrived at the Carolingian court c. 790, famous for his court verse and the composition of the longest extant Carolingian treatise, the *Opus Caroli regis contra Synodum*, also known as the *Libri Carolini*. One of Charlemagne's *missi dominici* and eventually appointed as the bishop of Orléans, alongside his joint appointment as the abbot of Fleury. A. Freeman, "Theodulf of Orléans: A Visigoth at Charlemagne's Court" in *Theodulf of Orléans: Charlemagne's Spokesman against the Second Council of Nicaea* (Ashgate, 2003), pp. 185-6.

Scripture, the importance of prayer, and many other topics on Christian themes, Charlemagne was able to use the work of his scholars as the standard for Christian practice in Europe, allying his political hegemony with moral and religious authority. His rule thus sought not to validate European Christianity but enforce and extend it. Those who did not conform to the faith as conceptualized by the Carolingians would be called upon to answer for it.

In this vein, the topics of dialectic and rhetoric, those disciplines at the foundation of the Roman educational system, remained particularly useful to the scholars of the Carolingian court. Yes, their promotion and distribution of the received grammatical and philosophical texts of the classical and Christian textual world was part of an overall application of these disciplines to the development of a Christian ontological theory; however, handbooks of dialectic and rhetoric (both new and old) that detailed the art of persuasion and argument, would prove handy on a more pragmatic level.¹² Carolingian scholars relied on classical rules of rhetoric in their construction of arguments against those who would contradict their interpretation of Scripture, the liturgy, or the nature of Christ. Arguments of a spiritual nature were waged both on the council floor and with the pen during this period.¹³ In the Carolingian writers' aim to convince the Christian Mediterranean world that their view of Christianity was the correct one, the use of rhetoric was an indispensable tool for the task at hand.

The political climate of Europe and the Mediterranean basin during the late eighth and early ninth centuries provided the opportunity for Charlemagne to extend his political hegemony, not only through the consolidation of his territory in Gaul and the Germanic lands, but also through his assertion of moral authority.

¹² Examples of rhetorical handbooks from the period include Alcuin's *Dialogus de rhetorica et virtutibus*, PL 101: 919b-949, which takes predominantly from Cicero's *De Inventione* and Julius Varro's *Ars Rhetorica*. M. Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*, p. 325.

¹³ As we shall see with Adoptionism and the repeal of Byzantine Iconoclasm during the 790s. Attacks against these spiritual developments were made both in terms of treatises and letters written on behalf of Carolingian court scholars (such as Alcuin and Theodulf) and in Frankish church councils (as seen in the Synod of Frankfurt in 794). Our focus will be in the construction of arguments from a written perspective obviously, as any investigation into oral performance is rendered impossible by the lack of source material available.

The relatively weakened alliance between the papacy and the Byzantine Empire and the dependence of the popes on Charlemagne's military authority in Italy during the 770s and 780s placed Charlemagne in an unrivalled position with which to assert not only political but moral prominence.¹⁴ "Universal" councils such as that called by Charlemagne in 794 in Frankfurt reinforced this hegemony not only via political means (with the submission of Duke Tassilo) but via attacks on differing interpretations of Christian semiotics and its relationship to Christology: the end of Greek Iconoclasm as a result of the 787 Second Council of Nicaea and the rise of Spanish Adoptionism via the work of Elipandus of Toledo (ca. 716-805) and Felix of Urgel (d. 818).¹⁵ Reactions by the Carolingian scholars to these semiotic heresies comprise a wealth of material from this period, including the longest extant work on Carolingian spirituality (Theodulf of Orléans' *Opus Caroli regis contra Synodum*, written in reaction to the Byzantines) and extensive treatises and letters by Alcuin on the subject of Adoptionism.¹⁶ This evidence demonstrates not only an on-going concern for the nature of semiotic and linguistic theory within the Frankish kingdoms, but the wielding of this textuality in establishing Carolingian religious orthodoxy as a component of Charlemagne's expanding hegemony.

¹⁴ Rome and Constantinople found themselves at odds with each other during the early to mid-730s as a result of the East's attitude toward images and loss of political control within Italy. The papacy increasingly relied on the military power of the Franks during the mid-eighth century as a protection from Lombard incursion into papal territories. T. Noble, "The Papacy in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries", in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. II (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 570-3.

¹⁵ Interpreting the Carolingian attack on the end of Byzantine Iconoclasm and Adoptionism as a semiotic dialogue is a topic which we shall discuss at length in Chapter Three. For the capitula of the 794 Council: *Capitulare Francofurtense*, *MGH Conc. 2, 1*, pp. 165-171. For the acts of the 2nd Council of Nicaea: *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum II*, 2.1, in E. Lamberz (ed.) *Concilium universale Nicaenum secundum, Concilii actiones I-III*, (Berlin, 2008). For Elipandus: Elipandus of Toledo, *Epistola Episcoporum Hispaniae ad Episcopos Franciae*, *MGH, Concilia aevi Karolini II* (Hanover and Leipzig, 1906), pp. 111-119, also Letter to Fidelis, contained in Beatus of Liebana and Heterius of Osma, *Adversus Elipandum Libri II* 1.43-44, PL 96: 918-919. For Felix of Urgel: *Confessio Felicis*, PL 96:881-88.

¹⁶ Theodulf's authorship of the *Opus Caroli regis* was disputed during the twentieth century; however, due to the work of Ann Freeman, this debate has predominantly been laid to rest. We shall discuss it more in depth during Chapter Three. *Opus Caroli regis contra Synodum (Libri Carolini)*, (ed.) Ann Freeman. *MGH Conc. 2, Supp. 1* (Hannover, 1998). For Alcuin: *Adversus Elipandum Toletanum Libri IV*, PL 101: 243-300; *Adversus Felicem Urgellitanum Episcopum Libri VII*, PL 101: 119-230; and *Liber Adversus Haeresin Felicis*, PL 101: 87-120.

Charlemagne's concept of Christianity was one defined by the written word: a means by which the correct way to live a spiritual life could be established both within (and perhaps even outside) his kingdom. Charlemagne's reliance upon texts as a crucial aspect of his royal administration has been well established by such scholars as F.L. Ganshof in his "The use of the written word in Charlemagne's administration", more recently by Janet Nelson in her "Literacy in Carolingian Government" and broadly within Rosamond McKitterick's *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity*.¹⁷ As Charlemagne's empire grew, the need to communicate with his officials, and, more generally, his people, became an issue of administrative importance. Divorcing royal authority from the physical presence of the king became one of Charlemagne's enduring legacies to the nature of European government. The use of written records such as capitularies, charters, wills, and circular letters during this period disclose a new authority increasingly vested in the written word, a means by which Charlemagne could effectively rule without needing to be in all places at once. Granted, the authority of these administrative texts was contingent upon the acceptance of a text's accurate representation of his presence at a given moment in time (e.g. presiding over the results of a council, providing specific commands for his *missi dominici*, etc.).¹⁸ The success of such a system, as Charlemagne's widespread hegemony attests, reveals the acceptance of an unspoken social contract between Charlemagne and his people: the belief in the validity of a text to convey accurate information about reality (i.e. that the text

¹⁷ Ganshof's article originally published as "Charlemagne et l'usage de l'écrit en matière administrative", in *Le Moyen Age* 57 (1951), pp. 1-25, (trans.) J. Sondheimer as "The use of the written word in Charlemagne's administration" in F.L. Ganshof, *The Carolingians and the Frankish Monarchy* (London, 1971), pp. 125-142. See Janet Nelson's "Literacy in Carolingian Government" in R. McKitterick (ed.) *The Use of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 258-296. See R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity*, pp. 214-372.

¹⁸ J. Nelson, "Literacy in the Carolingian Government", p. 272. See also C. Pössel, "Authors and Recipients of Carolingian capitularies, 779-829", in R. Corradini, R. Meens, C. Pössel, and P. Shaw (eds.), *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 344 (Wien, 2006), p. 257.

accurately represented Charlemagne's will and thus was representational of his royal presence).¹⁹

This contract between ruler and ruled marks a turning point in the development of government in the early medieval European world. But it has equally important implications in terms of the formation of Carolingian Christianity. For Charlemagne visualized his political hegemony as one which naturally encompassed the spiritual aspects of his kingdom, and one which, like his other administrative responsibilities, was to be expressed predominantly via the written word. Such a responsibility was made explicit in a circular letter, the *Admonitio Generalis* (c. 789); however, this text reveals Charlemagne's awareness of another authority dependent upon the written word: God.²⁰ The axis of God's textual presence was, of course, the Bible, but the necessities of spiritual living as defined by the Christian clergy also encompassed a wealth of written material (e.g. liturgical books, patristic writing, the Rule of St. Benedict for monks, the *Cura Pastoralis* of Gregory the Great for bishops and priests, canon law, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, among others).²¹ As expressed in his circular letters, Charlemagne viewed his responsibility as a Christian king to oversee correct textual transcription and dissemination throughout his land (and even beyond it), the foundation behind what has been termed his programme of *correctio*.²² In

¹⁹ The use of letters as a means of conveying "presence" and authority" is a theme also found expressly in Augustine's letters, particularly Letter 6 to Nebridius and Letter 19 to Gabridius. Augustine, *The Works of Saint Augustine*, Boniface Ramsey (ed.) 50 vols (Hyde Park, New York, 1990-).

²⁰ *Admonitio Generalis*, *MGH Cap. I, no. 22*, pp. 53-54. R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity*, p. 294.

²¹ R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity*, p. 308.

²² Such as expressed by the *Admonitio Generalis* (c. 789) "Et ut scholae legentium puerorum fiant. Psalmos, notas, cantus, compotum, grammaticam per singula monasteria vel episcopia et libros catholicos bene emendate; quia saepe, dum bene aliqui Deum rogare cupiunt, sed per inemendatos libros male rogant. Et pueros vestros non sinite eos vel legendo vel scribendo corrumpere; et si opus est evangelium, psalterium et missale scribere, perfectae aetatis homines scribant cum omni diligentia." *MGH Capitularia regum Francorum I, IV Karoli Magni Capitularia*, no. 29, p. 60; the *Epistola de Litteris Colendis* (c. 784) "Et bene novimus omnes, quia, quamvis periculosi sint errores verborum, multo periculosiores sunt errores sensuum. Quamobrem hortamur vos litterarum studia non solum non negligere, verum etiam humillima et Deo placita intentione ad hoc certatim discere, ut facilius et rectius divinarum scripturarum mysteria valeatis penetrare. Cum autem in sacris

establishing his own “textual culture”, Charlemagne naturally saw it as within his purview to assist the heavenly King establish his.

Knowledge was certainly power in the Carolingian kingdoms and increasingly the way to acquire it was by means of the written word. By creating an information dissemination system based upon an elite skill set (reading and writing), Charlemagne and his advisors created a culture which revolved around texts both in terms of their form (the linguistic arts and an emphasis on Latin²³) and their function (as related to either royal or spiritual authority). It is perhaps unsurprising then that we see such a wealth of material written by his court scholars on the structure of language: Peter of Pisa’s and Paul the Deacon’s

paginis schemata, tropi et caetera his similia inserta inveniuntur, nulli dubium est, quod ea unusquisque legens tanto citius spiritualiter intelligit, quanto prius in litterarum magisterio plenius instructus fuerit.” *MGH Capitularia regum Francorum I, IV Karoli Magni Capitularia, no. 29*, p. 79, and his letter to the lectors (c. 786), “Igitur quia curae nobis est, ut nostrarum ecclesiarum ad melior semper proficiat status, oblitteratam pene maiorum nostrorum desidia reparare vigilantissimo studio litterarum statim officinam, et ad pernoscenda studia liberalium artium nostro etiam quos possumus invitamus exemplo. Inter quae iam pridem universos veteris ac novi instrumenti libros, librorum imperitia depravatos, Deo nos in omnibus adiuvante, examussum correximus....Denique quia ad nocturnale officium compilatas quorundam casso labore, licet reco intuitu, minus tamen idonee repperimus lectiones, quippe quae et sine acutorum suorum vocabulis essent positae et infinitis vitiorum anfractibus scaterent, non sumus passi nostris in diebus in divinis lectionibus inter sacra officia inconsonantes perstrepere soloecismos, atque earundem lectionum in melius reformare tramitem mentem intendimus.” *Karoli Epistola Generalis. MGH Capitularia regum Francorum I, IV Karoli Magni Capitularia, No. 30*, p. 80.

²³ The Franks were responsible for introducing the Latin language on a systematic basis for the purposes of government, education, and religion during this period. Although Latin (or close dialects thereof) presumably was the spoken (and written) language west of the Rhine since the Roman period, the eastern territories spoke a variety of German dialects. Charlemagne certainly acknowledged the role of Germanic languages as an aspect of Frankish identity (as reflected by such acts as the decree from Tours in 813 which allowed decrees to be spoken in either Latin or *in rusticam*), and a number of Old High German texts do survive from the ninth century; however scholars, such as Alcuin, at Charlemagne’s court during the late eighth century began to impose a stricter set of standards for Latin, conforming more to the style of classical (e.g. Ciceronian) Latin. Official decrees from Charlemagne, as well as matters of spirituality, overwhelmingly were written in Latin, further cementing the language as “official” during this period. Roger Wright and Michel Banniard have been at the forefront of modern scholarship regarding the influence of *correctio* on the oral and written forms of Latin during the early medieval period (particularly in terms of the emergence of the Romance languages). Some examples include: R. Wright, “The conceptual distinction between Latin and Romance: invention or evolution?” In *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1991). M. Banniard. “Language and Communication in Carolingian Europe.” In R. McKitterick (ed.) *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. II, pp. 695-708. See also his *Viva Voce: communication écrite et communication orale du IVe au IXe siècle en occident latin* (Paris, 1992).

grammatical texts, not to mention Alcuin's numerous treatises on the subjects of grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, and orthography reflect this surge of concern for rules of classical Latin.²⁴ Treatises such as these certainly aided in the overall concern for linguistic "form" during this period of textualisation; however, particularly in Alcuin's case, they also address the written word's function. As we discussed above, the means by which the written word could assume authority during this period marked a turning point in textual legitimacy: that is, the belief that it stood for the king's will without the benefit of his presence. The recipient of a letter, treatise, or charter had to believe the text conveyed a valid reality; in terms of legislation, the "real" command of the king.²⁵ Yet such issues also were being addressed from a spiritual perspective. To what extent could a spiritual text, such as the Bible, represent the will of God? How could texts (or even language itself) adequately convey divine wisdom?

Such questions are understandable within the overall context of the Carolingian period, in which political and spiritual authority was increasingly conveyed through a written medium. Of course, these sorts of questions had been asked before. In the classical philosophies of Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics, their works on the relationship between reality, thought, and language was among the major influences on many patristic writers, including, notably, Augustine.²⁶ Set within the context of Christianity, this tripartite relationship (reality, thought, and language) now necessarily included the divine as well. As we shall see, the influence

²⁴ Paul the Deacon, *Expositio artis Donati seu Incipit Ars Donati quam Paulus Diaconus exposuit*, (ed.) M. Franca Buffa Giolito (Genoa, 1990). Peter of Pisa, *Ars*, facsimile edn. by B. Bischoff, *Sammelhandschrift Diez. B Sant. 66. Grammatici Latini et Catalogus Librorum* (Graz, 1973), pp. 3-66. Alcuin, *De Grammatica*, PL 101: 849-902; *De Orthographia*. PL 101: 901-920; *De Dialectica*, PL 101: 949-976.

²⁵ The use of a letter to convey authority may also be said to stem from the patristic tradition, as Augustine often encouraged the recipients of his letters to use his written word as proof of his views, as seen in his letter to Maximus, Letter 23: "For, if I choose to read my letter to the people when the army is present, you can produce my letter to prove that I violated my word." Augustine, *The Works of Saint Augustine*.

²⁶ The Neoplatonic, Stoic, and Aristotelian influences in Augustine work are pervasive, but can be found specifically in his tripartite theory of sign (which we shall discuss in depth later), not to mention his overall semiotic theory which can be found throughout his work: *De Genesi ad Litteram*. PL 34: 219-246; *De Magistro*. PL 32: 1193-1220; *De Doctrina Christiana*. PL 34:15-121; *De Ordine Libri Duo*, PL 32: 977-1017.

of classical philosophy on Augustine's semiotic theory would define his perspective towards language. Augustine's overall influence in this regard should not be minimized, both in his delineation of the means by which man acquired knowledge (divided into a tripartite hierarchy of "vision" according to corporeal, spiritual, and intellectual) and its effect on the formation of early medieval biblical interpretation. In order to understand the Carolingian theorists better, we need to look briefly at the genealogical origins of their thought, which includes not only Augustine but also a wide-ranging inheritance of classical and late antique writers of both Christian and pagan traditions.

The relationship of secular disciplines (such as grammar) to Christianity was one that struggled to find solid definition in the early medieval period. Although its status was still uncertain in terms of the *need* for the liberal arts if one was to achieve Christian knowledge, the works of the classical philosophers and late antique grammarians were transcribed and transmitted through the remaining scriptoria in Europe during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries.²⁷ This was most famously achieved via the work of Boethius (480-c.524/5), who made many of the works of Aristotle, including the *Perihermeneis* and the *Categories*, including a commentary on Porphyry's preface to the text, known as the *Isagoge*, available in Latin.²⁸ Boethius was also to influence Alcuin's use of rhetoric and the formulation of arguments. His works, *De topicis differentiis* and *In Ciceronis Topica*, adaptations of both Aristotelian and Ciceronian logic and arguments can be found used liberally within Alcuin's *De rhetorica et virtutibus* and his *De Dialectica*.²⁹

As Christianity was a religion "of the book", questions of language and textuality necessarily had relevance in terms of approaches to Scripture throughout the early medieval period. Augustine's prominence within the Christian intellectual

²⁷ P. Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West: from the Sixth through the Eighth Century* (Columbia, South Carolina, 1978), p. 45.

²⁸ *Porphyry: Introduction*, (trans.) J. Barnes (Oxford, 2003), p. xiv. J. Magee, *Boethius: On Signification and Mind* (Leiden, 1989), p. 11.

²⁹ This can be found particularly in the *De Topicis* section of Alcuin's *De Dialectica*. We shall discuss the importance of the *De Dialectica* in Chapter Two. Eleonore Stump (ed.), *Boethius's In Ciceronis Topica* (Cornell, 1988), p. 6. Alcuin, *De Dialectica*, PL 968D.

tradition throughout early medieval Europe helped to define later generations' perspectives on the balance between the letter and the spirit of the Bible, not to mention the "worthiness" of the secular arts in the context of Christianity. Yet, despite the acceptance of classical and late antique grammars such as Donatus and Pompeius, and the availability of aspects of Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy (thanks to Boethius), Augustine's dual incorporation of the importance of the form of language with its function (i.e. its relationship to epistemology) was for the most part ignored by early medieval Christian intellectuals. Although Augustine's (among others) theory of vision and biblical interpretation was widely accepted and gained popularity throughout the early medieval exegetical circles, as was the importance of grammar as a linguistic discipline, questions as to the epistemological and semiotic nature of language within the context of Christianity remained largely un-scrutinized until the period of Charlemagne and his court scholars.³⁰ It is only during this period that we notice scholars such as Alcuin again take up the same questions that had interested Augustine: how language acted as a conduit between man and the divine. In what way were the "signs" of language accurate representations of abstract or divine concepts and to what extent was the "form" (i.e. structure: grammar, rhetoric, etc.) of language necessary in preserving the meaning of those signs?³¹ In addressing these questions, the intellectual atmosphere of the Carolingian period demonstrates an investigation into the creation of a Christian mental universe: one that attempted to define man's relationship both to the physical world and to God by means of language.

³⁰ There are of course isolated exceptions to this. The 7th/8th century *Anonymus ad Cuimnanum* specifically addressed the dual components of philosophy and grammar within the context of the Bible. We shall discuss this text in Chapter Two. *Anonymus ad Cuimnanum*, *Expositio Latinitatis*, CCSL Vol. 133 part 4 (Turnhout, 1992).

³¹ Cicero was also a significant influence on Augustine, particularly in his appropriation of philosophical sign theory. He adheres to the belief that signs, including words, may be accurate tokens of things they represent. M. Colish, *The Mirror of Language* (London, 1968), p. 13. Cicero, *Orator* 32.14, ed. & trans. Hubbell; *De inventione* 1.30.48; *De divinatione*, ed. & trans. Falconer; *Ad Herennium* 2.5.8; *De partitione oratoria* 2.5-7, ed. & trans. Rackham; *Topica* 8.35, ed. & trans. Hubbell.

That such questions emerged during this period is perhaps unsurprising. The recent investment of political authority in the written form spurred investigations as to the nature of language itself: what was required from a text so as to render it an accurate representation of reality and thus believable to the reader. To also approach this question from a religious perspective was perhaps to be expected. In a period of increased availability of texts and an increased reliance upon their “validity”, perhaps it was only natural that scholars took up the question of the relationship between man, language, and God. This had implications in terms of both the “physicality” of the Bible: the necessity of adhering to grammatical, spelling, and orthographic forms in a manuscript, but also in terms of what version (e.g. the Vulgate or *Vetus Latina*) to use. But this development also raised important epistemological questions: how readers could “sense” the spiritual within Scripture, how it was possible to transcend the limitations of human language in order to access divine wisdom.

Within this thesis, we shall examine the methods by which Alcuin, Theodulf, and the other court scholars attempted to address these questions. To what extent was the Carolingian court tradition a continuation of Augustine’s analysis of the role of language within the Christian tradition? The Carolingian elite’s dual promotion of the study of the “structure” of language, that is, grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic, alongside the adoption of classical philosophical inquiries into linguistic epistemology, marks an unprecedented programme of not only “legitimizing” Christian textual culture but also vesting it specifically within the authority of the Carolingian intellectual tradition. We will also trace the means by which the Carolingian court scholars received and revitalized the study of grammar within a Christian tradition in terms of balancing it within a linguistic ontological framework (taken from Augustine and the available translations of Aristotle). This blend of grammar and philosophy marks a dedicated examination of the role of language within the Christian tradition. Yet, as applied to an ever-expanding Carolingian hegemony during the late eighth century, this intellectual programme

also made a declaration of authority in terms of Christian semiotics and overall interpretation. Carolingian scholars struck down opposing claims to their semiotic or epistemological theories, such as differing perspectives on either the role of images or the corporeal/spiritual duality of Christ.³² Finally, in perhaps Carolingians' most enduring contribution to medieval Christianity, this investigation into the role of language was expressed on the written page itself as court scholars, Alcuin and Theodulf, set themselves the task of biblical revision.³³ Their lifelong careers investigating and defending the duality of language fostered an entire culture's approach to the written word in terms of how authority (divine or secular) could be vested within a manuscript. In particular, their work, more than anything else, revealed the ability of authority to transcend the literal (and physical) format of the page without a need for standardization or verbatim transcription. In addressing this development, this thesis will examine the relationship between spirit and letter within the Carolingian Empire as investigated by its foremost intellectuals and the application of that investigation within an educational, political, and textual context.

Historiographical Review

The nature of Carolingian cultural politics is still to some extent ill defined. Few scholars have attempted to converge the increasingly disparate studies of Carolingian economic and political administration with those concerning religious and cultural innovation.³⁴ The work of Stuart Airlie conveys one of the more

³² As we shall explore in Chapter Three in the context of the reaction to the Byzantine 787 Council of Nicaea and the northern Spanish heresy of Adoptionism.

³³ We shall discuss this in depth in Chapter Four, with specific examinations as to their respective biblical revision projects and extant manuscripts.

³⁴ With the notable exception of Mayke de Jong, see for example: "Power and humility in Carolingian society: the public penance of Louis the Pious." *Early Medieval Europe* 1 No. 1 (1992), pp. 29-52; also "The state of the church: ecclesia and early medieval state formation", In W. Pohl & V. Wieser (Eds.), *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat: Europäische Perspektiven* (Wien, 2009), pp. 241-255; also "Ecclesia and the early medieval polity", In S. Airlie & W. Pohl (eds.), *Staat im frühen Mittelalter. Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 11* (Wenen, 2006), pp. 113-132; also *The Penitential State: Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious (814-840)* (Cambridge, 2009).

ambitious attempts to do so in the past few years; however, his work on the extension of Carolingian hegemony into Bavaria approaches the material from a predominantly political standpoint.³⁵ Janet Nelson and Paul Fouracre's earlier contributions to the field also demonstrate convergence points between cultural history and politics while Rosamond McKitterick's article on the role of the Synod within the context of the Carolingian Renaissance proves a good entry point into this discussion and her 2008 book *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* is an excellent discussion of the formation of Carolingian political identity; however, to ignore the political implications of these developments has resulted in a disjointed approach to the era.³⁶

Work on the Carolingians and their "textual revolution" has comprised a wealth of studies over the past hundred years, with no small amount dedicated to aspects of learning and knowledge.³⁷ Ranging from codicological analyses to liturgical examinations, the explosion of a literate culture during the late eighth and early ninth century has attracted a number of scholars. Work by Rosamond McKitterick, David Ganz, Bernhard Bischoff, and Janet Nelson have furthered our knowledge about the period with respect to the cultural, paleographical, and

³⁵ As seen in his article, Stuart Airlie, "Narratives of Triumph and Rituals of Submission: Charlemagne's Mastering of Bavaria", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 1999, pp. 93-119.

³⁶ Janet Nelson's bibliography is substantial; however, her work on the politics of ritual remains the best example of her exploration of Carolingian cultural politics. See her: "The Settings of the Gift in the reign of Charlemagne" in W. Davies & P. Fouracre (eds.), *The Languages of Gift in the early middle ages*. (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 116-148; also: J. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986); and *Courts, elites, and gendered power in the early Middle Ages: Charlemagne and others* (Aldershot, 2007). Paul Fouracre's work has also contributed to the understanding of political discourse and diplomacy within the Carolingian period. His work on the cultural dimension of political power is best seen in his "Space, Culture, and Kingdoms in Early Medieval Europe" within the overall influential (eds.) J. Nelson & Peter Linehan, *The Medieval World* (London, 2003), pp. 366-380. Rosamond McKitterick's article "Das Konzil im Kontext der Karolingischen Renaissance" can be found within the overall excellent collection of articles in the *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794*, Vol II (Mainz, 1997), pp. 617-634.

³⁷ For an excellent comprehensive view of this, see Richard E. Sullivan's introduction to *The Gentle Voices of Teachers* (Columbus, Ohio, 1995), pp. 1-50.

political context of the Carolingian world.³⁸ Work on the individual accomplishments of the Carolingian scholars has also been fruitful if often narrow in focus: D.A. Bullough's work on Alcuin of York remains the standard of knowledge in the field; however, other scholars at Charlemagne's court have suffered by comparison to Bullough's contribution.³⁹ Ann Freeman's work on Theodulf of Orléans and his authorship of the *Opus Caroli regis contra Synodum* has demonstrated the Spaniard's contributions to the Carolingian textual revolution, particularly in terms of the attempted extension of Carolingian moral hegemony outward to the Byzantine East.⁴⁰ Through the context of the *Opus Caroli*, Freeman's work has demonstrated the breadth of Theodulf's engagement with classical and Christian philosophy, not to mention his role at the Carolingian court. While the image debate between the Greeks and the Carolingians has received extensive interest, perhaps most recently in Thomas Noble's *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, the concurrent heresy of Adoptionism remains understudied.⁴¹ Since John Cavadini's *The Last Christology of the West*, work on Adoptionism has remained at a standstill for well over a decade.⁴² Despite these numerous publications, a more holistic perspective of the Carolingian linguistic philosophy remains relatively understudied. More syncretic studies can be seen, for example, in the work on the 794 Synod of Frankfurt (*Das Frankfurter Konzil von*

³⁸ For Rosamond McKitterick see: *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity; The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989); *Perceptions of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, 2006) among many others. For David Ganz see: "The Preconditions for Caroline Minuscule" *Viator* 18 (1987); *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Sigmaringen, 1990); 'Book Production and the Rise of Caroline Minuscule', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History Volume II* among many others. For Janet Nelson see footnote 36 above.

³⁹ Although there has been an excellent multi-authored volume on the contribution of Paul the Deacon in recent years. See: *Paolo Diacono e il Friuli altomedievale (secc. VI-X) : atti del XIV Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto Medioevo, Cividale del Friuli - Bottenico di Moimacco, 24-29 settembre 1999*, 2 Volumes (Spoleto, 2001). D. A. Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation* (Leiden, 2004).

⁴⁰ See in particular: *Theodulf of Orléans : Charlemagne's spokesman against the Second Council of Nicaea*. (Aldershot, 2003). A. Freeman & P. Meyvaert, "Einleitung," in *Opus Caroli Regis Contra Synodum (Libri Carolini), MGH Concilia Vol. II, Suppl. I* (Hanover, 1998).

⁴¹ T. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians* (Philadelphia, 2009).

⁴² J. Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785-820* (Philadelphia, 1993).

794), which examines the period from a multi-sided perspective, with respect to the relationship of Adoptionism, Greek Iconoclasm, and Carolingian intellectual culture.⁴³ However, this remains a fragmented study rather than an attempt to look at the period in a more comprehensive philosophical light. John Marenbon's examination of the "school of Alcuin" and its subsequent effect on the work of John Scottus remains perhaps the best investigation into the merging of Christian thought with classical philosophy and Kristina Mitalaité's work on the theology of the *Opus Caroli* has attempted to explore this subject recently from a predominantly philosophical perspective.⁴⁴ However, little recently has moved the field towards a more systemic perspective of the late eighth century, approaching these developments as part of an overall move toward a Christian epistemology rather than isolated events. Work on the influence of Greek philosophy, such as in the various publications of John Dillon, has remained disjointed from the rest of Carolingian studies, let alone any investigation into its relationship with manuscript production and development.⁴⁵ Scholars of grammar and the emergence of textual culture are indebted to scholars such as Vivien Law, Louis Holtz, and Martin Irvine; however, their inclusion of the philosophy of language within their examination of the Carolingian world remains cursory and without substantial exploration in terms of its relationship to intellectual history.⁴⁶ Luitpold Wallach in

⁴³ *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794 : Kristallisationspunkt karolingischer Kultur : Akten zweier Symposien (vom 23. bis 27. Februar und vom 13. bis 15. Oktober 1994) anlässlich der 1200-Jahrfeier der Stadt Frankfurt am Main* (Mainz, 1997).

⁴⁴ J. Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin to the school of Auxerre: logic, theology, and philosophy in the early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1981). K. Mitalaité, *Philosophie et Théologie de l'image dans les "Libri Carolini"*, Collection des Études Augustiniennes (Paris, 2007).

⁴⁵ See John Dillon's collected works in: *The Great Tradition: Further Studies in the Development of Platonism and Early Christianity* (Aldershot, 1997).

⁴⁶ For Vivien Law see: *Grammar and Grammarians in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1997) and "The Study of Grammar." in R. McKitterick (ed.) *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, pp. 88-110. For Louis Holtz see: "La grammaire carolingienne" in S. Auroux (ed.) *Histoire des idées linguistiques 2. Le développement de la grammaire occidentale* (Liège, 1992), pp. 96-106; "Tradition et diffusion de l'oeuvre grammaticale de Pompée, commentateur de Donat" *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 97 (1971), pp. 48-83. For Martin Irvine see: "Bede the grammarian and the scope of grammatical studies in eighth-century Northumbria" *Anglo-Saxon England* 15 (1986), pp. 15-44; "Interpretation and the Semiotics of Allegory in Clement of Alexandria, Origen,

the 1950s was a groundbreaking scholar in the study of Alcuin's classical and patristic influences in the use of rhetoric and dialectic.⁴⁷ Wallach also cunningly linked Alcuin's intellectual background to his role in the Carolingian court; analyzing Alcuin's composition of a number of Carolingian texts (such as the *Opus Caroli regis contra Synodum*, the 794 letter of Frankish bishops at the Synod of Frankfurt, and his epigraphical style in his poem to Hadrian I) and their classical influences within a political framework.⁴⁸ Yet Wallach's in-depth work does not approach a comprehensivity that the development of the Carolingian intellectual world required. Marcia Colish perhaps has done the most in terms of approaching the influence of classical philosophy from the perspective of early medieval intellectual history; yet this work lacks localization in the cultural politics of the late eighth century.⁴⁹

Language as a tool for historical inquiry remains one fraught with problems.⁵⁰ The extent to which the written (or even the spoken) word can be a measure of a cultural or political ethos is an issue which characterized the "linguistic turn" of the 1970s in historiography.⁵¹ The overall focus of this period of historiography was the concern over the extent to which texts could accurately reflect a historical reality. Although intellectual history or the "history of ideas" saw an upsurge in the late 1970s, with the casual use of such terms as "mentalities", "hermeneutics", and "semiotics", the linguistic crisis of the 1980s resulted in a massive crisis of faith regarding these terms from which they have yet to recover. Aspects of intellectual history or the history of ideas have suffered similar problems

and Augustine" *Semiotica*, 63 1/2 (1987), pp. 33-69; *The Making of Textual Culture: "grammatica" and literary theory, 350-1100* (Cambridge, 1994).

⁴⁷ L. Wallach, "Alcuin on Sophistry" *Classical Philology* 50, No. 4 (Oct., 1955), pp. 259-261.

⁴⁸ L. Wallach, "Alcuin's Epitaph of Hadrian I: A Study in Carolingian Epigraphy" *The American Journal of Philology* 72, No. 2 (1951), pp. 128-144.

⁴⁹ *The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the early Middle Ages*. 2 Volumes (Leiden, 1990). *The Fathers and Beyond: Church Fathers between Ancient and Medieval Thought* (Aldershot, 2008).

⁵⁰ Medievalists' awareness and discussion of this topic was well defined in a special edition of *Speculum* in 1990, entitled: "A New Philology". Medievalists have continued to interact with linguistic theory (as shown above); however, from a meta-disciplinary perspective, the 1990 *Speculum* edition remains a valuable source.

⁵¹ E. A. Clark, *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (London, 2004).

in recent historiography, as Richard Sullivan phrased it: “These historians have not had an easy road in recent times; their efforts have been criticized for being elitist, detached from the reality created by social and economic structures, irrelevant in a world where rationalistic inquiry is viewed with suspicion”.⁵² Historians such as Geoffrey Elton famously denied the worthiness of these forms of history in the 1990s, claiming such investigations were “removed from real life”.⁵³ Ironically, perhaps, this is precisely what this thesis aims to examine in terms of an emergent Carolingian Christian philosophy: to what extent the Carolingians believed that language represented an external objective reality and could, therefore, ably convey aspects of the ultimate reality, i.e. God. This is not an attempt to layer a more comprehensive philosophical opinion about a particular period, but rather an investigation into the exploration of the very concepts of language and philosophy undertaken by the Carolingian scholars themselves. Our attempt examines language, as they did, as a system of codes in which meaning is created and transferred.⁵⁴ In their appropriation of pagan philosophy (such as the works of Plato and Aristotle) and the numerous treatises on the nature of language by the Carolingian scholars Alcuin and Theodulf, the nature of language and its relationship to the human condition was a question of utmost importance to them, as much as it continues to have importance to us. To argue that such investigations are divorced from reality ignores the entirety of the textual revolution we call the Carolingian Renaissance. The numerous works of these scholars indicates an ongoing spiritual and philosophical investigation, one that was to have very real political and social implications on the Mediterranean world and the formation of western Christianity. To attempt an understanding of the linguistic philosophy behind such movements is not divorced from historical reality but an attempt to

⁵² Richard E. Sullivan, “Introduction”, p. 25.

⁵³ G. R. Elton, *Return to Essentials: some reflections on the present state of historical study* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 12

⁵⁴ This claim obviously echoes the work of both Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault, particularly Derrida’s *Of Grammatology*, and Foucault’s *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. J. Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, (trans.) G. C. Spivak, corrected edtn. (Baltimore, 1997). M. Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, (trans.) A.M. Sheridan Smith, Revised edtn. (London, 2002).

provide it with a much more comprehensive outlook.

Perspectives toward early medieval philosophy, as John Marenbon has shown, suffer from a wide range of misconceptions. As he succinctly phrases it, these adhere to three main categories:

- a) There was no such thing as early medieval philosophy.
- b) If there was such a thing, it began only with the assimilation of Aristotle's works in the thirteenth century.
- c) If there was philosophy in the medieval period prior to this, it was entirely Platonic in its outlook.⁵⁵

There certainly are misconceptions, as work by John Marenbon, particularly in terms of the relative efforts and accomplishments of early medieval figures like Boethius and John Scottus Eriugena, demonstrates.⁵⁶ Yet even with these pioneering efforts, the Carolingian period still has suffered from neglect in terms of both its reception of philosophical efforts from the late antique and Anglo-Saxon traditions and its attempt to form a Christian semiotic and ontological philosophy in its own right. Carolingian writers such as Alcuin and Theodulf may be well known for their abilities to absorb and regurgitate prior works on Christian spirituality and Aristotelian ontology; however, they have been ignored in terms of their application of these concepts in both the formation of the textual revolution within Francia, and even more specifically, using such a philosophy as a means of extending Frankish moral hegemony throughout Europe, particularly in the cases of northern Spain and the Byzantine East. The union of philosophy and Christian thought (particularly in terms of ontology) still remains attributed to the work of

⁵⁵ J. Marenbon, "Introduction", in *Aristotelian logic, Platonism, and the context of early medieval philosophy in the West* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 1.

⁵⁶ See J. Marenbon, *Aristotelian logic, Platonism, and the context of early medieval philosophy in the West* (Aldershot, 2000).

the ninth century.⁵⁷ John Marenbon and Matthew Kempshall are but two out of a handful of scholars who have investigated the work of Alcuin's logical handbooks (such as his *De Dialectica*) in the hopes of forming an overall picture of Carolingian Aristotelianism.⁵⁸ Even so, such investigations require a broader outlook, one that incorporates the contributions of Theodulf of Orléans (alongside other Carolingian scholars), and more to the point, the effect of this philosophical interest on the textual revolution that comprises the late eighth and early ninth century. This thesis will demonstrate that examinations of these topics occurred far earlier than the work of John Scottus Eriugena in the ninth century and are traceable to the work of predominantly Alcuin and Theodulf, but on a more general scale, to the court circle of Charlemagne during the late eighth century. Even this was a product of generations of discussion on the nature of Trinitarian belief and Christological debate, not to mention the appropriate role of pagan philosophy within a Christian context.⁵⁹ In the following chapters we will not only discuss how the Carolingians received this intellectual tradition but also how they adapted it to fit a new cultural ethos in which authority was increasingly defined via the validity of the written word.

We shall contextualize the development of a linguistic philosophy during the late eighth century in discussions referring to both the court culture of Charlemagne (Chapter Two) and the extension of that philosophy as a tool for moral and political hegemony in the wider context of Europe (and specifically the

⁵⁷ Although many scholars appreciate Alcuin's contributions, predominantly he is still regarded as a prequel to Scottus' more focused philosophical inquiries during the ninth century. John Marenbon and D.A. Bullough perhaps have been the staunchest advocates for Alcuin's earlier contributions and influence. J. Marenbon, "Alcuin, the Council of Frankfurt and the Beginnings of Medieval Philosophy" *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794*, Teil II: Kultur und Theologie (Mainz, 1997), pp. 603-15. D.A. Bullough, "Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven: liturgy, theology, and the Carolingian Age" in *Carolingian Renewal* (Manchester, 1991), pp. 161-240.

⁵⁸ J. Marenbon, "Alcuin, the Council of Frankfurt and the Beginnings of Medieval Philosophy". This has recently been augmented by Matthew Kempshall's *Rhetoric and the Writing of History* (Manchester, 2011) in addition to his "The Virtues of Rhetoric: Alcuin's *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus*", *Anglo-Saxon England* Vol. 37 (2008), pp. 7-30.

⁵⁹ Such as explored by Augustine, Boethius, Cassiodorus, and Bede, among notable others. This shall be discussed in depth in Chapter Two.

Mediterranean basin), in Chapter Three. Finally, in Chapter Four, we shall examine the application of this semiotic philosophy in terms of manuscript development and production. We will examine the biblical revisions of both Alcuin and Theodulf in terms of how each demonstrated the dichotomy of letter and spirit on the surface of the page. Emphasis on grammar and spelling has often defined the nature of *correctio* for these revision projects, and it is certainly indicative of a concern for the “physicality” of Scripture. Yet the seeming lack of concern for standardization between these texts reinforces the primacy of the “spirit” of Scripture: that the epistemological nature of humanity was able to transcend the material “signs” of the Bible to a divine wisdom which existed beyond language. To demonstrate Alcuin and Theodulf’s subscription to this, we shall examine not only the extant manuscripts of the revision but also extra-biblical material included by the two writers, such as introductory and concluding poetry and, in the case of Theodulf, the including of appendix texts as a semiotic guide to Scripture.⁶⁰ Our discussion necessarily will involve an examination of the so-called prominence of Alcuin’s revision during the late eighth and ninth century and to what extent the adoption of his revision by the Tours monastery fostered a “standardized” approach to the Bible following his death in 804. The lack of *unitas* seen both in Alcuin’s (and his successors at Tours) Bibles and those of Theodulf’s reinforces this new approach to the body/spirit dichotomy developed during their careers both at court and within their respective scriptoria.

Finally, but briefly, we shall see how the formation of a Christian epistemology and semiotic philosophy during the late eighth century developed in the context of the ninth century, particularly in terms of the changing political situation under Charlemagne’s successors Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald. The further development of the linguistic epistemology cultivated during the late eighth century can be witnessed in the work of Alcuin and Theodulf’s successors,

⁶⁰ Specifically, those appendix texts which survive in the Le Puy Bible and the Mesmianus Codex (BN lat. 9380).

namely Agobard of Lyon, Hrabanus Maurus, and, of course, John Scottus Eriugena. Yet the period of the late eighth century contextualizes the ascendancy of the Carolingian empire and with it an intellectual circle who experienced the birth of a political culture dependent on the written word as had not been seen (if ever) since the Roman empire. Although the authority of the divine within Scripture had been a cornerstone of the Christian faith since the earliest days of the religion, it was only during the late eighth century that increased access and interaction with this text required a renewed justification of the authority vested within it, both in terms of the letter and “spirit” of the written word. Alongside which, there arose a need to define how language represented reality and authority, both within a religious and political setting. During this period we see a conscious need to demonstrate how the human mind was able to understand that reality via the “spirit” of the word. For both Charlemagne and the Christian clergy, language had to be more than words on a page.

Chapter Two

Language, Philosophy, and the Spiritual Implications of Grammar

“The Lord gave science and knowledge and wisdom in all grammatical arts to them and to Daniel he gave understanding in all words, and visions, and dreams. And they were with the king and whatever words, wisdom, and instruction the king sought from them, he found them much wiser than all the philosophers and sophists in his kingdom...”

-Daniel 1:17

Introduction

The discussion of a Carolingian philosophy of language immediately fosters problems of ascribing “ownership” to the philosophical or religious attitudes found in treatises from the period. Carolingians were inheritors of a shared intellectual history and were well aware of it, as Alcuin wrote: “I wish to follow the footsteps of the holy fathers, neither adding to nor subtracting from their most sacred writings.”¹ Taken at face value, this does not distinguish the writers of the Carolingian court from the other intellectual centres of activity throughout the early medieval period. A brief survey of the Carolingians’ source material, however, indicates the depth and breadth of their intellectual inheritance. Their promotion of Augustine, in particular, fostered an appreciation for the Church Father’s incorporation of grammatical and specifically classical philosophical and ontological beliefs. In conjunction, their access to Boethius and late antique grammarians led to a renewed promotion of secular disciplines on a level hitherto unseen. Accordingly, in order to contextualize the development of a philosophy of language at the Carolingian court, we must discuss the intersection of the early medieval Christian intellectual tradition with late antique and classical examinations into language, both in terms of the form (i.e. grammar², rhetoric, and dialectic) and its relationship

¹ “In omnibus huiusmodi quaestionibus sanctorum sequi patrum vestigia desidero, nihil addens vel minuens illorum sacratissimis litteris”. Letter of Alcuin to Beatus of Liébana, (trans. & ed.) W. Levison, in Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1966), p. 322. R. Sullivan, “The Context of Cultural Activity in the Carolingian Age” in R. Sullivan (ed.), *The Gentle Voices of Teachers: Aspects of Learning in the Carolingian Age* (Columbus, Ohio, 1995), p. 53.

² Grammar during this period extended beyond what we would classify the discipline today. More

to epistemology (how language represented both abstract concepts and an external “knowable” reality). We then must contextualize these aspects within a wider framework of the period: how this relationship was defined and furthered by the intellectual court culture created by Charlemagne in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, particularly in the work of Alcuin of York and Theodulf of Orléans. By appropriating secular subjects within the context of a Christian community, the Carolingians encouraged the rebirth of the linguistic arts, embracing the study of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic. This, alongside a general increase in education and literacy, frequently has been conflated with a general call for the correction and standardization of texts throughout the Frankish kingdoms including, most importantly, the Bible. But such an argument misconstrues the Carolingians’ stress on the importance of grammar, the Latin language, and the liberal arts in general. To approach this topic properly we must seek a more nuanced understanding of the Carolingian revision of texts, particularly the Bible, within a framework of semiotics and epistemological investigation.

Within this chapter we will discuss the wider framework of the Carolingian textual culture and the so-called *correctio* movement of the late eighth century, particularly the contributing influences of the multi-regional scholars present at the court during this period: Alcuin (as a representative of the Anglo-Saxon tradition), Theodulf (as a representative of northern Spain), and Paul the Deacon and Paulinus of Aquileia (as representatives of Italy). Through the court scholars’ appropriation of classical material, in particular works on grammar and philosophy, we can see an emergent Carolingian perspective towards language, one based on the nature of man and his relationship to God. Finally, we will explore the importance placed on secular disciplines (i.e. the liberal arts) in terms of their appropriateness (and perhaps even their necessity) with regards to understanding the relationship between the “spirit” and the “letter” of language. In doing so, this chapter focuses on

accurately it could be referred to as the “art of letters” which comprised investigations into literacy, the scribal arts, interpretation of texts, alongside the “structure” of language. M. Irvine, “Bede the Grammarian”, *Anglo-Saxon England* 15 (1986), p. 17.

the creation of a court intellectual culture within the Frankish kingdoms, one interested in the promotion of both classical and patristic texts, but more specifically, adopting these transmitted materials as a vehicle for both religious and political hegemony. Certainly many texts composed by Charlemagne's court scholars during this period were those designed solely for exchange among the upper echelons of the educated elite.³ The use of the classical acrostic form in the poetry of Alcuin, Theodulf, and Josephus (as we shall discuss below) was in all likelihood designed as an intellectual "showpiece", a comment on the malleability of the Latin language and the skill required to compose such complex verse. Yet even these "lighter" compositions at the Carolingian court reveal an understanding of language as a system of signs, able to convey parallel layers of complex meaning. Along these lines, we shall discuss the influence of the Neoplatonic, Aristotelian, and Stoic schools within such major patristic writers as Augustine, in the creation of a Christian linguistic philosophy (with particular emphasis on philology) as well as the transmission of these works in their own right via such writers as Boethius and Cassiodorus, as already mentioned in Chapter One. Looking specifically at the contributions of Alcuin and Theodulf, this inheritance of language can be found in their poetry, their educational handbooks, and their exegetical work. These two scholars represent the vanguard of an emergent textual culture founded on a semiotic-based understanding of language and its relationship to human understanding, one that would define the textual revolution of the eighth and ninth centuries. John Marenbon was correct when he chose Alcuin as a starting point for the birth of medieval philosophy.⁴ The late 780s at the Carolingian court marks the tentative first steps from a mere transmission of classical and late antique grammatical, philosophical, and patristic texts to the use of these works in a new framework, one which recontextualized the tenets of Christian belief as indivisible

³ The poetry composed at the Carolingian court provides numerous examples of this, particularly in the work of Paul the Deacon, Paulinus of Aquileia, and obviously Alcuin and Theodulf. For specific work on this, please see: P. Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* (London, 1985).

⁴ Although he does neglect Theodulf's substantial if not equal contribution. J. Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre: Logic, Theology, and Philosophy in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 4.

from philosophy, and more specifically, an ontological understanding of the nature of language itself.

Classical & Late Antique Inheritance

The developments seen during the late eighth century must be framed in the literary and religious traditions on which they depended, fostered in Christian patristic writing particularly by Augustine during the fourth century and even earlier to Origen in the third (both of whom had been teachers of grammar and rhetoric in their early careers).⁵ Yet even the Christian linguistic perspective must be contextualized by the significant dependence these writers had on earlier classical philosophies, such as the work on linguistic epistemology done by the Neoplatonists, Aristotle, and the Stoics.⁶ Similarly, when looking at the transmission of linguistic study from the late antique period to the Carolingians, we must also examine the work of the grammarians: those who laid the base for the emphasis on the “structure” of the Latin language within early medieval Europe.

The early history of Christian philosophy and its connection to language indicates a manifest interest in questions regarding Platonic and Aristotelian philosophical “realism”, which posited a fundamental link between abstract concepts as found in language, belief, and knowledge, and their existence in reality.⁷ Augustine’s philosophy of language (or, more appropriately called, his semiotic theory) clearly adhered to the belief that language was able to convey information by a system of signs,

⁵ The discussion of signs within Augustine and Origen’s work is considerable. It features prominently in Augustine’s *De Magistro*, *De Diversis Quaestiones*, *De Genesi ad Litteram*, *De Trinitate*, among others. We will discuss the relevance of these authors throughout our discussion.

⁶ Only one “grammatical” text survives from the Stoic school (begun in the third century BCE), Chrysippus’ *Logical Knowledge*, which is itself a text on the philosophy of language, rather than a grammar strictly speaking. S. Knuuttila, ‘Time and creation in Augustine’ in E. Stump & N. Kretzmann (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Augustine*, (Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 310. D. Blank & C. Atherton, ‘The Stoic Contribution to Traditional Grammar’, in B. Inwood (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Stoics*, (Cambridge, 2003).

⁷ As opposed to nominalism denies the existence of universals. Both Plato and Aristotle rejected nominalism (although for different reasons). Aristotle, *Categories & On Interpretation*, (trans.) H.P. Cooke & H. Tredennick, (Cambridge, Mass, 1938). Plato, *Cratylus*, (trans. & ed.) C.D.C. Reeve, (Indianapolis, 1998).

All teaching (*doctrina*) is of things (*res*) or signs (*signa*), but things are learned through signs...There are...signs, such as words (*verba*), whose sole use is signifying (*significando*). For no one uses words except for the purpose of signifying something.⁸

Augustine incorporated a blend of classical philosophies in his semiotic writing, but the significant influence of Aristotle is marked. Discussions of “signs” (as signifiers representative of external reality, mental, and abstract concepts) within Greek philosophy had been prevalent since Aristotle and featured prominently in the later philosophies of the Stoics and Epicureans.⁹ But Aristotle’s work on human ontology also factored heavily into Augustine’s philosophy of language, helping him to logically define the distinctions between human and divine. Aristotle’s *Categoriae* was invaluable for this purpose: providing Augustine the means by which to “systematize” knowledge or, more clearly, define how man was able to “know” an object.¹⁰ For Aristotle, this knowledge or means of categorization was intrinsically a matter of language: each of the ten categories indicated a means by which an object could be described, and therefore “known”.¹¹ The foundation of these categories was substance, the underlying “essence” to any object or being, distinct from any of its properties.¹² The application of this ontological method can be found in Augustine’s descriptions of the nature of Trinitarian belief:

⁸ Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, 1.2.2, (trans.) R.H.P Green, p. 9.

⁹ Discussions on signs can be found throughout his works, but particularly in his *Analytica Posteriora II*, (trans.) O. Goldin (London, 2009) and his *Rhetorica*, (trans.) W. Roberts. in W. D. Ross (ed.), *The Works of Aristotle Translated into English* (Oxford, 1924). Repr. in Jonathan Barnes (ed.), *The Works of Aristotle*, Vol. II (Princeton, 1984), 2152–2269. R.A. Markus, ‘St. Augustine on Signs’, *Phronesis* 2, no. 1 (1957), p. 60.

¹⁰ As he states in the *Confessions*, “The [*Categoriae*] seemed to me to speak clearly enough of substances, such as a man is, and of what are in them, such as a man’s figure; of what quality he is; his stature; how many feet tall he is; his relationships, as whose brother he is; where he is placed; when he was born; whether he stands or sits; whether he is shod with shoes or armed; whether he does something or has something done to him; and the innumerable things that are found in these nine categories, of which I have set down some examples, or in the category of substance.” Augustine, *Confessions*, 4.28, (trans.) J. Ryan (New York, 1960), p. 110.

¹¹ Aristotle, *Categoriae*, I (trans.) H. Cooke (Boston, Mass, 1938), p. 15.

¹² *Ibid.*

Human inadequacy was trying by speech to bring to the notice of men what it held about the Lord God its creator, according to its capacity, in the inner sanctum of the mind, whether this was held by devout faith or by the least amount of understanding... For it is known...the mind's eye can also achieve a faint but undoubted glimpse of the truth, that the Father is and the Son is and the Holy Spirit is...So human inadequacy searched for a word to express three what, and it said 'substances' or 'persons'...But in any case, whether he is called 'being', which he is called properly, or 'substance' which he is called improperly¹³, either word is predicated with reference to self, not by way of relationship of reference to something else. So for God to be is the same as to subsist, and therefore if the Trinity is one being, it is also one substance.¹⁴

In the above passage we see a clear relationship between the reliance upon human language to describe the nature of God, the extent to which it is able to do so, and the ability of the human mind to comprehend ontological definitions of the Trinity. This attempt to delineate the means by which human language was able to impart truth about divine concepts helped to define the relationship between philosophy and linguistics for Augustine, as would it also later engage the minds of Carolingian scholars.

Augustine also drew upon Neoplatonic concepts via the work of Plotinus¹⁵ and Porphyry¹⁶ (translated into Latin in the fourth century by Marius Victorinus),

¹³ Augustine finds fault with the term "substance" in the Latin when it is linked to the "subsistence" of the body. As God is not dependant on a body for His existence, "substance" is problematic in describing his fundamental being. Augustine is not disputing Aristotle's underlying concept, but rather the improper link of the Latin vocabulary.

¹⁴ "Cum enim conaretur humana inopia loquendo proferre ad hominum sensus, quod in secretario mentis pro captu tenet de Domino Deo creatore suo, sive per piam fidem, sive per qualemcumque intelligentiam... Certissime quipped...cognoscitur... et aspectu mentis indubitata perceptione perstringitur, et Patrem esse, et Filium, et Spiritum sanctum... Quaesivit quid tria diceret: et dixit substantias sive personas, quibus nominibus non diversitatem intelligi voluit, sed singularitatem noluit; ut non solum ibi unitas intelligatur ex eo quod dicitur una essentia, sed et trinitas ex eo quod dicuntur tres substantiae vel personae... Sed tamen sive essentia dicatur quod proprie dicitur, sive substantia quod abusive; utrumque ad se dicitur, non relativa ad aliquid. Unde hoc est Deo esse quod subsistere, et ideo si una essentia Trinitas, una etiam substantia. Fortassis igitur commodius dicuntur tres personae, quam tres substantiae." Augustine, *De Trinitate*, PL 42: 941-43.

¹⁵ Ca. 204-270, a Greek philosopher known for the development of Neoplatonism and advocacy of a theory of substance and existence of a supreme "One" which was interpreted by later scholars as signifying the Christian God. J. Rist, "Plotinus and Christian Philosophy", in Lloyd Gerson (ed.), *The*

and incorporated the later work of the Stoics in terms of the ability of language to transmit information about abstract concepts.¹⁷ The extent to which Stoic philosophy of language can be found in Augustinian thought still has yet to be examined conclusively; however, Augustine's appropriation of Stoic theodicy is demonstrable in a number of his texts and would go on to have significant bearing on the perspective of not only God's role as *Logos* (Word) but also in terms of a more holistic perspective towards the philosophy of language in a Christian context.¹⁸ Stoic theodicy was based inherently on the "reason" or rational nature of the universe, a concept the philosophical school allied with their perception of the divine *logos*. This was absorbed into the Christian intellectual tradition, and drew upon a mutual belief in a rational world divinely created. Most important for Stoic linguistic theory and its influence upon Augustinian (and Christian) thought, was the avowed belief that the created world was comprehensible by the human mind.¹⁹ This belief as to the potential of apprehension included language, what was considered to be a secular/material component of human invention, the foundation of the discipline of rhetoric. In constructing language in this way, Augustine relied not only on classical philosophers but the great rhetoricians of Rome's past.²⁰ The *De Doctrina Christiana* adopted Cicero's definition of invention as the process of penetrating and re-articulating truth in writing, creating the force behind the

Cambridge Companion to Plotinus (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 386-413.

¹⁶ Ca. 234-305, a Neoplatonic philosopher and student of Plotinus, famous for his *Isagoge*, an introduction to Aristotle's *Categories*. This was relied on heavily by Boethius in his own translation of Aristotle's work in the fifth century. A.C. Lloyd, "Porphyry and Iamblichus" in A.H. Armstrong (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Late Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 283-301.

¹⁷ There have been significant debates regarding how much of these two philosophers was translated by Victorinus as attested to by Augustine in his *Confessions* 8.2.3; regardless of how much direct contact Augustine had with these writers, the influence of Neoplatonic concepts is evident within his writing. Augustine's appropriation of Stoic philosophy also comprised a significant amount of his semiotic theory, as discussed in Marcia Colish's *The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the early Middle Ages*, 2 Vol, (Leiden, 1990). See also: R.J. O'Connell, "Enneades VI, 4 and 5 in the Works of Saint Augustine", *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 9 (1963), pp. 1-39. R.A. Markus, 'St. Augustine on Signs', *Phronesis* 2, no. 1 (1957), p. 63.

¹⁸ M. Colish, *The Stoic Tradition*, Vol 2, p. 154.

¹⁹ Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, 22.24.

²⁰ Augustine's use of Cicero is well-established; however, he may also have relied upon Marius Victorinus' commentary on Cicero's *De Inventione*. We discuss the influence of Victorinus below. See footnote 176.

emergent Christian field of biblical exegesis.²¹ This blend of classical sources demonstrates the complexity of Augustine’s hermeneutics. For Stoics, the physical letters and words of a text were considered to be “material objects”, which were perceived in the same way as any other material or corporeal entities.²² Yet this belief did not contradict language’s ability to convey “invisible” or abstract meaning, things that transcended the materiality of “visible” language. Thus “linguistic philosophy” was naturally a two-part process in which interpretation is devoted both to an etymological deconstruction (looking at the physicality of the words) and the higher significance believed to be inherent beyond the “letter of the text”. Using this as the foundation for his epistemology, Augustine merged the Stoic perspective on the world in a Neoplatonic understanding of the human mind, in which the unique human intellect or “reason” is able to perceive both material and immaterial objects via the physical senses (e.g. sight via the eyes of the material body) but can only interpret them by means of the rational mind.²³ Derived from pagan Neoplatonism, Augustine argued that this “rational” ability derives from man’s soul having been created by God.²⁴ As the ultimate “abstract” and immaterial entity, and

²¹ R. Copeland, “The Ciceronian Rhetorical Tradition and Medieval Literary Theory” in V. Cox & J. Ward (eds.), *The Rhetoric of Cicero in its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition* (Boston, 2006), p. 241.

²² D. Blank & C. Atherton, ‘The Stoic Contribution to Traditional Grammar’, p. 314.

²³ “Signorum igitur quibus inter se homines sua sensa communicant, quaedam pertinent ad oculorum sensum, pleraque ad aurium, paucissima ad caeteros sensus. Nam cum innuimus, non damus signum nisi oculis ejus quem volumus per hoc signum voluntatis nostrae participem facere. Et quidam motu manuum pleraque significant: et histriones omnium membrorum motibus dant signa quaedam scientibus, et cum oculis eorum quasi fabulantur: et vexilla draconesque militares per oculos insinuant voluntatem ducum: et sunt haec omnia quasi quaedam verba visibilia. Ad aures autem quae pertinent, ut dixi, plura sunt, in verbis maxime. Nam et tuba, et tibia, et cithara, dant plerumque non solum suavem, sed etiam significantem sonum. Sed haec omnia signa verbis comparata paucissima sunt. Verba enim prorsus inter homines obtinuerunt principatum significandi quaecumque animo concipiuntur, si ea quisque prodere velit. Nam et odore unguenti Dominus, quo perfusi sunt pedes ejus, signum aliquod dedit: et Sacramento corporis et sanguinis sui praegustato significavit quod voluit: et cum mulier tangendo fimbriam vestimenti ejus, salva facta est, nonnihil significat: sed innumerabilis multitudo signorum, quibus suas cogitationes homines exerunt, in verbis constituta est.” Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, PL 34:37. M. Colish, *The Stoic Tradition*, p. 51.

²⁴ Although Augustine in his later life subscribed wholeheartedly to the immateriality of the divine, he still accepted there were means of “accessing” the divine in the material world. Augustine, *Confessions*, 7.12.18- 7.18.24

the source of all knowledge²⁵ in the universe, God created man's soul as a mirror (or image) of his own divinity.²⁶ The reliance upon the Bible as a means for God to communicate with mankind drew heavily upon this understanding: that human language could somehow contain divine wisdom and be intelligible to a human reader. Yet how this conduit of divine communication could retain its authority in the hands of human copyists and readers needed to be defined by Christian intellectuals and would necessarily provoke questions as to the need for Christians to understand the structure of language so as to reach the "invisible" wisdom contained therein.

If the "spirit" or semiotics of language was now defined by Augustine and Christian patristic writers, it was still left to define how the "letter" of language contributed to human understanding: i.e. to what extent was a divine message reliant upon the forms or "structures" of language (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, etc.). The ability for divine wisdom to be contained within human language (itself a product of man's fall from grace²⁷) necessitated a complex understanding of not only to what extent formal training in language was necessary to access the various semiotic layers to Scripture but also how one's senses were able to perceive the wisdom contained in the text.²⁸ The ability for the corporeal senses to perceive signs within Augustine's semiotic theory fostered his division of the "sense" of sight into a tripartite hierarchy (corporeal, spiritual, intellectual).²⁹ Such a division complemented the increasing dichotomy of the corporeal (visible) and the spiritual

²⁵ As well as God ultimately "being" all knowledge as well.

²⁶ Man's soul as the *imago* of God is a topic that we shall return to later in terms of its influence on Carolingian intellectual thought. See footnote 232 below.

²⁷ Augustine sees the disunion between man and God and thus the necessity for language starting from Original Sin, but exemplified in the Tower of Babel: "These signs could not be shared by all nations, because of the sin of human disunity by which each one sought hegemony for itself...Consequently even divine scripture...after starting off in a single language, in which it could have been conveniently spread throughout the world, was circulated far and wide in the various languages of the translators...The aim of its readers is simply to find out the thoughts and wishes of those by whom it was written down and, through them, the will of God, which we believe these men followed as they spoke." Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, 2.3.9, (trans.) R.H.P Green, p. 32.

²⁸ This is discussed both in Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*, 2.3-2.7 and his *De Genesi ad Litteram*, PL 34:222.

²⁹ This tripartite division of sight is explained by Augustine primarily in *De genesi ad litteram* 12, PL 34: 458-466.

(invisible) within the Christian tradition: both to experience the material world and to find divine “reason” within it, a representation of man’s dual (secular and spiritual) nature.³⁰ Augustine’s division of the sense of vision into a tripartite hierarchical system also proved highly influential with regards to the evolution of biblical interpretation during the early medieval period and especially in terms of the Carolingian intellectuals in the late eighth century.³¹

For Augustine, the “letter” of language (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic) was a means by which one could move from the physical to the spiritual: the use of the corporeal senses to elevate oneself to the “intellectual” or *ratio* of the mind. This defined his perspective towards the majority of the secular disciplines, and it contributed significantly to the work of Boethius (480-c.524/5) and Cassiodorus (c. 484-590) in the fifth and sixth centuries.³² Boethius’s responsibility in the transmission of classical texts, particularly the translation and commentary of the *Peri hermeneias* and the *Categoriae* (including a commentary on Porphyry’s *Isagoge*) was a primary source for Carolingian writers such as Alcuin who took up the subject of the relationship of language to philosophy.³³

Boethius, like Augustine, contributed to the evolving union of classical

³⁰ This dichotomy would have resonances throughout the Christian intellectual tradition, particularly as applicable to understanding Christ’s nature as well as the relationship between the physical format of the Bible and its “spiritual” meaning. As Augustine says in Book 12 of *De Trinitate*, “...let us see where we are to locate what you might call the border between the outer and the inner man...It is not just the body alone that is to be reckoned as the outer man, but the body with its own kind of life attached, which quickens the body’s structure and all the senses it is equipped with in order to sense things outside. And when the images of things sense that are fixed in the memory are looked over again in recollection, it is still something belonging to the outer many that is being done...But just as our body is raised up by nature to what is highest in bodies, that is, to the heavens, so our consciousness being a spiritual substance should be raised up toward what is highest in spiritual things...But it pertains to the loftier reason to make judgments on these bodily things according to non-bodily and everlasting meanings...And so our understanding and activity, or counsel and execution, or reason and reasonable appetite...are embraced in the one nature of the mind.” Augustine, *De Trinitate*, 12.1.1-3, (trans.) Edmund Hill (Hyde Park, New York, 1991), pp. 322-323.

³¹ We discuss this in depth below. See footnote 249.

³² Augustine, *De Ordine*, 12.35.

³³ Boethius, *De Interpretatione*, trans. A. Smith, 2 Vol (London, 2011); Porphyry: *Introduction*, trans. J. Barnes (Oxford, 2003), p. xiv. J. Magee, *Boethius: On Signification and Mind*, (Leiden, 1989), p. 11.

epistemology and Christian faith.³⁴ Within his commentaries on Aristotle's *Peri hermeneias* (which Carolingian writers would heavily rely on), Boethius, as Augustine did, attempted to "Stoicize" Aristotelian logic. He posited that data is perceived by the senses and interpreted by the intellect. It is the intellect, according to Boethius (and the Stoics), which transforms these mental components into abstract thoughts.³⁵ The mind is thus capable of transforming the material into the immaterial: a concept which factored heavily into Alcuin's later discussions regarding the nature of the human mind and its relationship to God.³⁶ Language as a conduit for incorporeal/abstract concepts is thus made possible by humanity's ability to distinguish things (*res*) and signs (*similitudines*) of those things. Words are material in Boethius' linguistic epistemology (following from Stoic tradition); however, as signs, they transform into immaterial concepts by the power of the human mind. Boethius paved the way for a fuller and more elaborate Christianization of linguistic theory and Christian epistemology, one which we shall see in the work of Alcuin during the late eighth century.

Yet the definition of these "material" signs required further clarification in terms of its relationship (and that of all secular disciplines such as grammar) to Christianity. Although language as a semiotic system was accepted as a part of the Christian exegetical tradition and there was a perceived need to continue education in terms of the rules and regulations of this system (grammar etc.), the appropriateness for other secular disciplines within a Christian context was accepted more slowly.³⁷ As Christianity was a religion "of the book", questions of

³⁴ J. Magee, *Boethius: On Signification and Mind*, (Leiden, 1989), p. 13.

³⁵ "The sense faculty delivers to us, together with the bodies themselves, all incorporeal things like this that have their being in bodies. But the mind, which has the power both to put together what is disjoined and to uncouple what is put together, distinguishes what are delivered to it by the senses, confused and conjoined to bodies, in such a way that it gazes on and sees the incorporeal nature by itself and apart from the bodies in which it is made concrete." Boethius, 'From his Second Commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge*' in *Five Texts on the Mediaeval Problem of Universals: Porphyry, Boethius, Abelard, Duns Scottus, Ockham*, (trans.) P. Spade (Cambridge, 1994), p. 24. Boethius, *De Interpretatione*, trans. A. Smith, 2 Vol (London, 2011).

³⁶ M. Colish, *The Stoic Tradition*, Vol. 2, p. 271.

³⁷ The acceptance of the liberal arts within these two writers is directly attributable to Augustine's influence. Cassiodorus' involvement in the establishment of the *trivium* and *quadrivium* within Christian education contributed significantly to the development of the secular arts during this

language and textuality necessarily intersected with approaches to Scripture throughout the early medieval period. Augustine's prominence within the Christian intellectual tradition throughout early medieval Europe helped to define later generations' perspectives on the balance between the letter and the spirit of the Bible, not to mention the "worthiness" of the secular arts in the context of Christianity.

Yet the philosophical or epistemological implications of language within the Christian tradition saw little development in the intervening generations between Boethius and the Carolingians. Although Augustine's (among others) theory of vision and biblical interpretation was widely accepted and gained popularity throughout the early medieval exegetical circles, as was the importance of grammar as a linguistic discipline, questions as to the epistemological and semiotic nature of language within the context of Christianity remained largely un-scrutinized until the period of Charlemagne and his court scholars.³⁸ It is only during this period that we notice scholars such as Alcuin again take up the same questions that had interested Augustine: how could language act as a conduit between man and the divine? In what way were the "signs" of language accurate representations of abstract or divine concepts and to what extent was the "form" (structure: grammar, rhetoric, etc.) of language necessary in preserving the meaning of those signs? In addressing these questions, the intellectual atmosphere of the Carolingian period demonstrates an investigation into the creation of a Christian mental universe: one that attempted to define man's relationship to the physical world and to God by means of language.

period. Cassiodorus, *Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum*, (ed.) R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1937).

³⁸ Augustine's prominence as a Christian writer with authority can be attributed to the mid-fifth to sixth centuries. There are of course isolated exceptions to the claim that no writer examined language from an epistemological standpoint until the Carolingians. The *Anonymus ad Cuimnanum*, a text available in late seventh- early eighth century Anglo-Saxon England specifically addressed the dual components of philosophy and grammar within the context of the Bible. We shall discuss this text in Chapter Two. *Anonymus ad Cuimnanum, Expositio Latinitatis*, CCSL Vol. 133 part 4 (Turnhout, 1992); C. Leyser, "Augustine in the Latin West", (unpublished), p. 4.

The Nature of Language: Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectic

If one looks to the 780s and 790s of the Carolingian court, the emphasis on language becomes immediately clear. Not only via Charlemagne's famous circulars, the *Admonitio Generalis* (789) and the *Epistola de litteris colendis* (c. 800), which both discuss the need for literacy and emphasize the importance of corrected texts, but the works produced by Charlemagne's court scholars reflect an unprecedented focus on aspects of language (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic).³⁹ This paralleled the development of biblical investigation throughout the intellectual centres of Europe and the British Isles, studies that commented on not only the content of Scripture but treatises on the importance of education in order to read it.⁴⁰ This exegetical examination would eventually, via the work of Alcuin and Theodulf, lead to a renewed analysis of language as relevant to the nature of man (e.g. man's capacity to understand abstract concepts/signs contained in linguistic symbols). This was predicated upon an increased advocacy of the value of the linguistic arts (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic). Let us first examine the rise of grammar and the emphasis on "linguistic structure" as seen in the early years of the Carolingian court before we approach how to apply exegesis and epistemology to this model.

Despite the relative decline in the study of language between the late antique and early medieval period, the transcription and transmission of grammatical texts (and respect for the discipline in general) continued, if on a limited basis in isolated areas throughout Europe. As attested by Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*, the status of grammarian was celebrated with royal favor as early as 700.⁴¹ In the early years of the eighth century, the monastery at Bobbio (founded

³⁹ "And let schools be established in which boys may learn to read. Correct carefully the Psalms, the signs in writings (notas), the songs, the calendar, the grammar, in each monastery or bishopric." *Admonitio Generalis*, MGH Capit. 1, p. 53, "Therefore we exhort you not only to avoid neglecting the study of literature, but also...to study earnestly in order that you may be able more easily and more correctly to penetrate the mysteries of the divine Scriptures. Since, moreover images, tropes, and similar figures are found in the sacred pages, no one doubts that each one in reading these will understand the spiritual sense more quickly if previously he shall have been instructed in the mastery of letters." *Epistola de Litteris Colendis*, MGH Capit. No. 29, 1:79.

⁴⁰ As we shall see in Bede's work as well as in the *Anonymus ad Cuimnanum*. See pages 65-66.

⁴¹ He recounts the welcome of a grammarian to the court of Lombard king Cunincpert (d. 700), although Paul himself attests that the practice was not usual. "Eoque tempore floruit in arte

by the Irish) is often credited as the sole educator of pagan knowledge in northern Italy, from which period we find copies of grammars, metrical treatises, and pagan historians and philologists; a substantial number of these can be described as falling with the discipline of the linguistic arts.⁴² Although Paul the Deacon in the late eighth century is our earliest datable source as to the status of grammar at Monte Cassino, early manuscripts from Bobbio indicate a rather conflicting attitude towards grammar: at times erasing biblical texts in order to write grammatical treatises.⁴³ Other works indicate an active involvement with works of grammar: the text *Questiones enigmatum retoricae artis*, a series of short riddle poems, was unquestionably composed at Bobbio during the eighth century and was often inserted into manuscripts alongside Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*.⁴⁴ Other miscellaneous grammatical texts, such as the *Corpus gramaticorum*, were also preserved thanks to the efforts of the monastery.⁴⁵

But it was only the eighth century which witnessed the flourishing of classical educational styles, or rather, a marked surge in transcription and imitation as compared to prior centuries, particularly at the Pavian court. In terms of manuscript dissemination to the Frankish kingdoms, the exchange of manuscripts and overall learning between the Lombard and Frankish kingdoms can be traced to Charlemagne's father, Pippin III.⁴⁶ Charlemagne's conquest of the Lombards in 774 signified a merging of Frankish and Lombard learning within his

grammatica Fleix patruus Flaviani praeceptoris mei quem in tantum rex dilexit, ut ei baculum argent auroque decoratum inter reliqua suae largitatis munera condonaret." Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, VI 7, *MGH SS rer. Germ.* 48, p. 167. P. Riché, *Education and Culture in the barbarian West, from the sixth to the eighth century* (Columbia, South Carolina, 1978), p. 366.

⁴² Grammars from early eighth century Bobbio include Charisius, Servius (CLA III, 400), and Probus (CLA III, 388). P. Riché, *Education and Culture*, p. 404.

⁴³ See CLA III, 368-9, for Kings and CLA III nos. 396-7 for the Acts of the Apostles.

⁴⁴ *MGH Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, IV. 4.2-3, pp. 737-759. It was available or made known to the Carolingians at some point during the eighth century as it is listed within a library catalogue under Louis the Pious in the ninth century. The purpose of these riddle poems is rather enigmatic. Topics within the text are predominantly pedestrian ("de olla", "de sale") and may have been used as exercises to illustrate various kinds of speech for students. Isidore of Seville, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX* (ed.) W.M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911), p. xii.

⁴⁵ This is a grammatical text from the fifth century, possibly composed by the Italian Avitus. *Epistola LVII*, *MGH AA*, VI-2, pp. 85-6.

⁴⁶ P. Riché, 'Le renouveau culturel à la cour de Pépin III', *Francia* 2 (1974), p. 61.

court which included the arrival of a number of scholars (and manuscripts) from the region during these early years of Charlemagne's reign.⁴⁷ The first of Charlemagne's court scholars emerged from these newly conquered Italian territories, beginning to write for the Frankish king in the mid-770s. The Lombard scholar Paulinus of Aquileia (c. 735-802), who arrived at court around the year 776, became the king's master of grammar and was responsible for the composition of a number of poems and treatises.⁴⁸ His influence, alongside with other Italian scholars, notably Peter of Pisa and Paul the Deacon, comprise the significant Italian influences of the court's early years (prior to c. 786).⁴⁹ Paul the Deacon and Peter of Pisa were both responsible for composing grammars, based predominantly on one of the most popular received grammars from late antiquity, Donatus' (c. 350) *Ars Grammatica*.⁵⁰ Yet, both texts supplemented their commentaries on Donatus with a substantial amount of additional material (Paul's included a complete *Declinationes nominum* tract and an assortment of pronoun paradigms).⁵¹ Peter of Pisa, who had taught previously at Pavia, was the emperor's tutor in the subject of grammar (according to Einhard), and his grammatical contribution also displays a heavy reliance on Donatus' material but also trends in early medieval composition.⁵²

⁴⁷ D.A. Bullough, 'Charlemagne's court library revisited', *Early Medieval Europe* 12:4 (2003), p. 346. *Annales Regni Francorum, MGH SS rer. Germ.* 6, a. 774, p. 38.

⁴⁸ Paulinus, *Carmina, MGH Poetae 1*, pp. 126-147. The bibliography regarding the study of grammar within the Carolingian court is fairly extensive, particularly in terms of the contributions by Louis Holtz and Vivien Law. Vivien Law's contribution to the study of grammar within the early medieval period perhaps can best be encapsulated by her *Grammar and Grammarians in the Early Middle Ages* (New York, 1997). Louis Holtz's work on the Carolingians perhaps is best found in his: 'La grammaire carolingienne', *Histoire des idées linguistiques 2. Le développement de la grammaire occidentale*, (ed.) Sylvain Auroux (Liège, 1992), pp. 96-106.

⁴⁹ Paul the Deacon arrived at court in 782 to appeal to Charlemagne for the release of his brother, Arichis. Peter of Pisa, an important figure in the court of the Lombard Desiderius, arrived shortly after Charlemagne's conquest in 774. G. Brown, "The Carolingian Renaissance" in (ed.) R. McKitterick's *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, p. 29.

⁵⁰ This text was divided into two parts: the *Ars Major* and *Ars Minor*. It focused predominantly on the "structure" of language, such as the eight parts of speech, as well as various figures, such as tropes, allegories, metaphor, etc. Donatus, *Ars grammatica (Eclogae de libris grammaticorum)*, (ed.) J. Chittenden, *CCCM* (Turnhout: 1966), 40D.

⁵¹ We shall discuss the contributing influences of Donatus and other Roman grammatical treatises in depth in a subsequent section. V. Law, "The Study of Grammar" in (ed.) R. McKitterick, *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, p. 93.

⁵² "In discenda grammatica Petrum Pisanum diaconem senem audivit, in ceteris disciplinis Albinum cognomento Alcoinum, item diaconem, de Britannia Saxonici generis hominem, virum undecumque

These scholars also showed awareness of other late antique grammarians, such as Priscian (mid-sixth century) and his *Institutiones grammaticae*, which has been shown to have had a limited transmission history prior to this period, referenced by only two grammarians from the British Isles: Virgilius Maro Grammaticus and Aldhelm.⁵³ Such treatises as those of Donatus and Priscian reflected the standard Roman division of grammatical material: Donatus' encyclopedic reference works attempted to cover all the traditional areas of grammar and the rules of reading, dividing them according to rules or systematic guidelines.⁵⁴ Priscian, by contrast, reflects the work in the field of *regulae* treatises, those which provided guides to inflections (aspects not often covered by the encyclopedic works).⁵⁵ Paul the Deacon, considered an expert in classical Latin and the composer of the *Historia Langobardorum*, provided an edition of Festus' *De verborum significatu* (dedicated to Charlemagne) alongside his numerous other poems and homilies.⁵⁶ The influence of these Italian scholars marked the coalescing of the court literary and educational agenda and laid the foundation for much of the court's intellectual development; however, the relative brevity of both Paul the Deacon's and Peter of Pisa's presence at court⁵⁷ provided an opportunity for new avenues of influence from other regions of Europe, notably England (via Alcuin) and Spain (via Theodulf).⁵⁸ Grammar, as a scholastic discipline, may have clung to life within the Italian intellectual centres during this period, but the subject matter of these linguistic treatises shows little innovation, as G.L. Bursill-Hall commented, "...little work of any originality has

doctissimum, praeceptorem habuit, apud quem et rethoricae et dialecticae, praecipue tamen astronomiae ediscendae plurimum et temporis et laboris inpertivit." Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, *MGH SS rer. Germ.* 25, cap. 25, p. 30, ll. 10-15. *Grammatici Latini*, VIII (Leipzig, 1855-60), p. xxi.

⁵³ V. Law, *Grammars and Grammarians in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 39.

⁵⁴ M. Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture: "grammatica" and literary theory, 350-1100* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 56.

⁵⁵ Priscian, *Prisciani Caesariensis Institutio de nomine et pronomine et verbo*, (ed.) Marina Passalacqua (Urbino, 1992).

⁵⁶ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, *MGH SS rer. Germ.* 48, Books I-VI, pp. 29-240; also: *Carmina*. *MGH Poetae I*, pp. 35-86.

⁵⁷ Neither were at the court past 788. *MGH Concilia* ii/1, p. 130-42, 177-195 & *MGH Epist.* III, p. 600. D.A. Bullough, 'Aula Renovata: the Court before the Aachen Palace' in *Carolingian Renewal: sources and heritage* (Manchester, 1991), p. 131.

⁵⁸ L. Holtz, 'La grammaire carolingienne', pp. 99-100.

emerged (indeed if it ever existed), and...it would seem that grammarians of the time were content to repeat the arguments of the great Roman grammarians Donatus and Priscian”.⁵⁹ Grammar’s survival appears to have benefited from Italy’s continued intellectual traditions throughout the early middle ages; however, to what extent were these Roman educational texts altered? On the surface, it appears change was minimal.⁶⁰ Yet we cannot simply dismiss the early medieval period as a time of grammatical stagnation. Writers during this period make pointed emendations of late antique grammars, not least including the gradual substitution of Christian examples of grammatical topics for pagan ones, such as can be found in the late sixth-century Gaul text, the *Ars Asporii* (or *Asperii*). This text, a reworking of Donatus’ *Ars Minor*, contains a number of these examples in addition to a list of *alia similia* (“other similar words”) that referenced Christian grammatical examples.⁶¹

The multi-regional scholars at Charlemagne’s court demonstrated the comparative state of linguistic study throughout Europe.⁶² The relative “survival” of the Roman educational system and its *ars grammatica* in Italy provides significantly more information as to its intellectual tradition than that of other regions, notably Spain, represented at Charlemagne’s court by Theodulf of Orléans, an emigré from the Spanish March (perhaps Zargoza) who arrived at the Carolingian court prior to 793 (perhaps as early as 789 or 790).⁶³ Unlike the fairly well-established manuscript history for Italy, Theodulf represents one of our only

⁵⁹ G.L. Bursill-Hall, “The Middle Ages” in T.A. Sebeok (ed.), *Historiography of Linguistics* (=Current Trends in Linguistics 13) (Paris, 1975), p. 181.

⁶⁰ M. Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*, pp. 110-111. V. Law, *Grammar and Grammarians*, p. 75.

⁶¹ For example, the composer of the *Ars Asporii* replaces Donatus’ example of *Musa* (muse) with *ecclesia* (church). V. Law, *The Insular Latin Grammarians* (Woodbridge, 1982), p. 40f.

⁶² Manuscript evidence of the survival of late antique grammars also testify to the continued interest in grammar during this period. See the extensive work by Colette Jeudy in the bibliography for additional information.

⁶³ Judging from date of the composition of the *Opus Caroli regis contra Synodum*, authored by Theodulf (which we shall discuss in depth in Chapter Three) and the composition of his acrostic poetry, now found in Bern Burgerbibliothek 212, which we discuss in a subsequent section. See footnote 105 below. A. Freeman, “Theodulf of Orléans: A Visigoth at Charlemagne’s Court” in A. Freeman (ed.), *Theodulf of Orléans: Charlemagne’s Spokesman against the Second Council of Nicaea* (Ashgate, 2003), p. 187.

links to the survival of Spanish intellectual culture following the Arab and Berber invasion in 711.⁶⁴ In many cases, the best evidence for continuing Spanish manuscript culture (particularly in the north)⁶⁵ during this period is Theodulf's poem, *De Libris quos legere solebam* ("On the books I used to read").⁶⁶ The works cited by this poem, not to mention the additional breadth of sources employed by Theodulf throughout his work, reveal a scholar well-versed in the textual heritage of the classical and early medieval world, an educated background that would contribute to his involvement in the reshaping of the Carolingian textual world during the late 780s and 790s.⁶⁷ Within these verses, we find a heavy reliance on grammatical texts, indicative that the appreciation of the linguistic disciplines had carried on within Iberia during and after the Visigothic kingdom.

Specifically within the poem Theodulf cites Pompeius, a fifth century African grammarian responsible for the *Commentum Artis Donati*, testifying not only to the breadth of Donatus' influence in the early medieval world but also to Theodulf's background in the linguistic arts.⁶⁸ Pompeius' text was only one of a handful of those commentaries on Donatus (as we saw in Italy) which sought to "Christianize" the pagan material, providing the readers examples of verbal or noun structure from Scripture as opposed to classical literary texts.⁶⁹ Other prominent Spanish works reflect continual engagement with grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic, such as

⁶⁴ R. Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain, 710-797* (Oxford, 1989), p. 54.

⁶⁵ Theodulf is usually assumed to have been a native of northern Spain, perhaps Saragoza. This is based predominantly on his references to Spain within his court poetry, specifically his reference to Prudentius as *noster et ipse parens* which would suggest the region and his reference to the Septimanian/Spanish March region, identifying himself as an exiled native: *Annuit is mihi qui sum immensis casibus exul*. Theodulf, Carm 45, *MGH Poetae Latini* 1, p. 543, l. 16 & Carmen 23, *MGH Poetae Latini* 1, p. 481, l. 28.

⁶⁶ Theodulf, Carmen 45, *MGH Poetae Latini* 1, pp. 543-4.

⁶⁷ Writers listed include: Gregory (the Great), Augustine, Hilarius, Pope Leo, Jerome, Ambrose, Isidore, Cyprian, Sedulius Scottus, Paulinus, Arator, Avitus, Fortunatus, Juvenal, Prudentius, Pompeius, Donatus, and Virgil. Theodulf admits within the poem that this is only a partial list. Theodulf also represents a key link in the textual transmission history between Spain and Carolingian Francia, providing texts such as the pseudo-Augustine *Dialogue of 65 Questions*, Vigilius of Thapsus' *Dialogue against the Arians, Sabellians, and Phottinians*, and perhaps a Spanish edition of the biblical text. Theodulf, Carmen 45, *MGH Poetae Latini* 1, p. 543, ll. 3-18. R. Collins, "Poetry in ninth-century Spain", *Papers of the Latin Liverpool Seminar* 4 (1983), pp. 181-95.

⁶⁸ "Et modo Pompeium, modo te, Donante, legebam." Theodulf, Carmen 45, *MGH Poetae* 1, p. 543, l. 17.

⁶⁹ V. Law, *Grammars and Grammarians*, p. 56.

within Isidore of Seville's seventh-century *Etymologies* and Julian of Toledo's (d. 690) *Ars Grammatica*, yet another commentary on Donatus.⁷⁰ Spain's production of grammatical material was relatively well-known as attested by the manuscript evidence. Julian's *Ars* was already familiar to both Aldhelm and Bede in mid-eighth century Anglo-Saxon England and there is evidence that the text was in circulation among Carolingian monasteries and scriptoria in the ninth century.⁷¹ Examples of Julian's work in Frankish scriptoria, such as Fulda, also lend testimony to his continued circulation and prominence as a grammarian during the late eighth and early ninth centuries.⁷² The familiarity and prevalence of Isidore of Seville's work can also attest to the extent to which Spanish learning was familiar in literate circles across Europe. The manuscript evidence alone indicates this, as the oldest surviving example of Isidore's *Etymologies* was written in Ireland, quite apart from the numerous references to Isidore's work by European scholars.⁷³ Theodore of Canterbury, one example out of many, originally from Constantinople, cites various works of Isidore of Seville in his Leiden Glossary⁷⁴, including the *De ecclesiasticis officiis* (LdGl xxvi.1–13), *De natura rerum* (LdGl xxvii.1–33, xlv. 1–28), and the *Etymologiae* (LdGl xliii.23–6, 49–50).⁷⁵

But perhaps the best known Carolingian influence, both in terms of shaping

⁷⁰ Ascription to Julian of Toledo as the author of the seventh century Spanish work on grammar was controversial in the earlier part of the twentieth century. That debate has died down; however, regardless of the real author of the text, Julian's authority was assured in Spain during the eighth century and later. J.N. Hillgarth, "St. Julian of Toledo in the Middle Ages", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, Vol. 21: 1/2 (Jan.-June 1958), p. 10.

⁷¹ Seven manuscripts are known of the *Ars Grammatica*, including a ninth century edition, destroyed in 1944, at Chartres 92 (47). J.N. Hillgarth, "St. Julian of Toledo" p. 10. W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), p. 146.

⁷² Although not many manuscripts from the late eighth century contain Julian's work, his *Ars Grammatica* can be found in Gotha, Landesbibl. MBR II 193 (CLA 1210), which appears to be a product of Fulda from this period.

⁷³ St. Gall 1399 a.I. (CLA 7.995). B. Bischoff, "Manuscripts in the Early Middle Ages", p. 4.

⁷⁴ Unfortunately the original version of this text does not survive. The copy Michael Lapidge relies on is a St. Gall manuscript from c. 800 (Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. lat. Q. 69, fos. 20r–36r). He discusses the work in depth in his "The School of Theodore and Hadrian" *Anglo-Saxon England* 15 (1985), pp. 45–72.

⁷⁵ Citations are from Hessels' edition of the Leiden Glossary. J.H. Hessels (ed.), *A Late Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary* (Cambridge, 1906). M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 175–6. M. Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (Cambridge, 1994).

the educational programme of the Empire and as a transmitter of knowledge and manuscripts from the Anglo-Saxon tradition, was Alcuin of York. As the head of Charlemagne's court school⁷⁶ and a confidant and tutor to Charlemagne and his family, Alcuin's legacy was the shaping of this court, and to a wider extent, the entirety of the Carolingian Empire under a new programme of literacy and textual reform. The large corpus of his writing reveals a complex picture of a man extremely well-traveled and well-connected at the highest levels of early medieval Frankish politics.⁷⁷ Alcuin's contact with insular (with his education at York) and Frankish communities (both at the royal court and the monastery of Tours) places him at the centre of the *mélange* of religious, political, and educational developments of the period. It is through an examination of his works that we can see the foundations of Carolingian *correctio*. His work reflects the combination of the inheritance of classical (read: pagan) education, specifically the grammatical texts, with that of the emergent Christian literary styles, influenced heavily by the patristic fathers, acquired through the lens that defined Anglo-Saxon learning during the eighth century.

Alcuin's arrival at the Carolingian court signifies the renewed contact and intellectual exchange between the continent and Anglo-Saxon England at the end of the eighth century. His work at the Carolingian court is representative of the manuscript and educational culture within eighth-century Anglo-Saxon England and its influence on the continent. Although seemingly cut off geographically from the rest of Europe, seventh- and eighth-century England featured a wealthy manuscript culture, based in no small part to the continuous interaction between the Continent and the insular educated clergy. Due to the numerous travels (twelve

⁷⁶ A court "school" (although the term implies far more of an institutional status than is probably strictly accurate) had been in existence since the early years of Charlemagne's reign but was devoted overwhelmingly to the cultivation of the "aristocratic lifestyle". Alcuin is generally credited for moving the goals of the school to that of reading, writing, and contemplation of Scripture. Bullough, 'Aula Renovata: the Court before the Aachen Palace', p. 124.

⁷⁷ Alcuin's letters in particular describe his numerous travels back to Anglo-Saxon England as well as his ongoing communications with not only Charlemagne, but his sister Gisela, living at the nunnery at Chelles, and his daughters Rostrude and Bertha. See Alcuin, Epistolae 164, 241, 15, 154, 84, and 216, MGH *Epistolae Karolingi Aevi* 2.

in total) to Rome by Benedict Biscop (ca. 628-690), Ceolfrid (ca. 642- 714), and Wilfrid (ca. 633-709) during the seventh century, the libraries of England benefitted from their continuing appropriation of texts available in Rome, and more generally, Italy.⁷⁸ This programme adhered to Benedict's commandment that "the large and noble library which he had brought from Rome and which was necessary for the edification of his church, was to be kept entire and neither to be damaged by neglect nor dispersed".⁷⁹ Such actions would result in the substantial libraries of Anglo-Saxon England (including those at Wearmouth-Jarrow and York).⁸⁰ But those texts chosen to be brought to England had resonance for future generations of English scholars. With no library catalogue from such an early date we cannot know with any accuracy exactly which texts became known in Britain thanks to Benedict's travels; however, the conspicuous lack of pagan authors (among other notable lacunae, including Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae*) within Anglo-Saxon writers such as Bede (673-735) implies the degree of Benedict's selectivity.⁸¹

There is one clear exception to this apparent dismissal of pagan literary contributions in Anglo-Saxon England: that of grammatical material. Just as we have seen elsewhere in Europe, there was evident access to Donatus and other late antique grammarians, such as within Bede's *De Orthographia* and his *De schematibus et tropis*, predominantly a collection of excerpted material.⁸² Bede's acceptance and promotion of pagan authors in this field are clear, as are his

⁷⁸ Biscop was abbot and founder of the Wearmouth-Jarrow monastery. Ceolfrid was one of the first members of the monastery and succeeded Biscop as abbot. Wilfrid, bishop of Northumbria, studied at Lindisfarne and was a participant at the Synod of Whitby (ca. 664). W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the eighth century*, p. 43.

⁷⁹ *Historia abbatum Bedae*, Chapt. 11, ed. C. Plummer, *Venerabilis Bedae opera historica*, 2 vols. (1896).

⁸⁰ J. Story, *Carolingian Connections, Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia, c. 750-870* (Aldershot, 2003), p. 38; Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, c. 2, 11.

⁸¹ Bede's first hand knowledge of pagan authors appears quite limited, perhaps only to part of Pliny's *Encyclopedia* and Christian commentators on grammatical treatises. His knowledge of Boethius remains unsubstantiated. The extent to which Alcuin was aware of Boethius' *Consolatio* prior to his arrival at the Carolingian court also remains disputed. D.A. Bullough, 'Roman Books and Carolingian *renovatio*' in his *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage*, (Manchester, 1991), p. 4.

⁸² Who himself probably read Donatus via the commentary of Servius. Servius, *De Arte Grammatica*. *GL* Vol. IV, (ed.) Mommsen (1864). Bede. *De Orthographia*, PL 90: 123-150. Bede, *De arte metrica: de rythmo*. PL 90: 173d; Bede, *De schematibus et tropis*, Kendall (ed.), CCSL 123A (1975), pp. 81-171.

attempts to marry Christian exegetical tradition with that of the linguistic discipline. This was a tradition that clearly subscribed to Isidore's elevation of grammar as the *origo* to all disciplines.⁸³ Certainly this view was shared by his predecessors, Jerome, Augustine, and Cassiodorus alike, who saw not only the pedagogical application for the discipline, but intellectual and exegetical potential as well.⁸⁴ Bede's promotion of grammar was based on its wide application to all spiritual issues, as it encapsulated the art of letters, considered to be the focal point of Christian learning and education.⁸⁵ Close study of the "form" of the text could be, for Bede, a form of Scriptural exegesis or spiritual contemplation; a perspective evident in his discussions on the structure of various books of the Bible: "They say that the song of Deuteronomy and Psalms 118 and 144 are written in this kind of metre. For they affirm that the blessed book of Job was written in simple hexameters."⁸⁶ Bede certainly advocated the importance of grammar within a Christian education, particularly in reference to the interpretation of Scripture (as a text).⁸⁷ Yet Bede's writing lacks any discussion of the application of grammar to a specifically Augustinian/Aristotelian use of language as a means to investigate abstract ontological questions.

What defines these approaches to grammar is the importance accorded the "building blocks" of language: dividing the complexity of language into its smallest identifiable forms (e.g. the letter, the noun, etc.). The works of Donatus and Priscian

⁸³ As discussed in his *Etymologiae* (which was circulating widely in England at the time). Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, I.i.iv.

⁸⁴ M. Irvine, "Bede the grammarian and the scope of grammatical studies in eighth-century Northumbria" *Anglo Saxon England* 15 (1986), p. 17.

⁸⁵ Bede, *De Orthographia*, PL 90: 123-150.

⁸⁶ "Quo genere metri ferunt canticum Deuteronomii apud Hebreos, set et psalmos CXVIII et CXLIII esse scriptos. Namque librum beati Job simplici exámetro scriptum esse asseuerant" Bede, *De Arte Metrica*, (ed.) Kendall, p. 110. He is paraphrasing Cassiodorus here. Cassiodorus, *Exp. Psalmos*, 118.2-26. M. Irvine, 'Bede the Grammarian', p. 34.

⁸⁷ "Solet aliquoties in Scripturis ordo verborum causa decoris aliter quam vulgaris via dicendi habet figuratus inveniri. Quod grammatici Graece schema vocant, nos habitum vel formam vel figuram recte nominamus, quia per hoc quodam modo vestitur et ornatur oratio." Bede, *De arte metrica*, (ed.) Kendall, pp. 142-3. This could be construed as an early form of the renewed discipline of *disputatio*, or perhaps even a speculative grammar found in the later medieval period. These fields, which also appropriated material from the classical philosophers, used the senses as a means of gaining a more thorough understanding of both language and metaphysics. L.G. Kelly, *The Mirror of Grammar: Theology, Philosophy, and the Modistae* (Amsterdam, 2002), p. 25.

emphasize this intensive examination of language; however both authors had been “Christianized” in the numerous commentaries made since their work first appeared. Although this quelled the fears of those who still could not find a place for secular disciplines within a Christian framework, these treatises also were almost entirely bereft of any link to philosophy or logic.⁸⁸ During the seventh century, it was Isidore of Seville in the *Etymologiae* who began the process of incorporating the philosophical disciplines (namely logic) with those of the linguistic: as we see, for Isidore, logic is a verbal discipline, an *ars disserendi*, taking its name from the Greek because it “discusses things which are said.”⁸⁹

Looking at the emphasis placed on the “structures” of language within the encyclopedic texts of those such as Donatus and Priscian, we see a growing acknowledgement of the form of language (broken up into categorical rules and guidelines) during this period.⁹⁰ These trends are of course demonstrative of the growing acceptance of non-Christian literary traditions; however, it also marks a mounting conflation of philosophy, Christianity, and textual culture. The increased “philosophy” or currents regarding the underlying meaning and semiotics of language must also be acknowledged as a growing trend, particularly in terms of the work of Martianus Capella and, of course, the translated texts of classical philosophy (namely those of Aristotle).⁹¹ Certainly by the end of late antiquity with the contribution of Boethius, the relationship between philosophy and language was growing ever closer; however, widespread incorporation of these features into

⁸⁸ We refer here specifically to the Christian written tradition. Exceptions within the pagan traditionally obviously include Martianus Capella (b. ca. 420 in North Africa), whom we discuss below.

⁸⁹ Isidore. *Etymologiae*, II, 22, 2 “Aristoteles ad regulas quasdam huius doctrinae argumenta perduxit, et dialecticam nuncupavit, pro eo quod in ea de dictis disputatur.”

⁹⁰ Donatus, *Ars grammatica (Eclogae de libris grammaticorum)*, (ed.) J. Chittenden, *CCSM* 40d (Turnhout, 1966). Priscian, *Institutiones Grammaticae*, GL II-III (1864).

⁹¹ Martianus Capella, a Roman writer working in Africa during the fifth century. His most famous work, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (“On the Marriage of Philology and Mercury”) was an examination of the liberal arts as an elaborate didactic allegory. He was also responsible for composing a short grammatical text, *De Grammatica*. Not well known in the seventh century, his work can be found only in references in the *Anonymus ad Cuimnanum* and minor quotations in Tatwine. V. Law, *Grammar and Grammarians*, p. 122. V. Law, *Insular Latin Grammarians*, p. 23. & D. Shanzer, “Tatwine: an independent witness to the text of Martianus Capella’s *De Grammatica*?”, *Revista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 112 (1984), pp. 292-313.

Christian spirituality had not yet materialized within the written tradition on a pan-European scale.

Within much of the work from the classical period, mastering the structure of language leads to comprehension of the various levels of meanings contained therein. The ability for each letter or word to signify a variety of parallel meanings can be found throughout the work of the Carolingian court: not only in the grammatical treatises, but also in literary demonstrations adhering to this linguistic sign theory. As we shall see, examples of poetry from the Carolingian court demonstrate to what extent this grounding in grammatical structure enabled one to use the “signs” of language for oneself.

Before we examine the grammatical and philosophical work of Alcuin and the other Carolingian scholars in the 780s and 790s in depth, we first should examine some of the earliest known poetry from Theodulf and Alcuin following their arrival at court.⁹² It is within these early literary efforts we see the beginning of a career-long obsession with the nature of written language and its ability to reflect physical reality but also convey abstract meaning.

Acrostic Poetry

All powerful lord and giver of peace for all time,
Speaking thunderously to the world from the hilltops, giving the
dew of a nourishing gift,
For you are the origin of light, creator, great redeemer,
O celebrated one, the founder of all things by a noble act,
With the divine virtue of a king you are skilled in the land,
Having been set apart from all others, the creating enricher of an icy
abyss.⁹³

Thus begins Theodulf's panegyric to Charlemagne and marks the earliest

⁹² Alcuin's arrival is now presumed to be not much earlier than 786, while Theodulf's perhaps was a bit (but not much) later, probably c. 788-790. Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 214.

⁹³ Omnipotens domine et pacis donator in aevum,/Mundi ex arce tonans, rorem dans muneris almi,/Nam tu es lucis, origo, creator, magne redemptor,/Inclyte cunctarum rerum excelso sator actu,/Aetheria virtute regis tu climmata sollers,/Cuncta dicata creans gelidi ditator abyssi. Theodulf, Carmen 23, *MGH Poetae I*, pg. 480. lin. 1-7. P. Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* (London, 1985), p. 145.

written example of the Visigothic scholar's presence at the Carolingian court.⁹⁴ As arguably the earliest evidence of Theodulf's activity in the Frankish kingdom, this poem not only demonstrates the burgeoning literary culture associated with the court at this time, but also provides a more general introduction to the evolving relationship between text and image within Carolingian society, one fostered by the renewal of classical literary genres. Written as an acrostic⁹⁵, this panegyric appears alongside other late antique and Carolingian examples of the same visually rich poetic genre within one manuscript, Bern Burgerbibliothek 212.⁹⁶ The poems contained within the manuscript are those by the late antique poet, Porphyrius (fourth century), Theodulf, Alcuin, and Alcuin's Irish pupil, Josephus.⁹⁷ The resurgence of this format during the Carolingian period acts as a catalyst for our discussion as to the inheritance of the classical liberal arts during the late eighth century. Yet it also reflects the increasingly complex relationship between text and image and the overall Carolingian understanding of both the composition of language (i.e. grammatical structure, orthography, etc.) and its role as a conveyor of both signs of "things" (*res*) and abstract "symbols" (*symbolum*).⁹⁸ Here we see not only the appropriation of a classical genre, but also the application of Aristotelian,

⁹⁴ Information regarding Theodulf's early career and emigration from northern Spain is almost entirely absent from the sources, apart from his own references to his Visigothic lineage within several of his poems and treatises. We shall be discussing the date of the acrostic manuscript (Bern Burgerbibliothek 212) in subsequent sections (as it has been a subject of scholarly debate); however, it does pre-date any other known work of Theodulf at the court. E. Dahlhaus-Berg, *Nova antiquitas et antiqua novitas: Typologische Exegese und isidorianisches Geschichtsbild bei Theodulf von Orléans* (Köln & Vienna, 1975), p. 81.

⁹⁵ Also known as figure poems or *carmina figurata* or *Figurengedicht*, or in reference to classical usage, *technopaegnon* (which now has the connotation of figurative or shaped poems). D. Schaller, *Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Frühmittelalters*, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters II (Stuttgart, 1995), p. 88.

⁹⁶ The manuscript is ascribed to the first few years of the ninth century; however, the poems themselves are from an earlier period, as will be discussed. D.A. Bullough, "Charlemagne's court" p. 348. & 'Aula renovata: The Court before the Aachen Palace', p. 140-1; W. Braunfels et al., *Karl der Grosse: Werk und Wirkung* (Duusseldorf, 1965), p. 290; D. Schaller, 'Die Karolingsichen Figurengedichte des Cod. Bern. 212', in (ed.) H. R. Jauss, *Medium Aevum vivum; Festschrift für Walther Bulst*, (Heidelberg, 1960), p. 22.

⁹⁷ Frustratingly little is known about this writer, purported to be a student of Alcuin and Colcu's, abbot of Inishboffin. He is the recipient of several letters of Alcuin, which indicate his presence in England ca. 790. Alcuin, Epist. 7 & 8, *MGH Epp.* 4, pp. 32-3; Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement*, p. 343

⁹⁸ As adhering to the definition of language, signs, and symbols as discussed earlier in the chapter. R. Markus, 'St Augustine on Signs', p. 79. See footnote 6 above.

Stoic, and Augustinian perspectives on the use of the physical form of language and its ability to transmit ulterior truth or meaning. By definition, the acrostic is a poetic form dependent on a physical form: its visual form allows a myriad of ways of “reading” the text. Each letter may be used multiple times to create the various lines of the poem. Such a format encourages the blend of form and meaning to language, a rising concern at the Carolingian court.

With this background in mind, let us turn to the Bern 212 manuscript and the acrostic poetry of Alcuin, Josephus Scottus, and Theodulf. The manuscript today is divided into two components, commonly referred to as Parts I and II.⁹⁹ The first part (folios 1-110) contains a copy of the second book of the *Institutiones* of Cassiodorus (fols. 2^r - 89^v), a short text on the four elements (fol. 89^v - 91^r), an excerpt from Augustine (91^r - 108^r), and a short treatise on the four winds, taken mostly from Isidore’s *De Natura Rerum* (108^r - 109^r), all composed during the second half of the ninth century, probably at St. Amand or Mainz.¹⁰⁰ The second part of the manuscript (fols. 111-126), written separately by three distinct hands, was later appended to the preceding texts (probably during the 16th century), and contains Porfyrius’ acrostics (fols. 111^r – 122^v), indeed, twenty-four out of the twenty-six total poems attributed to him. This is followed by seven Carolingian acrostics (fols. 123^r – 126^r), four by Josephus, two by Alcuin, and one by Theodulf.¹⁰¹ All of the poems are predominantly written in black, with interspersing red ink to demarcate an intended design (e.g. cross, etc.).¹⁰² The Carolingian poems are arranged in the following order:

⁹⁹ O. Homburger, *Die Illustrierten Handschriften der Burgerbibliothek Bern: Die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften* (Bern, 1962), p. 85-6, 162.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

¹⁰¹ Only Poems XIX and XXIV are excluded. I have adopted Migne’s numbering system to refer to Porfyrius’ work. PL 19: 395-431. D. Schaller, “Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Frühmittelalters” *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, Vol. 2 (Stuttgart, 1995), p. 28; D. A. Bullough. *Alcuin*, p. 372; O. Homburger, *Die Illustrierten Handschriften*, p. 162; M. Garrison, “The emergence of Carolingian Latin Literature and the court of Charlemagne, in R. McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge: 1994), p. 122.

¹⁰² This rubrication had been used since at least the time of Porfyrius. Reference to the redness of the ink is made in Alcuin’s poem *Crux decus es mundi*, which plays on the imagery of Christ’s blood on the Cross. C. Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 15.

Folio	Incipit	Authorship	MGH No.
Fol. 123 ^r	Crux decus es mundi	Alcuin	A 6
Fol. 123 ^v	Primus auus uiuens	Josephus	J 3
Fol. 124 ^r	Dic, o Carle, putas	Josephus	J 4
Fol. 124 ^v	Vita salus uirtus	Josephus	J 5
Fol. 125 ^r	Inclyta si cupias	Josephus	J 6
Fol. 125 ^v	Magna quidem pauido	Alcuin	A 7
Fol. 126 ^r	Omnipotens domine	Theodulf	T 23

Dating this acrostic portion of the manuscript has proven to be a particularly thorny issue. The manuscript's *tituli* for the poems attributed to Alcuin and Theodulf refer to their titles acquired late in life (*abbas* for Alcuin, referring to his tenure at Tours between 796 and his death in 804 and *episcopus* for Theodulf, referring to his bishopric in Orleans acquired ca. 798).¹⁰³ Also, as Josephus, Alcuin's pupil, is reported to have died ca. 791 (and had left the court around 790), this moves the probable composition date earlier and suggests an earlier, now lost, original manuscript.¹⁰⁴ As Alcuin's arrival at court is now estimated to have been no earlier than 786 which cannot be later than Theodulf's, this leaves us with a probable date of composition of these poems between approximately 787 and 790, one accepted by both D.A. Bullough and Dietrich Schaller.¹⁰⁵ The evidence for the

¹⁰³ Each *titulus* appears on the top of the folio containing the poem. Alcuin, Carmen 6, *MGH Poetae* 1, p. 224. D. Schaller, 'Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung', p. 34.

¹⁰⁴ This is circumstantial evidence as we have no external data regarding Joseph's career at court. However, a letter from Alcuin ca. 791 to Remedius of Chur (d. 820) alludes to the fact that Joseph was already dead. Alcuin, *MGH Ep. IV*, no. 77, p. 118; D. Schaller, 'Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Frühmittelalters', p. 38; D. A. Bullough. *Alcuin*, p. 372 and 451; O. Homburger, *Die Illustrierten Handschriften*, p. 162; M. Garrison, 'The emergence of Carolingian Latin Literature', p. 122.

¹⁰⁵ Ann Freeman dates Theodulf's arrival at the Carolingian court no later than 793, when he was composing the final elements of the *Opus Caroli regis contra Synodum* at Regensburg, where the court was continuously in residence from Christmas 791 to autumn 793. A. Freeman, 'Theodulf of Orléans:

Bern 212 manuscript indicates that this manuscript is not the original edition of these poems, compiled probably at either St. Amand or Mainz no earlier than 796.

Acrostic poetry can be found in both Greek and Roman poetry from a fairly early date.¹⁰⁶ Although it does not appear to have been an overly popular style, prominent examples of it by Virgil, Ovid, and Martial indicate its continued usage in classical poetry. Porphyrius, writing in the mid-fourth century as a *praefectus urbi* under the Emperor Constantine, is usually recognized as the last late antique poet to employ the style prior to the early middle ages within the context of the Roman Empire.¹⁰⁷ Venantius Fortunatus (died ca. 600), writing a few hundred years later, was one of the few early medieval poets to adopt the style until its resurgence in the Carolingian period.¹⁰⁸ A copy of his 11-book collection of his verse (including a number of acrostics) was widely available throughout the early medieval period and often imitated by Carolingian writers.¹⁰⁹ His demonstrable influence can be found throughout the work of our three writers and will become relevant when we discuss elements of both style and subject. Apart from his work, prior to the Carolingian period, there were few extant attempts to revitalize the style. In the seventh century, Ansbert of St.-Wandrille (also known as Ansbert of Rouen), a Frankish bishop, composed a type of acrostic (in which the poem is “shaped” into a cross), while later in the early eighth century Boniface included a type of picture poem at the beginning of his “Grammar”, written presumably before he left Britain for the

A Visigoth at Charlemagne’s Court’ in her *Theodulf of Orléans: Charlemagne’s Spokesman against the Second Council of Nicaea* (Aldershot, 2003), p. 186-7. D. Schaller, “Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Frühmittelalters”, p. 38. D. A. Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 372.

¹⁰⁶ N.W. Helm, ‘The Carmen Figuratum as shown in the works of Publilius Optatianus Porphyrius’, in Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Annual Session of the American Philological Association at Schenectady, New York, July 1902 *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, Vol. 33 (1902) p. xliii.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p. xlv.

¹⁰⁸ Fortunatus’ poems are found today in the following manuscripts: Cod. Sangall. 196; Stiftsbibliothek St Gallen, 10th c., f. 38-39; Cod. lat. 9347, BN Paris, fol., 83r, 83v, 102v; Cod. Lat. 8312 BN Paris, fol. 21v, 22r, Cod. C 74 Sup., Biblioteca Ambrosiana Milano, fol. 6v, 7r. Ulrich Ernst, *Carmen Figuratum* (Vienna, 1991), p. 149. P. Godman, *Poets and Emperors: Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 1-40.

¹⁰⁹ On the manuscripts and circulation of Fortunatus, see G. Glauche, *Schüllektüre im Mittelalter, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung* 5 (Munich, 1970), pp. 5-6.

continent, seen below:¹¹⁰

Versibus en iuuenis durant et carmina cantu
Ymnos namque dei y m n i c a dicta uiri
Nisibus eximiis r e nouantis carmina lector
Flumina namque pius frangere iudicii
Remina temporibus torquebit torribus et sub
Excelsi fatu omnia saecla diu
Tuta tentent iuste pariter tum tania scanctis
Hic dabitur regi aurea hacque pii
Per caeli campos stipabunt pace tribunal
Regnantes laudant limpida regna simul
Impia perpetuae ut dam nenturgaudi a vitae
Sordida in terris spernere gesta viri
Cantumest ut numquam defleat supplicia c a s s u
Omnes gentiles I mpi origo magog
R e g m i n aut perdantparit E r sub tartara t r u s i
U n u s nempe deu S saeculacunctasu i s
M irifico absoluens U itima tradidit amni
Diues in arte S ua omnia sancta gradu
Uictor nam Jesus X cristus sicque ordinat actu
Dapsilis in pastis be R nis tua fata dicanda
Deuotis conced tibi I cum laudibus idtu
Omnipotens genitor fac no S tro in pectore pon i
C a s t a suum resonans rec T orem ut lingua c a n t e t
O deus in solio i U dex regnator o l i m p i
N u m i n a namquetuum mon S trant persaecula n o m e n
Gentib; in uastis caelebrant et gaudia mira
Edite in terris saluasti secla r e d e m p t o r
Spiritus aethralem tibi laudem splendidus aptet
Subiciens hominem et perlustrans lumina terrae
Egregium regem gnatum praeconia faustum
Ruricolae iugiter dicant cum carmine c l a r a
Almoque feruens gremio signabat a b i s a g
Totum quadradiens constat sapientia iusti
Architenens altor qui s i d e r a clara gubernas
Rurigenae praesta ut certus solamina possit
Tradere per sacras scripturas grammate doctor
Excerptus prisco puerorum indaginis usu
Magna patri et proli cum flamine gratia dicam

¹¹⁰ For Ansebert of St.-Wandrill (or Rouen), see *MGH SS. Rer. Merov.* 5. 541. Boniface's attempts can be found in *MGH Poetae* 1, 17f. Boniface also describes the poem in a letter to Sigebert in *MGH Epist.* 4, p. 565 i. W. Levison, *England and the Continent.* p. 145; D. Schaller, 'Die Karolingsichen Figurengedichte', p. 24.

Yet these poems are isolated incidents, without any explicit textual reference to either Porfyrius or the classical model of the *carmen figuratum*.¹¹¹ Lack of adherence to standard acrostic form (for example, using the same number of letters within each of the verses) also has led many scholars, particularly Dietrich Schaller, not to consider these as true examples of the continuation of the genre.¹¹² Despite the lack of employment of Porfyrius' style during this period, there was demonstrable awareness and even preservation of copies of Porfyrius' poems in Anglo-Saxon England during the seventh and eighth century, even if they were denounced as "pagan".¹¹³

While demonstrable awareness of Porfyrius' and Fortunatus' poetic styles can be shown for both Anglo-Saxon England and areas of Gaul during this period (which explains both Alcuin and Josephus' knowledge of the style), Theodulf remains a rather enigmatic contributor to the Bern 212 manuscript. As we have already illustrated, Spanish textual culture suffers from a lack of extant sources, providing scholars with little concrete information as to the state of learning and manuscript transmission following 711. Again, we are reliant upon Theodulf's list of sources within his poetry as indicators of the early medieval holdings of Spanish libraries. While Porfyrius is not mentioned in Theodulf's poem, Venantius Fortunatus is clearly cited.¹¹⁴ Even if Porfyrius was not known to Theodulf prior to his arrival at the Carolingian court, it is clear he had been reintroduced to Spain by the ninth

¹¹¹ In that they do not explicitly refer to Porfyrius or employ any of his forms or subject matters.

¹¹² D. Schaller, 'Die Karolingsichen Figurengedichte', p. 24.

¹¹³ W. Levison attributes the Carolingian awareness of Porfyrius to be the result of the Anglo-Saxon tradition, probably via Alcuin. An Anglo-Saxon copy of his poems is catalogued within Lorsch during the ninth century, which lists its contents as "metrum Porfili" which Levison, and earlier Gustave Becker, have taken to mean Porfyrius. Why Alcuin is accredited with responsibility of having taken this copy to the continent is unknown. It appears that Fulda also had an edition of Porfyrius' poems but there is no evidence that any attempt to reinvigorate the style was made at the monastery prior to the ninth century. The dismissal of Porfyrius' poetry is a subject we shall touch on later, particularly in the context of Bede. W. Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 145. G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn, 1885), pp. 110 (no. 422), p. 123 (no. 78).

¹¹⁴ "Cura decens patrum nec erat postrema piorum,/Quorum sunt subter nomina scripta, vide:/Sedulius rutilus, Paulinus, Arator, Avitus,/Et Fortanatus, tuque, Iuence tonans." Theodulf, *Carmen 45*, *MGH Poetae 1*, pp. 543, ll. 11-13, (trans.) P. Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*, pp. 168-71.

century, for the life of Eulogius, the mid-9th century martyr of Cordoba, clearly recounts his enjoyment of Porfyrius' poems, having encountered them in a monastery near Pamplona.¹¹⁵

The Bern manuscript is an early example of Carolingian writers explicitly adopting an established classical and late antique style, paying homage in a sense to a classical writer of the form (by placing Porfyrius' poems first) and then placing their own attempts at the style in the following folios.¹¹⁶ While Fortunatus' importance in terms of influence on the Carolingian poets in general should not be understated, the choice of using Porfyrius (the more "classical" poet?) rather than Fortunatus' work, to which they had clear access, is something to note.¹¹⁷ In more general terms, the resurgence of this poetic format speaks to the wider appropriation of secular learning within a Christian context during the late eighth and early ninth centuries. The level of linguistic complexity within Porfyrius' poems and the mirrored efforts by Alcuin, Josephus, and Theodulf both attest to the exploration of the malleability of language. A brief comparison of Porfyrius and that of the writers of the Bern manuscript demonstrates the extent to which they were imitative not only of the acrostic's form but also of its function (as a multi-layered word "puzzle"), as we shall see shortly.

Of course, these acrostics do not represent the earliest examples of poetry within the Carolingian court. Prior to both the arrival of Alcuin and Theodulf of Orleans, Paul the Deacon and Peter of Pisa had contributed a number of poems in

¹¹⁵ "Inde secum librum Civitatis beatissimi Agustini et Eneidos Vergilii sive Iubenalis metricos itidem libros atque Flacci saturata poemata seu Porfirii depincta opuscula vel Aldhelemi epigramatum opera necnon et Abieni Fabule metrice et Ymorum catholicorum fulgida carmina...reportavit." This is described in the *Vita Eulogii* written by Eulogius' friend Alvar and a letter Eulogius wrote ca. 851 to Wiliesind, Bishop of Pamplona. Alvarus, *Vita Eulogii*, J. Gil, (ed.), *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabiorum* Vol. II (Madrid, 1973), pp. 497-503. *Sancti Eulogii archiepiscopi Teletani et Martyris*. PL 115: 712c. There is some debate as to where Eulogius encountered these texts. R. Wright, 'Poetry in Ninth-Century Spain', *Papers of the Latin Liverpool Seminar* Vol. 4 (1983), p. 183.

¹¹⁶ As Bern 212 is not the original manuscript, there is no way of knowing whether the original edition contained examples of Porfyrius' poetry. We will discuss in subsequent sections whether the original poems could have used Fortunatus exclusively as a model.

¹¹⁷ M. Garrison, 'Carolingian Latin Literature' in R. McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, p. 115.

honour of Charles or his family during the 770s and 780s. Paul composed epitaphs for Queen Hildegarda (d. 783) and two of her daughters who died in infancy.¹¹⁸ Yet the presence of poetry at a royal court was not such an uncommon phenomenon to demarcate the presence of these poets particularly as a shift in appreciation towards education and literary output on its own merit. Venantius Fortunatus had joined the entourage of King Sigebert of Austrasia in the mid-560s, composing a succession of panegyrics when given the chance.¹¹⁹ Merovingian courts had also attracted literate men, such as St. Audoin, bishop of Rouen (c. 609-686), St. Eligius (d. 660), and St. Desiderius (c. 655), but this could not be called a sustained literary output. Perhaps the most lasting “literary” court was that at Pavia, within the Lombard kingdom, but this succumbed to Charlemagne’s military agenda in 774.¹²⁰

New attempts at classical or late antique styles can be found elsewhere, beyond these acrostics. The poetry of Charlemagne’s scholastic circle shows an immediate revitalization of many of the metric elements that had decreased or faded altogether in the general decline of the Roman school system throughout the past few centuries.¹²¹ There was a general increase of rhythmic verse; narrative or elegaic poetry was, for the first time on such a widespread scale, adapted for sacred or didactic use.¹²² Imitations of classical styles were widespread: beyond acrostic poetry, imitative examples can be found of other genres. Paul the Deacon, for example, famously attempted Sapphic metre, while Peter of Pisa infused his verses dedicated to Charlemagne with humour, a poetic technique last used with any regularity by Fortunatus.¹²³ The riddle poems exchanged between Peter, Paul, and Charlemagne attest to poetry’s high status at court and the relative freedom of

¹¹⁸ Paul the Deacon, *Die Gedichte Paulus Diaconus: kritische und erklärende Ausgabe*, (ed.) Karl Neff (Munich, 1908), nos. xxvi-xxviii, xxiv, xxv.

¹¹⁹ P. Godman, *Poets and Emperors*, p. 14.

¹²⁰ M. Garrison, ‘Carolingian Latin Literature’, p. 117.

¹²¹ R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms Under the Carolingians* (London, 1983), p. 162.

¹²² Such as seen in the work of Paul the Deacon, Arno of Salzburg, among others. P. Godman, *Poetry*, p. 6.

¹²³ R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms*, p. 163. M. Garrison, ‘Carolingian Latin Literature’, p. 117.

style, open to interpretation and innovation.¹²⁴

But the acrostic poetry seen in Bern 212 conveys a slightly different agenda from other courtly examples. The Latin proficiency and complexity required to undertake a poem in the “true” Porfyrian style was substantial, and the seven poems show a commitment to an accurate rendering of the acrostic, as opposed to other simplified attempts at the style (such as we saw in Boniface and Ansbert).¹²⁵ Both Alcuin and Theodulf demonstrate their poetic prowess in other, perhaps more “usual” poetic formats elsewhere.¹²⁶ Although their acrostic poetry may fall within a larger genre of courtly literary productions, the use of the acrostic itself demonstrates a willingness to engage with and explore language as a semiotic system. The adherence to this format, more so than any of the other received classical poetic genres, reinforced the transition underway at the Carolingian court: a new appreciation for language as a complex system composed of malleable constituent parts. No doubt this resurgence was due to the prominence of late antique grammar texts, who encouraged their readers (such as Alcuin and Theodulf) to look at language in terms of its smallest constituent part. These acrostics represent the culmination of that approach to language, one that we will see mirrored in Alcuin and Theodulf’s attitude toward Scripture. But first, let us examine the linguistic complexities in both acrostic styles, Porfyrian and Carolingian.

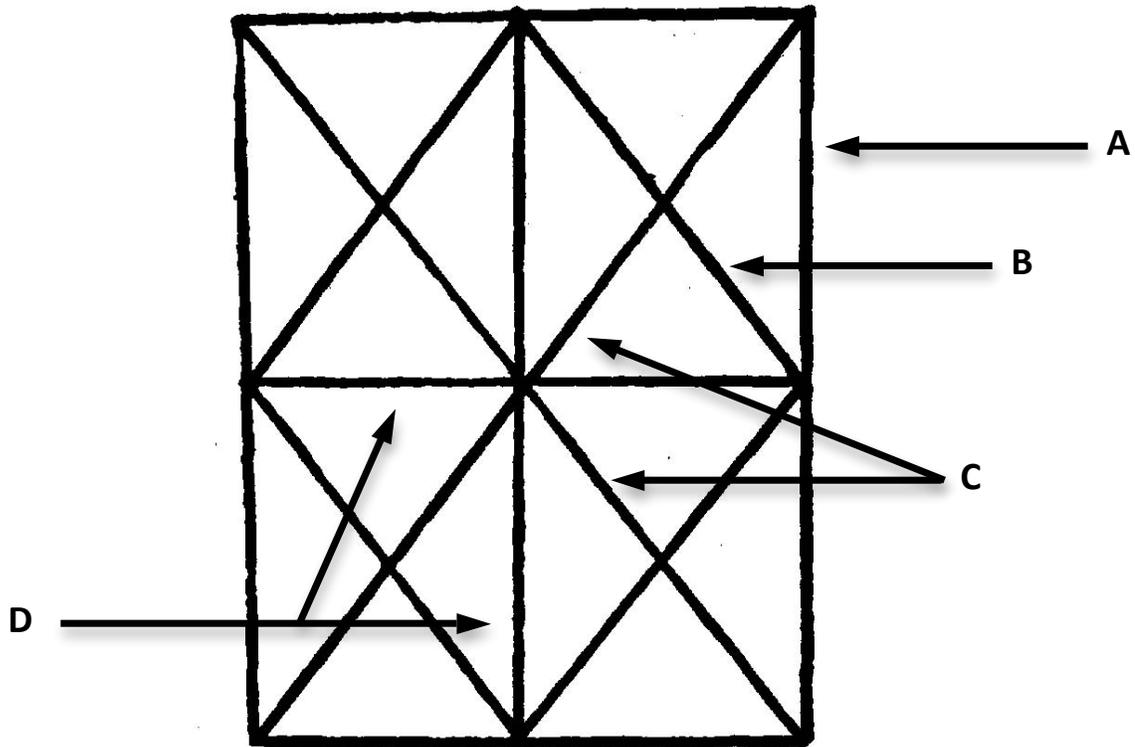
If we look to Porfyrius’ poems first, as that in Poem XIX (included within Bern 212), we see the height (as W. Levitan describes it) of Porfyrius’ poetic intricacy, as seen in the diagram below.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ P. Godman, *Poets and Emperors*, p. 45.

¹²⁵ See above, page 52 for an example of Boniface’s acrostic poetry.

¹²⁶ Their court poetry is numerous, some of which has been helpfully translated by Peter Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* (London, 1985).

¹²⁷ For the poem as it appears in the manuscript, please consult the appendix. W. Levitan, ‘Dancing at the End of the Rope: Optatian Porfyry and the Field of Roman Verse’, *Transactions of the American Philological Society*, 115 (1985), p. 261.



In a field of thirty-five lines, each with thirty-five letters, a border (A) of the same verse (“Alme tuas laurus aetas sustollet in astra”) defines the frame of the poem on all four sides.¹²⁸ Another square, set at a forty-five degree angle to the exterior of the frame also contains two hexameters, beginning at the left border of the field in the middle (B): “Augusti florem pietas iuuvat arma tropaea/ Aonii fructices pietas iuvat ubere glaeba”. The two central cross of the poem are other examples: first, the two diagonals (C), “Aurea victorem pietas sonat ubere lingua/ Aonios latices pietas iuvat armaque diva” and its central line and crossbar (D), “Aurea lux vatium silvae mihi praemia serva/Aucta Deo virtus Musas magis ornat aperta”. As if not complex enough each of these verses begins with the letter A.

The insertion of these lines within the square field of text creates a constantly changeable spatial puzzle for the reader. The way in which one is to read the poem is left perpetually open, allowing each reader to trace the various paths of

¹²⁸ PL 19: 419-420. See Appendix I for the poem in its entirety.

the letters and verses.¹²⁹ The various options presented to the reader within the poem's structure visually demonstrate the malleability of the poem's semantic content, constantly changing each letter, word, and constructed verse's meaning so that extracting any single layer of meaning from the poem proves impossible. Besides the obvious linguistic skill required to create such complicated poems, there have been numerous prior attempts to link this style to philosophical or transcendental belief. The ongoing interplay between spatial and verbal structures led the seventeenth-century Jesuit, Juan Eusebio Niremberg, to believe Porfyrius' poetry indicated a Neoplatonic foundation, as Levitan states, "Submerging the distinction between the capacity of an image to represent the object in the visible world and its capacity to act as a symbol of an idea, the tradition enabled a poet both to reveal and interpret a cryptic and transcendental reality".¹³⁰ Philosophers such as Niremberg emphasized the expression of the dual meaning of language within poems such as those of Porfyrius: intertwining the linguistic "material" signs (i.e. the letters and words as component pieces of the poem) and abstract symbols (i.e. the meaning of the poem). In manipulating words and letters in this way, Porfyrius (to Niremberg) was demonstrating the malleability of linguistic signs in order to point to the more abstract underlying meaning of the poem, one transcendent of language. This underlying meaning engages one's intellectual (or more internal) sense of vision within an Augustinian framework, moving the reader beyond the (more superficial) physical forms of the letters and words. Porfyrius' poems thus demonstrate how meaning can be freed from the constraints of the literal elements of language.¹³¹ But this argument does not downplay its written

¹²⁹ Levitan suggests that apart from the above-mentioned crosses and diagonals, one could also read verses in the two right angles created in the field, rendering the lines (reading from middle line downwards from the top to the right): "Aurea lux vatium silvas magis ornat aperta", and (from the middle left to the bottom of the central line): "Aucta deo virtus Musae mihi praemia serva". Levitan, "Dancing at the End of the Rope", p. 262. PL, 19: 419-420.

¹³⁰ *Oculto Filosofia de la Sympatia y Antipatia de las cosas, artificio de la naturaleza, noticia natural del mundo, y segundo parte de la Curiosa Filosofia*. Barcelona, 1645. Ch. XI: "El mundo es un laberinto poetico. Tratase de los laberinto de Porphyrio poeta" 106. Quoted in W. Levitan's 'Dancing', p. 265.

¹³¹ By literal I refer to those "building blocks" of language we have discussed, e.g. the need to adhere to a grammatical system or, more generally, the formal rules of language.

aspect. As the vehicle for human communication, language's "form" provides the ability for the writer to insert an underlying meaning within his text, manipulating the literal elements so as to impart abstract or internal concepts to his reader. Language (whether written or spoken) is an external system, one that necessarily is located the secular world. Yet God's wisdom is inherently internal, to be found within the heart, as Augustine says in the *de Magistro*: "Anyone who speaks gives an external sign of his will be means of an articulated sound. Yet God is to be sought and entreated in the hidden parts of the rational soul, which is called the 'inner man'."¹³² Language thus becomes a mere vehicle for Christians, one by which to access a deeper more abstract meaning, as was upheld in the book of Isaiah and maintained by Augustine: "Unless you believe, you will not understand".¹³³

Levitan is not inclined to ascribe such a philosophical tendency to Porfyrius, given the secular and at times trivial themes of some of Porfyrius' poems.¹³⁴ But Carolingian approaches to this poetic style may suggest the truth of Niremberg's argument more than what has been suggested by Levitan. The manipulation of meaning and visual presentation inherent to Porfyrian acrostics and the interplay of various forms (both physical and mental) of meaning certainly align with our earlier discussions regarding linguistic signs within Augustinian philosophy. In renewing the genre of the Porfyrian acrostic within the eighth century, Alcuin, Josephus and Theodulf indicate a subscription to the complexity of linguistic form and meaning, one that will be mirrored in their approach to Scripture.

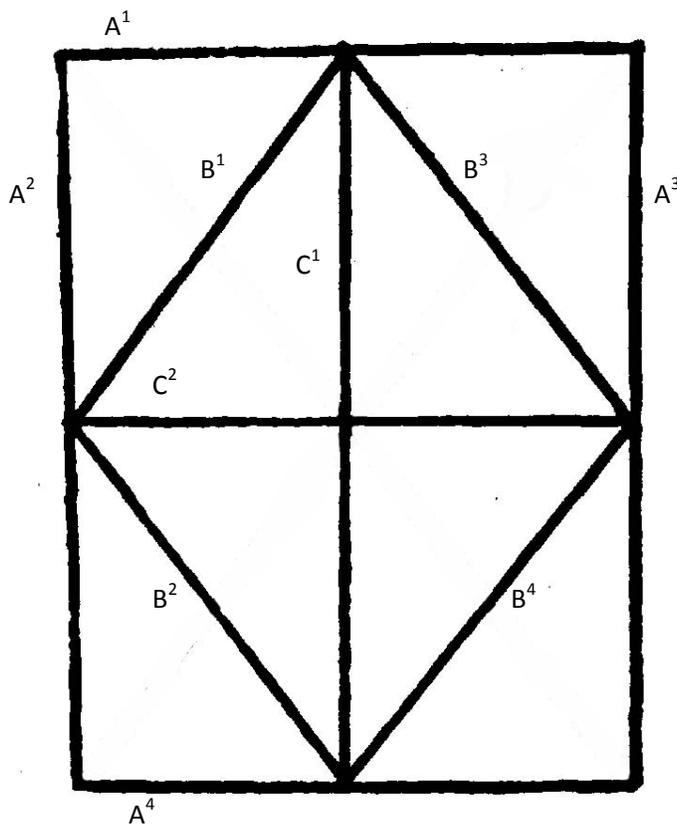
Granted, this is a difficult hypothesis to prove. And evidence to correlate this to their respective perspectives on grammar and Christian philosophy will have to wait for a subsequent section. For the moment, however, we should acknowledge what the Carolingians manifestly did *differently* from the other early medieval

¹³² Augustine, *De Magistro*, I.I.

¹³³ Isaiah 7:9. Although Augustine in the *De Magistro* changes the Vulgate's vocabulary from *permanebitis* to *intelligetis*. Augustine, *De Magistro* 11.37.

¹³⁴ Perhaps the most obvious case is that in Poem XXI, in which the verses are arranged in a diamond pattern within a square text field and are written in contrasting ink to the rest of the poem, stating "HIC VERSVS VARIO COLORE DISPAR", Levitan's case of Porfyrius' wit via "Mais si, c'est une pipe". W. Levitan, 'Dancing', p. 265.

attempts at the acrostic style. As opposed to earlier “poorer” attempts (e.g. those by Boniface and Ansbert of St.-Wandrille), the poems of the Bern manuscript adhere much more faithfully to the constraints of the classical genre (each poem, for example, contains the same number of words per line as total lines in the poem).¹³⁵ If we look at the form of the Carolingian poems, we find the same manipulation of form and plurality of meaning as we saw in those of Porfyrius. Indeed, if we look to the poem by Theodulf (*Omnipotens Domine*), we find almost the same visual arrangement as we saw in Porfyrius’ Poem XIX:



Within Theodulf’s poem, we find a structure similar to that of Porfyrius’, but with a manifestly simpler approach. While Porfyrius’ poem was able to include the same verse as the border to all four sides of the poem, Theodulf’s contains a different

¹³⁵ For an example of Boniface’s acrostic, please see page 52.

verse for each side of the frame (A¹⁻⁴).¹³⁶ Yet Theodulf may have been influenced by not only Porfyrius but also Venantius Fortunatus, as this poem also shares a similar overall structure with Fortunatus' poem 5.¹³⁷ Indeed, both Alcuin and Theodulf's poems conform to styles employed by Fortunatus, lending credibility to the theory that his poems were the writers' model instead of Porfyrius. Yet Josephus' contributions to the volume indicate an awareness of acrostic styles which range beyond those only found in Fortunatus' examples of the genre. Josephus' poem, *Dic, o Carle, putas*, mirrors the shape of Porfyrius' poem X almost exactly, one that has no counterpoint in Fortunatus' poetry.¹³⁸ While Venantius Fortunatus may have been a link between the later Carolingian writers and Porfyrius, it is evident that the writers were at least aware of the earlier late antique poet.

As the Emperor Constantine was Porfyrius' frequent subject in the style of the classical panegyric, so too is Charlemagne for Theodulf. But religious themes are also conspicuous in both the late antique poet and his Carolingian imitators. Although Porfyrius's poems were conspicuously derided by some early medieval writers because "erant pagana"¹³⁹, Porfyrius' religious leanings remain to some extent unknown as a number of his poems feature a Christogram in their imagery.¹⁴⁰ Regardless, no such worry can be found within the Carolingian circle, either in relation to Porfyrius himself or in the use of a classical genre.¹⁴¹ Also, it should be noted that despite the religious tone of many of the Carolingians' poems in Bern 212 (Alcuin's *Crux decus es mundi* perhaps being the most obvious), none feature a Christian image motif visually.¹⁴² But again, here the model may have

¹³⁶ Please refer to Appendix I for the poem in its entirety.

¹³⁷ Fortunatus Cod. Sangall. S. 38f; Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen. *MGH AA*, IV, 1, p. 32. Ernst, *Carmen Figuratum*, p. 151-2.

¹³⁸ Schaller, *Die karolingische Figurengedichte*, p. 4. Josephus Scottus, *Carmen* 3, *MGH Poetae I*, p. 153.

¹³⁹ Bede, *De arte metrica: de rythmo*, PL 90: 173d.

¹⁴⁰ For example, *Carmen IX, XVI*, among others.

¹⁴¹ Alcuin in his short treatise, *De Vera Philosophia*, praises poetry to his students: "...et si poeticis licet aures accommodare fabulis, nobis non incongruum videtur, quod asserunt, epulas deorum esse rationes.--MAG. Verius, o filii! dicere potestis, rationes esse angelorum cibum, animarum decorem, quam epulas deorum". The text serves as an introduction to his *De Grammatica*. Alcuin, *De Vera Philosophia*, PL 101:853b.

¹⁴² Celia Chazelle argues that the cross shape found in Alcuin and Theodulf's poems is deliberately

been in the style of Fortunatus, rather than explicitly Porphyrius. A significant amount of Fortunatus' poems feature both Christian imagery and are dedicated to the subject of the cross (a recurring theme of the Carolingian poems, as seen above in Alcuin's).¹⁴³ The Carolingian writers were certainly aware of the acrostic as a classical model, one they wished to adhere to in terms of grammatical complexity and form; however, the inclusion of Christian themes in the content of their poetry appears to favour the influence of Fortunatus. True, these Carolingian poets simply may have been looking for a "flashy" poetic style with which to impress at court. One must acknowledge, however, the sheer skill involved, on both a grammatical and fundamentally linguistic perspective, in making an acrostic. The revival of such a complex style, one which depends on the mutability and multivalent meanings of the physical letters themselves seems more than coincidental in a court which was to become known for its grammatical, and more broadly textual, appreciation and promotion.

The revival of the acrostic format during the 780s, 790s, and into the ninth century can be found in the work of a number of scholars at the Carolingian court. Alongside the production of the *libellus* in which Alcuin, Theodulf, and Josephus' poems appeared, an acrostic poem ascribed to Paul the Deacon also features a central cross shape, describing Christ's role as the omnipotent king and sun of salvation.¹⁴⁴ Poems in this style continued to increase in both frequency and complexity, best exemplified in the work of Hrabanus Maurus (c. 780-856), a student of Alcuin's.¹⁴⁵ Even Dhuoda, the aristocratic noblewoman famous for

religiously evocative. I am less convinced of its religious intent than for its imitation of Porphyrius' poems and general use of the figure within acrostic poetry in general. The most Christian element presented in terms of the shape of a poem in the manuscript is within Josephus' *Primus auus uiuens* in which the central image is that of a cross. In contrast, the cross shape seen in Josephus' poem seems much more likely to be a religious referent rather than a stylistic choice evocative of standards in the acrostic genre. Please consult Appendix I for these poems. Chazelle, *The Crucified God*, p. 20. Alcuin, *Carmen 6*, *MGH Poetae* 1, pp. 224-225. Josephus Scottus, *Carmen 3*, *MGH Poetae* I, p. 153.

¹⁴³ Fortunatus, *Carmina* 2, 4 features a central cross shape and discusses the topic within the poem. Ernst, *Carmen Figuratum*, pp. 152-3.

¹⁴⁴ *Carmen 7*, *MGH PLAC* I.380-1. St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sangall. 899, p. 10. Ernst, *Carmen Figuratum*, pp. 199-202. Chazelle, *The Crucified God*, p. 20.

¹⁴⁵ For example, Hrabanus' famous *In honore sanctae crucis*. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Reg. lat. 124, fol. 8 verso. Chazelle, *The Crucified God*, p. 102-4.

composing a handbook for her son William in the mid-ninth century, included a small acrostic in her text.¹⁴⁶ The adoption and popularization of this genre during the late eighth century is not without significance. The above examples may indicate that a number of scholars at Charlemagne's early court, willingly participated in the reinvigoration of a pagan poetic style, one necessitating an advanced skill in the Latin language. True, these poems cannot be the sole evidence for a surge in Christian semiotics; however, the production of these poems by Alcuin and Theodulf *in conjunction with* their treatises on the nature of language and epistemology speaks to an extensive exploration of this topic at the Carolingian court. The acrostic poems discussed above reflect this development intrinsically, but the entirety of Carolingian literate culture during the late eighth century demonstrates it on a broader scale. The use of the acrostic format with panegyric themes (applicable to either Christ or Charlemagne or both) by such a number of writers associated with the court from an early date further indicates the commensurate relationship between language, Christianity, and the role of Frankish royalty at this time. In dedicating such a complex linguistic poetic style to Charlemagne, blending the imagery of royalty with that of Christ, one can see the construction of a politically supported textual culture based in the Christian tradition. Turning the study of language into a spiritual discipline thus had resonance throughout the Carolingian world and helps to explain many of the both administrative and spiritual developments of the period, particularly (as we shall see in Chapter Three) the Carolingian reaction towards heresy in both the Spanish March and the Byzantine East. These examples of poetry provide one element within a larger overarching development of the relationship between language, religion, and politics during the 780s and 790s at Charlemagne's court. While underlying approaches to the role of text and image may be gleaned from these acrostics (as we saw above), the poems must be analyzed alongside the substantial body of work produced by Carolingian scholars.

As we saw with the Stoics and Neoplatonists, the concern as to the ability for

¹⁴⁶ C. Neel (ed.), *Dhuoda, handbook for her warrior son: Liber Manualis* (Cambridge, 1998).

language to convey “true” statements (i.e. accurate reflections about reality or abstract mental concepts) was of particular interest to the Carolingians, inheriting their philosophy via Augustine.¹⁴⁷ Yet, conversely, the potential “falseness” of language was also a topic explored by the Carolingians. Indeed, one could use the structure of language to convey false sentiment: perfecting one’s grammar did not necessarily improve the “truth value” of a given statement. If the ulterior meaning behind the statement was true, it could be further elucidated by being written in correct grammatical structure or by ensuring correct spelling. Yet, if a writer constructed a purposefully false statement, this could often be disguised by giving it the “appearance” of truth: i.e. by relying on correct grammar or spelling. Concern over the “veracity” of language can be found in a number of works from this period.¹⁴⁸ Within the poetry of the court, we can find examples of this philosophy, indicative of an overall perspective towards the role of language. For example, within Theodulf’s poem, *De Libris quos legere solebam*, we find not only a cataloging of his education, but also his perspective on the nature of philosophy, poetry, and epistemology, with the apparent express purpose to validate the “truth” of linguistic introspection.¹⁴⁹

Although there are many frivolities in their words,
much truth lies hidden under a deceptive surface.
The poetic style brings falseness, the style of the philosophers brings truth,
They are often accustomed to transforming the falseness of poets into
truth.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Augustine’s influence during the Carolingian period cannot be overestimated. Charlemagne’s favorite book was reported to be the *De Civitate Dei* and the library holdings from some of the largest Frankish scriptoria, such as Corbie, Fleury, Lorsch, and St Gall reveal numerous copies of Augustine’s material. C. Leyser, “Augustine in the Latin West”, p. 5.

¹⁴⁸ The ability for human intellect to discern truth from falsehood involves increasing consideration as to the divine origin (and link) of the rational mind. This shall be discussed in depth in subsequent sections.

¹⁴⁹ The “truth” of Theodulf’s opinions as expressed via poetry is an element to consider. However, as this poem seems to have, at least at its most superficial, the intention of describing Theodulf’s education, I find little reason to think that what he presents in the rest of the poem does not accurately reflect his perspective. Theodulf might also (given his examples in the following verses) be referring to *poetae* in the specific context of fiction or fables (as opposed to historic truth) rather than the entire poetic genre. Theodulf, Carmen 45, *MGH Poetae 1*, ll. 18-21, p. 543. Partially translated by P. Godman. *Poetry*, p. 169.

¹⁵⁰ “In quorum dictis quamquam sint frivola multa,/ Plurima sub falso tegmine vera latent./ Falsa poetarum stilus affert, vera sophorum,/ Falsa horum in verum vertere saepe solent.” Theodulf,

This seems an odd phrase for a writer whose poems form a significant amount of his body of work. Yet, to simply read these lines as a castigation against poetic works (after he has just cited a number which he has read and lauds their content, never mind the fact he does this *within* a poem itself) is to mistake Theodulf's underlying meaning, itself a play on language's multivalent nature. We must read this more as a discussion on the necessity of interpretation within the poetic style, rather than a castigation of poetry itself. If we continue to the following lines, Theodulf's association of classical poetic figures with various virtues or vices reiterates the need to interpret poems on a deeper level, to read the truth behind the "literal" words of a given poem:

Thus Proteus displays truth, Virgo justice,
Hercules virtue and needy Cacus theft.
A thousand fictions lie open, so that the truth is distorted
But when this is held in check, truth returns to a pristine form
The unimpaired power of truth shines like a virgin,
which the plague of falseness cannot pollute.¹⁵¹

In Peter Godman's analysis, Theodulf uses the poetic form to demonstrate how verse can impart truth as well as prose.¹⁵² But this does not acknowledge the more philosophical implications of the texts Theodulf uses in order to prove his point. Just as we saw with the acrostic, the nature of poetry within the Carolingian court (whether Christian or pagan) was neither a "true" nor "false" discipline, but, like any text, required the hermeneutic knowledge with which to decipher it. This "intellect" was increasingly to come from grammatical or linguistic knowledge, but more specifically, the conflation between philological and philosophical disciplines.

Carmen 45, *MGH Poetae 1*, p. 543-4.

¹⁵¹ Sic Proteus verum, sic iustum Virgo repingit,/ Virtutem Alcides, furtaque Cacus inops./ Verum ut fallatur, mendacia mille patescunt,/ Firmiter hoc stricto pristina forma redit/ Virginis in morem vis iusti inlaesa renidet,/ Quam nequit iniusti conmaculare lues. Theodulf, Carmen 45, *MGH Poetae 1*, ll. 22-28, p. 543.

¹⁵² P. Godman, *Poetry*, p. 16.

Language and Philosophy

The use of a literary genre (the acrostic), so demonstrably indicative of language's semiotic nature, furthers our discussion as to how many of the Carolingian writers subscribed to the dual exegetical method of "letter" and "spirit". Words could be the vehicles of meaning but, as we saw above in terms of Theodulf and poetry, there was a clear understanding that they could distort the truth just as well as they could reveal it. Increasingly, as we shall see, Carolingian writers investigated the means by which language could be "clarified", a process which increasingly was associated with the extent to which texts could claim authority, i.e. the extent to which written language legitimately represented reality or valid abstract concepts (particularly in relationship to Scripture). This investigation comprised inquiries not only into the "structure" of language with its meaning, but also how the human intellect was said to be able to understand or perceive "truth" within texts. This was to have profound implications for the overall nascent textual culture within the Carolingian empire during the late eighth century; yet its foundation was ultimately in the sphere where the study of language had survived since the late antique period: Christianity. Alcuin, in particular, via his investigations into the nature of sacred language advocated a revitalized understanding of the tripartite relationship between reality, language, and the human mind. This process involved the appropriation of the linguistic disciplines (grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic, and more generally, the liberal arts) into a defined epistemological Christian framework, derived from Augustine, and more distantly, the philosophies of Aristotle, Plato, and the Stoics. Although this was first explored in terms of Scripture, Alcuin's work provided the structural and philosophical rationale for attributing authority to written texts within the Frankish kingdoms. Although Augustine's work on linguistic philosophy provided the starting point for appropriating epistemological questions into the Christian intellectual tradition during the early middle ages, few writers prior to the Carolingians demonstrate a continued concern for the implications of language on a

Christian reality.¹⁵³

The study of *grammatica* (as representative of literary or textual study in general during this period) as it related to the understanding of Scripture was well-established in Augustine's work:

The literary-minded should be aware that our Christian authors used all the figures of speech which teachers of grammar call by their Greek name of tropes, and that they did so more diversely and profusely than can be judged or imagined by those who are unfamiliar with scripture or who gained their knowledge of figures from other literature. Those who know about these tropes recognize them in sacred literature, and this knowledge to some extent helps them in understanding it.¹⁵⁴

Such justification can be seen as one of the reasons why grammar, found such a place of precedence in its adoption by the Christian intellectual tradition. As we discussed above, works by grammarians such as Donatus, Consentius, Diomedes and Priscian can be found both in monastic libraries from the seventh and eighth centuries throughout Europe and this material was appropriated by the Carolingian court, via its educated circle.¹⁵⁵ Grammar as the foundational subject to the study of the liberal arts had been gaining support prior to the Carolingian period; Isidore of Seville, in his *Etymologies* refers to the discipline as the arts' origin (*origo*) and foundation.¹⁵⁶ Yet the kinds of grammatical treatises increasing in circulation and readership should give us an indication of the kinds of linguistic theory popular within the Frankish kingdoms and the literate elite. The encyclopedic works of those such as Donatus remained popular; however, the commentaries on his

¹⁵³ With the obvious exception of Boethius. However, his work does not include any substantial discussion on the nature of language as having ontological implications, particularly not from an obviously Christian perspective. The awareness of his work in the Carolingian period also has been contested, particularly with regards to Alcuin. We shall discuss this in a subsequent section, see footnote 196 below.

¹⁵⁴ Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, 3.27.38, (trans.) Green, p. 87.

¹⁵⁵ Almost all of Priscian's works were known in Anglo-Saxon England, with the possible exception of *Partitiones XII versuum Aenidose* (a grammatical commentary on the first twelve books of the Aeneid). Gneuss, 'The Study of Language', p. 6; J. Story, *Carolingian Connections*, p. 6; D. A. Bullough, 'Alcuin before Frankfurt', p. 578. See footnote 55 above.

¹⁵⁶ *Primordia grammaticae artis litterarum communes existunt quas librarii et calculatores sequuntur, quorum disciplina velut quaedam grammaticae artis infantia est... Grammatica est scientia recte loquendi, et origo et fundamentum liberalium litterarum.* Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*. I.III-V. 1-2.

influential work, particularly those which highlighted a morphological systemization of grammar saw increasing readership, particularly during the late eighth century within the Frankish kingdoms.

The grammatical work of both Peter of Pisa and Paul the Deacon adhered to the form of the commentary, popular throughout Europe since late antiquity as increasingly the linguistic arts became Christianized.¹⁵⁷ Using Donatus as their model, both employed traditional means of elucidating the literal sense of the text, not just in parsing the words, but via the examination of obscure terms, grammatical irregularities, historical allusions, etc. Paul the Deacon's *De Verborum significatu* summarizes the fourth century grammarian's work via the explanation of names, mythology, and foreign locations.¹⁵⁸ Both in terms of grammatical commentaries in their own right and the expanding field of biblical exegesis, the work of the late antique grammarians was increasingly being adapted for a Christian context during the eighth century.¹⁵⁹ But prior to this period, these treatises do not push the semiotic theory of the medieval world forward, demonstrating either any attempt to discern the spiritual "truth" of language, or the means by which humans were able to glean it. Despite the "survival" of grammar from the late antique period and its accepted use, it remained a secular tool to be used by Christians in select circumstances, rather than an integral part of the Christian intellectual framework, as we shall now show with particular reference to the intellectual world of the British Isles.¹⁶⁰

With few exceptions this was the case throughout the early medieval period prior to the Carolingians. Yet isolated examples from the insular tradition reveal tentative pre-Carolingian attempts at merging the formality of grammatical theory

¹⁵⁷ Commentaries on Donatus comprise the majority of grammatical work during the fourth and fifth centuries, particularly in the work of Servius, Sergius, and Pompeius. V. Law, *Grammar and Grammarians*, p. 74.

¹⁵⁸ There is one known extant copy of Paul's grammar, in Vat. pal lat. 1746, fols. 20r-40r. Excerpts of Peter's grammar can be found in *Grammatici Latini*. VIII, 161-171.R. Cervani, *L'Epitome di Paolo del "De verborum significatu" di Pompeo Festo: struttura e metodo* (Roma, 1978).

¹⁵⁹ Exegesis relied increasingly on the model of the grammatical commentary. V. Law, *Grammar and Grammarians*, p. 80.

¹⁶⁰ V. Law, *Grammar and Grammarians*, p. 141. A. Knaepen, 'L'histoire gréco-romaine dans les sources du IX^e siècle' *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 79, 2 (2001), p. 366.

with exegetical or otherwise Christian philosophical elements, specifically within the text known as the *Anonymus ad Cuimnanum* (a preface to the commentary of Donatus' *Ars Minor*).¹⁶¹ Composed circa 700 and preserved in an early eighth century manuscript from Northumbria, the preface is predominantly a series of excerpted grammatical treatises. This text (and its eventual dissemination to the continent) reveals an early exploration with regards to the application of grammar to classical philosophy, and includes claims as to the relationship of grammar to the investigation of truth, quoting Virgilius Maro Grammaticus' *Quis primus philosophi*¹⁶², and the assertion by the anonymous author that the discipline opens up the truth of sacred texts.¹⁶³ Such claims signify a burgeoning relationship between grammar and Christian literary tradition within the insular tradition during the seventh and eighth century, in which grammatical methodology became the foundation of monastic life.¹⁶⁴ Its suggestion of the appropriateness of Aristotelian and Platonic ontology within the study of language hints at the later conflation of these subjects during the Carolingian period. Yet its suggestion of an alliance between grammar, philosophy, and Christianity remained at a standstill within the insular tradition despite its advocacy for using grammatical texts as having spiritual or philosophical implications.¹⁶⁵ Despite this text's seemingly

¹⁶¹ *Anonymus ad Cuimnanum*. Expositio Latinitatis. CCSL Vol. 133 part 4. (eds.) Bischoff & Lofstedt (Turnhout 1992).

¹⁶² A seventh century grammarian (possibly from Spain or Ireland) who also furthered the cause of grammar within the Christian tradition. He was responsible for two Latin grammars, the *Epitomae* and the *Epistolae*, which drew heavily on the work of Donatus. His work demonstrates a rare acceptance of philosophy (and, more generally, the liberal arts) within the Christian tradition, yet does not rely explicitly on any pagan classical philosopher. V. Law, *Grammar and Grammarians*, p. 239.

¹⁶³ The treatises referenced by the *Anonymus ad Cuimnanum* are difficult to determine as none bear any attribution. The influence of this text, however, and its conflation of grammar and philosophy will be extremely relevant for our later discussion on the topic as it developed at the Carolingian court. Extant manuscripts of this work (save for the 8th century Northumbrian copy) almost entirely come from Carolingian scriptoria in the late 8th or 9th centuries: Vatican Bibl. Apostl., Pal. lat 1746 (Lorsch, c. 8th/9th), Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, IV.A.34 (Luxeuil, early 9th c.), Paris, BN, lat. 13025 (Corbie, early 9th c.). See: M. Irvine, "Bede the grammarian", p. 20.

¹⁶⁴ As relating to training in the grammatical arts for the textual, intellectual, and liturgical aspects of monastic life, both in *lectio* but also in the development of text and glossing for manuscript composition.

¹⁶⁵ For example, the preface of the *Anonymus* cites Maximus Victorinus' "De Metribus" which divides the arts according to the body (*corporalis*) or the soul (*animi*) or both: Quae triuarie

daring claim as to the relevance of philosophy for Christian epistemology, the appropriation of this perspective within the insular tradition cannot be found to have initiated a widespread appropriation of classical philosophy as an element of sacred Christian truth. Although Bede, for example, was aware of grammar's benefits within the Christian tradition (as we discussed earlier), the role of philosophy does not enter into his vocabulary with regards to the relationship of the linguistic disciplines as a means of epistemological awareness.¹⁶⁶ Grammar could lead to knowledge and a better understanding of Scripture (via an appreciation of the tropes, glosses, language of the text); however, that bold claim of philosophy as grammar does not seem to find any particular application in the insular tradition prior to Alcuin.

When we turn to the late eighth century, we find a marked change with regards to the use of secular disciplines in the service of Christianity. Not only in the types of texts being used, but also with regards to the union of secular and Christian subjects, Alcuin and the later scholars at the Carolingian court initiated a new philosophical approach to the written word, one which had resonance in terms of both the secular and spiritual elements of the emergent textual culture. A poem by Theodulf of Orléans, *De Septem Liberalibus Artibus in Quadam Pictura Depictis*, demonstrates this increasing promotion of the liberal arts (particularly the linguistic disciplines) and the prominence of grammar:

dividuntur, id est au tars animi aut corporis aut animi simul et corporis. Verbi gratia: artes animi sunt philosophia, lex iuris scita, rethorica, grammar, astrologia, mussica, poema et reliqua, in quibus mens meditare solet. Artes corporis oneris gestamen, cursus, saltus, iaculatio, telorum funda vel arcu rotante et reliqua, in quis corpus laborat et torquetur. *Anonymus ad Cuimnanum*. CCSL 133d, (ed.) Bischoff & Lofstedt (Turnhout, 1992).

¹⁶⁶ Bede, *De Orthographia*, PL 90:123-150. See footnote 81 above.

A disc was formed as an image of the round world,
Which the figure of a single tree adorned.
Noble *Grammatica* sat at the base of this tree
Instructing [the tree] to bring her forth or keep her.
For this reason, each tree branch is understood to spring from this one,
Because no knowledge is able to come into being without it.¹⁶⁷

Theodulf continues within the poem to explain how each of the disciplines contributes to the understanding of signs within language, allowing one to distinguish between falsehood and truth. Grammar exists as the foundation to the liberal arts within Theodulf's poem: a necessary precursor to any other study. The relationship with truth and investigation as an element of linguistic study (something found explicitly in Augustine and Marius Victorinus' works, based strongly in Neoplatonic beliefs) reveals a strong reliance upon these earlier philosophical and spiritual writings.

Alcuin's manipulation and interaction with Stoic and Aristotelian exegetical philosophy is thanks to the availability of Augustine and Origen at the library of York. Looking at Michael Lapidge's extensive catalogue of texts available in Anglo-Saxon libraries during Alcuin's period, there is clear evidence of the transmission and preservation of Augustine's works on language and signs.¹⁶⁸ But it is within Alcuin's exegetical treatises and work on Christian belief where Augustine's influence (particularly drawing on *De Trinitate*) can be seen and sets the tone for the development of a hermeneutic understanding of Carolingian textual culture, based on this earlier semiotic theory. Not only within his own writing, but in his appropriation of classical and patristic texts, we can see Alcuin's exposition on the nature of the relationship between Christian thought and textual hermenutics.

¹⁶⁷ Discus erat tereti formatus imagine mundi, / Arboris unius quem decorabat opus. / Huius Grammatica ingens in radice sedebat, / Gignere eam semet seu retinere monens. / Omnis ab hac ideo procedere cernitur arbor, / Ars quia proferri hac sine nulla valet. Theodulf, *Carmen 46*, *MGH Poetae I*, p. 547, ll. 1-6.

¹⁶⁸ Alcuin mentions his awareness of Augustine in his famous poem on the Saints of York but the numerous references within his prose work demonstrates his extensive familiarity with Augustine's writing. M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2006), See Appendix E, pp. 229-233.

Within Alcuin's poem on his sources at the York Minster, we find a new range of philosophical influences: "The works of Victorinus and Boethius, the old historians Pompeius, Pliny, sharp-witted Aristotle himself".¹⁶⁹ The appropriation of Aristotle and Plato into Augustinian thought did not produce an immediate appreciation of classical philosophy among medieval writers. Although Boethius translated both Porphyry's *Isagoge* and Aristotle's *De Interpretatione* in the sixth century, appreciation and distribution of these texts appears to have been limited.¹⁷⁰ The translation of Aristotle's *Categories* by the circle of Themistius (known as the *Categoriae Decem* also known as the *Paraphrasis Themistiana*, a late fourth century Latin version of Aristotle's work) also was available to medieval writers, usually via the text's ascription to Augustine.¹⁷¹ Alcuin's work shows a rapid absorption and promotion of philosophical material (particularly relating to logic), as seen in his preface to the presentation copy of the *Categoriae Decem* to Charlemagne:

This little book contains the ten terms relating to the created world; by an astonishing mental achievement it holds the words appropriate to all things: everything which is accessible to our understanding. Read it, and admire the wonderful intellect of the men of old, endeavoring to exercise your intellect in the same way...Master Augustine drew this work with a Latin key from the treasures of the ancient Greeks; and I send it to you, o king, who greatly love and value wisdom, as a gift that will give you pleasure.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ "Quae Victorinus scripsere: Boethius atque/ Historici veteres: Pompeius, Plinius, ipse/ Acer Aristoteles" Alcuin, *De sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*, MGH Poetae latini aevi karoli I, p. 204, ll. 1547-9. M Gibson, 'Boethius in the Carolingian Schools', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 32 (1982), p. 45.

¹⁷⁰ V. Law, *Grammars and Grammarians*, p. 156. *Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius Prophyrii Isagoge translatio*, L. Minio-Paluello (ed.) (Paris, 1966). *Categoriae vel Praedicamenta. Translatio Boethii, Editio Composita, Translatio Guillelmi de Moerbeka, Lemmata e Simplicii commentario decerpta, Pseudo-Augustini Paraphrasis Themistiana*, L. Minio-Paluello (ed.) (Bruges, 1961).

¹⁷¹ Law, *Grammars and Grammarians*, p. 156. The edition can be found in *Categoriae vel Praedicamenta. Translatio Boethii*.

¹⁷² "Continet iste decem naturae verba libellus, / Quae jam verba tenent, rerum ratione stupenda, / Omne quod in nostrum poterit decurrere sensum. / Qui legit, ingenium veterum mirabile laudet, / Atque suum studeat tali exercere labore, / Exornans titulis vitae data tempora honestis. / Hunc Augustino placuit transferre magistro / De veterum gazis Graecorum clave Latina: / Quem tibi rex, magnus sophiae sectator, amator, / Munere qui tali gaudes, modo mitto legendum." Alcuin, *De Dialectica*, PL 101: 951b. The original presentation copy does not survive. M. Gibson, 'Boethius in

The inclusion of Aristotelian categories within some of the major grammatical works and Augustine's growing prestige in the West helped to promote the link between the two disciplines; although the extent to which classical philosophy was included in grammatical systemization varied widely. The new reliance on Priscian's work, for example, may be indicative of a growing movement focused on classical philosophy, as the grammarian drew explicitly on Aristotelian categories; however, his application of grammatical theory to epistemology was almost non-existent.¹⁷³

Yet Alcuin's York Minster poem reveals a familiarity with the two major strands of late grammatical works: the *Schulgrammatik* and the *regulae* type.¹⁷⁴ Works by Donatus and Marius Victorinus¹⁷⁵ (as well as Augustine's *Ars breviata*) adhere to the *Schulgrammatik* style, in which the rules of language are categorized by their systematic structure: progressing through the parts of speech one by one. This differed significantly from the *regulae* form of grammars, which were designed to demonstrate analogy, and relied on the use of various paradigms (*regulae*).¹⁷⁶ Examples of which could be seen in Priscian's *Institutio de nomine et pronomine et verbo*.

Yet many works by the late antique grammarians did not fall neatly into either category. Priscian's major work, the *Institutiones Grammaticae*, provided a theoretical structure for the description of Latin morphology and was more comprehensive and explanatory than that of Donatus', attracting the notice of Carolingian scholars in the late eighth century.¹⁷⁷ Priscian was certainly available in earlier periods and there is evidence of limited transcription and transmission history. Aldhelm, in the seventh century in England, used the text in his *De metris*

the Carolingian Schools', p. 46.

¹⁷³ Luhtala, "Syntax and Dialectic", p. 151.

¹⁷⁴ Law, *Grammars and Grammarians*, p. 54.

¹⁷⁵ See below for more information on Victorinus.

¹⁷⁶ Law, *Grammar and Grammarians*, p. 55.

¹⁷⁷ Copies of Priscian's work increased substantially by the end of the eighth century. V. Law, *Grammars and Grammarians*, p. 82.

et enigmatibus ac pedum regulis; however, it seems to have had little direct influence on grammatical thought until the period of Alcuin.¹⁷⁸ Priscian's other work, the *Institutio de nomine et pronomine et verbo*, seems to have resulted in the first exposition on grammar in which morphology took the prominent place: the *Ars Ambianensis*.¹⁷⁹ The work relies upon Priscian's theoretical paradigms of language, but the intended relevance to Christian audiences is obvious as the work uses Priscian in order to examine the three sacred languages of Scripture (Hebrew, Greek, and Latin).¹⁸⁰ Yet, as we discussed above in the case of the *Anonymous*, treatises such as this were fairly isolated, with little indication of a major appropriation of the writer's material prior to the late eighth century.

The availability of Marius Victorinus within Anglo-Saxon libraries should not be overlooked. Alcuin's access to and awareness of this fourth century grammarian might be attributable to Bede, who relied on copies of his *Ars grammatica* and his *Explanationes in Cicewnis Rhetoricam* within Bede's *De Orthographia* and his commentary on Genesis.¹⁸¹ Michael Lapidge assumes that Alcuin's poem refers only to Victorinus' *De Definitionibus*, based on its context within logical writings; however, I feel this is an inadequate description of the works Alcuin describes alongside Victorinus (e.g. Boethius, Aristotle, Pompeius, etc.).¹⁸² These works, many of which we shall explore below, are explicitly grammatical in nature, but more specifically, investigations into the form and function of language, as seen by Victorinus' description of grammar itself:

¹⁷⁸ V. Law, *Grammars and Grammarians*, p. 82.

¹⁷⁹ The text is unedited and is cited within Law from MS Amiens 486, fos. 48r-71v. Ibid, p. 77.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 77.

¹⁸¹ M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, p. 226. Bede, *De Orthographia*, PL 90: 123-150 & *In Principium Genesis usque ad nativitatem Isaac, etc.* LLTA Cl. 1344, Books 1-4.

¹⁸² M. Lapidge, p. 230.

Some writers of *artes grammaticae* begin from “art”, some from *grammatica*, some from definition, some from spoken utterance (*vox*), some from letters. “Art”, as Aristo has it, is a body of doctrine (*collectio*) from concepts (*perceptionibus*) and practices pertaining to some end in life, that is anything that shapes minds with fixed precepts for our advantage. How does Aristotle put it? A *techne* is a body of rules from practiced concepts pertaining to some useful end for life. How do we have it? An *ars* is the whole of systematic principles of things understood and practiced, directed to some end in life...As Varro has it, “the art of *grammatica*, which is called *litteratura* by us, is, for the most part, the science of things said by poets, historians, and orators.” It has four principal functions, according to Varro – writing, reading, understanding, demonstrating.¹⁸³

Interestingly, much of Victorinus’ definition of grammar relates to the conveyance of truth; for example, his definition lists “contraries” (*kakotechnia*) to grammar, one of which includes rhetoric (*oratoria*).¹⁸⁴ For Victorinus, rhetoric or persuasion seeks to disguise truth for the purposes of winning an argument. This denigration of rhetoric reveals an alignment of late antique grammarians such as Victorinus with aspects of philosophy and dialectic (in the search for truth), topics that would be seized upon by later Carolingian writers. Victorinus’s contribution to the resurgence in Christian rhetoric is also noteworthy, stemming from his commentary on Cicero’s *De Inventione*. Yet his philosophical approach to the linguistic discipline appropriates much from Neoplatonism, in which Cicero’s concept of virtue from conformity with reason is transformed into the Neoplatonist idea of the transcendence of the soul.¹⁸⁵ For Victorinus, eloquence is the manifested

¹⁸³ “Artium grammaticarum scriptores quidam ab arte coeperunt, quidam a grammatica, quidam a definitione, quidam a voce, quidam a littera. Ars, ut Aristoni placet, collectio est ex perceptionibus et exercitationibus ad aliquem finem vitae pertinens, id est generaliter omne quidquid certis praeceptis ad utilitatem nostram format animos. Aristoteles quo modo? Τεχνη εστι σιστημα εκ καταληψεων συγγεγυμνασμενων προς τι τελος ευχρηστον τω βιω συνουοσων. Nos qualiter? Ars est summa rerum ratio comprehensarum atque exercitatarum ad aliquem vitae finem tendentium...ut Varroni placet, ‘ars grammatica, quae a nobis litteratura dicitur, scientia est eorum quae a poetis historicis oratoribusque dicuntur ex parte maiore.’ Eius praecipua officia sunt quattuor, ut ipsi placet, scribere legere intellegere probare.”As translated by M. Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*, p. 64. Marius Victorinus, *Ars Grammaticae*, GL 6, 187-188.

¹⁸⁴ M. Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*, p. 65

¹⁸⁵ R. Copeland, “Ciceronian Rhetorical Tradition & Literary Theory”, p. 242. Marius Victorinus,

form of wisdom (the inner transcendent essence to the soul), a topic that would provide a wonderfully useful philosophical platform for Augustine and later Christian writers.¹⁸⁶

The prominence of Boethius and the newfound access to Aristotle was incorporated into not only Alcuin's work, but those of other Carolingian scholars such as Theodulf of Orléans. Theodulf cites Boethius explicitly within his *Opus Caroli regis contra Synodum* as an authority (alongside the Four Doctors of the Church, and Aristotle and Apuleius, yet strangely omitting any reference to such Christian writers as Isidore or Bede).¹⁸⁷ The period of the eighth century saw Boethius and his work's rise to prominence, a new approach to not only the secular disciplines in general but to the philosophical texts which had proved so fruitful to Augustine generations earlier. Alcuin's access to Cassiodorus (who relied heavily on Victorinus and Boethius) not to mention the translated philosophical texts of Boethius fostered a new approach to the grammatical disciplines, but more specifically, an entirely new linguistic framework of epistemology.¹⁸⁸ The new access to Aristotle, for example, and his work on epistemology found almost immediate favor at the Carolingian court, as seen above.

Alcuin composed a number of linguistic treatises following his arrival at court, including texts devoted to grammar, orthographica, rhetoric, and dialectic.¹⁸⁹ Much of his material, particularly the *De Grammatica*, is particularly didactic in tone, taking the question-and-answer format increasingly popular during the period. This work, also known as the *Dialogus Franconis et Saxonis de octo partibus orationis*, is perhaps one of the earliest of Alcuin's treatises, composed shortly after

Explanationes in Ciceronis rhetoricam (Brepols, 2007).

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 243.

¹⁸⁷ We shall discuss Theodulf's *Opus Caroli regis* more in detail in Chapter Three. Ann Freeman, 'Einleitung', pp. 50-2. Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 267.

¹⁸⁸ Alcuin's access to Cassiodorus has been well established by Margaret Gibson and Pierre Courcelle. See: P. Courcelle, 'Histoire d'un brouillon cassiodoren', *Revue de Etudes Anciennes*, 44 (1942), pp. 65-86. M. Gibson, 'Boethius in the Carolingian Schools', p. 45.

¹⁸⁹ Alcuin, *De Grammatica*, PL 101: 849-902; *De Orthographia*, PL 101:901-920; *De Dialectica*, PL 101: 949-976, *Dialogus de rhetorica et virtutibus*, PL 101: 919b-949.

his move to the Carolingian court.¹⁹⁰ Divided into sections according to Donatus' eight parts of speech, the work initially appears to be nothing more than a summarizing of the late antique grammars we have been discussing. The material is straightforward with an obvious educational purpose, relying predominantly on pagan examples in order to illustrate various parts of speech:

Frank: How many divisions have nouns?
Saxon: Six, according to Donatus: *qualitas, comparatio, genus, numerus, figura, casus*. According to Priscian, five; because he identifies *species* in that quality (*qualitas*) and construction (*comparatio*) are the same; because all nouns are of a particular (*propriae*) kind (*speciei*); whether appellative: of principal (*principalis*) or derived (*derivativae*).¹⁹¹

The influence of Donatus is clear here, but so too is that of Priscian.¹⁹² Although prior to 800 the surviving copies of Donatus outnumber Priscian's *Institutiones* by half, in the following century, the relationship is reversed: about fifty ninth century copies survive versus only a meagre twenty of Donatus' two works.¹⁹³ Alcuin's role cannot be neglected in this: three copies of Priscian's material from the late eighth and early ninth century stem from Tours, of which Alcuin was abbot following 796.¹⁹⁴

Why Alcuin elected to highlight Priscian's *Institutiones* may be partially explained by Alcuin's increasing promotion of the relevance of philosophy to grammar, and more generally, to the Christian tradition. As already discussed, Priscian was one of the few late antique grammarians to draw explicitly on classical philosophy within his grammatical treatises. Alongside the new access to Aristotle, this grammarian's work perfectly complemented Alcuin's new approach to the

¹⁹⁰Based on the new estimation of Alcuin's arrival at Charlemagne's court c. 786. Vivien Law's dating of this treatise to 782 is probably incorrect. V. Law, *Grammar*, p. 83.

¹⁹¹ "FR. Quot accidunt nomini?--SAXO. Sex, secundum Donatum: *qualitas, comparatio, genus, numerus, figura, casus*. Secundum Priscianum, quinque; quia ille qualitatem et comparisonem simul, *species* nominavit, quia sunt omnia nomina *propriae* speciei, vel *appellativae: principalis* vel *derivativae*". Alcuin, *De Grammatica*, PL 101: 859c.

¹⁹² V. Law, *Grammar*, p. 83.

¹⁹³ Ibid, p. 83.

¹⁹⁴ Seven in total survive from Francia, including those from Tours: Autun 40, Koblenz 701 no. 759, Vat Lat. 1480 (Tours), Bern AA 90 fasc. 22, Florence Plut. 47 and 29, Paris BN lat. 7503, and Rheims 1094.

linguistic arts. While the *De Grammatica* rarely deviates from its subject matter of declension and conjugation, the prefatory material to the treatise, usually referred to as the *Disputatio de vera philosophia*, looks more broadly to the applications of the discipline to the Christian faith, but also via its relationship to philosophy.¹⁹⁵ Organized as a discussion between the Magister and Discipulus, the text praises philosophy as the teacher of all virtue, an unusual sentiment prior to this time within Christian writing.¹⁹⁶ More generally, this short text is often cited as an example of the re-appropriation of late antique Christian or pagan material.¹⁹⁷ Alcuin's text, designed to encourage or educate in the fundamentals of language, is an explanatory text, encapsulating the status of pagan and late antique Christian appropriation within court culture at this time. Within the preface, Alcuin advocates the revival of the liberal arts, apparently borrowing from Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*, in which Christian wisdom is paralleled with secular learning.¹⁹⁸ Yet

¹⁹⁵ The relationship to these two texts remains unclear. Although the *Disputatio* prefaces Alcuin's *De Grammatica* in several 9th century manuscripts, there has been little consensus as to whether the *Disputatio* was intended to be prefatory material. Bullough suggests that Alcuin intended for the two to be written together, while Martin Irvine suggests that Alcuin wrote the *Disputatio* as a separate work, which a scribe only joined to the *De Grammatica* after his death in 804. M. Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture: "Grammatica" and Literary Theory, 350-1100*, (Cambridge, 1994), p. 318. D.A. Bullough, 'Alcuin's Cultural Influence', p. 15. M. Alberi, "The Better Paths of Wisdom: Alcuin's Monastic "True Philosophy" and the Worldly Court" *Speculum*, Vol. 76, No. 4., (Oct. 2001), p. 897.

¹⁹⁶ With the obvious exception of Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae*; however, the circulation or adoption of such a sentiment was limited prior to the late eighth century. "Audivimus, o doctissime magister, saepius te dicentem quod philosophia esset omnium virtutum magistra, et haec sola fuisset quae inter omnes saeculi divitias nunquam miserum se possidentuem reliquisset." Alcuin. *De Grammatica*, PL 101: 849. Alcuin's awareness of the text remains debatable. D.A. Bullough rejects Pierre Courcelle's insistence that Alcuin must have been aware of the text in composing the *Disputatio*. P. Courcelle, "Les sources antiques du prologue d'Alcuin sur les disciplines", *Philologus*, 110:3/4 (1966) p. 294. Bullough. *Alcuin*, p. 275.

¹⁹⁷ The *De Grammatica* and its prefatory material, the *De Vera Philosophia*, were almost certainly written while Alcuin was still at the Aachen Court (prior to 796). The only manuscript that contains only those two texts, St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 268, was written in the Tours region, probably not long after 804. J. Marenbon, "Carolingian Thought" p. 172. D.A. Bullough, 'Alcuin's Cultural Influence: The Evidence of the Manuscripts' in L.A.J.R. Houwen & A.A. MacDonald's *Alcuin of York, Germania Latina III*, (Groningen, 1998), p.15.

¹⁹⁸ "Let us consider why this arrangement of the disciplines led up to the stars. The obvious purpose was to direct our mind, which has been dedicated to secular wisdom and cleansed by the exercise of the disciplines, from earthly things and to place it in a praiseworthy fashion in the divine structure...Let us who truly desire to reach the heavens by the use of our mental faculties believe that God has arranged everything according to his will...As blessed Augustine and other most learned Fathers say, secular writings should not be rejected...because from time to time we gain from secular letters commendable knowledge of some matters, but from divine law we gain eternal

the text goes beyond this, with a fundamental philosophical (and even, arguably Neoplatonic) orientation, in which wisdom is achieved (in this case a contemplation of the divine) via an ascending scale of the liberal arts. But out of the liberal arts, the discipline which should be appreciated most of all in this process is grammar. Alcuin indicates that the study of grammar, as the foundation for every other secular discipline (a topic he has borrowed from Isidore of Seville), reveals true knowledge, which is inherently knowledge of the divine.¹⁹⁹ Thus grammar (and by proxy the rest of the liberal arts) is not valuable only in terms of the inquisitive Christian, it possesses the ability to properly reflect reality, an echo of Aristotelian and Stoic philosophy.²⁰⁰

Much of the previous work on the *Disputatio* has focused on the incorporation of secular disciplines within a Christian setting and Alcuin's advocacy of a "true" philosophy, one which furthered Christian contemplation via *lectio*, dependent on the "seven steps to the House of Wisdom" (i.e. the liberal arts).²⁰¹ Taken as joint texts, the *Disputatio* provides the philosophical framework for the more prosaic *De Grammatica*, but in Alcuin's reliance on Priscian, we see an emergent philosophical theory highlighted in the linguistic arts. Priscian's *Institutiones*, as opposed to Donatus's material, incorporated an Aristotelian categorization to grammar, relying on the categories to supplement his diagrams of the parts of speech.²⁰² If the *Disputatio* can be seen as Alcuin's defense and didactic text on the benefits of secular study, his *De Grammatica* incorporates this theory wholesale, depending on a grammarian known for his Aristotelian association.

life." Cassiodorus, *Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum*, (ed.) R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1937). *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning*, (trans.) James W. Halporn (Liverpool, 2004), pp. 229-230.

¹⁹⁹ Isidore of Seville. *Etymologiae*, I.v.i.

²⁰⁰ We will explore the relationship of "reality" to that of the divine in subsequent sections.

²⁰¹ M. Alberi, "The Better Paths of Wisdom", pp. 896-910. H.-J. Werner, 'Meliores viae sophiae: Alkuins Bestimmungen der Philosophie in der Schrift 'Disputatio de vera philosophia' in *Was ist Philosophie im Mittelalter? Akten des X. Internationalen Kongresses für mittelalterliche Philosophie der Societe Internationale pour l'Etude de la Philosophie medievale*, (eds.) Jan A. Aertsen & A. Speer (Berlin, 1998), pp. 452-59.

²⁰²A. Luhtala, 'Syntax and Dialectic in Carolingian Commentaries on Priscian's *Institutiones Grammaticae*' in V. Law (ed.), *History of Linguistic Thought in the Early Middle Ages*, Studies in the History of Language Sciences 71 (Amsterdam, 1993), p. 146.

Within the *Disputatio de Vera Philosophia*, the Magister and Discipulus discuss how the mind, engaged in *lectio*, can ascend to the “heights of contemplative knowledge.”²⁰³ Origen and Augustine’s influence in this is clear: the individual progresses ever higher with the purpose of achieving a mystical union with God via Scriptural reading. Yet the secular disciplines provided an uncomfortable ground for such a union—too tied to the physical world. Early medieval Christian scholars needed a means by which God could be accessed spiritually. In so doing, Christians needed an epistemological framework in order to justify the transcendent nature of God’s wisdom in Scripture: how humanity could understand this divine wisdom on a level beyond that of the semiotics of human language. Carolingians needed to develop an ontological Christian theory that incorporated how the mind of man could both impart (by “writing” Scripture) and also understand (by reading) divine wisdom within Scripture. This required an abstraction of language: the means by which language (as signs) could reflect not just an external reality but divine concepts. And within the late eighth century, we find this is precisely what Carolingian writers such as Alcuin are attempting to do, via an incorporation of Augustinian Neoplatonic concepts and grammatical treatises reliant on Aristotelian ontology. Alcuin and his later Carolingian contemporaries used the ontological construction of the *imago* and *similitudo* in conjunction with the linguistic arts, creating a new Christian linguistic epistemology.

The oft-neglected *De Dialectica* (c.796-7), one of Alcuin’s other treatises devoted to the linguistic arts, demonstrates this development perfectly, highlighting the appropriation of both classical and early medieval material, and is structured within a discussion on the nature of logic as a verbal discipline.²⁰⁴ Written probably after Alcuin’s move to Tours (although it incorporated earlier teaching material), this text has perhaps the best early manuscript transmission history out of all the

²⁰³ “ad sublimiora speculativae scientiae” Alcuin, *Disputatio de vera Philosophia*, PL 101: 853.

²⁰⁴ Alcuin, *De Dialectica* PL 101: 949-976. John Marenbon, “Alcuin, the Council of Frankfurt and the Beginnings of Medieval Philosophy”. *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794. Teil II: Kultur und Theologie* (Mainz, 1997), pp. 606-7. P. Lehmann, *Cassiodorstudien. VIII: Cassiodor-Isidor-Beda-Alcuine. Philologus* 74 (1917), pp. 357-383.

“liberal arts” texts which are attributed to Alcuin (including the *De Grammatica*).²⁰⁵ Following his death in 804, Alcuin’s students were responsible for linking many of his logical and theological *dicta*, such as the combination of Alcuin’s *De Rhetorica* and the *De Dialectica*, and transcription of this edition seems to have flourished rapidly, with copies made at Echternach, St. Amand, Murbach, St. Gallen, and Freising.²⁰⁶

Alcuin’s work can hardly be considered an entirely original piece, appropriating as it does Isidore, Porphyry, Cassiodorus, Boethius, and Aristotle.²⁰⁷ Composed as a dialogue between Alcuin and Charles the Great, it features seven sections investigating component parts of dialectic as a verbal discipline, each predominantly a summary or reformulation of prior work on the subject. Carl Prantl’s early investigation into the text examined Alcuin’s various source material, according to each section of the text, reproduced below.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁵ The oldest copy of the material, which Bullough suggests was not the definitive text, incorporated the writings of Apuleius, pseudo-Augustine, and Boethius, probably as a court “handbook” of dialectic. It was later copied into an early ninth century Lyons book, which is unlikely to be pre-800. Rome, Casa Madre dei Padri Maristi S.N. (CLA IV, 417, incorrectly ascribed to the eighth century). Bullough, ‘Alcuin’s cultural influence’, p. 18.

²⁰⁶ Bullough, ‘Alcuin’s cultural influence’, p. 18.

²⁰⁷ Alcuin adopts much of Isidore’s account of logic in his *Etymologiae* (II 25-31), but also incorporates material from the *Isagoge* (Porphyry’s introduction to logic), Aristotle’s *Categoriae Decem* and *De Interpretatione* (the only works of Aristotle known before c. 1120), Cassiodorus’ *Institutiones*, and Boethius’ first commentary on the material.

²⁰⁸ Although Prantl did not acknowledge any influence of Cassiodorus on Alcuin, subsequent examinations of the text by Paul Lehmann reveal this additional source in Alcuin’s work, which he probably encountered at the Carolingian court as no copy of the *Institutiones* has been proven to have been at Wearmouth-Jarrow during Bede’s lifetime nor does Alcuin refer to it in England. C. Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande* Vol II (Leipzig, 1861), p. 16-17. P. Lehmann, *Erforschung des Mittelalters. ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze* Vol. II, 30-108 (Stuttgart, 1959), p. 107.

Introduction: Isidore²⁰⁹ (with additional original material²¹⁰)

Isagoge: Porphyry and Isidore

De categoriis: Predominantly pseudo-Augustinian material

De contrariis: Isidore

Prius et simul: Pseudo-Augustine

De argumentis: Short extracts from the doctrine of judgments, also small portions of Boethius' treatise *De Differentis Topicis* has been incorporated

De modis definitionum: mostly from Boethius

De topis: Isidore

De perihermeniiis: Aristotle and Isidore, but information about the *nomen*, *verbum*, and *orationum* stems from Boethius

De Dialectica presents a forum in which Alcuin fuses an Aristotelian logic with Augustinian semiotics, examining the use of literary genres within Scripture. Although John Marenbon has argued that Alcuin disregards or minimizes the verbal aspect of classical philosophy (such as the syllogism), this is not the case.²¹¹ Within the dialogue, Alcuin assumes Isidore's definition of logic as a linguistic (and/or verbal) discipline:

²⁰⁹ The quotations from this section could equally refer to Isidore or Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*, as both texts feature almost identical wording. Cassiodorus *Institutiones*, II, iii, I I. Isidore, *Etymologiae*, II, xxvii, I. C.H. Kneepkens, "Some notes on Alcuin's *De perhermeniiis* with an edition of the text" *Alcuin of York: scholar at the Carolingian Court : proceedings of the Third Germania Latina Conference held at the University of Groningen, May 1995*. L.A.J. Houwen and A.A. MacDonald (eds.) (Groningen, 1998), p. 85.

²¹⁰ We will examine this original material below.

²¹¹ Marenbon, "Alcuin", p. 608-9.

Charlemagne: Into what *species* is logic divided?
 Alcuin: Into two: dialectic and rhetoric. In these also divine speech corresponds to three types of philosophy.
 Charlemagne: In what way?
 Alcuin: For [divine speech] is accustomed to discuss either from nature (*de natura*), as in Genesis or Ecclesiastes; or from conduct (*de moribus*), as in Proverbs and elsewhere a bit in all the books; or from logic (*de logica*), according to which our [writers] appropriate the theology for themselves, as in the Song of Songs or in the Holy Gospel.²¹²

Alcuin manipulates the inheritance of Aristotelian logic and linguistics in order to locate it within a more thorough grounding of Christian metaphysics. While the syllogism features prominently in Isidore's and Cassiodorus' discussion of rhetoric and dialectic, Alcuin abbreviates his treatment of it to only a few short paragraphs. Similarly, Alcuin changes the traditional arrangement of Porphyry's and Aristotle's examinations of logic, which during this period were usually presented as a three-part series. Typically the introduction to logic as seen in the *Isagoge*, precedes the *De Interpretatione* (a discussion of single terms of language), ending in a more complex examination of statements and arguments within the *Categoriae Decem*.²¹³ Yet in Alcuin's text, Aristotle's *De Interpretatione* has been moved to the end of the treatise, ostensibly in order to highlight the *Categories*. In highlighting the *Categories*, a work of epistemology, Alcuin is able to investigate the nature of etymology and the formation of the "substance" of words. In order to do so within a Christian framework, Alcuin moves from the definitions of philosophy and

²¹² C. Logica in quot species dividitur?---A. In duas, in dialecticam et rhetoricam. In his quippe generibus tribus philosophiae etiam eloquia divina consistunt. C. Quomodo?---A. Nam aut de natura disputare solent, ut in Genesi et in Ecclesiaste; aut de moribus, ut in Proverbiis et in omnibus sparsim libris; aut de logica, pro qua nostri theologicam sibi vindicant, ut in Canticis canticorum et sancto Evangelio. Alcuin. *De Dialectica*, PL 101 952b-c. This passage is lifted almost entirely from Isidore's *Etymologies*, II.xxiv.7 (trans.) S. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, Oliver Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 80.

²¹³ Alcuin may have been working under the assumption that the *Categories* were a work of Augustine's translation rather than Aristotle, based on the heading in the manuscript source for this work in some of the ninth century copies of the work. Yet, as D.A. Bullough has shown, the ascription to Augustine does not feature in the earliest examples of the text (the oldest of which is a Leidrad of Lyons manuscript from a court exemplar. Rome, Casa Madre dei Padri Maristi s.n. CLA IV 417) Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 377.

knowledge to a more complex examination of semiotics and ontology.

In order to see Alcuin's agenda in this text, let us examine the elements of these fields that have specific Christian resonance. Alcuin assumes both Isidore and Cassiodorus' definition of philosophy: "the investigation of natural things, the knowledge (*scientia*) of human and divine things, as much as it is possible for humans to assess".²¹⁴ Knowledge as a bipartite system is the foundation behind this field: knowledge's relationship to both the physical and the abstract (divine in the Christian context) world. The means by which one achieves *scientia* is the perception of things via reason (or rationale).²¹⁵ The inclusion of reason into the definition of knowledge unites the Aristotelian linguistic forms and a Christian ontology. It is by means of humanity's element of reason that one is able to achieve knowledge of abstract concepts, allowing the abstract or divine elements to be present within corporeal or physical disciplines. Alcuin's digression into their Scriptural or Christian applications marks a change of pace from the earlier transmissions of Aristotle and Porphyry (via Boethius, Cassiodorus, or Isidore). The front-loading of his aims in this regard should alter the way we perceive the entire text, including how he orientates appropriated ontological and linguistic material.

Alcuin's understanding of his treatise as having both linguistic and philosophical implications is clear, particularly by directly quoting Isidore's citation of Aristotelian epistemology: "All speech is a representation of a thing conceived in the mind."²¹⁶ There is a clear link in Alcuin's treatise between the relationship of linguistic structure to philosophical concepts (particularly as expounded in the field of dialectic). Within the treatise, Charles worries that Alcuin's instruction will be a lesson in grammar. Alcuin explains that it is necessary to know grammar in order

²¹⁴ "Philosophia est naturarum inquisitio, rerum humanarum divinarumque cognitio, quantum homini possibile est aestimare." Alcuin takes this passage almost entirely from Cassiodorus (albeit perhaps via Isidore) Alcuin, *De Dialectica*, PL 101: 952A. Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, 2.3.5. Isidore of Seville. *Etymologiae*. II.xxiv.11.

²¹⁵ "Scientia est cum res aliqua certa ratione percipitur", Isidore of Seville. *Etymologiae*. II.xxiv.2.

²¹⁶ "omnis elocutio conceptae rei mentis interpretis est" Isidore, *Etymologiae*, II.xxvii.2. "omnis enim elocutio mentis interpretis", Alcuin, *De Dialectica*, PL 101: 972A.

to understand the subtler points within dialectic.²¹⁷ Much of the treatise is devoted to explaining the various definitions or permutations of a noun (often referring to the auditory or “sound” experience of words), appropriating material from Isidore, Cassiodorus, and Boethius. The philosophical implications of the treatise however resurface throughout the text: particularly in his definition of a noun as something “either visible or invisible”.²¹⁸ This topic introduces Alcuin’s appropriation of Aristotle’s *Categories* and its implications on the nature of language. As Alcuin explains to Charles: each noun signifies something which has substance (*substantia* or *usia*) which in itself is a defining feature of anything which “is” (i.e. that exists, such as a man). This *substantia* indicates something which can be perceived by the senses.²¹⁹ Alcuin implies a relationship between the existence of a “thing” (*res*) and the means by which it can be described by human language, taking directly from Aristotle’s categorization of human apprehension via the categories. If language can comprise invisible (or divine) elements, then language can thus adequately be used to talk about God.²²⁰

For Isidore (one of Alcuin’s major sources in the *De Dialectica*), philosophy has four subcategories (taken predominantly from Aristotle): natural/physics, moral/ethics, and rational/logic, under which fall a number of even further distinctions. Yet the field is also divided into two types: speculative (*inspectivus*) and practical (*actualis*). These terms refer not to what is studied, but rather *how*

²¹⁷ “C. Num me iterum per grammaticam ducere disponis? A. Dispono, sed excelsiore gradu. Et si interrogas, videbis, quantum dista dialecticasubtilitas a grammatica simplicitate.” Alcuin, *De Dialectica*, PL 101: 973A.

²¹⁸ “Nam omne nomen aliquid significat, visibile vel invisibile, substantiale vel accidens” Alcuin, *De Dialectica*, PL 101: 973B.

²¹⁹ This has obvious echoes in Augustine’s argument from *De Trinitate*, although Alcuin does not share the same linguistic distaste for the term “substantia”, nor does he find any fault with *substantia* being defined by the senses (which Augustine was wary of). See footnote 14 above.

²²⁰ This takes directly from Aristotle’s (by way of Boethius) relationship between signs and *res* (their signifiers). “Haec substantia dicatur aurum, haec lapis, haec aqua, et alia similia. Tales igitur voces secundum positionem sunt hominum, et ita secundum positionem, quemadmodum ipsis hominibus placuit, a quibus nomina illa formata sunt. Huisumodi ergo voces, quae secundum positionem sunt, secundum ponentium placitum sunt. Sed nomen non naturaliter significat, apud diversas enim gentes diversa sunt nomina, quae autem apud diversos diversa sunt, ea non sunt naturaliter, sed secundum placitum eorum qui posuerunt positionemque ponentium”. Boethius, *Comm. In lib. Arist. Periherm.* I, ed., I, 2, p. 46. Alcuin, *De Dialectica*, PL 101: 973B.

something is studied.²²¹ Isidore, like his early medieval predecessors, incorporates Divine Speech into the three types of pagan philosophy and reserves a particular subtype of speculative philosophy for contemplating the divine.²²² Borrowing from Jerome, Isidore acknowledges the union of logic and *theologica*, but otherwise is silent on the nature of Christian education as a specific element to his predominantly pagan discipline.²²³

Alcuin appropriates much of this borrowed material, maintaining the same three genres of philosophy (all of which comprise Divine Speech), as well as the implied association between this classical field and spiritual inquiry (*theologica*). Although Isidore does not include any discussion of what the nature of theology is, Alcuin inserts an entirely new section into this treatise of predominantly borrowed material, in which he reassigns one of Isidore's two types of philosophy (speculative/*inspectiva*) to that of theology entirely: "What is theology? Theology (*theologica*), which is called *inspectiva* in Latin, is when we contemplate something only by means of the mind with regards to divine or celestial things, which necessarily supersedes the visible."²²⁴

The importance of this should not be underemphasized. By inserting *theologica* into a classical definition of philosophy, Alcuin has blended Christian and pagan ontological theory, within a framework of linguistic structure. Within Alcuin's refigured philosophical divisions, aspects of Christian ontology are found in every stage of the discipline: comprising each type of philosophy within Divine Speech, cementing the association between logic and theology, and finally, re-appropriating speculative philosophy for Christian theology.

With this Christian framework established, Alcuin can move on to a more traditional summarizing of Porphyry's *Isagoge* and Aristotle's *Categories* and the

²²¹ Isidore, *Etymologiae*, PL 82:142b.

²²² "Philosophy is called divine when we treat very deeply of the ineffable nature of God or creatures that are spiritual in some respect." *Divinalis dicitur, quando aut ineffabilem naturam Dei, aut spirituales creaturas ex aliqua parte profundissima qualitate disserimus.* Isidore, *Etymologiae*, PL 82:142b, (trans.) Stephen Barney, p. 80.

²²³ As quoted above: *Etymologies*, II.xxiv.7.

²²⁴ "Theologica quid est?--A. Theologica est, quae Latine inspectiva dicitur, qua supergressi visibilia de divinis et coelestibus aliquid mente solum contemplamur." *De Dialectica* PL 101: 951A.

Peri Hermeneias. The Christian intellectual tradition has now not only acquired the various forms of philosophy via Alcuin's arrangement, but has defined the Christian introspection of the divine within its framework. Accordingly, one may read these pagan philosophies as applicable to the Christian tradition, with added relevance to interpretations of both Scripture and Christian thought, but more specifically, it has provided a solid foundation on which Christian thinkers (such as Alcuin and Theodulf) could rest an ontology based on Scriptural and christological interpretation. Yet the predominant ontological arguments found in the *De Dialectica* are those from the classical or late antique period. Although, as we saw above, Alcuin reformulates many for the Christian setting, they required more context and an overall Christian ontology in which to make them relevant.

In addition to Alcuin's question-and-answer didactic texts such as the *De Dialectica*, his authorship was once attributed to a short text, often referred to as the *De Imagine Dei*, or, in its longer later medieval edition, the *De Dignitate Conditionis Humanae*.²²⁵ This amalgamated text reveals the extent to which grammatical theory and Christian epistemology elements were closely allied. In its earliest known form (two manuscripts from the early ninth century), the text is divided into two sections: one entitled *Dicta Albini de Imagine Dei*, followed by another text, *Dicta Candidi Presbyteri de Imagine Dei*.²²⁶ In consideration of the title of the text in the earliest known manuscript edition (Munich clm. 6407, ca. 800, also known as the "Munich Passages") contained the name Alcuin adopted while at the Carolingian Court (Flaccus Albinus), this was generally taken as evidence to indicate Alcuin's authorship.²²⁷ The second text was believed to have

²²⁵ M. Lebech & J. McEvoy, 'De Dignitate Conditionis Humanae: Translation, Commentary, and Reception History of the *Dicta Albini* (Ps.-Alcuin) and the *Dicta Candidi*', *Viator* Vol. 40, No. 2 (2009), pp. 1-34.

²²⁶ The two manuscripts, both probably from the early ninth century, have been extensively discussed in terms of their origins and respective influence. The first, referred to as the "Munich Passages" is contained within Munich clm 6407. The second is Roma Bibl. Padri Maristi, A.II.1, probably originally from Lyon ca. 818. Initial work was done on the two texts by John Marenbon, only recently revised by M. Lebech and J. McEvoy in 2009. J. Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre* (Cambridge, 1981); M. Lebech & J. McEvoy, 'De Dignitate Conditionis Humanae', p. 12.

²²⁷ J. Marenbon, *From the Circle*, pp. 31-144. and D.A. Bullough, 'Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven'

been authored by Alcuin's pupil, Wizo (who adopted the name Candidus).²²⁸ The two texts (the *Dicta Albini* and the *Dicta Candidi*) have now been shown to have originated as independent treatises, with the *Dicta Albini* enjoying a wide transmission history during the ninth centuries. Lebech and McEvoy's work on the Munich clm. 6407 manuscript has demonstrated that even this early edition is clearly a copy rather than the original version of the text.²²⁹ Although frequent quotation of the text during the 790s by other Carolingian writers attests to the pervasiveness of the text, D.A. Bullough was able to demonstrate the true origins of the text in late fifth or early sixth century southern Gaul, rendering the authorship of Alcuin impossible.²³⁰

Yet our argument does not rely on Alcuin's authorship, but rather on the text's transmission during the Carolingian period. Although, as stated above, its origins are still murky, this text saw a revitalization during the Carolingian period, with several extant late eighth and early ninth century editions, the earliest of which, the Munich Passages text, contains both the *De Imagine Dei* text and Alcuin's *De Dialectica*.²³¹ But this of course could be mere happenstance, a decision made by copyists rather than Alcuin himself (although the dating and frequency of finding these texts together suggests that Alcuin may have had a hand in this arrangement). Yet Alcuin's *inclusion* of aspects of the *De Imagine Dei* within other treatises conclusively shows not only his awareness of the text but his subscription to its ontological arguments. We will discuss the incorporation of the text into his

in his *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage* (Manchester, 1991), pp. 178-181. Bullough also mentions this argument in his *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation*, p. 6, 72, 376.

²²⁸ Lebech, "De Dignitate", p. 4.

²²⁹ Ibid, p. 9.

²³⁰ The text is cited within the *Opus Caroli Regis Contra Synodum*, which we shall discuss in detail in subsequent sections. Further attribution of this text to Alcuin in earlier years was due to the belief that the *Opus Caroli* was Alcuin's work. This has subsequently been disproven, and authorship of the work has been shown to be that of Theodulf of Orléans, albeit with input from Alcuin at stages. Liber I, chap. 7, *MGH Conc. 2, Supp. 1*, (ed.) A. Freeman, pp. 138-140. (hereafter referred to as the *OC*); Lebech, *De Dignitate*, p. 8.

²³¹ The text also includes a schematic diagram dealing with the parts of rhetoric, philosophy, the parts of an oration; and the parts of prudence, justice, temperance, and fortitude. PL 101:949-50. E. Ann Matter, "A Carolingian Schoolbook? The Manuscript Tradition of Alcuin's *De fide* and Related Treatises in S. Nichols & S. Wenzel (eds.), *The Whole Book: cultural perspectives on the medieval miscellany* (Michigan, 1996) p. 146.

various treatises in a moment, but let us look first at the text of the *Dicta Albini* itself and its role in terms of the perceived relationship between the linguistic arts and ontology (couched within the Christian tradition). The work explores the nature of the creation of man via the counsel of the Holy Trinity, a rarely used explanation for the creation of man, notably employed by Basil of Caesarea (329-379).²³² The text focuses on two interrelated topics: the creation of man in the *image* of God and the creation of man in the *likeness* of God.

The treatise focuses on a commentary of Genesis 1:26: “Let us make man to our image and likeness”.²³³ In understanding man as the image of God, the *Dicta Albini* describes the process by which man’s soul is comprised of three elements according to the nature of the Trinity (intellect, will, and memory), which provided him the “...dignity, so that...he would more understand how astonishingly he was made by him the more ardently he would love him.”²³⁴ These three elements of the soul formed the basis of justifying man’s ability to understand and therefore love his Creator. Similarly, this context would allow the unique relationship between God and man via language. By endowing man’s soul (or intellect) with a capacity for divine understanding, this circumvented the material limitations of language for Christian scholars such as Alcuin.

Although it has been shown Alcuin did not write the *Dicta Albini*, the Christian epistemology contained therein can be found in a number of Alcuin’s writings such as his *De animae ratione liber ad Eulalam Virginem* as well his commentary on Genesis, which specifically invokes the creation of man’s soul with his ability to reason:

²³² *Dicta Albini* (trans.) Lebech and McEvoy, “*De Dignitate*”, p. 23.

²³³ “Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram”. *De Dignitate Conditionis Humanae* PL 17: 1015a.

²³⁴ “...ut ex primae conditionis honore intelligeret, quantum deberet suo conditori, dum tantum in conditione mox dignitatis privilegium praestitit ei conditor; ut tanto ardentius amaret conditorem, quanto mirabilius se ab eo esse conditum intelligeret: nec ob hoc solum quod consilio sanctae Trinitatis sic excellenter a conditore conditus est, sed etiam quod ad imaginem et similitudinem suam ipse creator omnium eum creavit, quod nulli alii ex creaturis donavit.” *De Dignitate Conditionis Humanae*, PL 17: 1015a.

Q. 36: Why is it only of man that it was said, “Let us make man” (Gen 1.26), whereas concerning other creatures one reads, “God spoke”? A. It was in order that it should be clear that when this creature capable of reason was created it was done by taking counsel, and that the noble nature of it should be made manifest...

Q. 38: In what way is the human being the image of god? A. In the interior man (*in interiore homine*).

Q. 39: Why both image and likeness? A. Image in eternity, likeness (*similitudo*) in right conduct.²³⁵

This definition of man allows him the unique ability out of all creation to “contemplate” his Creator. Via his intellect, will, and memory (the three aspects to the human soul), man is able to “see beyond” the limitations of the carnal world to achieve divine contemplation. The “likeness” of man was understood to be linked to his free will. Although he had been given the honor of representing the image of God, man’s free will allowed him the choice of adhering to the glory of that image. That image, if a life is lived poorly, can become distorted, lessening a man’s likeness to God (whereas his “image” is always maintained). One’s goal should be to live life well, in order to maintain the “likeness” aspect of his self and its relationship to God. Although these works are in the context of Christian epistemology, they also have significant parallels with the semiotic system as devised by Augustine. Indeed, the relationship between *imago* and *similitudo* directly echoes his *De Diversis Quaestiones LXXXIII*, a text devoted almost entirely to the nature of image,

²³⁵ *Inter. 36.* Quare de solo homine dictum est: *Faciamus hominem* (Gen. I, 26); de aliis autem creaturis legitur: *Dixit Deus?*---*Resp.* Ut videlicet, quae rationabilis creatura condebatur, cum consilio facta videretur, et ut ejus nobilitas ostenderetur. *Inter. 37.* Cur plurali numero dixit: *Faciamus?*---*Resp.* Ut ostenderetur trium una operatio personarum. *Inter. 38.* In quo est homo conditoris sui imago?---*Resp.* In interiori homine. *Inter. 39.* Cur utrumque, imago et similitudo?---*Resp.* Imago in aeternitate, similitudo in moribus. Alcuin, *Interrogationes et Responsiones in Genesin*, PL 100: 520b-c. He also addresses the image/likeness concept accordingly: “Et haec sola anima nobilis est, si illum amat a quo est quod est; qui illam talem creavit, ut in se sui ipsius imaginem et similitudinem haberet impressam, et digna Dei esset habitatione, secundum modum, quem quaelibet creatura in se Creatorem habere possit”. This text exists in a letter collection of Alcuin’s dating from copies of twin manuscripts dating to c. 820 (now in London, BL Harley, 208 and Paris BNF, N.A. Lat 1096). It appears both derive from an earlier exemplar probably from St. Denis. The letter to “Eulalia”, often presumed to be Adalhard’s sister Gundrada probably dates from c. 799 – 800. Alcuin, *De animae ratione liber ad Eulaliam Virginem*, PL 101: 639b-c.

likeness, and equality.²³⁶ The author of the *De Imagine Dei*'s use of *similitudo* (and Alcuin's adoption of the term) is made clear via Augustine's discussion, here summarized by R.A. Markus:

The concept of image includes the idea of likeness, for nothing can be said to be an image of something unless it is in some way like it...The special feature which distinguishes an image-likeness from any other likeness is that an image is somehow dependent on an original, which it 'expresses'. Examples of likeness which are also images are the likeness of a child to its parents, or of a painting or mirror-image to its original. In all these cases the image is in some way 'dependent' on the original which it also resembles. Equality is also logically connected with likeness in virtue of the meaning of the term. If two things are equal, they are necessarily alike, though the converse is not the case. Two objects are equal when some decisive feature in both is actually identical, as is the shape, sometimes, of two eggs. There is, however, no logical relation between equality and being an image. Two things may be equal without being related as image and original: they may be image and original without the image being an equal likeness of its original.²³⁷

This may seem a subject far removed from our investigations into grammar;

²³⁶ Augustine, *De Diversis Quaestiones LXXXIII*, PL 40: 86.

²³⁷ "Imago et aequalitas et similitudo distinguenda sunt. Quia ubi imago, continuo similitudo, non continuo aequalitas: ubi aequalitas, continuo similitudo, non continuo imago: ubi similitudo, non continuo imago, non continuo aequalitas. Ubi imago, continuo similitudo, non continuo aequalitas: ut in speculo est imago hominis, quia de illo expressa est; est etiam necessario similitudo, non tamen aequalitas, quia multa desunt imagini, quae tamen insunt illi rei de qua expressa est. Ubi aequalitas, continuo similitudo, non continuo imago: velut in duobus ovis paribus, quia inest aequalitas, inest et similitudo; quaecumque enim adsunt uni, adsunt et alteri; imago tamen non est, quia neutrum de altero expressum est. Ubi similitudo, non continuo imago, non continuo aequalitas: ...Sed ubi dicitur, Non continuo, utique intelligitur quia esse aliquando potest. Potest ergo esse aliqua imago in qua sit etiam aequalitas: ut in parentibus et filiis inveniretur imago et aequalitas et similitudo, si intervallum temporis defuisset; nam et de parente expressa est similitudo filii, ut recte dicatur imago, et potest esse tanta, ut recte etiam dicatur aequalitas, nisi quod parens tempore praecessit. Ex quo intelligitur et aliquando aequalitatem non solum similitudinem habere, sed etiam imaginem; quod in superiori exemplo manifestum est. Potest etiam aliquando similitudo esse et aequalitas, quamvis non sit imago... Potest etiam similitudo et imago esse, quamvis non sit aequalitas; ut in speculo ostendimus. Potest et similitudo esse, ubi et aequalitas et imago sit; sicut de filiis commemoravimus, excepto tempore, quo praecedunt parentes. Sic enim aequalem syllabam syllabae dicimus; quamvis altera praecedat, altera subsequatur. In Deo autem, quia conditio temporis vacat; non enim potest recte videri Deus in tempore generasse Filium, per quem condidit tempora: consequens est ut non solum sit imago ejus, quia de illo est, et similitudo, quia imago; sed etiam aequalitas tanta, nec temporis quidem intervallum impedimento sit." Augustine, *De Diversis Quaestionibus LXXXIII*, PL 40: 86; R. A. Markus, "Imago and Similitudo", p. 125.

however, the nature by which man was able to comprehend something abstract (such as the various forms of language) was fundamentally associated with his nature as a creation of God. In Alcuin's appropriation of the *De Imagine Dei* text, he contextualizes the *imago/similitudo* concept as one of Christian ontology. When seen in Augustine's examinations of the form, it is within the context of language, taken directly from Aristotle's definitions of the subject with regards to human apprehension.²³⁸ Alcuin redefines the topic with the examination of language as a human invention. But man's unique nature (having been created in God's image) gave him the mental and spiritual faculties with which to use language as a means of apprehending divine wisdom.²³⁹ Having appropriated Augustine's (and, by proxy, Aristotle's) understanding of an image, humanity resembles its Creator by means of one or more of its qualities (a special form of likeness). In the same light, man, as an image of God represents or contains elements of the divine (as stated earlier, the soul). This inherent characteristic provides the soul with the intellect, will, and memory with which to comprehend both the world (according to the Aristotelian categories) and attempt to achieve "likeness" with God (that is, to achieve the fullest potential of this divinely inspired reason). This had proved troubling to some late antique writers, such as Victorinus, as it seemingly validated the Arian heresy (that the Son could be *like* but not the same as the Father)²⁴⁰; however, Augustine avoids this problem by distinguishing between that which is the image and likeness of God (i.e. the Son) and what it means to be *to* God's image and likeness (which defines man).²⁴¹

Although John Marenbon relied on what has been termed the "Munich

²³⁸ Augustine here is paraphrasing Victorinus' summary of the definition of substance, "...a substance is not said to be similar [to another] in virtue of its substance; rather, if it is of the same substance, it is said to be the same substance, not like. For likeness is asserted of things in respect to their qualities..." Victorinus, *Adversus Arianos*, I, 41.9-19. Markus, "Imago and Similitudo" p. 40.

²³⁹ Markus, "Imago and Similitudo" p. 36. P. Hadot, 'L'image de la Trinité dans l'Âme chez Victorinus et chez saint Augustin', *Studia Patristica* 6 (1962), pp. 409-42.

²⁴⁰ Victorinus thus attempts to argue that the Son is the perfect image of the Father, while humanity is made in the image of the Son (i.e., an image of an image).

²⁴¹ This topic will become relevant later when we discuss the Adoptionist controversy in Chapter Three, particularly in the use of *De Imagine Dei* within Theodulf's *Opus Caroli regis contra Synodum*. Augustine, *De Diversis Quaestionibus LXXXIII*, Chap. 51, PL 40: 80.

Passages” and a collection of logical works in Munich clm 6407 to assert his theory of Alcuin’s authorship of the *De Imagine Dei*, this now-defunct theory should not necessarily mean we should ignore the contribution or significance of this manuscript. Indeed, this manuscript contains not only an early version of the disputed text, but also a variety of texts either from Alcuin’s circle on the nature of Aristotelian categories or at least those elements of Aristotle known to the Carolingians during this time. Within this we find a reliance upon Augustine’s own work on the categories: that God transcends all categories, except that of substance.²⁴² Alcuin clearly has appropriated this philosophy within his own work on the Trinity.²⁴³ The application of this theory we have already discussed with reference to the problem of appropriating the entirety of the Aristotelian categories, but this problem has been solved by the *De Imagine Dei* and a new re-contextualization of the nature of man as an image of God. It is important to distinguish this from the conceptualization of Christ, who did not only contain “likeness” or possess certain elements of the divine, but rather was co-substantial with God (taking from the Aristotelian definition): “[Christ] is called ‘of one substance’ with the Father because of their unity of substance. The two joined together therefore denote ‘one substance’.”²⁴⁴

The popularity of *De Imagine Dei* and its description of man’s soul as a mirror of the divine became well-known not only in Alcuin’s period but throughout the medieval period, and so closely adhered to Augustine’s writing on the same subject that it was included among the Church Father’s works, most notably by Thomas Aquinas.²⁴⁵ But of most interest are the scholars who also quote the *De Imagine Dei* within Alcuin’s period, namely Theodulf of Orléans, Paulinus of

²⁴² “Usia” graece quod est latine “substantian” sive “essential” hoc est Deus. Munich clm 6407. As also seen in Augustine’s *De Trinitate* Book 5: 2, CCSL 50, p. 207 I-2.

²⁴³ “Proprie Deus dicitur substantia una, summa et ineffabilis, quae semper idem est quod est: quia nihil accidens vel recidens inesse poterit, quae semper est quod est, quia semper immutabilis.” *De fide S. Trinitatis* 1 15, PL 101: 22c-24b.

²⁴⁴ “*Homousios* Patri ab unitate substantiae appellatur. *Substantia* enim, vel *essentia* Graece οὐσία dicitur, μὴς *unum*. Utrumque igitur conjunctum sonat *una substantia*.” Isidore, *Etymologiae*, VII.ii.13, p. 156.

²⁴⁵ Thomas Aquinas, *De IV Sententiarum*, D.44. Lebech, “*De Dignitate*” p. 18.

Aquileia, and Hrabanus Maurus.²⁴⁶ The grammarian Smaragdus (ca. 760-840), abbot of Saint-Mihiel-sur-Meuse was responsible for an influential commentary on Donatus (written ca. 805), which promoted many of the above conflation of philosophy and the rules of language within a Christian context: “Properly speaking, an interjection is an incoherent noise emitted from the secret depths of the mind which is uttered in public solely in order to reveal clearly the inner state of the person...By making them known openly through a spoken sign one person comes to know the secret thoughts of another.”²⁴⁷ As we shall see in other genres, particularly poetry, a shared adherence or subscription to the philosophy of the image of man among these three writers increasingly points to a mutual “Carolingian” approach to linguistic semiotics.

If the divine intellect or rationale of humanity could be now located within a Christian context and explained by means of Augustinian and Aristotelian logic, its relationship to human language required refinement. And for this, the Carolingians were indebted to Augustine. His examination of the nature of sight, with particular emphasis on reading, advocated a tripartite division in the manner in which language and, more generally, visible signs, were interpreted by each individual, and to what extent reading could employ the divine rationale given by God.²⁴⁸

Augustine argued that the sense of vision could employ the corporeal, the spiritual,

²⁴⁶ As mentioned, Theodulf of Orléans cites almost half of the text within his *Opus Caroli*. Paulinus cites the text in his *Liber exhortationis*, addressed to Count Henry, a spiritual and moral mirror of the prince. PL 99: 199, Chap. 2. Hrabanus Maurus includes a substantial quotation from the text in his commentary on Ecclesiastes. PL 109: 763-1126, in particular 874b-875b. Lebech, “*De Dignitate*” p. 11.

²⁴⁷ “Interiectio’ proprie dicitur voc confusa de mentis archano prolata, quae tantum ad hoc profertur in publicum, ut interioris hominis lucide demonstret affectum..attamen per apertam prolationis vocem alter alterius occulta cognoscit.” Smaragdus’ grammar became extremely influential in the ninth century, surviving today in 19 copies, 12 dating from the ninth century alone. Smaragdus, (eds.) Bengt Löfstedt & Louis Holtz, *Liber in partibus Donati*, CCCM 68 (Turnhout, 1986). V. Law, *Grammar and Grammarians*, p. 143.

²⁴⁸ “Sed tunc potest iste spiritus sic intelligi, si quod dictum est, *In principio fecit Deus coelum et terram*, tantum de visibili creatura dictum sentiamus; ut super materiam rerum visibilium in exordio fabricationis earum superferretur invisibilis spiritus, qui tamen etiam ipse creatura esset, id est non Deus, sed a Deo facta atque instituta natura. Si autem universae creaturae, id est et intellectualis et animalis et corporalis, materia creditur illo aquae vocabulo enuntiata, nullo modo hoc loco Spiritus Dei potest nisi ille incommutabilis et sanctus intelligi, qui ferebatur super materiam omnium rerum, quas fecit et condidit Deus” Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* PL 34:226-227.

and the intellectual aspects of each individual. In employing the intellectual form of seeing (as when reading Scripture), the divine rationale of an individual is engaged, allowing each person to see beyond the visible to the invisible, in which was contained the divine wisdom or message (in the case of Scripture). Only by means of man's unique nature was he able to see beyond the visible to the invisible. This provided the crucial link between the semiotic systems of the classical philosophies and the ontology of the Christian tradition.

Alcuin's appropriation of this complex Augustinian philosophy and the tripartite understanding of vision as relating to Holy Scripture is best exemplified in his letter to his student Fridugisus (who would eventually assume control of the Tours monastery), ca. 798.²⁴⁹ In this letter we find a detailed explanation of not only the three kinds of vision, but specifically a contextualization of language (and Scriptural language in particular) as a system of signs, a final conclusive statement that marks the pinnacle of Alcuin's long efforts in grammar, patristic theory, and pagan ontology and its applicability for all mankind. Such a letter also contextualizes his approach to the biblical text as he set about his revision programme during this period at Tours (a topic which we shall examine in Chapter Four).

Signs therefore are able to be understood by their signification of things (*res*), an Augustinian appeal to language's referent to external reality, abstract mental thoughts, and (within Alcuin's treatise) the process of divine wisdom. For Alcuin (as Augustine) signs in and of themselves are still fundamentally and necessarily perceived by the body (in the case of language, by means of the eyes):

However now we should consider the wonderful force of the soul in the formation of things (*res*), which it perceives via the carnal senses, by which as if through certain letters, he perceives something of either known or unknown perceptible things, soon he forms figures with indescribable speed within himself, and, those figures having been formed, he stores them away in the treasury of his mind.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁹ Alcuin, Epp. 135, *MGH Epist.* 4, p. 203. For a translation of the text, please consult Appendix II.

²⁵⁰ Nunc autem consideremus miram velocitatem animae in formandis rebus, quae percipit per

This forms the fundamental relationship between external reality and mental construct. Man is uniquely capable (thanks to his creation in the image of God) to conceptualize signs and their inherent meaning, as we discussed above. Because humanity is not a perfect image of the divine, it cannot fully comprehend divine wisdom; however, via the use of signs/images/likenesses (such as in Scripture), it can glean the ulterior meaning in them, leading to a more perfect understanding of God. The discipline of grammar in particular out of the liberal arts, provided the science of this system of signs, lauded in its role as the *origo* of all education during this period. But its secular nature forever was considered to constrict language. The ability for language as a system of “visible” signs to contain invisible meaning required a specific ontology in which a human mind could extract these concepts. In particular, when discussing Scripture, the human mind needed a specific link to the divine so as to be able to decipher divine wisdom. Humans could understand human signs by means of the fact that language was a human system. But in order to understand divine signs, humans too needed an element of the divine within them. Texts such as the *De Imagine Dei* provided this explanation.

The various layers of meaning in texts such as Scripture (metaphorical, allegorical, etc) are all human constructions, in that their signification is still linked to a limited human semiotic system. Yet, due to man’s unique nature (containing aspects of the divine), these multiple meanings serve as pathways by which one can move past the secular or limited meanings to achieve a more fundamental sense of God. One then must (as a human) proceed from the secular to the spiritual. Language inherently is imperfect, but, like humanity, it contains the potential for knowledge of the divine. The makeup of language can thus be understood as a mirror for humanity in and of itself: the secular form clothes the internal spiritual or the soul, which inherently contain an image of the Divine. One could not separate

carnales sensus, a quibus quasi per quosdam nuntios, quidquid rerum sensibilibus cognitarum vel incognitarum percipit, mox in seipsa earum ineffabili celeritate format figuras, informatasque in suae thesauro memoriae recondit. Alcuin, *De Animae*, PL 101: 642A. This relies heavily on Augustine’s *de Trinitate* VIII 5-6 (eds.) Mountain and Glorie, CCSL 50 (Turnhout, 1960), pp. 281-2.

the two, no more than one could separate man's soul from his body while on Earth.

Divine wisdom therefore exists both within and outside of this system of signs. The semiotics of language cannot in and of itself encapsulate the profundity that is divine wisdom or aspects of God. Linguistic signs can refer to external realities (*res*) and deeper more abstract mental concepts (via the metaphoric, allegorical, and anagogical meanings). But these remain vested in the sensory nature of language: they are the physical form masking the inherent divine wisdom (such as we have seen in the nature of man). But just as the soul of man cannot be located in one specific part of the body, nor can aspects of the divine be located in one specific word or letter within a text such as Holy Scripture. Yet man, via his nature as the image of God, can recognize these aspects of divine wisdom, given his preparedness to move through the "literal" aspects of a given text.

The application of this abstract spiritual philosophy had very tangible results in the textual culture during the Carolingian period. The emphasis on these divine elements (that connection between human as an *imago* and God) resulted in a downplaying of the necessity of the standardizing of texts themselves. As words themselves represented the secular aspect of a text's meaning and the most superficial at that, any ascription of a "standardizing" programme for texts within Carolingian *correctio* is flawed. This should not imply they downplayed the necessity of linguistic structure. Of course, the *form* of the words (the grammar, orthography, spelling, etc.) had to be as correct as possible to prevent them from distracting or distorting the reader's ability to glean the underlying meaning of a text. Yet, the same argument minimized the need to maintain a standardized version of a text in favor of retaining its invisible "sense". The secular or physical "external" and spiritual "internal" defines the binary relationship of much of Carolingian thought, just as we saw with the understood relationship of man's soul to his body, so too to Christ's nature (a human body concealing the divine internal). The visible masking the invisible is the key theme for the Carolingians, taking elements of established christology and applying them on a widespread linguistic

scale.²⁵¹

This form/function relationship modified the established Roman relationship between the uses of grammar and rhetoric. Within the Roman tradition, rhetoric was the discipline that encapsulated language as a totality; grammar was concerned merely with the “structure” of a text, while rhetoric incorporated, as Rita Copeland put it, “an area wider than the actual text itself.”²⁵² When we look to the writings of Quintilian, similarly is there a disregard for the power of grammar in relationship to rhetoric, “*Grammaticae*, which we translate as the science of letters, must learn to know its own limits, especially as it has encroached so far beyond the boundaries to which its unpretentious name should restrict it...”²⁵³ A dismissal of grammar cannot be found in the early Carolingian writers such as Alcuin. Yet among the Carolingian writers, grammar (and, for that matter, all literal aspects of texts) has limited capabilities in the conveyance of understanding or wisdom. Gadamer’s model of hermeneutics may help us in deciphering this logic. Within his model, hermeneutics is the integration of understanding, interpretation, and application.²⁵⁴ For Gadamer (and for Aristotle and the Carolingians), the “understanding” component of hermeneutics derives from praxis, that is, theory realized. Grammar, as the compendium of linguistic rules, provides the theory in this context, but is only the first step towards understanding; i.e. one cannot achieve understanding by simply mastering the rules of language. Understanding takes on an “independent productive act” in this instance as the reader transcends the rules adhered to in the text.²⁵⁵

²⁵¹ The relationship between visible/invisible in terms of Christ is a well-developed theme by the period of the Carolingians, referenced in a number of patristic writings and also within Isidore. *Etymologiae*, VII.ii.16. p. 156.

²⁵² R. Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 14.

²⁵³ “Et grammaticae (quam in Latinum transferentes litteraturam vocaverunt) fines suos norit, praesertim tantum ab hac appellationis sua paupertate, intra quam primi illi constitere, provecta...” Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 2.1.4-5, ed. and trans. H. E. Butler, 4 vols, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1920).

²⁵⁴ R. Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages*, p. 19. H-G. Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, trans. G. Barden & J. Cumming (New York: 1975).

²⁵⁵ R. Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages*, p. 20.

This discussion also touches on the incorporation of classical and patristic material within Carolingian texts. In translating or transcribing material from Aristotle, Cassiodorus, Isidore, and others, Alcuin and the other Carolingian writers have often been described as “compilers” rather than composers of independent material. Yet the “imitation” or translation we find in these texts (and its relationship to the overall question of standardization) shows an adherence to Roman concepts of imitation within the field of rhetoric.²⁵⁶ The accusation that Carolingian writers were merely poor adopters of earlier material is too simplistic an argument in this framework. As expressed in both Cicero’s *De oratore* and Quintilian’s *Institutio oratoria*, we find a heavy emphasis on using existent models, as Rita Copeland puts it: “...imitation is figured in terms of an organic growth from one generation to the next, so that the *genus dicendi* of one age finds new forms in successive ages.”²⁵⁷

Certainly this was in reference to textual imitation within the context of these Roman authors; however, this also bears a strong correlation to our earlier discussions of *imago* and *similitudo* in reference to the creation of man and the Christian understanding of signs. Consider the similarities between Seneca’s letter on the Roman theory of paternal-filial resemblance, and those expressed by Augustine when describing the relationship between a sign and the entity it represents:

This is what our mind should do; it should hide away all the materials by which it has been aided, and bring to light only what it has made of them. Even if there shall appear in you a likeness to him who, by reasons of your admiration, has left a deep impress upon you, I would have you resemble him as a child resembles his father, and not as a picture resembles its original; for a picture is a lifeless thing...for a true copy stamps its own form upon all the features which it has drawn from what we may call the original, in such a way that they are combined into a unity.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 26.

²⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 26. E. Fantham, “Imitation and Decline: Rhetorical Theory and Practice in the First Century after Christ” *Classical Philology* 73 (1978), pp. 102-116.

²⁵⁸ “Hoc faciat animus noster: omnia, quibus est adiutus, abscondat, ipsum tantum ostendat, quod

Seneca's perspective may have been transmitted via Augustine; however, it is also possible that Alcuin (or other Carolingian writers) were aware of the Roman writer on his own terms. Although the earliest manuscripts containing these letters date from the mid-late ninth century²⁵⁹; however, Seneca as a Christian writer was certainly known to the early medieval literate community, cited first by Jerome in his *De Viris Illustribus* and quoted with approval by authors such as Tertullian and Lactantius.²⁶⁰ Although the earliest direct quotation of Seneca by a Carolingian author has been ascribed to Walafrid Strabo and Radbert of Corbie, it appears increasingly likely that the sentiment contained in the above passage found its way to the Carolingian court earlier.

Although Alcuin has typically been accorded the role of founder of Carolingian logic, this not only ignores the philosophical sophistication seen in the work of other court scholars, such as Theodulf of Orleans, but also minimizes the underlying semiotic theory in many other writers' texts from the period. Indeed, it has been suggested by Marenbon, Bullough, and Lebech, that Alcuin's own awareness of the *De Imagine Dei* was based on Theodulf's quoting almost half of it within his *Opus Caroli regis contra Synodis*.²⁶¹ Certainly the composition of this text precedes Alcuin's commentary on Genesis (written while he was abbot at Tours, ca. 796-804) and illustrates the diffusion of this text beyond Northumbrian borders

effecit. Etiam sui cuius in te comparebit similitudo, quem admiratio tibi altius fixerit, similem esse te volo quomodo filium, non quodmodo imaginem; imago res mortua est...[imago vera] enim omnibus; que ex quo velut exemplari traxit, formam sum inpressit, ut in unitatem illa competant." Seneca, *Epistula* 84.8-9. Compare with Augustine's theory on image and copies, in footnote 236 above.

²⁵⁹ Manuscripts of the letters of Seneca ascribed to the ninth century include: Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, V.14 (now Msc. Class. 46), written perhaps not later than the second quarter of the ninth century, probably in western Germany; Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. 76.40, probably of French origin; Paris, BN, lat. 8658^A, of French origin, probably in the north or the Loire Valley, from the second half or the third quarter of the ninth century; Paris, BN lat. 8540, although the section of the text which presumably contained letter 84 has been lost, of French origin, probably during the second half or the third quarter of the ninth century; Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, written in north-eastern France, probably during the early part of the second half of the ninth century. L.D. Reynolds, *The Medieval Tradition of Seneca's Letters* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 147-155.

²⁶⁰ L.D. Reynolds, *The Medieval Tradition of Seneca's Letters*, p. 84.

²⁶¹ Theodulf of Orléans, Book 1, chap. 7, *Opus Caroli MGH Conc. 2, Supp. 1*, pp. 138-140.

in the early medieval period.²⁶² Nor should we imply that Alcuin and Theodulf were the only court scholars involved in this philosophical discussion. Alcuin's pupil, Fredegisus, who would succeed Alcuin at the Tours scriptorium in the early ninth century, also composed a number of texts on the nature of language and semiotics. His letter *De nihilo et tenebris* (written at the earliest around 800) is a direct echo of Alcuin's investigations into the nature of language, particularly with regard to the relationship of God to language's ability to "signify".²⁶³ Within his argument, we find the same reliance on the rational mind of man, as an extension of God's divine wisdom, to explain the ability to understand the "signs" of language. After all, Alcuin's letter on the three modes of seeing (Epistola 135) was addressed to Fridegisus.²⁶⁴

Apart from the texts we have discussed, this increasing fusion can also be demonstrated via the manuscript evidence. Although many prior scholars, such as Vivien Law and L.M. de Rijk, pushed the "true" conflation of grammar and philosophy in the mid-9th century within Francia, clear examples of the merging of these disciplines can already be seen in various manuscripts from St. Gall dating from the late eighth century.²⁶⁵ One particular example, St. Gall Cod. Sang. 876, is a compilation of a number of late antique and early medieval writings on grammar, but with a clear appropriation of Aristotle (via Isidore) in terms of philosophical or ontological implications of the discipline.²⁶⁶ Additionally, the manuscript, which

²⁶² We shall discuss the political implications of this text in Chapter 3. For now, we shall confine ourselves to using the text as an example of the prevalence of language as a semiotic discipline within a Christian hermeneutical framework as overall evidence of its importance to the Carolingian court. Ann Freeman's bibliography on the *Opus Caroli* is substantial, but the best introduction to the text remains her introduction to the revised MGH edition of the work. A. Freeman, "Einleitung" *OC*, pp. i-cxxiii.

²⁶³ "Erigenda est igitur ad tanti culminis auctoritatem mentis acies, quae nulla ratione cassari, nullis argumentis refelli, nullis potest viribus inpugnari." Fredegisus, *De nihilo et tenebris*, *MGH Epistolae IV*, pp. 552.

²⁶⁴ Consult Appendix II for the letter and an English translation.

²⁶⁵ V. Law, *Grammars and Grammarians*, p. 159. L.M. de Rijk, 'On the Curriculum of the Arts of the Trivium at St. Gall from c. 850-c.1000', *Vivarium* 1 (1963), p. 37.

²⁶⁶ This manuscript contains numerous treatises, many of which are the oldest known extant versions and the text of the anonymous treatise, *De scansione heroyci versus et specie eorum* is the only known edition in the world. Other treatises include: the *Ars Major* and *Ars Minor* by Donatus, a compilation of the two Donatus grammars by Peter of Pisa, the *De metris* by Mellius Theodorus, the

dates from the end of the eighth century to the beginning of the ninth, provides a compendium of grammatical and philosophical excerpts, demonstrative of the clear relationship between the two disciplines.²⁶⁷ We can also see the union between the disciplines of these texts and poetry. Numerous manuscripts survive which include collections of both grammar and poetry and additional “classical texts” (in which one may find Cicero, Aristotle, Boethius, Macrobius, Porphyrius²⁶⁸, pseudo-Augustine).²⁶⁹ Such trends would continue and proliferate into the ninth century; however, it is clear the Carolingian writers were engaged in the same linguistic practice.

Further evidence of this perspective can be found in the respective scriptoria over which Alcuin and Theodulf had control. In Theodulf’s case, the abbey of Fleury, which he was appointed abbot of sometime around the year 798, provides one of the most extensive lists of classical manuscripts dating from the end of the eighth century to the beginning of the ninth.²⁷⁰ Prior to Theodulf’s appointment, the manuscript collection at the library was defined by patristic or biblical texts; however, beginning at the end of the eighth century, we see a wealth of new classical (and specifically grammatical) material either being produced by the scriptorium or acquired from elsewhere to supplement its shelves. Thanks to Marco Mostert’s study, we can see that over 166 items comprising classical material survive from this scriptorium, seventy five items alone from the end of the eighth

Ars Grammatica by Diomedes, and both the *De arte metrica* and the *De schametibus et tropis* by Bede. The manuscript also contains *Partes orationis primus Aristoteles*, taken from Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologies* 1 6-13. Manuscripts that combine both grammatical and philosophical texts include: St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 907 (*arte grammaticae*, excerpts from the Apostles, and works by Augustine, including *de lingua*), St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 912 (includes a work on rhetoric, a wordbook explaining rare or foreign, Greek and Latin words, the book of Jeremiah and the Psalms). G. Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen* (Halle, 1875), p. 330-331.

²⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 335.

²⁶⁸ The inclusion of Porphyrius is significant as it relates to our later discussion regarding his poetic influence on the Carolingian writers.

²⁶⁹ MS Leiden UB Voss. Lat. F. 67 I, ff. 1-2, MS Orléans, BM 277 (233) pp. 1-55, MS Paris BN n.a.l. 1630 ff. 14-16, MS Leiden, UB Voss. Lat. F 70 I, ff. 51-66, Orléans, Bibl. Mun 277 (233), pp. 62-77. M. Mostert, ‘The Tradition of Classical Texts in the Manuscripts of Fleury’ in *Medieval Manuscripts of the Latin Classics: Production and Use*, (eds.) C. A. Chavannes-Mazel & M. Smith (Leiden, 1996), pp. 36-40.

²⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 20.

century to the beginning of the ninth.²⁷¹ Out of these, a significant portion comprise collections of grammatical texts (33 in total). But it is one of the oldest examples of these collections that should draw our attention specifically: a collection which freely mixes classical grammatical texts with pagan poems (including Porphyrius) with patristic and early medieval Christian writing.²⁷² We cannot ascribe the variety of contents of this manuscript to a mere happenstance of binding, as the intention to include these works together is provided by the scribe's table of contents.²⁷³ As Mostert argues, based on this evidence we cannot ascribe any attempt by these scribes to distinguish between Christian and non-Christian texts when compiling material. But more than this, these texts demonstrate how the philosophical discipline, both pagan and Christian, was seen as increasingly interrelated with that of grammar.

Conclusion

Throughout our discussion Charlemagne, responsible for assembling this literate elite, has remained a shadowy figure. Theodulf and Alcuin thus far have been discussed independently of their context within the Carolingian court, and their role not only as writers but writers employed with a political agenda. For the Carolingian Renaissance is defined by its impact on the world outside the scriptorium just as much as it reflects the changes going on within it. Without this necessary context, the influence of Alcuin and Theodulf's work cannot be properly understood. Much of the material we have discussed was dedicated explicitly to Charlemagne, including works of poetry, exegetical treatises, and transcriptions of classical works (such as Alcuin's dedication of a copy of the *Categoriae Decem* to

²⁷¹ Ibid, p. 25-6.

²⁷² The manuscript contains: Optatianus Porphyrius' *Carmen*, Donatus *Ars Minor*, Donatus *Ars Maior*, Marius Victorinus *De Finalibus metrorum*, Servius Honoratus *Centimeter*, Asper's *Ars grammatica*, Sergius *Expositiones de Donati prioribus*, Petrus' *Ars grammatica*, Probus' *De Ultimis Syllabis*, Alcuin's *De Grammatica*, Bede's *De Schematibus et Tropis*, Bern 207 1 + A-B + V-Z and Paris BN lat. 7520. M. Mostert, "The Tradition of Classical Texts" p. 27.

²⁷³ MS Berne, Burgerbibliothek 207 (Mostert's BF 110), MS Paris, BN lat. 7520, ff. 1-24 (BF1112). The table of contents is Berne 207, f. 11.

Charlemagne).²⁷⁴ But the application of Alcuin and Theodulf's work on these merged topics was to have far greater resonance in terms of its promotion by Charlemagne on a wider scale. Charlemagne himself used the promotion of linguistic study in the creation of a royal image, adopting the role of the student of language. The epic anonymous poem *Karolus Magnus et Leo Papa* (probably from the first decade of the ninth century) lauds the Frankish king in a formal panegyric, emphasizing his knowledge of language:

He is a brilliant teacher of the art of grammar,
Never was there such a famous lecturer;
He instructs with distinction and flair in the art of rhetoric
The greatest of kings, the greatest sage in the world...²⁷⁵

Through our discussion of various aspects of Carolingian writing, particularly via the conduit of Alcuin and Theodulf, we see the emergence of semiotic theory during the late eighth century at court. Building on an Augustinian philosophy of signs, an appropriation of classical and patristic education led to a redeveloped sense of the importance of hermeneutics within language. Alcuin appropriated not only the linguistic arts but also the philosophical ones within his treatises. The visible/invisible relationship which comprised significant elements of Christian spirituality was now married to the semiotic abilities of human language (i.e. how language was representative of the Christian spiritual reality). Christian and classical epistemologies were now fused via the medium of human language. Such work fostered the exploration of the relationship of language to the divine. We will find similar perspectives regarding “image” and “likeness” among Carolingian writers when we look at responses to the various heresies (as the Carolingians

²⁷⁴ Alcuin's dedicatory verses can be found in a late 8th or early 9th century manuscript, Rome, Casa dei padre maristi A.II.1, which was presented by Leidrad of Lyons to his cathedral library. Also contained within this manuscript were Porphyry's *Isagage*, pseudo-Apuleius' *Perihermenias*, and Boethius' first commentary on Aristotle's *De Interpretatione*. Bernhard Bischoff ascribed this manuscript as originally belonging to Charlemagne's court library. R. McKitterick and J. Marenbon, 'Philosophy and its background in the early medieval West' in (ed.) J. Marenbon, *Medieval Philosophy* Vol. III (London, 1998), p. 97.

²⁷⁵ "Grammaticae doctor constat praelucidus artis, / Nullo umquam fuerat tam clarus tempore lector: / Rhetorica insignis vegetat praeceptor in arte; / Summus apex regum, summus quoque in orbe sophista..." *Karolus Magnus et Leo Papa*, *MGH Poetae* I, p. 376, ll. 67-70.

regarded them) emergent within the Mediterranean (Adoptionism and the Byzantine repeal of Iconoclasm). Although we have focused on Alcuin's work within this chapter, the overwhelming amount of material he dedicates to this subject dwarfs many of the other contributions to it.

Language thus became the vehicle by which Carolingians could express moral and political hegemony via both manuscript production but also through exegesis, letters, the liturgy, and christological beliefs. What we must now explore is how this aspect of literary theory was employed politically as part of Charlemagne's ambitions for hegemony within Europe, particularly, as we shall see, in northern Spain and the Byzantine Empire. The development of a spirituality based on linguistics provided Charlemagne the means by which he could establish himself as a moral and religious leader on a pan-European scale. The combination of the liberal arts and a reappropriation of a grammatical and philosophical approach to linguistic theory was one which had been in gestation throughout the European literate circles, in some cases for centuries (such as Anglo-Saxon England). Yet it lacked a strong central political authority which could both support and implement this perspective on a more widespread basis, to both the clergy and the laity. But Charlemagne's goals were more broad sweeping, looking beyond the (albeit increasing) borders of the Frankish kingdoms to those on the peripheries of his polity (such as northern Spain) but also the other dominant polity within Europe: the Byzantine Empire.

Chapter Three

Cultural Politics and Linguistic Heresy: The Synod of Frankfurt, Adoptionism, and the *Opus Caroli regis contra Synodum*

Introduction

Although the work of Alcuin and the other Carolingian scholars shows an intense reformulation of linguistic theory as related to Christian ontology, their writing reflects an ongoing investigation within the Christian intellectual tradition throughout the early medieval period. As we saw in Chapter Two, a wealth of other texts tentatively explored the relationship between grammar and philosophy in a Christian framework, such as the author of the *Anonymous ad Cuimnanum*, late antique grammarians such Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, and other isolated cases throughout the early medieval intellectual landscape.¹ Yet as distinct from these other writers, working either in isolation or within the confines of a monastic setting, Alcuin and the Carolingian scholars were an integral part of the political and court culture created by Charlemagne in the late eighth and early ninth centuries. Many of their treatises, either commissioned by Charlemagne or dedicated to him, reveal the intertwining of textual and political culture during this period and the means by which Charlemagne's cultural agenda depended on the intellectual advances of his court scholars. The texts we discussed in Chapter Two demonstrate the intellectual background to the eighth century; however, Alcuin and the court scholars played a more active participatory role in the cultural politics of the period, particularly when we examine the Carolingian approach to heresy as exemplified in the 794 Synod of Frankfurt. The 794 Synod demonstrates the extent to which Charlemagne and his intellectual circle were co-dependent, as it was a means by which Charlemagne could establish political hegemony via attacks on religious non-conformity in Europe, and for Alcuin and the court

¹ See our discussion in Chapter Two.

scholars, a means by which they could assert their new-found semiotic and ontological arguments on the European stage.

The textual revolution which occurred during the Carolingian period, not only in terms of the exponential increase in manuscript production, but also the drive for literacy across a broader range of the population, and the focus on correcting and disseminating both classical and Christian texts (most importantly the Bible) throughout Europe, was intrinsically predicated on a complex valuation of the semiotics of language. The development of both Adoptionism and the Carolingian reaction to the end of Greek Iconoclasm parallels the growing prominence of textual hermeneutics in the writings of the scholars working within the circle of Charlemagne. One can trace this progress chronologically in the years preceding the Frankfurt Synod.

The Synod of Frankfurt

When we re-examine the 790s through the lens of cultural politics, the actions of Charlemagne as a political leader seem more in tune with our understanding of Charlemagne as a cultural and religious advocate. We can better understand this development via a study of the 794 Synod of Frankfurt, which perhaps is the clearest expression of Charlemagne's union of cultural and political hegemony. With this Synod, which proudly bore the title of the "first Universal Council", Charlemagne made new steps in the moralization of his political hegemony over an increasing geographical area: claiming the authority to judge the veracity of Christian belief and action.²

The external aims of this council should be contextualized alongside other royal councils that preceded it. Charlemagne (and his father, Pippin) had called numerous assemblies since the beginning of his reign with varying levels of importance or pan-regional relevance. Assemblies provided the usual forum for conducting foreign business, in addition to local legal disputes and even the performance of liturgical ritual. Such a format was the standard means for a

² This is recorded in both the Capitulary from the Synod and the Annals of Lorsch for the year 794 in the contemporary original manuscript at Vienna, Nationalbibliothek MS 515, in which it is referred to as a "synodum universale." A. Freeman, "Carolingian Orthodoxy and the Fate of the Libri Carolini" in her *Theodulf of Orleans: Charlemagne's Spokesman Against the Second Council of Nicaea* (Ashgate, 2003), III, p. 89. *Annals of Lorsch*. MGH *Scriptores* 1. 35-36. *Capitulare Francofurtense*, MGH *Conc.* 2, 1, cap. 39, p. 170, l. 8.

Frankish ruler to interact with the political community.³ The number and regularity of these assemblies, including at least two annual assemblies and individual councils dedicated to specific military or regional issues, confirms the extent to which this was a means of enacting and enforcing political power and legislation within the kingdom.⁴ Annals from 787 refer to an assembly at Worms in which Charlemagne related his latest journey to Italy while the assembly at Regensburg in 792 resulted in the condemnation of Pippin (the Hunchback) due to his betrayal of the king.⁵ But the surviving capitularies from these assemblies must be approached with a degree of caution in terms of their implications for royal legislation. The authority vested in these documents can be construed as representative of the king's will, rather than any legitimating factor associated with a given assembly or synod.⁶ This also framed the king's authority and public demonstration of political power, whether in the regular convening of assemblies (as seen above), or in more exceptional cases, such as the 794 Frankfurt Synod. Written capitularies addressing the religious and wider political topics of the Synod (which we shall examine in a moment) provided a means by which the king's authority could be distributed beyond the attendants at the assembly or synod. Written documents increasingly gained legitimacy in terms of symbolizing legislation or decisions instigated by royal authority, events which once required the physical presence of the king. Charlemagne promoted this increased textual legitimacy, marrying the authority once vested in his physical presence with the creation and dissemination of "official" written

³ Examples of such can be seen in the baptism of the Saxons and presence of Saracen envoys in the Paderborn Assembly in 777, the humiliation of Tassilo at Ingelheim in 788, and the proceedings as recounted by the *Liber Pontificalis* for the Synod of Rome in 769. *ARF 777 and 788*, (ed.) Kurze, pp. 48 and 80. *Liber Pontificalis*, Life 96, c. 16, (ed.) Duchesne 1, p. 473. R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 226.

⁴ The frequency of annual assemblies is mentioned in Hincmar of Rheims' *De Ordine Palatii*, (ed.) Th. Gross - R. Schieffer, *MGH Fontes iuris 3* (1980) and *MGH Capit. 2*, pp. 517-530. R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 222. T. Reuter, "Assembly Politics in western Europe from the eighth to the twelfth century", in P. Linehan and J.L. Nelson (eds.), *The Medieval World* (London, 2001), pp. 434-50.

⁵ *Annales Regni Francorum, 787*, (ed.) Kurze, p. 76. *Lorsch Annals 792*, ed. Petrtz/Katz, *MGH SS*, I, p. 35.

⁶ C. Pössel, "Authors and Recipients of Carolingian capitularies, 779-829", in R. Corradini, R. Meens, C. Pössel, and P. Shaw (eds.) *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 344, (Wien, 2006), p. 230.

documents such as capitularies or charters.⁷ With the increased availability, legitimacy, and range of these texts during Charlemagne's reign we can see the wide scope of his reign. As a Christian Frankish king, Charlemagne considered all elements to be within his purview and authority, whether secular or religious.⁸ By both being in written form and by being ultimately derived from the king's authority, these capitularies (while not the exclusive forms of legislation) denote the involvement of the king in redefining his political authority to encompass the area of religion, particularly with the Synod of Frankfurt.

By the time Charlemagne called the council in 794, we can see the progress Charlemagne had made in terms of establishing hegemony over most of Latin Europe, with representatives from Italy, Germania, Gallia, Aquitania, and Bavaria in attendance.⁹ This was the public face of a united Carolingian ethos against what it perceived to be the multiple dangers of heresy (i.e. beliefs in conflict with those of Carolingian writers) emergent throughout Europe. Frankfurt also can be seen as the moment at which a cohesive Carolingian Christian hermeneutic and semiotic theory was expressed publicly, one that was to define the society's revolution in manuscript production and biblical revision, i.e. those developments associated with what is frequently termed the Carolingian Renaissance.

Apart from the extensive list of topics at the Synod, which range from the administrative (e.g. establishment of coinage, setting weights and measurements) to the religious (e.g. the need for the education of the clergy, the freedom to pray in any language), the first three items in the Frankfurt

⁷ The Capitulary of Herstal from 799, for example, shows Charlemagne's requirement that all prior capitularies from his father's assemblies and synods needed to be written down, emphasising the authority of the written form. *Capitularia*, (ed.) A Boretius, *MGH Capitularia, Legum Sectio II, Capitularia regum francorum I*, (Hannover, 1883). J.L. Nelson, "Literacy in Carolingian Government," in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 258-96.

⁸ In terms of matters of religion, as we have already discussed, the *Admonitio Generalis* and the *de litteris colendis* relate specifically to the spiritual welfare of the people, both in terms of the clergy and the lay population. Other topics within capitularies relate to military intelligence, grants of land, appointments of bishoprics, and many other aspects of the Carolingian administrative network. *Admonitio Generalis*, *MGH Cap. I, IV Karoli Magni Capitularia*, no. 22, pp. 53-54; *De Litteris Colendis*, *MGH Cap. I, IV Karoli Magni Capitularia*, no. 29, p. 79.

⁹ *Capitulare Francofurtense*, *MGH Conc. 2, 1*, cap. 39, p. 170, ll. 40.

Capitulary explicitly address Frankish hegemony via politics, but more importantly for our purposes, within the lens of Christianity.¹⁰ Many decisions mentioned reflect minor adjustments to previous legislation, incorporating both earlier church councils and the *Admonitio Generalis* (produced approximately five years earlier).¹¹ Yet the clear incorporation of religious matters *outside* Charlemagne's defined political boundaries reflects an attempt to expand this hegemony to a more sweeping pan-European or Mediterranean authority. Regional capitularies, such as those concerning Aquitaine, Italy, Bavaria, and Saxony had been produced following the consolidation of those areas under Carolingian control.¹² The inclusion of current religious trends within both Spain and the Byzantine Empire at the 794 Synod presents a similar perspective in Charlemagne's assumed authority over matters relating to not only politics but also those of Christian spirituality.

Politically, the Synod presented the opportunity for Charlemagne to demonstrate his victory over the rebellious Duke Tassilo, who was the last ruler of the independent region of Bavaria.¹³ Charlemagne's success at ousting this opponent and gaining control of the region was displayed proudly at Frankfurt, when Tassilo was forced to publicly renounce his claims to Bavaria and acknowledge Charlemagne as lord of the region. But the first two items on the agenda at Frankfurt demonstrate Charlemagne's clear use of Christianity in an attempt to establish his kingdom as the arbiter of Christian belief and interpretation.

¹⁰ Topics discussed include: the submission of the rebellious Duke Tassilo (Capitula 3), the prohibition of selling food at high prices (Capitula 4), the imposition of coinage (Capitula 5), the need for the education of the clergy (Capitula 29), and the acknowledgement of the freedom to pray in any language (Capitula 52). Ibid, pp. 165-171.

¹¹ See *MGH Cap.* 1, no. 28, cc, 20 and 21.

¹² *MGH Cap.* I, Nos. 18, 24, 26, 27, 68, 69, 88-103; pp. 42-3, 65-6, 68-72, 157-9, 187-12.

¹³ *Capitulare Francofurtense, MGH Conc. 2, 1* chap. 3, p. 153, l. 8.

- I. Where in the beginning of the capitula, it was brought up regarding the impious and nefarious heresy of Elipandus, bishop of Toledo, and Felix of Urgel, and of their followers, who, understanding incorrectly, assert adoption with regard to the Son of God, which altogether the most holy fathers contradicted formerly, rejecting it with one voice and they decided that this heresy ought to be eradicated from the holy church completely.
- II. The question was brought up of the recent synod of the Greeks, held at Constantinople on account of the adoration of images. In that synod it was written that those who did not render service and adoration to images of saints as to the holy Trinity were anathematized. Our aforementioned holy fathers, absolutely refusing such adoration and service, despised and unanimously condemned [it].¹⁴

In imbuing Frankfurt with the “universal” authority to combat heresy, this provided just cause for the Carolingians to extend their moralizing hegemony beyond the borders of Francia into northern Iberia and the Byzantine East. Adoptionism, a variant revival of the rejection of the consubstantiality of Christ’s dual natures (both fully human and fully divine), had emerged in Iberia during the 780s under the leadership of Elipandus of Toledo (ca. 716-805) and Felix of Urgel (d. 818) and, in the eyes of major Carolingian writers such as Alcuin and Paulinus of Aquileia, contradicted the ruling of the 451 Council of Chalcedon.¹⁵ In the East, the Greeks had officially ended their policy of Iconoclasm in 787 at the 2nd Council of Nicaea and had proclaimed (as it was understood by the Carolingians) that the veneration of images was not only appropriate but that

¹⁴ “Ubi in primordio capitulorum exortum est de impia ac nefanda erese Elipandi Toletane sedis episcopi et Felicis Orgellitanae eorumque sequacibus, qui male sentientes in Dei filio adserebant adoptionem: quam omnes qui supra sanctissimi patres et respuentes una voce contradixerunt atque hanc heresim funditus a sancta ecclesia eradicandam statuerunt. II. Allata est in medio questio de nova Grecorum synodo, quam de adorandis imaginibus Constantinopolim fecerunt, in qua scriptum habebatur, ut qui imagines sanctorum ita ut deificam trinitatem servitio aut adorationem non inpendere, anathema iudicaverunt: qui supra sanctissimi patres nostri omnimodis adorationem et servitum rennuentes contempserunt atque consentientes condempnaverunt.” *Capitulare Francofurtense, MGH Conc. 2, 1, cap. 1, p. 165, lines 18-40.* (trans.) A. Freeman, “Carolingian Orthodoxy and the Fate of the *Libri Carolini*” in her *Theodulf of Orleans: Charlemagne’s Spokeman against the Second Council of Nicaea*, p. 67.

¹⁵ A church council in 451 which addressed the Nestorian heresy regarding the dual nature (divine and human) of Christ. *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, R. Price & M. Gaddis (eds.) (Liverpool, 2005).

their worship was to be encouraged.¹⁶ Like Adoptionism, this to Carolingian writers (specifically Theodulf of Orléans) was a belief that directly conflicted with their own understanding of Scripture and was not to be tolerated.¹⁷

The negative reaction of the Carolingian scholars to these heresies can be read as a means by which Charlemagne was trying to extend his hegemony not via militaristic but rather spiritual channels. And this also provided the opportunity for the semiotic investigations of the Carolingian scholars to be employed on a European-wide stage. Although the two heresies seemingly shared little in common except the resolve of the Carolingians to eradicate them, when examining the terms of the arguments of Carolingian scholars during the period, we see that these heresies could be understood as inextricably connected by a perceived semiotic misunderstanding. In the eyes of the Carolingians, both shared a fundamental misinterpretation of the nature of not only Christ but of language (particularly that of the Bible). Viewing Scripture as not only an object of comprehensive wisdom (both natural and divine), the text's centrality to medieval Christianity provided a central focus by which Carolingian scholars, such as Alcuin, Theodulf, and Paulinus, could advocate their appropriation of the Augustinian theory of linguistic signs and visual theory.¹⁸ These writers, responsible for not only leading the proceedings at Frankfurt, but also composing the majority of treatises condemning both Adoptionism and Byzantine "idolatry", saw these two heresies as fundamentally linked via a misunderstanding of fundamental Christian truths. Scripture as an example of the binary

¹⁶ This was not actually the case, but rather the interpretation of the Carolingians, based on the faulty transcription of the Acts of the Council of Nicaea they received from the papacy. We shall discuss this in detail in a subsequent section. See footnote 25 below.

¹⁷ Prior scholars, particularly Ann Freeman, have argued that the political situation in Europe and the refusal of the papacy to support their objections to the 2nd Council of Nicaea prompted the Franks to downplay the role of Iconoclasm within the Synod of Frankfurt. Yet, as Thomas Noble has recently shown, the distribution of the Frankfurt materials within the MGH creates a false impression of the prominence of the Adoptionist controversy in relationship to the Byzantine Council. The presentation of materials, the six collateral treatises and epistles followed by the conciliar canons, highlights the precedence of Canon One (addressing Adoptionism). Yet no manuscript of the Frankfurt canons presents the material in this manner, and only two manuscripts attach each one of the treatises (the *Libellus Sacrosyllabus*) to the canons. T. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians* (Philadelphia, 2009), p. 176. W. Hartmann, "Das Konzil von Frankfurt 794 und Nizäa 787", *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* 20 (1988), pp. 309-11.

¹⁸ Augustine's theory of signs can be found throughout his writings, specifically his *De Genesi ad Litteram*, *De Trinitate*, and his *De Magistro* and which we discussed in Chapter Two.

visible/invisible relationship fundamental to humanity (as discussed in Chapter Two) as well as the understanding of the nature of Christ, relied wholeheartedly on the understanding of symbols, and more specifically, the role of language. In the eyes of the Carolingians, particularly Alcuin and Theodulf, both heresies were dangerous misconstructions of this spiritual relationship. In the case of the Adoptionists, this meant rejecting the inherent duality of Christ or, in the case of the Greeks, elevating the importance of the symbols of faith, either the human “letters” of Scripture or images in general, to the point of ignoring the more important underlying divine meaning.

While a fractious religious unity (and political dependence) linked the Roman papacy to both the Byzantine East and the Carolingian West during the eighth century, an increasing politicization of religious interpretation and “orthodoxy” had resulted in manifestly different policies according to geographical region.¹⁹ In the Byzantine East, growing support for Iconoclasm in the early eighth century resulted in its official adoption by Constantine V in the year 754.²⁰ Although the policy had never garnered outright approval by either the papacy or the Franks in the West, imperial rule maintained Iconoclasm for approximately the next forty years. Only through the work of Irene, widow of Leo IV and mother to Constantine VI, was the policy reversed at the 7th

¹⁹ Papal relations with both the East and the West during the eighth century appear to be characterized by political motivation just as much as matters of faith. Rome and Constantinople found themselves at odds with each other during the early-mid 730s as a result of the East’s attitude toward images and loss of Byzantine control of their Italian regions. The papacy increasingly relied on the military power of the Franks during the mid-eighth century as a protector from Lombard movement into papal territories. We will discuss the ongoing relationship between Byzantium, the Franks, and Rome more in depth in subsequent sections. T. Noble, “The Papacy in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries.” In R. McKitterick (ed.) *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. II (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 570-3.

²⁰ The usual start to Iconoclasm is the removal of the icon of Christ said to have been placed on the Great Palace’s Bronze Gate (Chalke), following the eruption of volcanoes on Thera and Therasia in 726. The historical veracity of the Chalke Gate icon has been recently debated, as visual evidence (including an ivory panel in Trier) does not necessarily indicate the presence of an icon during the early eighth century. Official Iconoclast policy was stated by a declaration of the Emperor during the council of 754. *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History 284-813*, (ed. & trans.) C. Mango & R. Scott, (Oxford, 1997), pp. 559-60. Nikephoros, *Short History*, chs. 60 and 62, (ed. & trans.) C. Mango (Washington D.C., 1990), pp. 128 – 131. L. Brubaker & J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680-850* (Cambridge, 2011), p.118.

Ecumenical Council (also known as the 2nd Council of Nicaea), held in 787.²¹ In attendance were the Empress and her son Constantine VI, the Patriarch Tarasios, and 365 bishops and 132 monks, alongside two papal legates, sent as representatives of Pope Hadrian I (who was certainly eager to see the end of the divisive Iconoclast policy).²² At the conclusion of the Council, Iconoclasm having been resoundingly revoked, the legates returned to Rome and surrendered their copy of the Acts of the Council (written in Greek) to Latin translators for the purposes of the papal archives.²³ Unfortunately, the translators chosen for the task were woefully unsuited. The Latin translation of the 2nd Council of Nicaea's Acts reveals a wealth of errors when compared against the Greek edition, perhaps most significantly in the vocabulary used to describe the appropriateness of image worship.²⁴ By conflating the Greek words for worship, *latreia* (λατρεία), and veneration, *proskynesis* (προσκύνησις) and translating both as *adorare*, the Latin translators produced a document implying that the Greeks now advocated the *worship* of images as an element of proper Christian belief.²⁵ How or why such a faulty translation was allowed to be made is still unknown.

Due to Charlemagne's established political hegemony in Italy by 774, a number of Carolingian scholars received this Latin version of the Council's Acts within the next few years, certainly by 792.²⁶ The Annals of York records the

²¹ *Concilium Universale Nicaenum secundum: concilii actiones I-III.* (ed.) E. Lamberz (Berolini, 2008).

²² A. Freeman, "Einleitung", *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum (Libri Carolini) MGH Conc. 2, Suppl. 1* p 1.

²³ *MGH Epistolae Karolini Aevi 5*, p. 56, ll. 22-24.

²⁴ E. Lamberz, *Concilium Universale Nicaenum secundum.*

²⁵ This demonstrates the extent of the faulty translation. The Greek edition of the Acts of the Council reveals that the Greeks argued for a proper respect and veneration of images, based on biblical interpretation. This attitude had prevailed in both papal attitudes and within the Western Frankish kingdoms for at least two centuries, having been set out by Gregory the Great in the sixth century. *Concilium Universale Nicaenum.* p. viii. Gregory the Great, *Letter to Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, Epistolarium, MGH Epistolae II*, pp. 112, 273.

²⁶ The transmission of the Acts of the Council of 787 has been a matter of significant historical debate in recent years. Although traditionally it has been assumed that the Carolingians were initially working from a florilegium copy rather than an accurate transcription of the Acts (as argued by Gero and Wallach), recent work by Erich Lamberz in particular has shown that the Acts were almost immediately available to the Carolingians following their translation into Latin. Regardless, the quality of the material used by the Carolingians must have been in such poor condition that it led to further misunderstandings between the Carolingians and the Greeks (for example, quotations in the Acts of Nicaea II from the *Horos* of 754 often are taken as direct

horror of the Frankish bishops and literate elite who saw the document, believing it to have been an accurate representation of the Greek commitment to idolatry.²⁷ The error-ridden Acts of the Council drew immediate castigation from the Frankish scholastic circle, leading to the production of a Frankish document condemning the Greek Council's findings, perhaps with the aim to enlist Hadrian's support in their cause against the Byzantines. This document, known as the *Capitulare adversus synodum*²⁸, was sent to Rome via Angilbert (a member of Charlemagne's court and diplomat) in 792, although its preparation may have started as early as 790 (depending on when the Franks received the Latin edition of the Acts).²⁹ The author of the *Capitulare* challenged the Greek support of icon veneration using examples from Scripture as evidence of their errors. The Franks questioned the entire validity of the council, particularly in Irene's presiding (as a woman) and the orthodoxy of the Patriarch Tarasios.³⁰ But Angilbert's journey to Rome had a broader purpose than delivering the *Capitulare* to the pope. Alongside the copy of the Carolingian response to Nicaea II, Angilbert had in his custody Felix, the bishop of Urgel, one of the leaders of the so-called "Adoptionist" movement gaining force in the northern Spanish March. Although Frankish reaction to the Greeks and to Adoptionism appears seemingly disparate, the joint purpose of the trip hints at an underlying link between the two in the perspective of the Carolingians. This link is manifest in

quotations of Nicaea II itself). There have also been debates regarding how the Acts were transmitted to the Court. Although a route via Northumbria was once considered the most likely, it has been shown by Lamberz that a direct route from the papacy to the Frankish court is more probable. Brubaker & Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, p. 280. E. Lamberz. "Studien zur Überlieferung der Akten des VII. Ökumenischen Konzils: Der Brief Hadrians I. an Konstantin VI. und Irene (JE 244)", *Deutsches Archiv für die Erforschung des Mittelalters*. Vol. 53, 1 (1997), pp. 1-43. E. Lamberz, *Die Bischofslisten des VII. Ökumenischen Konzils (Nicaenum II)*. Abhandlungen d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. Neue Folge, Heft 124. (2004). H. G. Thümmel, *Die Konzilien zur Bilderfrage im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert : das 7. Ökumenische Konzil in Nikaia 787* (Paderborn, 2005). L. Wallach, "The Greek and Latin Versions of II Nicaea and the Synodica of Hadrian I (JE 244)", *Traditio* 22 (1966), pp. 103-25. S. Gero, "The Libri Carolini and the image controversy", *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 18 (1973), pp. 7-34.

²⁷ Annals of York, *MGH Scriptores*, 12 p. 155, ll. 10-14.

²⁸ The title was not the Franks', but rather how Hadrian referred to it within his letter. The *Capitulare* unfortunately does not survive but its chapters headings thankfully can be found in Hadrian's response to it, which he cites in full before responding to each point (which we shall discuss in depth in a later section). A. Freeman, „Einleitung“, p. 5.

²⁹ *MGH Concilia* 2,2, p. 481, l. 33. The Preface of the *Capitulare* refers to Nicaea II as having taken place *ferme ante triennium*. If the Council had concluded by October 787, the Preface then may have been written as early as 790. *MGH Epistolae*, 5, p. 56, ll. 22-24.

³⁰ Brubaker & Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, p. 281.

the continuation of the *Capitulare*, in a treatise known as the *Opus Caroli regis contra Synodum* (formerly known as the *Libri Carolini*), the longest extant work on Christian image theory from the period.³¹ A work now attributed predominantly to Theodulf of Orléans, one of the more prominent scholars at Charlemagne's court, this text has been predominantly understood solely within the context of the reaction to the 2nd Council of Nicaea.³² Yet this ignores a broader, more inclusive, application of the *Opus Caroli* as representative of a well-developed hermeneutic theory present in the majority of Carolingian scholars during this time and applicable to both the Adoptionist controversy and Greek "idolatry".

The Carolingian reaction to Adoptionism may be said to stem from the political interest Charlemagne had towards the regions of Septimania and the Spanish March during the 770s and 780s. The region of Urgel, which had succumbed to Carolingian hegemony in 789, was a seat of a growing sectarian christological movement, led by the local bishop, Felix (d. 818), and the bishop of Toledo, Elipandus (ca. 716 – 805).³³ Awareness of this movement within Spain can be found several years earlier, notably in Beatus of Liébana's treatise against Elipandus, written probably in 785 or 786.³⁴ In this text Beatus cites two texts of Elipandus': a letter to an unknown abbot Fidelis and the *Symbolus fidei Elipandianae*, in which we find the earliest record of Elipandus' christological arguments (apparently cited without alteration by Beatus).³⁵ In these writings, or so Beatus claimed, Elipandus argued for the division of the dual nature of

³¹ *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum (Libri Carolini)*, (ed.) A. Freeman, *MGH Conc. 2, Suppl. 1* (Hannover, 1998). (hereafter referred to as the *OC*)

³² Ann Freeman was responsible for the most significant work done on the text during the twentieth century, culminating in a new MGH edition of the text, attributing Theodulf as its author. Since this publication, work on the *Opus Caroli* has increased, particularly with T. Noble's *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*. Despite Freeman's acknowledgement of the text's re-appropriation for use against the Adoptionist controversy, little has been done to explore the relationship of semiotic or christological theory presented in the *Opus Caroli* as relevant to both. Paul Speck has been the predominant voice to doubt the ascription of the text to Theodulf of Orléans, seeing the surviving manuscript of the *Opus Caroli* as a product of the ninth century (and perhaps authored by Hincmar of Rheims). This view has not found many subscribers and has been responded to by Erich Lamberz in his ACO III, p. XXXIII. P. Speck, *Die Interpolationen in den Akten von 787 und die Libri Carolini* (Bonn, 1998).

³³ J. Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West* (Philadelphia, 1993), p. 5

³⁴ Beatus of Liébana and Heterius of Osma, *Adversus Elipandum Libri II*, PL 96: 893-1030.

³⁵ Beatus uses these documents to respond systematically to each of Elipandus' christological claims. *Ibid.*

Christ, in which Beatus believed he saw an echo of the Nestorian heresy of centuries earlier.³⁶ Beatus argued that Elipandus had distinguished between the Christ through whom the world was created (Christ before the Incarnation, i.e. divine) and the Christ through whom the world was redeemed (Christ made flesh, i.e. human).³⁷

Beatus' reading of Elipandus was as a revival of the Nestorian claim of Christ's "adoption" of humanity (that he was not truly human but rather his divine presence "adopted" a separate human body) and he argued that Elipandus accordingly presented a heretical counter-movement to established christological tradition. Beatus was certainly not alone in his judgment of Elipandus' faith, as Pope Hadrian, writing to the Spanish bishops at roughly the same period (ca. 786), referred directly to his awareness (albeit in general terms) that there was a movement in Spain that was "not ashamed to confess that the Son of God is adoptive."³⁸ In the eyes of the pope, of course, this was "doleful news which had come to us from your region."³⁹ But apart from the papacy's disappointment in the reported growth of such a belief, little direct action seems to have been taken against either Elipandus or Felix prior to Carolingian involvement in the Spanish March circa 789.⁴⁰

Due to the newly established Carolingian hegemony within Urgel, Felix's movement soon came under the scrutiny of the Frankish bishops. By 792, Felix had been summoned to appear at the Council of Regensburg, at which he was forced to recant his "adoptive" perspective on Christ, and as further punishment, he was sent with Angilbert to Rome to recant before the pope himself.⁴¹ Yet it seems the authority resided with the Franks (in their own eyes) rather than the

³⁶ Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople from 428 to 431, rejected the co-substantiality of Christ's human and divine nature. He was eventually condemned at the First Council of Ephesus in 431 and was exiled to a monastery in Egypt. Arguments against his belief during the medieval period could be found mostly in the writings of Cyril of Alexandria. J. McGuckin, *St Cyril of Alexandria: the Christological Controversy: its history, theology and texts* (Crestwood, NY, 2004).

³⁷ Beatus. *Adv Elip*. I: 113-116.

³⁸ Hadrian, First Letter to the Bishops of Spain, *MGH, Epistolae*, III, pp. 636-643.

³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 636, l. 33. J. Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West*, p. 72.

⁴⁰ Felix was active at the Church Council of Narbonne in 788 (at which there is no reference to a Nestorian heresy) and even was present at the Synod of Aix in 789, at which Charlemagne made an explicit call for religious unity (again, with no mention of his "Adoptionist" beliefs). J. Cavadini, *Christology*, p. 71.

⁴¹ See year 793 in *Annales Regni Francorum, MGH, SS rer. Germ. 6*, p. 90.

papacy with regard to Adoptionism. Again, here the Carolingians were flexing their moralizing muscles, acting as a religious policing force responsible for all of Europe. Angilbert's journey in 792 reflects this marshalling attitude, presenting the Carolingians' discoveries of heresy in not only northern Spain (via Felix's presence) but also in the Greek East (via the *Capitulare adversus Synodum*) to the pope. But this move should not necessarily be taken as indicative of a widespread deference to the papacy's religious authority on the part of the Carolingians.

From the surviving chapter headings of the *Capitulare*, the text seems to be a conciliatory and diplomatic hand stretched out to Hadrian—the religious attacks are focused exclusively on the Greeks rather than indicating any papal wrongdoing in supporting Nicaea II.⁴² Angilbert's journey in 792, if anything, is a clear Frankish appeal to its papal ally; a political move that was not fundamentally necessary for their programme of religious hegemony (as we shall see), but if the Carolingians could convince the pope to stand with them against the Adoptionists and the Greeks, so much the better. The historic alliance between the Franks and the papacy was cemented as early as 774 (according to the *Vita Hadriani* in the *Liber Pontificalis*), when Charlemagne and Hadrian swore mutual oaths to each other.⁴³ Yet these oaths seem to have had specific political content rather than being necessarily indicative of Frankish acknowledgement of ultimate religious authority vested in the papacy.

Although the Frankish response to both Adoptionism and Greek idolatry seems to seek papal endorsement, the Carolingian need for support from Hadrian appears to decrease as Frankfurt moved closer. By the time Angilbert made his journey to Rome in 792, preparations were already underway for the universal synod to be held at Frankfurt in 794, which would prominently highlight both Adoptionism and Greek idolatry.⁴⁴ When word reached the

⁴² *Hadrianum*, MGH, *Epp. III (Epist. Meroving. et Karol. Aevi III)*, pp. 5-57. (JE 2483).

⁴³ Not to mention the 751 papal recognition of Carolingian kingship. The validity of these oaths is only attested to in the *Liber Pontificalis*, rather than any Carolingian source. *Vita Hadriani*, *Liber Pontificalis* I, p. 497.

⁴⁴ Or so it is believed. The extent to which the goals for Frankfurt changed following the reception of the papal response to the *Capitulare* have been a matter of scholarly debate. A. Freeman, "Einleitung", p. 8. R. McKitterick, "Das Konzil im Kontext der Karolingischen Renaissance" in *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794*. Vol II (Mainz, 1997), pp. 617-634.

Carolingians that Hadrian would not support their cause against the Greeks, modern scholars have assumed that this resulted in a massive reorganization of the Synod's agenda, obscuring the idolatry issue to focus almost exclusively instead on the Adoptionist controversy.⁴⁵ Hadrian's response to the *Capitulare adversus Synodum*, a treatise referred to as the *Responsum*, was a point-by-point refutation of the Carolingians' arguments against the Greeks.⁴⁶ This treatise, received by the Carolingian court probably no later than 794, seems not to have lessened the Carolingians' intent to address Byzantine idolatry during the Frankfurt Synod, and Theodulf of Orléans continued to write his revised and expanded version of the *Capitulare*. Although this treatise may have had the papacy in mind as a potential audience, there is no significant evidence that Hadrian was ever sent the final copy, despite the incorporation of Hadrian's rebuttal to the *Capitulare* within the final extant manuscript.⁴⁷ Such evidence is demonstrative that the Carolingians continued their moral programme without explicit need for papal support. Scholars, most notably Hans Barion, have long established a lack of reliance on papal authority in terms of religious dogma on the part of the Franks.⁴⁸ A brief examination of the wording of some of the Frankfurt material demonstrates the extent to which the Franks were less concerned with demonstrating allegiance to papal policy than they were to link to established patristic tradition. If we look again at the first two canons of the Frankfurt material, both the Adoptionists and Greeks are castigated for their contradiction of patristic belief, with no reference to the dogmatic authority of the papacy.⁴⁹

As opposed to the more delicate Franco-papal negotiations regarding the Byzantines, Adoptionism seemed to cause no such strife between the Carolingians and the papacy. The production of a number of anti-Adoptionist

⁴⁵ Ann Freeman uses this argument as the basis behind many of the emendations she sees in the *Opus Caroli*, a text we shall discuss in a subsequent section. A. Freeman, "Additions and Corrections to the *Libri Carolini*: Links with Alcuin and the Adoptionist Controversy" in *Theodulf of Orleans* pp. 1-17.

⁴⁶ *Hadrianum. MGH, Epist. Meroving. et Karol. Aevi, Epp. III*, pp. 5-57. (JE 2483).

⁴⁷ Lamberz, ACO III, p. XXXIV.

⁴⁸ H. Barion, *Das fränkisch-deutsche Synodalrecht des Frühmittelalters*, rvsd edn., (Amsterdam, 1963), p. 174.

⁴⁹ See above, page 4. *Capitulare Francofurtense, MGH Conc. 2, 1, cap. 1*, p. 165, lines 18-40. T. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians*, pp. 176-7.

treatises during this period by both Frankish and Italian bishops as well as the pope indicate that this heresy was perceived as having significant multi-regional importance.⁵⁰ Following the Synod, extensive communication continued between the Frankish scholars and the Adoptionists of Spain, most clearly seen in the work of Alcuin of York, who would pen several treatises and letters against Felix and Elipandus throughout the 790s and into the ninth century before his death in 804.⁵¹ But to argue for Adoptionism's absolute primacy among the topics at Frankfurt is to ignore Charlemagne's wider interests in pan-European hegemony, particularly with regards to Carolingian reactions to Greek idolatry.

One Frankish voice is strangely absent from the vehement castigation of the Adoptionists: that of Theodulf of Orléans. While Alcuin's perspective is that predominantly seen in the letter of the Frankish bishops against the Adoptionists⁵², and Paulinus of Aquileia is believed to have been responsible for the Italian literary contribution in fighting the heresy⁵³, Theodulf of Orléans, who was already a prominent member of the Carolingian educated circle at court, appears to have no surviving input on the dangers of Felix or Elipandus. However, this is to disregard the fundamental link between the Adoptionist and Greek heresies as seen in the eyes of the Frankish elite. As the predominant writer of the *Opus Caroli regis contra Synodum*, Theodulf demonstrates the errors of the Greeks but via arguments which apply equally to the Adoptionists, based on a complex christological and semiotic argument.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ *Epistola episcoporum Franciae, Concilium Francofurtense, MGH Conc. 2, 1* pp. 143-157, *Libellus sacrosyllabus episcoporum Italiae – Concilium Francofurtense, MGH Conc. 2, 1*, pp. 130 - 142. *Epistola Hadriani I. ad episcopos Hispaniae – Concilium Francofurtense, MGH Conc. 2, 1* pp. 122 – 129.

⁵¹ Examples of this work include: *Adversus Felicis Haeresin Libellus ad Abbates et Monachos Gothiae Missus*, PL 101: 85-120; *Contra Felicem Urgellitanum Episcopum Libri Septem*, PL 101:119-230; *Contra Epistolam sibi ab Elipando Directam Libri Quatuor*, PL 101: 231-270; *De Incarnatione Christi et duabus in eo Naturis Libelli duo necnon 'De Veritate Unius Personae' Liber Primus qui et Tertius adversus Elipandum*, PL 101: 271-299.

⁵² As shown by L. Wallach & D.A. Bullough, *Epistola episcoporum Franciae, Concilium Francofurtense. MGH Conc. 2, 1* pp. 143-157, L. Wallach. "Charlemagne and Alcuin: Diplomatic Studies in Carolingian Epistolography" *Traditio* IX, 1953, pp. 127-154. D.A. Bullough, "Alcuin before Frankfurt" *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794*, Vol II., p. 583.

⁵³ *Libellus sacrosyllabus episcoporum Italiae – Concilium Francofurtense, MGH Conc. 2, 1*, pp. 130 – 142.

⁵⁴ A. Freeman, "Einleitung", p. 24.

The *Opus Caroli regis contra Synodum*

The *Opus Caroli* demonstrates in full the christological and semiotic links between the two heresies in the eyes of the Frankish educated elite. But the development of the text requires explanation in terms of its relationship to the evolving perspective of the Franks towards both heresies leading up to the Frankfurt Synod. As referred to above, the original Frankish response to the 2nd Council of Nicaea, the *Capitulare adversus Synodum*, proved of little use in winning papal support to the Carolingian cause. As Ann Freeman has shown, this early text served as the template for the *Opus Caroli* (the 85 chapters of the lost *Capitulare* appear in the extended 120 chapters of the later document).⁵⁵ Consequently, it seems clear that the *Opus Caroli* was always intended to be a treatise against the Greeks; however, major revisions to the work were necessary following the negative response of the pope to the *Capitulare* (which probably was no earlier than late in 793, although the evidence is circumstantial).⁵⁶ Hadrian refused to denounce the Acts of the 787 Council of Nicaea and instead blamed the Carolingians for their excessive “iconoclast” views expressed in the *Capitulare*, reminding them of the biblically-sanctioned reverence owed to relics and images.⁵⁷ No reference in the pope’s letter can be found as to the faulty translation of the Acts of the Council, nor any concession that the Greeks had misinterpreted Scripture in any way. Yet, while Hadrian may have been unwilling to take the Frankish side against the Greeks, in response to the other element of Angilbert’s mission to Rome, he was more than happy to denounce Felix as heretical.⁵⁸ Freeman surmises that, upon learning of the Pope’s support of the Greeks, the Carolingians must have rapidly changed the focus of not only the anticipated subject of the 794 Synod of Frankfurt so as to highlight Adoptionism, which as we have seen is unlikely, but also hastily rewrote the nearly complete *Opus Caroli* (which she argues was in preparation throughout

⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 5.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 102.

⁵⁷ “Absurdissime et incaute contra eos, qui imagines adorare contempnunt, ab his, qui eas adorant, praelatum testimonium sancti evangelii: ‘Nemo accendit lucernam et ponit eam sub modio’. Valde nimis atque pulchre contra eos, qui imagines, contempnunt, dixerunt poni lucernam sub modio, quia lucernam fides nostra est...” Chap. 33, *MGH Epistolae* 5, p. 31 ll. 6-10. A. Freeman, “Einleitung”, p. 8.

⁵⁸ As reported in the *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi* for the year 792. *MGH, SS. rer. Germ.* 6, p. 91.

791-793), perhaps even including Book Four as an addendum, so as to be more relevant to the Adoptionist controversy.⁵⁹

This latter point is certainly plausible, and indeed the list of capitula from the 794 Frankfurt Synod demonstrates the clear importance of the Adoptionist controversy (even if we let alone the numerous letters addressing the topic).⁶⁰ But this view not only ignores the second item on the agenda (which refers clearly to addressing Greek “idolatry”), but obscures the emergence of a common christological and semiotic perspective which the Carolingians were to use against both the Greeks and the Adoptionists. As shown clearly by the arguments of the *Opus Caroli*, there was a fundamental associated error of both the Adoptionists and Greeks with regard to the nature of Christ, which directly related to the Christian semiotic theory developed by the major writers of the Carolingian court, namely Alcuin, Theodulf, and Paulinus of Aquileia.⁶¹ The *Opus Caroli* and the various Adoptionist treatises reveal these writers as inheritors of not only a patristic tradition, steeped heavily in the work of Augustine, but more specifically, the new appropriators of classical philosophy, expressed in the highlighting of a Christian theory of signs and the nature of language. Writing from this period demonstrates the hermeneutic underpinnings of the well-known Carolingian ambition of increasing education, literacy, and biblical access, as we saw in Chapter Two. And accordingly, this perspective is further demonstrated in its application to both the Adoptionist movement and the “idolatry” of the Byzantines. We must also look at the text both in terms of its continuing assertions of Carolingian, rather than papal, moral authority and the extent to which it serves as a declaration of such against the Greeks, the Adoptionists, *and* the papacy.

Two manuscripts dominate the tradition of the *Opus Caroli*: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vat. lat. 7207) and Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal (MS

⁵⁹ For the apparent changes made to the *Opus Caroli* reflective of Adoptionism, please refer to A. Freeman, “Additions and Corrections to the *Libri Carolini*: Links with Alcuin and the Adoptionist Controversy” in her *Theodulf of Orleans*, IV, pp. 1-17.

⁶⁰ In that Adoptionism is the first item mentioned.

⁶¹ Evident in their respective writings against these two heresies: Alcuin’s Letter of the Frankish Bishops, Theodulf’s *Opus Caroli*, and Paulinus’ *Libellus sacrosyllabus*.

663).⁶² The Vat lat. 7207 manuscript is considered to be the original working edition of the *Opus Caroli* and contains many of what Ann Freeman believed were the first emendations to the text and also what some believe to be Charlemagne's own Tironian notation.⁶³ This has been interpreted as evidence of Charlemagne's personal approval (recorded by him or a court scribe) as the document was read aloud to him.⁶⁴ While the 7207 manuscript is invaluable in terms of demonstrating the evolution of the text and what may contain Theodulf's own corrections, it is incomplete, lacking all of Book 4, the general preface, and the introduction to Book One.⁶⁵ Thus the Paris manuscript is our only copy of the *Opus Caroli* in its entirety; however, it dates from a much later period, probably compiled under Hincmar's tenure at Rheims (845-882).⁶⁶

Let us look first at the means by which the *Opus Caroli* is a political text, one which asserts the religious power of the Carolingians throughout Europe and the Mediterranean world, one explicitly evoking not only Charlemagne's approval of the text but his direct involvement with it. First, the text remains the only one surviving from the period which invokes Charles' name in its title (*The Work of Charles against the Synod*). Also, to what extent do these two texts (the *Capitulare* versus the *Opus Caroli*) demonstrate adherence to papal authority? Although the earlier *Capitulare* may be seen as a diplomatic document, one intended to garner support from the papacy in terms of

⁶² One other fragment exists (unfortunately all that survives is a single leaf) from a mid-ninth century Corbie manuscript. It is found today in a manuscript containing Origen's *De Principiis*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 12125. Other references to lost editions can be found, however, the manuscripts listed above remain the predominant sources for any analysis of the text. A. Freeman, "Einleitung", p. 101-2.

⁶³ Freeman, "Einleitung", p. 97-8. This was first remarked upon by Wolfram von den Steinen in 1930 and was followed up by Bernhard Bischoff in the 1980s. It has still not received universal acceptance; however, the case for support made by both Steinen and Freeman has merit. B. Bischoff, "Die Hofbibliothek Karls des Grossen", *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben* (Düsseldorf, 1965), pp. 203-222. W. von den Steinen, "Entstehungsgeschichte der Libri Carolini" *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 21 (1920-1930), p. 88.

⁶⁴ Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm*, p. 166. Freeman, "Einleitung", pp. 3-4, 48-50, and "Appendix IV", p. 583.

⁶⁵ Book 4 was (understandably) the last to be produced and was probably compiled following Alcuin's return from Northumbria in the spring or summer of 793. By this point, the opinion of Hadrian towards the Greek repeal of Iconoclasm was known and this may account for the changes in chapters and treatment of the subject in the final Book (a much vaguer treatment on the nature of Scriptural interpretation). Freeman does not include as significant an investigation into these chapters as into those in the previous three books. A. Freeman, "Einleitung", pp. 59.

⁶⁶ Freeman, "Einleitung", p. 102.

presenting a unified front against both the Greeks and the Adoptionists, we cannot necessarily put the *Opus Caroli* on the opposite end of the spectrum. The most “rigorously pro-papal chapter” (in the words of Thomas Noble) in the *Opus Caroli*, Book I, Chapter 6, did not feature (or so we can surmise) in the original “diplomatic” *Capitulare* and may not have been originally intended to feature in the *Opus*.⁶⁷ Or rather, pro-papal rhetoric becomes increasingly explicit the further one progresses in the Vatican manuscript, perhaps indicative of the point at which the Carolingians received Hadrian’s response to the *Capitulare* and accordingly the lack of papal support for their cause. Ann Freeman has suggested that the reception of the *Responsum* can be correlated in the Vatican manuscript to the point at which the quality of the parchment, script, and general style decreases abruptly (approximately Book III, Chapter 13).⁶⁸ Any changing attitudes towards the papacy between the *Capitulare* and the *Opus Caroli* may be attributable to either an overall Frankish response to the papacy’s unwillingness to support their cause against the Greeks or may be more indicative of Theodulf’s particular neutral, or even negative, opinion regarding papal authority. Thomas Noble attributes this to the influence of Theodulf’s Visigothic Iberian tendencies: showing the same reservation concerning the papacy as other Spanish texts from the period.⁶⁹ According to such a theory, the forcible intrusion of a pro-papal chapter makes sense from a Frankish perspective: having seen Theodulf’s dismissal or, perhaps more fairly, lack of engagement with the papacy in the original *Opus Caroli*, there was a palpable need to insert a statement indicating a more pro-papal stance, if not for dogmatic reasons then for a more general political standpoint.⁷⁰ Although Hadrian’s letter

⁶⁷ The pro-papal chapter appears to have been inserted during the compilation of the original Vatican 7207 manuscript before the text was divided into chapters (as it is included within Book 1, rather than attached to the end of it). Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm*, p. 173. Also *MGH Conc. 2, Suppl. 1*, p. 132, n. 2. Freeman, „Einleitung“, p. 41.

⁶⁸ Freeman, “Carolingian Orthodoxy”, p. 86.

⁶⁹ Although Noble cites early Adoptionist material explicitly, reservations towards the papacy can also be seen in the *Adversus Elipandus* by Beatus of Liébana, i.e. that the traditional derivation of papal authority from Matthew 16.8 was applicable to all apostles rather than solely Peter. T. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm*, p. 173. A. Firey, “Carolingian Ecclesiology and Heresy: A Southern Gallic Juridical tract against Adoptionism”, *Sacris Erudiri* 39 (2000), p. 272.

⁷⁰ Yet this seems to contradict the established timeline and impact of the *Responsum* regarding the fate of the *Opus Caroli*. If Theodulf composed the majority of the *Opus Caroli* prior to the reception of the *Responsum* (c. 793/4), this could account for the sudden change in manuscript

indicates an initial refusal to side the Franks in the castigation of the Byzantines in his *Responsum*, Hadrian's letter does offer a glimmer of hope that he may eventually condemn the Byzantines as heretics.⁷¹ Thomas Noble is right, I believe, when he suggests that during this period there was little dogmatic authority associated with the papacy during the late eighth century, but rather that the position of pope conferred an authority in terms of the Christian patristic tradition.⁷² The responses to both the Adoptionist controversy and Byzantine Iconoclasm (and more generally the style of Carolingian writing on Christian matters) constantly invokes the patristic tradition as evidence of their neighbours' wrongdoing: citing authorities such as Hilary of Poitiers, Leo the Great, Cassiodorus, Gregory the Great, Gennadius, and Cyril of Alexandria (besides the already-mentioned Augustine).⁷³ The Frankish bishops (and, on a more general level, Charlemagne himself as represented in the works of his court writers) by means of these letters and treatises asserted their own "correct" interpretation of dogma, relying on the papacy to confirm their faithful, if general, adherence to Roman patristic tradition.⁷⁴

If the papacy represented a political ally and religious authority, albeit a distant one, the ability to castigate other polities within the European and

quality and style following Book III, Chapter 13, at which point the Carolingians realized they could no longer disseminate the treatise without implying a major attack on papal authority. Yet if the text was already destined for obscurity by this point, why insert a chapter referring explicitly to papal authority? I have as yet found no satisfactory answer to this question.

⁷¹ "Unde si vestra annuerit a Deo protecta regalis excellentia, eodem adortamur imperatore, pro sacris imaginibus in pristino statu erectione gratiam agentes et de diocesi sanctae nostre Romane ecclesie tam archiepiscoporum, quam episcoporum seu de patrimoniis iterum increpantes commonemus, ut, si noluerit ea sanctae nostrae Romane ecclesiae restituere, hereticum eum pro huiusmodi erroris perseverantia esse decernimus". Hadrian, *ep. No. 2, MGH, Epp. 5*, l. 16 p. 57.

⁷² Peter Classen examines the various power dynamics of the papacy in terms of its relationship with Byzantium and the Carolingians within his "Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz" in *Karls der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*. Vol I. (Düsseldorf, 1965), pp. 537-608. Florian Hartmann also provides an excellent analysis of the papacy's role in both the Council of Nicaea and Frankfurt within his *Hadrian I. Päpste und Papsttum* (Stuttgart, 2006).

⁷³ R. McKitterick, "Der Kontext", p. 620-1. Cited material within both the Letters to the Spanish bishops (Ep. Episc. Hisp. I and Ep. Episc. Hisp. II) include Augustine's *De Trinitate* (CCSL 50-50A) and *Enchiridion de fide, spe et caritate* (CCSL 46), Leo the Great's *Sermones 21 et 22 in nativitate Domini* (PL 54), Hilarius of Poitiers' *de Trinitate* (CCSL 62-62A), Cyril of Alexandria's *Epistola ad Eulgoium presbyterum*, Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*, and Gennadius' *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*. Responses from the Spanish Adoptionists tend to rely equally on patristic material, resulting in a literary and spiritual battle regarding correct "interpretation". This reliance on established literary tradition according to Rosamond McKitterick is a hallmark of the Carolingian Renaissance.

⁷⁴ Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm*, p. 174.

Mediterranean world fell easily within the purview of Charlemagne's desire for moral hegemony, particularly with regards to Byzantium, whose diplomatic relationship with the Franks was anything but well-defined. By the period the *Capitulare* and the *Opus Caroli* were in preparation, relations between the East and West were at an altogether low mark: Charlemagne's father, Pippin, had called off the marriage alliance between his daughter Gisela and Constantine V's son Leo IV in 767 while Charlemagne had been able to rout Byzantine forces in Calabria, thanks to a shift in support by the prince of Benevento.⁷⁵ While the 790s reflected an increasing political dominance on the part of the Carolingians, the Byzantines spent the majority of the decade attempting to regain lost authority in the region from the previous ten years. If ever there was a time Charlemagne could feel confident in attacking the Byzantines on a moral level, it was now.

In terms of the Carolingians' moralizing attitudes to the Greeks, there is an absolute refusal to grant the Byzantines the same religious authority they had given themselves.⁷⁶ If looking for further evidence as confirmation that many writers at the Carolingian court had fused political and moral authority within the *Opus Caroli* as an expression of expanding political hegemony, one need look no further than Theodulf's assault on the eastern Empire's claims for "universality" within Book III, denouncing the Emperor's tacit consent for the pollution of Christianity (violating his role as a Christian ruler).⁷⁷

But the attack on the Byzantines implies more than simply a failure to embody Christian imperial rule. Of course, debates on the appropriateness of images had been an element of religious discourse for decades by the period of the *Opus Caroli* and the 2nd Council of Nicaea.⁷⁸ Fundamentally, the *Opus Caroli*

⁷⁵ ARF s.a. 786. M. McCormick, "Byzantium and the West, 700-900" *The New Cambridge Medieval history* (ed.) R. McKitterick, (Cambridge, 1995), p. 367.

⁷⁶ For example, the Franks refused to recognize the "universality" of Nicaea II.

⁷⁷ "Nam, ut cetera taceamus, in hac parte non minima eorundem regnorum consonantia est, quod utraque reges suos in statuis sive imaginibus per campos sive plateas adorare censuerint et haec facere nolentibus diversa supplicia intulerint. Nam hoc malum cum ceteris malis, quae Christi adventu frustrata sunt, frustrari omnino debet, et non solum ab eo ad alia peragenda exempla sunt sumenda, sed idipsum a christicolis radicitus est extirpandum, ne qua secundum Apostolum radix amaritudinis rursum pullulet et inquinat multos." *OC* Book III, 15, p. 405, ll. 6-10.

⁷⁸ The ARF describes a synod in 767 at Gentilly between the Franks (under Pippin) and the Greeks on the nature of images. The initial composition of the ARF, probably in the late 780s or

represents a strong semiotic position against which the Byzantine perspective on images was to be judged. And it is here where we see the work current in the Carolingian court (as we saw in Chapter Two) applied in an external framework, used for Charlemagne's political purposes. The chapter headings for the first three books of the *Opus Caroli* demonstrate attacks on the two predominant and linked errors of the Greeks: a misunderstanding of Scripture, and heresy in equating images with the *res sacratae* (i.e. the Ark, the Eucharist, the Cross, sacred vessels, and Holy Scripture).⁷⁹ Both attacks are fundamentally based on Theodulf's understanding of language, particularly the language of Scripture and its relationship to human apprehension. Apart from individual chapters that discuss these two problems in a more general Christian framework (based predominantly on Scripture), Books 2 and 3 comprise various refutations of the specific pronouncements of the 787 Council, citing numerous problems with both their language (as in use of grammar and general rules of style) and Scriptural interpretation. Theodulf's concern with the Greeks' worship of images relates specifically to his understanding of the role of language (as a system of signs) and its relationship in the description of human comprehension and access to the divine. His concerns over the misappropriation of Scripture (both in its translation and in the misappropriation or misunderstanding of the role of these linguistic "signs") form the core of Theodulf's argument and will affect our understanding of the Carolingian attitudes toward Adoptionism as well.

As we discussed above, a major concern for Theodulf was the conflation (and mistranslation) of two Greek words: worship, *latreia* (λατρεία), and veneration, *proskynesis* (προσκύνησις) and translating both as *adoratio*. As with any Christian controversy regarding the appropriateness of images⁸⁰, there was a perceived danger of the viewer mistaking the image of an aspect of the divine

early 790s, may factor into the overall depiction of these past events, particularly in construing Charlemagne's primacy and legitimacy as Frankish ruler, as Rosamond McKitterick phrases it, a "fiction of power". Frankish bishops were also invited to the Synod at Rome in 769 to discuss similar issues, perhaps to repudiate Byzantine Iconoclasm. *ARF*, s.a. 767, (ed.) Kurze, pp. 24, 25. *Liber Pontificalis*, I, 476-477. R. McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 153.

⁷⁹ For the Greeks' error in biblical interpretation, see *OC* Book I, 7-30 and Book II, 1-12. For discussion on the *res sacratae* and the problem of image worship, see *OC* Book II, 21-30.

⁸⁰ The debate on the use of images stretches back to the patristic period, found in writings by both Augustine and Gregory the Great.

as a manifestation of the divine element itself and worshipping it. While veneration of images was acceptable and often encouraged as a means of meditating or showing respect for elements of the divine, adoration of images constituted idolatry.

But such a simple rendering of arguments against image worship does not do justice to Theodulf's detailed explanation in terms of what he perceives to be not just a single error on the part of the Greeks but instead a multi-faceted problem. Using what he perceived to be an accurate copy of the Acts of the Council (the faulty Latin version⁸¹), Theodulf demonstrates how the Greeks had misinterpreted the Word of God in citing various Scriptural examples that justified the worship of images. As a result of such profound misinterpretation, they had encouraged the adoration of man-made items (i.e. idolatry), thus leading others into heresy as well.⁸² For Theodulf, this two-part error constituted a fundamental misinterpretation of the nature of signs⁸³ and the relationship between human and divine.⁸⁴ And thus we must understand the *Opus Caroli* as much more than a treatise against idolatry but one that explores the nature of Christian semiotic theory as we discussed in Chapter Two, particularly with regard to these topics.

Adopting an Augustinian/Aristotelian⁸⁵ position, Theodulf argues that language, at its most basic, functions as a system of signs, conveying information about a given person, entity, or idea (as we would now say, the signified) via a word or image (the signifier).⁸⁶ This mirrors strongly the approach to language which we saw in Alcuin's works in Chapter Two. As a human system of

⁸¹ See above, footnote 25.

⁸² In I.19, he argues: "We, who follow not the dead letter, but the living spirit, who are not the carnal but the spiritual Israel, who having rejected things seen contemplate things not seen, rejoice in having accepted greater mysteries not only than images, which lack all mystery... "Nos enim, qui non sequimur litteram mortificantem, sed spiritum vivificantem, qui non carnalis, sed spiritalis Israel sumus, qui spretis visibilibus invisibilia contemplantur, non solum imaginibus maiora mysteria, quae omni mysterio carent" *OC*, p. 193, line 9. Also see *OC* I.10, I.15, I.18.

⁸³ Both artistic (in terms of images) and linguistic. The close relationship between these two elements shall be discussed below.

⁸⁴ As argued in I.17 of the *OC*, pp. 185-188.

⁸⁵ I use this phrase to indicate Augustine's reliance upon Aristotle's theory of language. As Theodulf may have been aware of many of Aristotle's work on their own terms (rather than simply via the conduit of Augustine), it would be inappropriate to dismiss Aristotle's linguistic theory as a direct influence on Theodulf.

⁸⁶ This argument leans heavily on the semiotic theory discussed by Augustine in his *De Magistro*. PL 32: 1193-1220.

communication, linguistic signs were considered imperfect and prone to error (grammatical and spelling mistakes, issues of translation between languages, confusion as to meaning, etc.).⁸⁷ As John Marenbon has demonstrated, Alcuin's label as the founder of medieval logic may be misplaced: Alcuin's work is not of that of a philosopher working in isolation, but rather of a court writer engaging in a wider rediscovery and application of a semiotic Christian system.⁸⁸ Aspects of the *Opus Caroli* which demonstrate familiarity with pagan philosophy (such as Aristotle) once were ascribed to the influence of Alcuin rather than to Theodulf's own awareness and interaction with such texts. Removing Alcuin from such an influential role broadens the Carolingian court's access and awareness of these texts. As we saw in Chapter Two, Theodulf's reliance (and perhaps on a more general scale that of the Carolingian court as a whole) on works such as Aristotle's *Categoriae Decem*, Isidore's *Etymologiae*, Aristotle's *Peri Hermeneias*, and Marius Victorinus' *De diffinitione* (usually ascribed to Boethius during this period) implies a broader incorporation of classical and late antique material, which did not necessarily need to be mediated through the patristic fathers.⁸⁹

Like Alcuin, Theodulf upholds the "structure" of the linguistic arts. He advocates the transcendental potential of language (within Scripture); but as a human system it requires close scrutiny. One could limit semiotic confusion via either the education or training of the reader or the improvement of the text

⁸⁷ Book IV, Chapter 23 includes a long appropriated discussion from Boethius' commentary on Aristotle's *De Interpretatione*, in which language is referred to as a human (as opposed to divine) institution. D.A. Bullough used this example as proof of Alcuin's influence on the *Opus Caroli* (which has subsequently been disproven). D. Bullough, "Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven: Liturgy, Theology and the Carolingian Age" in *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage* (Manchester, 1991), pp. 193-186.

⁸⁸ J. Marenbon, "Alcuin, the Council of Frankfort and the Beginnings of Medieval Philosophy" in *Das Frankfurter Konzil*, p. 605.

⁸⁹ Theodulf's access to texts such as Boethius' translation of the *Isagoge* of Porphyry and his *First Commentary* on the *Peri Hermeneias* of Aristotle, not to mention the *Peri Hermeneias* of Apuleius, the (pseudo)-Augustinian *Categories*, alongside Alcuin's poem dedicating his edition of the work to Charlemagne, parts of Alcuin's *De Dialectica* and a collection of creeds which introduce Book III of the *Opus Caroli* can be shown via his relationship to Leidrad, archbishop of Lyons. His bequeathment of these manuscripts to his cathedral church upon his retirement in 814 was a result of a career as both the former pupil of Alcuin (who refers to him as "filius noster" in a letter to Arno of Salzburg in 800), not to mention his travels with Theodulf throughout Septimania ca. 798 (which Theodulf refers to in his *Carmen 28*). A. Freeman, 'Einleitung', p. 86. Theodulf, *Carmen 28*, *MGH Poetae 1*, p. 496, ll. 99. *OC* II.30 and IV.21.

itself. Such precautions having been taken, one was more likely to grasp the underlying meaning (i.e. the signified) of a given word or text without becoming enmeshed in the vagaries and pitfalls of signifiers. It was a writer's responsibility, in Theodulf's opinion, to be as clear as possible, rendering any potential misunderstanding minimal by adhering to grammatical and spelling rules and, if applicable, accurate transcription or translation.⁹⁰ Thus, Theodulf does not dismiss the potentials of language (i.e. signs). However, his focus is ultimately on a reader grasping the core meaning of a given text and making that text as clear as possible.⁹¹

The importance of a text's underlying significance has no better example than that of Scripture. According to Theodulf, the Greeks had so distorted this basic theory of signs that they committed themselves to idolatry, by worshipping the sign rather than the meaning/significance behind it.⁹² Their error was two-fold: first, by failing to grasp the underlying meaning of certain biblical passages so as to believe that Scripture condones the worship of images (which Theodulf argues is not the case), and secondly, in misrepresenting Scripture and leading others into potential idolatry by conflating the two terms of worship and veneration in their writing. The Greeks had stripped away the divine wisdom of Scripture by substituting one verb for another, conveying an opposite message from Scripture's actual meaning: that images cannot hold divine truth.⁹³ Much of the *Opus Caroli* is dedicated to this argument, exploring the Greeks' argument and so-called biblical justification point by point, to show them how they have woefully misinterpreted the underlying meaning of a number of passages.⁹⁴ As

⁹⁰ *OCI*.5, pp. 128-132.

⁹¹ His understanding of language as signs can be found in *OC*, II.30, p. 303-4. (appropriating Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, 1, 3, 1): "...legem non pictam sed scriptam Moysi dedit, et in tabulis lapideis non imagines, sed apices, qui indices rerum sive signa verborum esse perhibentur, tradidit". Theodulf rarely relies on the word *signum* within the *Opus Caroli* as much as Augustine or even Alcuin. Instead, he couches his argument in the vocabulary of images (which also act as signifiers/signs) but the complexity of this choice of vocabulary will be discussed in subsequent sections.

⁹² *Ibid.* II.30, pp. 303-305.

⁹³ This statement does have exceptions; in particular, Theodulf describes the *res sacratae* (the Cross, the Ark of the Covenant, liturgical vessels, the Eucharist, and the Bible as an object) which may be said to be images/signs which retain more divine wisdom as they have been sanctioned by God. *Ibid.*, II.26-30.

⁹⁴ Often this has been held up as an example of this differing styles of exegesis between the East (which favoured a more literalist Antiochene school) and the West (which preferred the

we will see in Chapter Four, the issue for the Carolingians was not one of the holy truth invested in the literal words of Scripture, but the human ability to interpret the underlying meaning correctly.

For example, in chapter 13 of Book I, Theodulf describes the Greeks' inability to understand the difference between adoring (or worshipping) the wood of the cross rather than Christ (one of the primary problems with idolatry: worshipping the "sign" rather than what the sign represents, in this case Christ). Theodulf uses the example of the staff of Joseph: "About that topic, which they say in an ignorant and confused way: If you find fault with me, because I adore God via the wood of the cross, why do you not find fault with Jacob who adored the top of Joseph's staff?"⁹⁵ Theodulf's response to this constitutes a standard signified/signifier argument: that Joseph did not worship the wood, but rather God *through* or *by means of* the wood (in the Latin: *per*), just as one does not worship the cross, but rather God by means of the cross. Such an argument reflects a substantial aspect of Theodulf's ongoing discussion on the use of images: that they cannot be worshipped in their own right, but rather must act as "signs" for the greater divine power, just as the words of Scripture act as linguistic "signs" for the divine wisdom contained within it. Linguistic and semiotic theory thus become conflated when Theodulf demonstrates that variant vocabulary in biblical codices has rendered this passage differently:

allegorical school of Alexandria). However, I do not believe the values set out in the *Opus Caroli* can be relegated only to these exegetical preferences. T. Noble, "Tradition and Learning in Search of Ideology: *The Libri Carolini*" in *The Gentle Voices of Teachers*, p. 238.

⁹⁵ "De eo, quod indocte et inordinate dicunt: Si calumniaris me, quoniam ut deum adoro lignum crucis, cur non calumniaris Iacob adorantem summitatem virgae Ioseph?" Text is quoting both the Vulgate text (Genesis 47:31) and the Latin translation of the Acts of the 2nd Council of Nicaea. *OC*, I.13, p. 163.

Because therefore, as we mentioned beforehand those of the Latin codices which have: *Adoravit super summitatem virgae*, it is necessary, as having been mindful to the instructions of the learned man [St. Augustine], we should explain in what way it ought to be interpreted... For he says: What the Latin codices have: *Et adoravit super caput virgae eius*, some have corrections...*Adoravit super caput virgae suae*, or *in capite virgae suae*, either *in cacumen* or *super cacumen*. For the Greek word deceives them, because it is written in their language, either *eius* or *suae*, but the accents have vanished and they are not disregarded in the codices by such people who recognize them.⁹⁶

As we see, for Theodulf, these minor variants present no problem in terms of the underlying meaning of the passage: that Joseph was *not* worshipping the staff but God. Relying on the expertise of Augustine and his own confidence in biblical exegesis, Theodulf does not excuse the Greeks for misinterpretation based on their variant biblical vocabulary. Those educated and trained in Scripture should be able to properly discern the ulterior meaning in a passage, regardless of the limitations of its human translator or editor. Despite this, Theodulf does indicate that such variants in biblical material may lead some readers to error, particularly those who are not educated. He also worries that some editions, such as the ones the Greeks were reliant upon, have been corrupted and are even more prone to lead a reader to error. Accordingly, he proposes a (as yet) hypothetical revised Scriptural text, one that would eliminate these kinds of errors:

⁹⁶ "Quia ergo, ut praefati sumus quidam Latinorum codicum habent: "Adoravit super summitatem virgae, necesse est, ut memorati doctoris documentis", qualiter intellegendum sit, explicemus. Ait enim: Quod habent Latini codices: "Et adoravit super caput virgae eius", nonnulli emendantes habent: "Adoravit super caput virgae suae", vel "in capite virgae suae", sive "in cacumen" vel "super cacumen". Fallit enim eos Graecum verbum, quod eisdem litteris scribitur, sive "eius" sive "suae", sed accentus dispares sunt et ab eis, qui ista noverunt, in codicibus non contempnuntur." *OC*, I.13 p. 163-4.

But besides, because almost every version of divine law is either mutilated or changed by them for the sake of adoring images, it is necessary that a new writing of the law after Moses be taught, a new restoration of the law after Ezra ought to be found, a new translation of the law after the Septuagint interpretation, Theodotio, and Symmachus, and Aquila and even blessed Jerome may be sought, a new treatment after the apostles and the apostolic men filled with the holy spirit may be examined, which truly is able to oppose via Divine Scripture, so that it binds with the chain of anathema all men rejecting the adoration of images.⁹⁷

Such a statement within a treatise like the *Opus Caroli* provides a framework for a significant portion of the *correctio* programme of the Carolingians. Theodulf calls for an updated version of the Bible (a project he will attempt later in his career, as we shall see later) so as to reduce the recognized aspects of human error within the text. There is no indication, however, that a single edition or standardized version of the Bible is necessary or even possible. The Bible will retain its divine wisdom couched within human language so long as the language (i.e. signs) is clear and unobtrusive to the reader. Variant biblical readings, so long as they are not deceptive or erroneous, present no problem to Theodulf, and as we shall see in his later edition of the Bible, even welcome as any additional tools for the educated reader of the text.⁹⁸

Theodulf embraces the patristic understanding of Scripture as a corollary to the dual nature of Christ, containing elements of both human and the divine. Scripture, representing aspects of the secular and the sacred, necessarily was clothed in secular form by human hands (i.e. in the specific words, ink, parchment, etc. which comprised the book(s) of the Bible) so as to be understood

⁹⁷ “Tam vero quia pene omnis divinae legis series ab illis ob imaginum adorationem aut mutilatur aut permutatur, nova necesse est post Moysen legis tradatur scriptio, nova post Ezram legis reperiatur restauratio, nova post Septuaginta interpretaetes, Theodotionem et Symachum et Aquilam sive etiam beatum Hieronimum legis quaeratur translatio, nova post apostolos et apostolicos viros Spiritu sancto repletos scrutetur tractatio, quae adeo divinis Scripturis refragari queat, ut omnes imaginum adorationem spernentes anathematis vinculo nectat.” Ibid. I.13, lin 1-16. p. 166.

⁹⁸ Six Bibles of Theodulf’s revision exist today. The most complete of these, the Le Puy Bible and the Mesmianus Codex (Paris, BN lat. 9380) include marginal notations which describe alternate readings for various passages such as found in Spanish, Italian, and even Hebraic texts. Alcuin’s edition, completed just prior to Theodulf’s is also cited as a valid variant biblical source. We discuss this in depth in Chapter Four.

by humanity. Yet, it retained the divine wisdom by which it was inspired, an aspect which could be reached via reading spiritually or intellectually, i.e. with a mind open to a more profound understanding and looking beyond the “secular” words on the page, a classic “meaning over matter” argument.⁹⁹ But this demonstrates the extent of Theodulf’s argument against the Greeks: not only had they mistakenly allowed for the worship of the (human/secular) sign rather than the (divine) signified, they had similarly ignored the divine truth within Scripture regarding the appropriateness of images (as we saw in the case of Joseph’s staff).

Moving past the superficial linguistic element of the Bible is crucial for Theodulf in terms of appropriate Christian worship. Adhering to Augustine’s tripartite division of spiritual understanding, Theodulf emphasizes the need to read the Bible *spiritually* not literally.¹⁰⁰ When we look to the predominant issue the Carolingians (via Theodulf) held against the Greeks, it is one of vocabulary: the acts of the 2nd Council of Nicaea supposedly apply the verb *adorare* with respect to the reverence which should be accorded images, not *venerare* which the Carolingians (and Pope Hadrian) insisted was the correct non-idolatrous term. This touches on one of Theodulf’s major points in demonstrating the limitations of human language and potential for error, particularly in the case of the Greeks.

This particular linguistic conflation exemplifies Theodulf’s theological argument against “signs”, which can refer to either words (as linguistic signs) or “material signs” (such as painted images). Whereas both “technically” are signs according to an Augustinian model, they fulfil entirely separate purposes.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ This employs the tripartite division of sight as explored by Augustine in a number of his works, perhaps most prominently in the *De Genesi ad Litteram*, PL 34: 219-246.

¹⁰⁰ This should not be confused with Augustine’s “spiritual” sense of sight, but rather Theodulf’s means of describing reading texts on a non-literal level: “Therefore these signs, namely the ark (of the Covenant) and those things which are inside it, or like those propitiating cherubs, should always be examined by us via a spiritual intuition and investigated with the entire concentration of our mind. Lest we seek those things in painted *tabulis* or on walls, but we should examine them in penetrating ways with the eye of our heart’s mind.” “Haec igitur insignia, arca videlicet et quae in ea sunt, propitiatorium sive cherubim, semper a nobis spiritali intuitu cernantur et tota mentis intentione quaerantur. Nec ea in depictis tabulis sive parietibus quaeramus, sed in penetrabilibus nostri cordis mentis oculo aspiciamus.” *OC*, I.15, p. 175 lin. 1-8.

¹⁰¹ It is significant that Theodulf relies on vocabulary to highlight the distinction between signs as images (*imago*) and those in language (*apex*). For example, *OC*, I.26, p. 219.

Theodulf upholds the ability of language (as signs) to convey more truthful information via its relationship to the signified than the painted image; indeed, much of the discussion in the *Opus Caroli* is devoted to this.¹⁰² However, Theodulf also finds fault with their interpretation of language: conflating distinct meanings of words (e.g. *latreia* and *proskynesis*) to create false homonyms (the prime example of their superficiality of reading).¹⁰³

Theodulf's argument demonstrates the potential spiritual errors of language: linguistic signs in Scripture (i.e. divine wisdom encapsulated within human language) can lead to error because they are fundamentally signifiers, *not* the thing signified. The insubstantiality of language for Theodulf, particularly in reference to the Greeks, corresponds to the problem of homonymy: that a single "name" or "sign" can refer to two separate objects, potentially leading to confusion (and, in the case of spiritual matters, potential heresy). Theodulf adopts much of Augustine's theory (which itself is taken from Aristotle) expounded in his *De Dialectica* in terms of the problems which homonymic aspects of language can lead to, again an indicator of the limitations of this human system of communication.¹⁰⁴ Again, this emphasizes Augustine's, Alcuin's, and Theodulf's argument that the reader benefits from an education and training in language—so as not to confuse the limitations of human semiotics with the ineffable divine wisdom underneath. Within language it is possible to surmount the difficulties associated with homonyms by applying human reason or rationale.¹⁰⁵ If one reads "intelligently", one can glean the divine wisdom without becoming ensnared in the vagaries of material linguistic signs. The Greeks, according to Theodulf, have failed to do this. However,

¹⁰² This theme runs throughout the text; however, is best exemplified in Book II, Chapter 30.

¹⁰³ Thus Theodulf not only attacks their idolatry but also attacks their "unintelligence" in language: "...nisi forte quod aut difficultas inordinati sermonis nostro intellectui inpertire negaverit, aut puerilis dicti ineptiam reverentia cohibens noster sermo persequi dispexerit" This phrase, though found in the Preface (p. 102), is also repeated in I.13, p. 163 and III.3, p. 345.

¹⁰⁴ "Quas et si quis secundum aequivocorum rationem homines dici posse adfirmet, ut "Augustinus fuit summus philosophus", et "Augustinus legendus est", et "Augustinus pictus in ecclesia stat", et "Augustinus illo loco sepultus est", animadvertat haec omnia, quamquam ab uno fonte, id est Augustino, processerint, hunc solum fuisse verum Augustinum, de quo dictum est "summus philosophus", cetera vero aliud esse codicem, aliud imaginem, aliud corpus sepultum." *OC*, I.2, p. 117. Augustine, *De Dialectica*, 10, 18, p. 114.

¹⁰⁵ A reference to the ontology displayed in Aristotelian, Augustinian, and the philosophy of *De Imagine Dei*. See Chapter Two.

Theodulf's perspective regarding images is a complex linguistic argument, one that incorporates not only the dangers of idolatry (as we shall discuss in a moment) but also his understanding of signs ("material" and linguistic), particularly as contextualized by his Christology. In order to explain it in full, Theodulf's language needs to be unpacked.

As we discussed in Chapter Two in terms of Alcuin's appropriation of the linguistic disciplines in the formation of a Christian semiotic philosophy, so too does Theodulf rely on predominantly philosophical language (couched in the terminology of Augustine and Aristotle) to define his perspective on images. His understanding of the relationship of signs and images (and their appropriateness in Christian worship) is fundamentally linked to an ontological understanding of language based on pagan philosophy. It is via this argument that Theodulf is able both to defend the use of language (as a symbolic system) and attack the Greeks for their reliance on other lesser "signs" (i.e. painted images/idols¹⁰⁶). How does Theodulf distinguish between signs and images? Obviously he has no fundamental disagreement with the idea of something "signifying" something else as we demonstrated with his understanding of language. Yet how does one differentiate between these types of "signifiers" (e.g. language) which are acceptable to the Christian faith and those which are not (graven images, for example)? How does language escape the problem of signification when other man-made images do not?

Just as we saw with Alcuin, it is the nature of "substance" which is the key distinguishing feature in Theodulf's categorization of "signs".¹⁰⁷ In Book I, Chapter 7 and 8 Theodulf outlines his understanding of the nature of "substance" as a referent within a Christian context, merging the categories of Aristotle with the semiotic philosophy of Augustine.¹⁰⁸ As expressed in Chapter 8, for Theodulf the proper image (or sign) asserts something of its signified's "substance", something beyond itself. Theodulf argues that painted images are

¹⁰⁶ Of course there is a distinction to be made between images and idols: I am using this phrasing here to distinguish inappropriate "graven" images (which Theodulf does not approve of) from other forms of images (such as man being made in the image of God or language as a "image system"), all topics which shall be discussed in subsequent sections.

¹⁰⁷ See our discussion in Chapter Two.

¹⁰⁸ He is relying predominantly on Boethius' translation of the *Categories, Liber Aristotelis de decem praedicamentis*. (ed.) L. Minio-Paluello, (Bruges/Paris, 1961), pp. 1-41.

unable to do this: they contain no “substance” beyond their physical form. He relies on an Augustinian theory of “likeness” and “equality” here to highlight the distinction. While the signifier (for example, a painted image of Plato) may resemble the physical form of its signified (the “real” person of Plato), there is nothing of Plato’s “substance” within the painting apart from a mere “likeness” to his physical form.¹⁰⁹ This is acceptable in terms of using such pictures for historical or decorative purposes; however, one should never rely on such “physical” images in terms of the substance of spiritual beings (the saints, Mary, Christ, etc.). These items are merely material artifacts (*opificia*) and any inherent “worth” they may contain is based solely on the material from which they were constructed (e.g. gold, silver, etc.).¹¹⁰ Only those images or items that have been commissioned by God explicitly (the cross, Ark of the Covenant, etc.) retain any element of the signified’s substance, leading the viewer to contemplate on a higher level (using one’s intellectual vision) and hopefully achieve understanding.¹¹¹

This suggests our earlier discussion regarding humanity’s ability to glean divine meaning inherent in signs; a derivation from man’s creation in the image of God. As we saw Alcuin draw upon this philosophy in the *De Imagine Dei*, so too does Theodulf rely upon this Christian epistemology within the *Opus Caroli*. Immediately following Theodulf’s castigation of the Eastern Emperor and the Nicaean Synod (Book I, Chaps. 1-4) and the inserted chapter on the nature of papal authority (Book I, Chap. 6), Theodulf addresses man’s creation in the image (*imago*) and likeness (*similitudo*) of God.¹¹² Theodulf assumes the same Augustinian argument which Alcuin employed with regard to the distinction between man’s nature as image and likeness: taking from Augustine’s *De*

¹⁰⁹ This complements the ontology demonstrated in *De Imagine Dei*, which Theodulf was clearly aware of, as humanity is said to be both a *imago* and *similitudo* of God (containing both substance and “likeness” of the divine). See below.

¹¹⁰ Again, an emphasis on their corporality. *OC* I.16, p. 179, l. 9.

¹¹¹ This higher contemplation is made possible by the virtue/sacrality inherent to these objects. Although one might argue that a viewer’s could attempt to use their “intellectual” sight with other worldly objects (i.e. objects not classified as *res sacratae*), this would be doomed to failure as the objects lack any substance beyond themselves (as we discuss above). Attempts to contemplate on this level would lead merely to misunderstanding in Theodulf’s argument, precisely the problem that has led the Greeks into error.

¹¹² Quoting the *De Imagine Dei* directly (which Theodulf attributes to Ambrose). *OC* I.6, pp. 138-40.

Diversiis Quaestiones, Theodulf advocates that our lifelong aim should be to acquire “likeness” of God (in that we naturally have the potential for likeness but the extent to which we are “like” God is determined via our actions).¹¹³

But language poses a different kind of problem for Theodulf. For in his reliance on the term “images” rather than signs in his treatise, he indicates that words are also types of images (in that they are signs). How does this fit into his overall disapproval of their use? Theodulf wholeheartedly disapproves of worshipping images (save for the *res sacratae*), and this on principle includes language and/or words. This explains his attack of the Greek insistence on a literal Antiochean interpretation of the Bible: in his eyes, they have relegated themselves to worshipping “physical” or secular elements. To Theodulf, their interpretation of Scripture (as seen above) indicates an overt reliance on the text’s “literality”. This has prevented them from intellectual contemplation of the “holy meaning” in the text.

Of course, even for Theodulf, study of the “literal” or man-made elements within Scripture is important. Scripture is affected by human intervention on two levels: not only the physical production of the item (the parchment, ink, etc.), but also the transcription of the words themselves. Theodulf’s attempt to demonstrate the complex nature which is the Bible can be found in one of the longest chapters within the *Opus Caroli*: Book II, Chapter 30, in which he attempts to explain the relationship between the visual experience of “seeing” human language and its employment of the “mental” form of sight (i.e. the eye of the mind, which conforms to Augustine’s spiritual sense of vision).¹¹⁴ It is within this chapter that Theodulf must reconcile the use and necessity of the linguistic arts as “visible” or corporeal disciplines alongside the transcendental nature of Scripture which depicts the invisible wisdom of the divine.

As we have already discussed, the inherent problem for Theodulf with the nature of graven images is their inability to convey the “substance” (in Aristotelian terms) of their referent. What allows words to perform this task,

¹¹³ Augustine, *De Diversis Quaestiones LXXXIII*, PL 40: 65b.

¹¹⁴ This phrase was popular throughout early medieval literature and can be found in Augustine’s *De Vera Religione*, *De Trinitate*, and *De Videndo Deo*. Augustine, *De Videndo Deo*, PL 33: 621 and *De Vera Religione*, PL 34: 137.

thus removing the inherent problem of images? To address this we must look at how Theodulf understands the nature of Scripture, a *res sacrata* which exists on an immaterial level, one beyond (or beneath) the physical words of the Bible. For Theodulf, it is clearly the underlying meaning which is important when referring to Scripture, as the “physical” aspect of the Bible has been distorted, merely by being an element of the carnal world:

When God gave the first natural law to men, it was corrupted by man, thus He afterwards gave it in written form, which also shows itself to have been corrupted in its present visual form, yet it should be believed that it refers to the salvation of humanity both in the sight of the law and subject to both law and grace and never is it to be supposed that it attributes something in any way to images of any kind.¹¹⁵

Theodulf follows this description of the nature of Scripture (as having been corrupted) with a philosophical and linguistic categorization of how God may be described. For this, he relies predominantly on Augustine’s *De Trinitate*, which features an exposition on how descriptions of God in language are limited and must be couched in either simile or metaphor.¹¹⁶ This again refers to the Aristotelian nature of substance with particular application to the divine: “As far, though, as making or doing is concerned, perhaps this can be said with complete truth only about God; he alone makes and is not made, nor does he suffer or undergo anything so far as his substance by which he is God is concerned.”¹¹⁷ As opposed to graven images (as distinct from letters/language), which merely happen to appear similar to the physical form of another (and share no actual substance with the signified), words and letters exist fundamentally with the intent to signify and can call to mind far more complex

¹¹⁵ Cum igitur Deus primum hominibus naturalem legem dederit, qua ab hominibus corrupta dederit postea scriptam, qua etiam violata sese per praesentiam corporalem videndum exhibuerit, et ante legem et sub lege et sub gratia semper humanae saluti credatur consuluisse, numquam usquam tale aliquid imaginibus creditur contulisse. *OC III.27*, pag. 467, lin. 17-21.

¹¹⁶ *OC III.27*, pag. 469, lin. 2-24. Augustine, *De Trinitate* 5, 8 (CC 50, p. 215)

¹¹⁷ “Quod autem ad faciendum attinet, fortassis de solo Deo verissime dicatur: solus enim Deus facit et ipse non fit, neque patitur quantum ad ejus substantiam pertinet qua Deus est”. Augustine, *De Trinitate*, 5, 8, PL 42:917.

mental ideas than any painted form.¹¹⁸ Indeed, man-made images must rely on the written word or *tituli* in order to call their referent to mind, as Theodulf explains the danger of misapprehension of images:

Even if we suppose that an image of the Holy Mother of God ought to be adored, how are we to identify her image, or differentiate it from other images? When we see a beautiful woman depicted with a child in her arms, with no inscription provided, how are we to know whether it is Sarah holding Isaac, or Rebecca with Jacob, or Bathsheba with Solomon, or Elizabeth with John, or indeed any woman with her child?¹¹⁹

The nature of Scripture as part of the *res sacratae* is never questioned. Theodulf highlights the inherent divinity and authorship of God as continually contained in the books of the Bible:

[They] were predestined before the ages by the highest, secret and prophetic judgment of God alone, and at times over the years were granted by a display of [his] kindness for the benefit of human salvation, and have as authors saintly and venerable men who shine with the lights of virtues and with signs of miracles, or surely [have] the Lord himself [as author]...”.¹²⁰

Perhaps this may clarify Theodulf’s accusation of idolatry towards the Greeks. In defining the term, Theodulf adheres to an Aristotelian distinction: if “images” comprise a genre, then “idols” constitute a specific category within that genre.¹²¹ More simply put, all idols are images but not all images are idols. Theodulf emphasizes this point early in the *Opus Caroli*, because, as he will go on to show, images have a variety of important meanings within Christianity, with

¹¹⁸ This calls to mind the use of “substance” in an Aristotelian sense and the ability for language to convey information with regard to it. For more information, see our discussion in Chapter Two.

¹¹⁹ “Cum ergo depictam pulchram quandam feminam puerum in ulnis tenere cernimus, si superscriptio necdum facta sit aut quondam facta casu quodam demolita, qua industria discernere valemus, utrum Sara sit Isaac tenens aut Rebecca Iacob ferens aut Betsabee Salomonem iactans aut Elisabeth Iohannem baiulans aut quaelibet mulier parvulum suum tenens?” *OC*, Lib. IV, chap. 21, p. 540, l. 18.

¹²⁰ “...cum videlicet illae solius Dei altissimo archanoque ac praesago iudicio sint ante saecula praedestinatae et per momenta saeculorum ad humanae salutis emolumenta clementi exhibitione concessae habeantque auctores sanctos ac venerabiles viros virtutum lampadibus et miraculorum insignibus coruscantes vel certe ipsum Dominum...” *OC* Lib. II, cap. 30, p. 303.

¹²¹ “...hoc illi de cunctis imaginibus perpetraren nescientes imaginem esse genus, idolum vero speciem, et speciem ad genus, genus ad speciem referri non posse.” *OC*, “Praefatio”, p. 99. Mitalaite, *Theologie et Philosophie*, p. 63.

particular reference to both Scripture and to the nature of Christ. As in Origen and Augustine, the distinction between image and idol was a point of reference: an image referred or was in some way in relation to something beyond itself (as a signifier), whereas an idol referred to only itself.¹²² In Theodulf's argument, nothing is fundamentally wrong with images (as signs).¹²³ The problem only surfaces when the referent of the image is unknown or is unintelligible (as we saw in the case of the absent title with the image of the Virgin). While this is not to be encouraged at any time, if used in the context of worship or within a sacred setting, then one is in danger of turning an image into an idol (i.e. worshipping the signifier *as* the signified). And this is, of course, precisely Theodulf's accusation towards the Greeks.

Although images are, for Theodulf, in and of themselves value-free, they are not always appropriate in terms of humanity's relationship to the divine. Indeed, the nature of God as understood by Theodulf is one which, by definition, needs no signifier. Christ therefore is both the signifier and the signified, as are the other elements of the Trinity. Thus, images can only take the human mind so far: they can elucidate elements of faith and parts of God's wisdom; however, they are never to be worshipped.¹²⁴ As Theodulf states in his Book I, Chapter 7, it is wrong to put one's faith in images, but he refrains from outright castigation of them.¹²⁵ There is a link here: just as mankind was created in the image of God, Christ as *imago* holds a sacred (not idolatrous) meaning for Christians. If both Christ and man are also different types of *imagines Dei*, images *cannot* hold an absolute negative value for Theodulf. Theodulf is emphatic on how Christ as

¹²² "...et imago ad aliquid, idolum ad se ipsum dicatur" *OC*, "Praefatio" p. 99.

¹²³ He asserts that they can have a valuable purpose in illustrating historic events or serving as mere decoration, which Theodulf describes in the *Praefatio*. His commission of an apse mosaic at his church at Germigny-des-Prés provides external confirmation of this, as do the potential decorative aspects to his biblical revision, both of which we discuss in Chapter Four. A. Freeman & P. Meyvaert, "The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés", *Gesta* 40, no. 2 (2001), pp. 125-139. C. Chazelle, "Matter, Spirit, Image in the *Libri Carolini*", *Recherches Augustiennes*, XXI (1986), p. 165

¹²⁴ "Nam ut ceteros taceam, sacratissimus pastor, super quem solidissimam petram ecclesia sancta fundata est, non ait: imagines, sed: fraternitatem diligite, nec: subditi estote picturis, sed: omni humanae creaturae, et Dominum Christum sanctificare non in imaginibus, sed in cordibus nostris instituit." *OC*, I.9, pag. 149, lin. 22.

¹²⁵ "VII. Quod non ad adorandas imagines pertineat, quod scriptum est: Creative Deus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem suam" *OC*, I.7 p. 138.

imago can function without giving license for the adoration of other images, as he says:

Therefore in this way with the prophets and the apostles for my Augustine, nay more for the worshipper of God, I will undertake to confer instruction...See how these things are said: “splendour” which is the clarity of the paternal light in the Son, “mirror without blemish”, which is the Father in the son, “image of goodness” which is not to be understood as a body in flesh, but virtue in the entirety of the Son. And the image is not the corporeal face, not having been put together with dye, nor wax, but simply is that of God, having come from the Father, an indication of the source.¹²⁶

Like Alcuin, Theodulf insists that our nature as the *image of God* affects our ability to recognize or “see” elements of the divine. This conflates the *De Imagine Dei* philosophy with the Augustinian notion of a tripartite division of sight and is directly applicable to how Theodulf contextualizes his understanding of the nature of the physicality of images and words (both which function as signs).

Both letters (and more generally language) and images employ the corporeal form of sight and both can employ the symbolic (indicating something beyond themselves). However, only specific elements can draw upon the mental form of sight, those which engage the tripartite nature of our soul (intellect, will, and memory), and are bestowed upon us by means of our nature according to the image of God.¹²⁷ Fundamentally the problem for Theodulf resides in the Greek insistence that man-made pictures can transcend both the corporeal and symbolic forms of sight. Such images can refer only back to themselves as *picturae*, not imparting the divine wisdom contained in the unique *res sacratae*.

¹²⁶ “Hoc ergo modo cum prophetis et apostolis Augustino meo, immo vero Dei cultori, tutelam conferre curabo. Vide quanta dicantur: "splendor", quod claritas paternae lucis in Filio sit: "speculum sine macula", quod Pater in Filio, "imago bonitatis", quod non corpus in corpore, sed virtus in Filio tota cernatur... Imago itaque non vultus est corporalis, non fucis composita, non ceris, sed simplex de Deo, egressa de Patre, expressa de fonte.” *OC Lib. 2, cap. 16, pag. 265, ll. 19-23.*

¹²⁷ There is a fundamental distinction here between man which is made *to* the image and likeness of God and Christ who is made *in* the image and likeness of God. This linguistic differentiation was made necessary due to the Arian controversy, which claimed that such vocabulary allowed the potential for humanity to have the same fundamental characteristics as Christ, thus allowing God to have “adopted” a human form. I shall endeavour to make the distinction clear when referring to either man or Christ regarding the “image of God”.

As with our discussions regarding the importance of the forms and structures of language (via grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic), these elements are not neglected by Theodulf, as they are the fundamental corporeal aspects of Scripture (and the means by which one moves to a more spiritual and mental understanding); however, the issue arises when these aspects become the focus of one's interpretation and reading of Scripture.¹²⁸

The issue of Christian sight and the relationship between the invisible and visible has defined much of the discussion regarding Theodulf's, and more generally the Carolingian courtly elite's, perspective on the appropriateness of artistic imagery in a Christian context.¹²⁹ Certainly Augustinian theories of sight (as explained above) factor into the neutrality or outright castigation Theodulf and other Carolingian writers demonstrate towards the use of artistic images. Yet these discussions have limited themselves by not extending this language of what Thomas Noble calls "art-talk" to a more general understanding of semiotic and hermeneutic theory within the works of both Alcuin and Theodulf.¹³⁰ Indeed, discussions regarding the nature of the *Opus Caroli* have weighed heavily as to the nature of artistic images.¹³¹ This of course is a fundamental aspect to Theodulf's clear problems with the results of the 2nd Council of Nicaea; however, descriptions of artistic images comprise only a small portion of the *Opus Caroli*.¹³² Problems with the Greek "adoration" of images do not comprise the entirety of the Carolingian attitude towards the relationship between signs, language, the ontology of man, and the Bible. For Theodulf, the problem with pictures becomes one which draws on the very distinction between images and likeness. Again, taken from Augustinian philosophy (via Isidore of Seville's *Differentiarum*), while man is made *to* the image and likeness of God,

¹²⁸ See our discussion in Chapter Four.

¹²⁹ See footnote 123 above.

¹³⁰ T. Noble, 'The Vocabulary of Vision and Worship in the Early Carolingian Period' in *Seeing the Invisible in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Papers from "Verbal and Pictorial Imaging: Representing and Accessing Experience of the Invisible, 400-1000*. Utrecht, 11-13 December 2003, G. de Nie, K. F. Morrison & M. Mostert (eds.) (Turnhout, 2005), p. 217.

¹³¹ As discussed in Celia Chazelle's "Matter, Spirit, Image in the *Libri Carolini*" *Recherches Augustiniennes*, XXI (1986), pp. 163-184.

¹³² Artistic (or graven) images factor into much of Theodulf's discussion; however, it is couched within a larger discussion on the nature of man (Book I, chap. 7-8), discussions of language and translation (Book I, chap. 12-13), the nature of vision and/or sight (Book I.23, 24, 29) and art's relationship to the *res sacratae* (Lib. I.18, Lib. II, chap. 26-31).

Christ is made *in* the image and likeness of God (literally representing the face/*vultus* of God).¹³³ Pictorial images can only represent one aspect of this and thus cannot truly depict the divine in a human format (e.g. painting/sculpture, etc.).¹³⁴ Thus this mental sight can be employed only within specific items believed to contain aspects of holy wisdom (the *res sacratae*), which utilizes the *imago Dei* instilled within every human.

Accordingly, only speech (or more generally language) can reflect accurately the internal/external epistemological divide in humans. Painted images (or other idols) cannot reflect the substance of an individual or holy concept and thus they cannot be used as tools for divine contemplation. Human reason (that is, the divine internal element of humanity) can only be represented via language, not in any other worldly form.¹³⁵ This represents Theodulf's attack on the Greeks on the basis of their idolatry, but more specifically, he also attacks their disregard for the medium by which transcendence *can* take place (i.e. language). Their self-limiting to the forms of words and their inability or unwillingness to move beyond the physical meanings and forms of language limits them in their understanding of the divine (which has led them to support the cause of idolatry in the first place).

¹³³ Isidore's text is a two-part examination of words and abstract concepts, known as "De differentiis verborum" and "De differentiis rerum". Much of it is appropriated directly from Augustine (and indirectly from Aristotle) and directly examines the relationship of man and reason and the means by which Christ is the mediator between man and God. Yet despite minor references to overall ontology, Isidore's text is predominantly one of definitions rather than philosophical introspection. Isidore of Seville, *Differentiarum sive De Proprietate Sermonum Libri Duo*, PL 83: 9-98a.

¹³⁴ "Vultus ergo Dei cognitio Dei est, id est Filius, per quem ad cognitionem divinitatis pervenimus. Est etiam imago Dei; ideo figura, quia suscipiens formam servi operum virtutumque similitudine Patris in se imaginem atque similitudinem designavit." (quoting Hebrew 1,3, via Isidore's *Differentiarum*). *OC*, Libr. 1, Cap. 23, pp. 209-10.

¹³⁵ As seen in *OC* II.30: "Idem quoque Moyses originem mundi non pingendo, sed scribendo edocuit, et omnia, quae per spiritum prophetiae sive de praeteritis cognovit, ut ea, quae de mundi principio, de creatione hominis, de diluvio sive de ceteris patriarcharum per ordinem historiis promulgavit, sive quae praesenti sibi tempore fiebant, ut ea, quae per Balaam sive Balaac sive per ceteros, qui illi absentes erant, agebantur, conperit, sive ea, quae de futuris Spiritus sancti flamine afflatus intellexit, ut est illud, quod de praevaricatione populi Iudaeorum sive de eorum captivitate vel etiam de adventu Christi dixisse legitur, in quinque libris adnotans non pingendo, sed scribendo saeculis post futuris Domino imperante mandavit; nec de eo scribitur: "Accepit picturas" sed accepit librum Moyses et recitavit in aures populi verba libri.", p. 305, ll. 1-9.

Adoptionism

How do these arguments relate to Adoptionism? Scholars, particularly Luitpold Wallach and Ann Freeman, have long noted the *Opus Caroli's* involvement in the Spanish controversy. However, these considerations have usually been in the context of determining the author and context of the text more than any overarching hermeneutic philosophy which the Carolingians applied to both.¹³⁶ To link the hermeneutic theory of text and image within the *Opus Caroli* to Felix and Elipandus' teachings we must first understand the response to Adoptionism by the Carolingians on a broader scale. Or more generally, we must explore what the Carolingians believed were the fundamentals of Felix and Elipandus' misinterpretation of the nature of Christ.¹³⁷ Accordingly, we turn back to the Synod of Frankfurt in 794, led by Alcuin and the Frankish bishops, and the resulting treatises against the movement produced alongside the Synod. The understanding of Elipandus' teachings as adhering to the prior heresy of Nestorianism¹³⁸ (the claim that Christ was merely human and was later adopted by God) resulted in the waves of attack against Elipandus and Felix during the 790s.¹³⁹ Condemnation of the

¹³⁶ In particular, Ann Freeman's "Additions and Corrections to the *Libri Carolini*: Links with Alcuin and the Adoptionist Controversy", pp. 1-17. L. Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne: Studies in Carolingian History and Literature* (Ithaca, New York, 1959), pp. 45-51. Freeman's work predominantly discusses the formation of the 7207 manuscript, positing the potential influence of Alcuin (particularly in the composition of Book IV) and the re-appropriation of the *Opus Caroli* to the purpose of Adoptionism once it was known there would be no papal support against the Byzantines. Freeman bases the "insertion" of anti-Adoptionist rhetoric on the elimination of Jerome's name from a quotation in the *Opus Caroli* because the same work was quoted by Adoptionist writers (Lib. III, cap. 6). The same is true for the inclusion of a verse from John's Epistle (I Jon. 3,2) and Augustine's response to it (Lib 1, 1). I am not suggesting that the *Opus Caroli* was *not* attempting to respond to Adoptionism; however, I feel that the heresy may have played a larger part in its original formulation than Freeman was willing to concede.

¹³⁷ The extent to which the Carolingian response to Adoptionism was based on a misreading/misinterpretation of Felix and Elipandus' work is a topic of significance. However, there is not space to address the topic in full here and accordingly we will restrict our arguments, as in the case of Iconoclasm, to what Alcuin and the Frankish bishops *believed* to be the teachings of Adoptionism. For it is in their response to the perceived Nestorian heresy that we can understand their own construction of semiotic and hermeneutic theory as relating to both Scripture and Christology.

¹³⁸ John C. Cavadini in his work, *The Last Christology of the West*, has called the attribution of Nestorianism to the Adoptionists into question Cavadini's arguments regarding the "true" arguments of Felix and Elipandus remain controversial; however, his rejection of Adoptionism's link with Nestorianism appear valid, based on the letters and treatises of both Elipandus and Felix. J. Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West*, p. 43.

¹³⁹ The Frankish association between Nestorianism and Elipandus can be seen in the Letter of the Frankish Bishops ca. 794, "Did not the holy and universal Church refute and also condemn

Adoptionist movement was a foregone conclusion: even prior to the Synod itself, early versions of both the Italian response (composed mostly by Paulinus of Aquileia), the *Libellus sacrosyllabus*, and the Frankish bishops' synodal letter (also known as the *libellus*) were already in preparation.¹⁴⁰ Hadrian added his own letter of condemnation to the Spanish bishops as well. To confine our discussion to the Carolingian perspective and its linguistic theory, we will focus here on Alcuin's letter, written on behalf of all Frankish bishops and Paulinus of Aquileia's letter, written on behalf of the Italian bishops (but with obvious connection to the Carolingian court).¹⁴¹

Alcuin's letter is a point-by-point refutation of the Adoptionist heresy, countermanding Elipandus' claims and providing a "true" explanation of the dual nature of Christ based on patristic texts and Scripture.¹⁴² Alcuin denounces what he believes to be the essential argument of Elipandus: that while Christ's divine nature as the Son of God is eternal (*non adoptione*), he is naturally the son of a human being, thus only adoptively the Son of God (a seemingly clear revival of Nestorianism).¹⁴³ Looking at Elipandus' earlier material (as quoted in Beatus of

your heresy long ago, in Nestorius?...For by saying that God the Word is called Christ because he is coupled to Christ, how is this not openly to say that there are two Christs? For it seems that what Nestorius called coupling, you (Elipandus) call adoption? What is adoption but that coupling which is a product of love, by which a father joins to himself a son who was not actually his son?" "Nonne olim eadem heresis vestra in Nestorio ab universali sancta ecclesia refutata est, etiam et damnata?...Dicendo enim, quia propterea Deus verbum Christus nominatur, quia habet copulationem ad Christum, quomodo non apertum est duos dicere Christos...? Videtur enim Nestorium dicere copulationem quid vos dicitis adoptionem. Quid est adoptio nisi caritatis copulatio, qua pater adoptione sibi copulat filium, quem proprium non habet?" *Epistola episcoporum Franciae*, MGH Conc. 2, 1 p. 154, ll 20 - 22. J. Cavadini, "Elipandus and his Critics at the Council of Frankfurt" *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794: Kristallisationspunkt karolingischer Kultur. Akten zweier Symposien (von 23. bis 27. Februar und vom 13. bis 15. Oktober 1994)*. Vol. 2 (Mainz, 1997), p. 799.

¹⁴⁰ Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 421.

¹⁴¹ *Epistola episcoporum Franciae*, MGH Conc. 2, 1, p. 144, Paulinus of Aquileia, *Libellus sacrosyllabus episcoporum Italiae - Concilium Francofurtense*, a. 794, (ed.) A. Werminghoff, MGH Conc. 2, 1, (1906).

¹⁴² L. Wallach, 'Charlemagne and Alcuin: Diplomatic Studies in Carolingian Epistolography' *Traditio* IX, (1953), pp. 127-154.

¹⁴³ "For we find at the beginng of the treatise written by you, in which you claim "We acknowledge and believe that God, the Son of God, begotten before all time without beginning nor father, coeternal and co-substantial, not adopted, but begotten. But also a little afterward in the same treatise it is read: "We acknowledge and believe him to have been made from woman, made under the law, not begotten to be the son of God, but adopted, not naturally, but with grace." "Invenimus enim in libelli vestri principio scriptum, quod posuistis vos: Confitemur et credimus Deum Dei filium ante omnia tempora sine initio et patre genitum, coeternum et consubstantialem, non adoptione, sed genere. Item post pauca in eodem loco legebatur: Confitemur et credimus eum factum ex muliere, factum sub lege, non genere esse filium Dei, sed

Liébana's *Simbolum fidei Elipandi*), he seems to do just this, relying on Psalm 21, verse 7, as indicative proof that God was not fully human, but only adoptively so.¹⁴⁴ This forms the basis by which the Carolingian writers would attack both Elipandus and Felix in not only the Council of Frankfurt but throughout the last decade of the eighth century.

What should draw our attention within Alcuin's letter is the emphasis he places on *words* (i.e. signs), particularly the vocabulary associated with Christ as both signifier and signified in terms of his dual divine and human nature. The *name* of Christ as signifier constitutes a fundamentally important element for Alcuin's explanation regarding the incarnation of Christ. While Christ was naturally both human and divine (refuting any idea that the divine aspect of Christ "adopted" human form), humanity's recognition of this dual nature is predicated upon Christ's name, which acts as a signifier for his natural divinity and humanity, allowing for humanity's recognition and comprehension of this fact. Like language, we are again addressing the visible form hiding the invisible (divine) meaning. To deny one aspect of that union is to distort the fundamental relationship by which Christians understood the nature of Christ. Again, this highlights the use of language as a means of conveying information in a human context. God's "naming" of his son at his baptism consequently serves as the moment when Christ's nature becomes recognizable to humanity, acting as a signifier for the divine/human duality as equally both the Son of God and the Son of Man.¹⁴⁵ Christ's duality does not *begin* at this moment, but this is the moment

adoptione, non natura, sed gratia." *Epistola episcoporum Franciae, MGH Conc. 2, 1*, p. 144, ll. 4 – 9.

¹⁴⁴ "Which is attested in Holy Scripture on account of the salvation of humankind, having been emptied of his deity, having been made a man, circumcised, baptized, flagellated, crucified, died, buried, having been made a servant, a captive, a wanderer, a leper and having been looked down upon, and, because he was less, not only than the angels, but also than lesser men, which are called worms, from the character of Scripture saying: "I am a worm, and not man: the shame of man and an outcast of society" "Quem sacra Scriptura testatur pro salute humani generis, deitate exinanita, hominem factum, circumcisum, baptizatum, flagellatum, crucifixum, mortuum, sepultum, servum, captivum, peregrinum, leprosum, despectum, et, quod est deterius, non solum ab angelis, sed etiam ab hominibus minoratum, vermem esse dictum, ex persona Scriptura ejus dicente: *Ego sum vermis, et non homo; opprobrium hominum, et abjectio plebis*. Cujus gloriam, secundum divinitatem, stupent coelestia, et magnitudinem contremiscunt terrena." Beatus of Liébana, *Symbolum fidei Elipandae*, PL 96: 916a-917b.

¹⁴⁵ "Quid dicitis de Deo patre, qui eum in baptismo etiam et in transfiguratione, quae facta est in monte, filium nominavit, non servum: "Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene conplacui?" ...Hunc ergo tanquam digito indice ac verbi significatione contingo, quia dico: 'Et meus est et

at which this duality is expressed clearly in human language, giving a means by which humanity can now understand Christ's nature. For Adoptionists to deny or distort this is to misunderstand the nature of language, the way in which not only the vocabulary associated with Christ acts as a signifier for his dual being, but also the means by which the nature of Christ imitates the secular/sacred relationship we find in Scripture (the divine aspect adopting a carnal/secular form in order to be comprehensible to humanity).

Earlier in the letter, in describing Christ's origins, Alcuin cites Paul's letter to the Colossians, particularly the description of Christ as the visible image of the invisible God.¹⁴⁶ This phrasing reinforces Alcuin and Theodulf's agreement on the nature of Christian signs. Indeed, this passage reappears, in this exact phrasing, twice within the *Opus Caroli*.¹⁴⁷ No other document from the period mentions it. This phrasing is significant, as it is pivotal for both Alcuin and Theodulf's Christology. Christ as *imago* may seem at odds with the theology as expressed in the *Opus Caroli* (as an anti-image polemic) and it also appears out of place in a debate regarding Christ's nature, without a proper understanding of the background of the sentiment. Indeed, this concept relates to what we discussed earlier in terms of Theodulf's perspective on the nature of images and their ability to contain the "substance" of what they signify. In terms of Adoptionism, for the Carolingian court writers, debating the nature of Christ fundamentally altered the underlying power of their understanding of Christ as the Word made flesh. Removing the inherent divinity associated with this name (which the Adoptionists called into question) undermined an entire semiotic philosophy based on the divinity of the Word and accordingly also raised doubts as to the divinity of Scripture (a concept which rested fundamentally on the

filius est' Hec igitur paternae vocis significatio ea fuit, non quo qui ad omnem implendam iustitiam baptizandus erat, ignoraretur, sed ut qui ad sacramentum salutis nostrate homo cernebatur Dei voce Dei filius nosceretur." Alcuin, *Epistola episcoporum Franciae*, *MGH Conc. 2, 1*, p. 152-3, ll. 24-30 and 1-6.

¹⁴⁶"qui est imago Dei invisibilis..." *Epistola episcoporum Franciae*. *MGH Conc. 2, 1*, p. 146, l. 16. Paul to the Colossians I. vers. 12-19.

¹⁴⁷ First in *Opus Caroli* Book 1, chap. 23, p. 210, lin. 1: "Est etiam imago Dei dicente Apostolo: Qui est imago Dei invisibili; ideo videlicet, quia de illo est." and also in Book 2, chap. 16, p. 264, lin. 8: "Gratias, inquam, agentes Deo, Patri qui dignos fecit nos in partem sortis sanctorum in lumine, qui eripuit nos de potestate tenebrarum et transtulit in regnum Filii dilectionis suae, in quo habemus redemptionem in remissionem peccatorum, qui est imago Dei invisibilis.

sacrality of the Word/Christ). Although Alcuin represented the position of the Frankish bishops in this issue, so too did Paulinus of Aquileia argue against the potentials of this heresy, and their combined worry over the redefinition of Christ as it related to Scripture is evident in much of their anti-Adoptionist writing.¹⁴⁸

For Alcuin, the human aspect of Christ exemplified the invisible rendered visible; i.e. divine wisdom depicted for humanity via Christ's dual nature. His theology of the Word can be found in his *Commentaria in Joannis Evangelium* in which he adheres predominantly to Augustine's perspective in terms of how the carnal Christ mirrored the hidden divine wisdom (or Word):

The Father of Christ they understood carnally, because they judged the words of Christ after the flesh. But He who spoke was openly flesh, but secretly the Word: man visible, God hidden. They saw the covering, and despised the wearer: they despised because they knew not; knew not, because they saw not; saw not, because they were blind; they were blind, because they believed not.¹⁴⁹

In dividing Christ's nature between his human and eternal self, the fundamental relationship between Christ Incarnate (as the Word) and Christ's human self was interrupted, thus altering the Carolingian's interpretation of the nature and meaning of Scripture. Christ as the "Word made flesh" embodies a strong physical presence of God's power in the secular world, as Alcuin argues in one of his many works against Adoptionism, *Adversus Felicem*, quoting various passages of Athanasius's letter to Epictetus as a means of explaining the nature of Christ as Word:

¹⁴⁸ Paulinus of Aquileia, *Libellus sacrosyllabus episcoporum Italiae - Concilium Francofurtense*, a. 794, (ed.) A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc. 2, 1*, (1906).

¹⁴⁹ Alcuin, *Commentaria in Joannis Evangelium*, PL 100: 733-1008c. Augustine, Chapter 1, *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus CXXIV*. CCSL. Turnhout: Brepols, 1954. (trans.) J. Gibbs, NPNF, First Series, Vol. 7. (ed.) P. Schaff. (Buffalo, NY, 1888.).
<<http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1701037.htm>>.

Or who have been so venturesome as to say that Christ Who suffered in the flesh and was crucified is not Lord, Saviour, God, and Son of the Father? Or how can they wish to be called Christians who say that the Word has descended upon a holy man as upon one of the prophets, and has not Himself become man, taking the body from Mary; but that Christ is one person, while the Word of God, Who before Mary and before the ages was Son of the Father, is another? Or how can they be Christians who say that the Son is one, and the Word of God another?¹⁵⁰

For Theodulf, as we saw in the *Opus Caroli*, the invisible made visible is the crucial function of Scripture: rendering ineffable divine wisdom comprehensible to humanity via linguistic signs. This understanding of the relationship between visible (Christ as flesh) and invisible (the hidden God) can be transposed onto the understanding of the physical makeup of Scripture. The carnal (words, letters, human language, etc.) masks the hidden truth underneath (divine wisdom). As limited beings, humans cannot see God or understand true divine wisdom. It must be masked in carnal form, rendering it comprehensible.¹⁵¹ Precisely the same problem can be found in Alcuin's reaction to the Adoptionist position on Christ as *Verbum*: again, this mirrors the ability for physical items (visible) to convey divine wisdom (invisible). Alcuin believes that the Adoptionists insist that Christ is merely "called" *Verbum*, rather than it

¹⁵⁰ Temerarii facti sunt, ut dicerent Christum, qui carne passus est et crucifixus, non esse Dominum Salvatorem, et Deum, et Filium Patris. Aut quomodo Christiani volunt nominari, qui dicunt in hominem sanctum, sicuti unum prophetarum venisse Verbum, et non hominem factum sumentem ex Maria corpus; sed alterum esse Christum, et alterum Dei Verbum, quod ante Mariam et ante saecula Filius existebat Patris? Aut quomodo esse Christiani possunt, qui dicunt alium esse Filium, alium Dei Verbum? Non per adoptionem haec facta sunt, absit! sicut quidam existimarunt, sed, sicut est veritas, homine facto Salvatore, totius humani generis salus facta est. Alcuin. *Adversus Felicem*. PL 101, col. 93D. Quoting Athanasius' letter to Epictetus (although it was well known and quoted in works by Cyril of Alexandria, Epiphanius, and Ambrose, (trans.) Archibald Robertson. NPNF, Second Series, Vol. 4, (eds.) P. Schaff & H. Wace (Buffalo, NY, 1892) <<http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/2806059.htm>>.

¹⁵¹ This is summarized in Alcuin's work on John: Usque adeo enim nihil distat inter eum et me, ut qui me videt, videat eum qui misit me. Haec visio, intellectualis, non carnalis debet intelligi, quae modo in laude est sanctorum, post resurrectionis ultimae diem in specie aeternae beatitudinis erit, de qua alibi ait: Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt (Matth. 5, 8). Alcuin, *Expositio in Iohannis Evangelium*. PL 100: 921c. K. Mitalaité, *Philosophie et Théologie de l'image dans les 'Libri Carolini'* (Paris, 2007), p. 317.

forming a core aspect of his nature. He rejects this out of hand.¹⁵² To label Christ in such a manner would fundamentally alter his “substance” or ineffable divine and human nature, another means by which the Carolingians perceived that the Adoptionist controversy called basic linguistic aspects of Christology into question. To simply “call” Christ God implies a secular application of language to the divine. When one acknowledges Christ as God fundamentally, this reflects an understanding of substance (again, mirroring the “image” and “likeness” discussion above). By reducing this to merely “calling” Christ God reflects an altering of Christ’s very nature—making him God not by substance but rather by name.

Within Elipandus’ *Symbolum*, we see similar discussions on the nature of language as we did in the *Opus Caroli* and as we also find in Alcuin’s later work on the nature of the invisible and visible God. Although the Carolingian reaction to the Byzantines was based, on a superficial level, on a reaction towards idolatry (via a misunderstanding of language and by proxy the nature of Christ), the work of Elipandus in his *Symbolum* reveals a much closer argument regarding the nature of the invisible and visible divine. Elipandus relies on the same Aristotelian conception of the soul and substance which we have found throughout the work of the Carolingians; however, it is in his misapprehension of these concepts which Alcuin specifically finds an anathema.¹⁵³ Alcuin reprimands Felix regarding the implications of his (erroneous) faith, citing Athanasius’ argument against the Arians: to remove Christ from his role as both the signifier and signified of God (a divine form in a human body) disrupts the

¹⁵² Similiter invenimus in praefati Patris epistolis: «Christum, qui ex Virgine natus est, verum non esse Deum, sed nuncupativum;» quod omnino catholica respuit fides: quia sicut unus esse non potest filius proprius et filius adoptivus, ita nequaquam unus esse potest verus Deus et nuncupativus Deus. Alcuin, *Epistola ad Elipandum Toletanum Episcopum* PL 101 col. 237b. A. Firey, “Carolingian Ecclesiology and Heresy: A Southern Gallic Juridical Tract against Adoptionism” *Sacris Erudiri* 39 (2000), p. 296.

¹⁵³ “Et sicut Spiritus pars animae est, per quam imagines rerum corporalium imprimuntur: sicut mens pars ejusdem animae est per quam omnis ratio intelligentiaque percipitur: sicut memoria, quae meditari memoratur: sic in Verbo Dei pro suis officiis diversa meruerunt vocabula, quae nequaquam dividuntur in substantiam.” Beatus of Liébana, *Symbolum fidei Elipandae*, PL 96: 916a-917a, within *Adversus Elipandum Libri II*, PL 96: 893-1030.

entire Christological system by which signs could indicate the presence of the divine.¹⁵⁴

Alcuin addresses the nature of language explicitly in his work on Adoptionism, and concedes to a point made in a letter of Felix and Elipandus in their response to Felix's denunciation at Regensburg in 792. In the Adoptionists' letter, they insisted the Carolingian writers misunderstood their use of the term "*adoptio*" and insisted that they did not deny the dual nature of Christ.¹⁵⁵ While this letter failed to convince the Carolingian court prior to the Frankfurt Synod, Alcuin is at least willing to address their linguistic point and thus, in the last sections of the letter, turns his attention, as Theodulf had done in the *Opus Caroli*, to the latent dangers of vocabulary. Although Alcuin concedes that there are numerous "linguistic" means of referring to Christ, i.e. calling him lion, lamb, stone, etc., this is acceptable as these expressions are said to have "mystical significance" and do not lead the reader into error.¹⁵⁶ But the use of "adoption" to describe the human incarnation of Christ is too vague and too loaded a term, and too easily fosters a misunderstanding of Christ's dual substance. Alcuin is unwilling to concede that the entire heresy was based on a linguistic misunderstanding. Apart from condemning their christological approach, he admonishes Felix and Elipandus for relying on indistinct language that has led to the confusion (and potential heresy) of the reader, an almost exact mirror of the argument we saw earlier in Theodulf's *Opus Caroli*.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ "Si enim adoptione erat in corpore Verbum, secundum illos (quod autem adoptione dicitur, phantasia est) reperietur et putative salus et resurrectio hominum dici, secundum impiissimum Manicheum. Sed non equidem phantasia est salus nostra; neque corporis solum, sed totius hominis, animae et corporis, veraciter salus facta est. Humanum naturaliter, quod ex Maria secundum divinas Scripturas, et verum erat Salvatoris [corpus]." Athanasius, tom. I Operum edit. Paris. part. II, pag. 902, 903, 906. cited by Alcuin, *Adversus Felicis Haeresin Libellus ad Abbates et Monachos Gothiae Missive*, PL 101: 94a.

¹⁵⁵ This letter probably was sent around the year 793 as it both postdates the Regensburg Council and predates the Synod at Frankfurt. *Epistola episcoporum Hispaniae ad episcopos Francia*. *MGH Conc. 2, 1*, pp. 111-119.

¹⁵⁶ "Plurimae vero sunt in sanctis scripturis appellationes domini nostri Iesu Christi sicut leo, agnus, lapis, vermis, et multa talia, quae omnia certas habent et mysticas significationes, cur ita dicantur. Adoptivus siquidem non habet aliam significationem, nisi ut Iesus Christus non sit proprius filius Dei nec ex virgine ei in filium genitus, sed nescio ex quo servo adoptatus in filiaetatem, ut vos dicitis." *Epistola episcoporum Francia*. *MGH Conc. 2, 1*, p. 154 ll. 5-10.

¹⁵⁷ "Intellegite, fratres, quae legitis et nolite nova et incognita nomina fingere, sed quae in sancta scriptura inveniuntur tenete." *Epistola episcoporum Francia*. *MGH Conc. 2, 1*, p. 154 l. 6.

Alcuin and Theodulf were not the only Carolingian writers investing in the condemnation of Adoptionism; the “heresy” sponsored a wealth of material throughout the Carolingian landscape. Paulinus of Aquileia’s *Libellus Sacrosyllabus* implies widespread condemnation of Adoptionism by the Christian bishops under Charlemagne.¹⁵⁸ As we have seen with both Alcuin and Theodulf’s work, Paulinus relies on the fundamental dual nature of man (secular body and rational divine soul) in order to argue against the Adoptionist position.¹⁵⁹ For Paulinus, to deny Christ’s natural human form is to also have problems with the union of body and soul in man. As we have seen in both Alcuin and Theodulf’s arguments, the *imago/similitudo* argument is fundamental to Paulinus’ attacks on the Adoptionists.¹⁶⁰ As man is created in the image of God (bestowed with divine reason) in a human form; man necessarily must have both secular and divine elements within him. This dual nature is perfectly realized only via the arrival of Christ who fully represents the entirety of human duality alongside the full divinity of God. Using the metaphor of lines and planes (taken again from Aristotle’s *Categories*), Paulinus argues that despite the seeming limitation of man’s soul as joined to the corporeal body, the reality of man’s soul (due to its relationship with the divine) extends outwards past our limited secular understanding. One fundamentally cannot remove the soul from the “image” of the body without distorting the makeup of man’s being.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ “Quapropter ego Paulinus, licet indignus peccator omniumque servorum Domini ultimus servus, Aquiliensis sedis Hisperii oris adcinctae, cui Deo auctore deservio, nomine, non merito praesul, una cum reverentissimo et omni honore digno Petro, Mediolanensis sedis archiepiscopo, cunctisque cum collegis fratribus et consacerdotibus nostris Liguria, Austriae, Hisperiae, Ymiliae, catholicarum ecclesiarum venerandis praesulibus, iuxta exilem intellegentiae nostrae tenuitatem sancto perdocente Spiritu corde, lingua, stilo contra eorum vesanias, qui rectae fidae sunt adversarii, respondere non formidamus, cum sit sancta et universalis ecclesia super firmam nihilominus immobiliter fundata petram et portae inferi nequeant prevalere adversus eam.”

Paulinus of Aquileia, *Libellus sacrosyllabus episcoporum Italiae*, *MGH Conc. 2, 1*, p. 131, ll. 20-9.
¹⁵⁹ Non enim ignoramus ex duabus substantiis humanam subsistere naturam, ex anima nimirum et carne, sed unum sine altero perfectum non efficit hominem. Paulinus of Aquileia, *Libellus*, *Conc. 2, 1*, pag. 137, lin. 36

¹⁶⁰ “Sicut scriptum est et iuxta historiam de primo Adam et de secundo, id est Christo, in prophetiae sacramento: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram, vel certe quemadmodum in hac eadem evangelica lectione angelica voce declaratur.” Paulinus of Aquileia, *Libellus*, *Conc. 2, 1*, pag. 133, lin. 33.

¹⁶¹ Fingamus igitur animam in forma corporis quasi lineam vel punctum in planis, solidis atque quadrangulatis figuris cunctas membrorum partium in se individue continentes positiones, unumquodque in iunctura sua insertum, ita ut et unum sit et diversum. Nam si subtrahas

As with Alcuin, language had clear spiritual importance to Paulinus, providing a means by which we could speak (and read) about God. More so than Theodulf in the *Opus Caroli*, Paulinus attaches firmly the ability of language to the presence of the soul: “It is through the tongue that the soul speaks, and it is the tongue which speaks through the soul.”¹⁶² Such examples demonstrate the indivisible nature between soul and body (in the case of humans). Man (*homo*) exists via this joined soul (*anima*) and body (*caro*). When one contemplates the nature of Christ, one must assume the totality of man (i.e. both soul and body) in combination with the divine spirit, our corporeal eyes are the gateway to the incorporeal (or invisible) soul, a necessary binary relationship: “For the incorporeal soul sees, hears, and feels by means of corporeal eyes, and the corporeal eyes are allowed to see due to the incorporeal soul.”¹⁶³ This forms the basis for Paulinus’ arguments regarding the indivisible divine and human nature we understand to have been in Christ. To deny His unity is to deny ours as well.¹⁶⁴

There should now be a clear understanding of the philosophical and spiritual link between the Carolingian attacks on both the Adoptionists and the Byzantines. Both entail a grounding in an Aristotelian epistemological framework: highlighting the power of the rational soul in union with the corporeal body. This visible/invisible relationship defines the Carolingian understanding of not only their own makeup but also that of the dual nature/substance of Christ. What’s more important, however, is that these arguments also contextualize their understanding of language. The Carolingians attack the Byzantines for their limited and “corporeal” interpretations of Scripture alongside their worship of graven images. In this case, it is a problem of valuing the visible over the invisible (attaching a “substance” to an image which cannot refer to anything beyond itself). For the Adoptionists, the argument remains much the same. In upsetting the Chalcedonian understanding

lineam et punctum equalitatis, nobilitas degeneratur figurae. Paulinus, *Libellus* Conc. 2, 1, pag. 138, lin. 16

¹⁶² Per linguam loquitur anima, et lingua loquitur per animam. Paulinus, *Libellus* Conc. 2, 1, pag. 139, l. 5.

¹⁶³ “Nam anima incorporea per oculos corporeos videt, audit, sentit, et corporei oculi per incorpoream animam videre probantur.” Paulinus, *Libellus*, Conc. 2, 1, p. 139, l. 2.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 140.

of the dual nature of Christ (again, invoking the visible/invisible relationship as well as the Augustinian *imago/similitudo* concept), the Adoptionists, like the Byzantines, have misunderstood the importance of the unity of body and soul as applicable to Christ. The union of Christ is fundamentally necessary as an underpinning of their entire spiritual understanding: it defines the means by which the secular visible can contain and reveal the invisible divine. This is the Carolingian semiotic philosophy which underpins not only their upholding of the Aristotelian and Augustinian concepts of signs but also its application to Christian duality (image/likeness, body/soul, Christ as human and divine).

Conclusion

The calling of the Frankfurt Synod may be seen as one of the most concrete steps Charlemagne took in his agenda for cultural and moral hegemony on a pan-European scale. Yet the extent to which it was successful in establishing Charlemagne as the moral leader of Europe seems conditional on a number of factors. True, Felix and Elipandus refused to repudiate their variant christological beliefs, shown by Alcuin's continual production of anti-Adoptionist material until his death in 804.¹⁶⁵ Following Frankfurt, Felix was expelled from his bishopric, and after decades of insisting on the validity of his christological standpoint, he ended his days imprisoned in Lyon in 818, under the watchful eye of the Frankish bishop Agobard of Lyon.¹⁶⁶ Although Frankish political dominion in Spanish territories¹⁶⁷ waxed and waned during the late eighth and early ninth centuries, clearly recognition of the cultural and religious authority of the Carolingians remained very much in place. In terms of the Byzantine reaction, the repeal of Iconoclasm lasted for another twenty years (until 814) and the question concerning the appropriateness of images similarly occupied the interests of Charlemagne's son Louis the Pious, such as seen at the Council of

¹⁶⁵ *Adversus Felicis Haeresin Libellus ad Abbates et Monachos Gothiae Missus*, PL 101 cols 85-120, *Contra Felicem Urgellitanum Episcopum Libri Septem*, PL cols. 101 119-230, *Contra Epistolam sibi ab Elipando Directam Libri Quatuor*, PL 101, cols. 231-270, *De Incarnatione Christi et duabus in eo Naturis Libelli duo necnon 'De Veritate Unius Personae' Liber Primus qui et Tertius adversus Elipandum*, PL 101, cols. 271-299

¹⁶⁶ MGH Conc. II 1, pp. 203-4.

¹⁶⁷ They had lost Pamplona in 799 and Barcelona in 801 (albeit temporarily).

Paris in 825.¹⁶⁸ Empress Irene continued to rule the East (jointly or solely) until 802.¹⁶⁹ The death of Hadrian shortly after the Synod in 795 also meant a new papal presence in Rome under Leo III, one who did not have the same established political reliance on Charlemagne as Hadrian (eventually responsible for crowning him Emperor). Charlemagne's call for moral orthodoxy at Frankfurt may initially seem to have fallen on deaf ears.

But this ignores the finer points of Charlemagne's authority, so well-established by this point. When we look to the period past 794, we increasingly find Charlemagne's means of expressing authority via cultural or religious authority, based on the centralization of his rule.¹⁷⁰ By appointing court scholars to influential bishoprics or abbacies throughout his kingdom, he ensured they would not only continue to produce material but also control the means by which new textual material would be distributed.¹⁷¹ Increasingly we also find aspects of standardization in the Christian liturgy: Charlemagne's request from Pope Hadrian for a standard rite for the Mass in the 790s was the first of its kind, supported and popularized by those members of the clergy he had supported in the earlier years of his reign.¹⁷² Despite Charlemagne's political agenda of hegemony by means of cultural and spiritual dominance, this plan was entirely reliant upon the work of his scholars during this period, particularly with regards to the nature of language and the Bible. Alcuin, Theodulf, and the other court scholars represent a firm step forward in attempting to collate and further

¹⁶⁸ P. Brown, "A Dark-Age Crisis: Aspects of the Iconoclastic Controversy," *English Historical Review* 88/346 (1973), p. 21.

¹⁶⁹ M. McCormick, 'Byzantium and the West', (ed. R. McKitterick) *New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. II (Cambridge, 2008), p. 352.

¹⁷⁰ This can be seen in his call for an updated Mass liturgy from Hadrian (see below footnote 170), inquiries into the lives of bishops and abbots (See *MGH Cap 1.*, no. 72, pp. 162-64), the requirement for all to memorize the Lord's Prayer and the Creed (*MGH Capit 1*, no. 122, p. 241), the addition of the *filioque* to the Creed (*MGH Cap 1*, no. 28, p. 26), among many other examples. M. De Jong & F. Theuvs (eds.), *Topographies of Power in the early middle ages* (Leiden, 2001), p. 233.

¹⁷¹ Alcuin was appointed as the abbot of St. Martin of Tours, one of the most prolific scriptoria of the early medieval period. Theodulf, similarly, was put in charge of the monastery at Fleury, another influential scriptorium. These two examples coincide with the establishment of the first "secular" scriptorium, located at Charlemagne's court. B., Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, (trans.) Michael Gorman (Cambridge, 1994), p. 73.

¹⁷² This was referred to as the *Hadrianum*, now only extant in Cambrai Bib. Mun. 164, R. Reynolds 'The Organisation, Law, and Liturgy of the Western Church, 700-900' in (ed.) R. McKitterick *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. II (Cambridge, 2008), p. 619.

patristic theory coupled firmly with a renewed appreciation and appropriation of classical hermeneutics (predominantly via Aristotle). The application of these to the reading and transcription of Scripture is noteworthy on its own terms, but the application of this linguistic perspective with the textual revolution seen during the late eighth and early ninth century comprises a fundamental shift in the nature of literate culture in medieval Europe. Without Charlemagne's backing and implementation of his court scholars' work on a political scale (such as seen in his famous capitularies, the *Admonitio Generalis*¹⁷³ and the *de Litteris Colendis*¹⁷⁴), advances in examinations of Christology and the nature of Scripture might have been relegated to a few treatises with no quantifiable result. Instead, we see the largest production and distribution of manuscripts (specifically biblical manuscripts) on a scale hitherto unseen. The nascent textual culture, seen not only in the production of these manuscripts but in the ability of the population to read them, fundamentally altered access to information, on both a spiritual and political scale. Charlemagne's patronage of education elevated textual culture to new heights and was instrumental in the augmentation of his political authority throughout Europe. For Charlemagne needed his scholars. Without this wealth of Christian scholarship, Charlemagne would have struggled to distinguish himself from his predecessors in terms of his evolution from merely Frankish warlord to an anointed Emperor. Public and pan-European synods such as that seen at Frankfurt confirmed his role as both as spiritual and political leader; his was the military fist that stood firmly behind the arguments of his courtly elite. It was this cultural and political co-dependence that resulted in what we now refer to as the Carolingian Renaissance.

¹⁷³ *Admonitio Generalis*, *MGH Capit. 1*, n. 22.

¹⁷⁴ *De Litteris Colendis*, *MGH Capit 1*, n. 29.

Chapter Four

Carolingian Biblical Revision and the Lack of *Unitas*

Introduction

The previous chapters have focused on texts designed for audiences both within (as in Chapter Two) and external to (as in Chapter Three) Carolingian court culture. Within Alcuin and Theodulf's work, we find didactic or philosophical material destined for either educated clerical or aristocratic (or even royal) audiences. We have contextualized this within the development and application of a semiotic Christian philosophy, both in terms of its formation within the court and its use as an extension of political hegemony throughout Europe. Although much of our discussion has invoked the inherited pagan and Christian literary tradition, specifically in terms of their conflation within the works of those such as Alcuin and Theodulf, we have yet to discuss in depth the effect of this semiotic philosophy on the "physicality" of the most important text during the period: the Bible.¹

It is via an examination of the Carolingian court's perspective towards Scripture during this period that our earlier analysis of the linguistic arts and the inheritance of classical philosophy becomes relevant. The promotion of access to manuscripts and the centrality of the Bible as a sacred text during the Carolingian period contextualize a programme of textual centralization and production; the emergence of what could be called Carolingian textual culture. During the early and middle years of Charlemagne's reign (768 to 800), Charlemagne advocated religious and spiritual education via the study of *written* Scripture, such as was expressed in the *Admonitio Generalis* (c. 789),

¹ Study of the development of the Carolingian Bible comprises a vast amount of scholarship from the past century. Landmark studies such as Samuel Berger's 1893 examination, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen age* still remains to some extent relevant as does Beryl Smalley's *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (1952). Recent work by John Contreni, Rosamond McKitterick, Raphael Lowe, and Bonifatius Fischer are but some of the names associated with the field. For an extensive but by no means exhaustive list, consult the bibliography.

And let schools be established in which boys may learn to read. Correct carefully the Psalms, the *notae*, the songs, the calendar, the grammar, in each monastery or bishopric, and the catholic books; because often some desire to pray to God properly but they pray badly because of faulty books.²

This sentiment is echoed in the *de Litteris Colendis* (c. 786-801),

Therefore we exhort you not only to avoid neglecting the study of literature, but also with most humble mind, pleasing to God, to study earnestly in order that you may be able more easily and more correctly to penetrate the mysteries of the divine Scriptures.³

As we saw in Chapter Three, Charlemagne's involvement in the promotion of his intellectual scholars' perspective on semiotic theory was expressed on a pan-European political scale. Similarly, in fostering a manuscript culture based on the correction of texts, Charlemagne again abetted the philosophies of his prominent scholars, using their arguments for his own investment of authority in the written word. The connection between language and power demonstrated in these two texts from the period highlights the nature of Charlemagne's *correctio*, as Rosamond McKitterick states, "...the half century of Charlemagne's rule allows us to appreciate the extraordinary ways in which his promotion of correct thinking and correct language was an essential component of an overall strategy of control".⁴ Charlemagne's extension of power into religious spheres included the re-organization of diocesan territories⁵ but also fostered regimented reform in terms of liturgy, prayer, and even language.⁶ Yet this reform should

² "Et ut scholae legentium puerorum fiant. Psalmos, notas, cantus, compotum, grammaticam, per singular monasteria vel episcopia et libros catholicos bene emendate; quia saepe, dum bene aliqui Deum rogare cupiunt, sed per inemendatos libros male rogant." *Admonitio Generalis, MGH Cap. I, no. 22*, p. 60.

³ "Quamobrem hortamur vos litterarum studia non solum non negligere, verum etiam humillima et Deo placita intentione ad hoc certatim discere, ut facilius et rectius divinarum scripturarum mysteria valeatis penetrare." *Epistola de Litteris Colendis. MGH, Cap. I, Legum Sectio II*, no. 29, p. 79, (trans.) P. Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, pp. 89-92.

⁴ R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 294.

⁵ Charlemagne's assumption of the power to elect bishops was certainly politically-motivated, usually giving the posts to men who had established their loyalty to the crown (such as Angilram of Metz or Wilichar of Sens), as was the power to raise bishoprics to archbishoprics (e.g. Salzburg in 798). As witnessed by the Synod of Frankfurt, *MGH Cap. 1, No. 18, c. 10*, p. 75 and also *MGH Cap. 1, No. 20*, p. 47.

⁶ Examples of this would be the need for all the faithful to learn both the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in Latin and Charlemagne's request from Hadrian for an authorized version of the Mass,

not be confused with a call for widespread standardization. Examples of Charlemagne's increasing involvement in the religious arena, such as his inquiry into baptismal practices, did not produce one standard ceremony for the Frankish kingdoms. Responses to his circular on the ceremony instead demonstrate the extensive diversity of Christian ceremonies, one which Charlemagne made no effort to change or collate.⁷ Evidence with regard to Charlemagne's *correctio* in terms of Scripture does not reflect a call for the standardization of Bibles, but rather manuscripts that contain the clearest forms of Latin with the least number of demonstrable errors. If we look to the quotations from his circulars above, we find no admonition for standardization but only *correction* of existing texts. His wording does not suggest a call for a single edition of the Bible nor that any Bible produced needed to resemble any other.

By the late eighth century, there were two concurrent "established" Latin biblical texts: the Old Latin (*Vetus Latina*) edition and the Vulgate (*Vulgata editio*), predominantly a revision of the former by St. Jerome (ca. 340-420).⁸ Jerome's revision was by no means comprehensive⁹, nor was it universally accepted as superior to the *Vetus Latina*, and accordingly the two textual traditions existed for the most part concurrently throughout the early medieval period. Jerome's version only achieved prominence in the late eighth century, as Carolingian scholars lauded him for his attention to textual matters and his

known as the *Hadrianum*. *MGH, Cap. I*, nos. 34-8. R. Reynolds 'The Organisation, Law, and Liturgy of the Western Church, 700-900' in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. II (Cambridge, 2008), p. 619.

⁷ Charlemagne's letter to the bishops on the topic of baptism c. 812 produced a number of responses, including one from Theodulf of Orleans, outlining their respective version of the ceremony. No emphasis on the need to standardize this ceremony can be found. Susan A. Keefe's work on this subject has produced a compendium of surviving baptismal ceremonies from this period, showing the diversity of religious observance during the late eighth and early ninth century, a clear contradiction of the so-called Carolingian standardization movement. S. A. Keefe, *Water and the Word*, 2 vols (Notre Dame, Ind., 2002). *De ordine baptismi ad Magnum Senonensem libri*, PL 105: 223-240.

⁸ The term *Vulgata editio* became popular only in the thirteenth century but I use it here for ease of identification purposes between the two editions. B. M. Kaczynski, 'Edition, Translation, and Exegesis: The Carolingians and the Bible' in R. Sullivan (ed.), *The Gentle Voices of the Teachers* (Columbus, Ohio: 1995), p. 172. R. Loewe, 'The Medieval History of the Latin Vulgate', in G.W.H. Lampe (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Bible. II: The West from the Fathers to the Reformation* (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 102-54.

⁹ Jerome did not approach his project methodically, but rather jumped from book to book, revising continually until his death. B. M. Kaczynski, 'Edition, Translation, and Exegesis', p. 173.

overall philological approach, in striving to provide the most accurate translations to the original Hebrew or Greek texts, as Ratramnus of Corbie (d. ca. 870) called him, “translator of the Divine Law, most skilled in all the sciences”.¹⁰ Although Jerome’s text enjoyed increased status in the late eighth century, there was a palpable awareness that the Vulgate’s transcription between the fourth and eighth centuries had suffered in terms of copyists’ errors (as the above quotation from the *Admonitio Generalis* indicates). Many scholars associated with the Carolingian court set themselves the task of answering Charlemagne’s call for a corrected version of Scripture, most notably Alcuin and Theodulf of Orléans.¹¹ Work on the overall biblical revision project (and the role of the Bible in the Carolingian period) has understandably been extensive.¹² Yet in terms of Alcuin and Theodulf’s revision, the balance between the philosophical or spiritual implications of their project and its implementation on a textual level is too often unbalanced. Research by David Ganz and Rosamond McKitterick in the edited volume *The Early Medieval Bible* provides excellent codicological and paleographical information on the extant Tours (and Alcuinian) manuscripts from the period; however, it does not set the texts within an overall philosophical

¹⁰ “Hieronymus, sacrae legis interpres: omnium peritissimus disciplinarum” Ratramnus of Corbie, *De partu sanctae Mariae*, 28, J.M. Canal (ed.), *Marianum* 30 (1968), p. 105.

¹¹ This is not to neglect the contributing influence of Maundramnus, abbot of Corbie from 772-781, whose revision of the Bible shows considerable influence from Spanish material. His biblical revision can be found in only five manuscripts today: Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale 6 (the Pentateuch), 7 (Joshua, Judges, Ruth), 9 (Daniel and the Minor Prophets), 11 (Maccabees) 12 (most of Proverbs) and in Paris, BN lat. 13174 (containing fragments of I Kings). We should also not forget the so-called “Ada” group, associated with the court scriptorium (texts believed to have been composed between 781 and 814) which reflects an Anglo-Saxon model. For our purposes, however, Alcuin and Theodulf will comprise the majority of our discussion. R. Loewe, “The Medieval History of the Latin Vulgate”, p. 134.

¹² This topic includes foundational work by S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen age* (Nancy, 1893); B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1952); F.L. Ganshof, *The Carolingians and the Frankish Monarchy*, (trans.) J. Sondheimer (London, 1971); B. Fischer, ‘Bibelausgaben des frühen Mittelalters’ in *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im frühen Mittelalter* (Freiburg, 1985), and his ‘Bibeltext und Bibelreform unter Karl dem Grossen’, (ed.) B. Bischoff, *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, Vol. II Das Geistige Leben (Dusseldorf, 1965), pp. 156-216, and his *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im frühen Mittelalter* (Freiburg, 1985); see also B. Bischoff’s weighty contribution as seen in: *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, (trans.) Michael Gorman (Cambridge, 1994); not neglecting the considerable influence of R. Loewe, ‘The Medieval History of the Latin Vulgate’, pp. 102-54.

landscape of biblical hermeneutics.¹³ Elizabeth Dahlhaus-Berg's landmark work on Theodulf of Orléans provided an entry point into the semiotic philosophy of his biblical pandects; however, it did not incorporate this examination into a fully developed theory of language for the Carolingian period.¹⁴ John Contreni's research provides almost no codicological information about either Alcuin or Theodulf's revision, looking exclusively at the "attitudes" of each reviser in an overall social context.¹⁵ In contrast, Bonifatius Fischer's examinations of the Theodulfian and Alcuinian Bibles are a wealth of paleographical and codicological knowledge; however, he draws little inference in terms of any philosophical or spiritual motivation for their respective textual decisions.¹⁶

The previous two chapters discussed the nature of language within the work of Alcuin and Theodulf as played out on the European political and religious stage. To reduce their biblical revision projects to cases of mere improvement to grammar and spelling does not adequately take into consideration their substantial work on Christian philosophy and semiotics as seen in their other texts and treatises. This perspective is not only misleading but it also neglects to take into account any sense of their semiotic theory or Aristotelian/Augustinian perspectives on the role of language. Additionally, there has been a noticeable lack of examination of the few Bibles attributable to Alcuin's direct influence, rather than the ornate Turonian Bibles with which the popularity of his revision was later associated.¹⁷ In comparison, Theodulf's Bibles, of which six survive, provide a richer and more varied picture of his revision project. The ever-changing nature of his revision illustrates a Carolingian scholar not intent on a perceived need for *unitas* among the Bibles produced under his supervision, but instead on a manifest demonstration of the

¹³ D. Ganz, 'Mass production of early medieval manuscripts: the Carolingian Bibles from Tours' & R. McKitterick, 'Carolingian Bible Production: the Tours anomaly' both in (ed.) Richard Gameson, *The Early Medieval Bible: Its Production, Decoration, and Use* (Cambridge, 1994).

¹⁴ E. Dahlhaus-Berg, *Nova antiquitas et antiqua novitas: Typologische Exegese und isidorianisches Geschichtsbild bei Theodulf von Orléans* (Köln & Vienna, 1975), pp. 59-76.

¹⁵ J. Contreni, "Carolingian Biblical Studies" in U.-R. Blumenthal (ed.), *Carolingian Essays* (Washington D.C., 1983), p. 79.

¹⁶ B. Fischer, 'Bibelausgaben des frühen Mittelalters' and his 'Bibeltext und Bibelreform unter Karl dem Grossen' and *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im frühen Mittelalter*.

¹⁷ These two manuscripts are St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek 75 and Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, G. 1. We shall discuss them in depth in subsequent sections.

plethora of biblical traditions from which he was conflating in single manuscripts. The inclusion of appendix texts within two of his Bibles also demonstrates Theodulf's promotion of the linguistic hermeneutics of the Bible—the various literary levels on which Scripture could exist (all elements of the classical understanding of *grammatica*) without the need for a single uniform edition of the text.

Due to their prominence within Carolingian court culture, we shall restrict our examination of the biblical revision project to both Alcuin and Theodulf within this chapter. But in terms of gleaning the semiotic background to these manuscripts, we shall focus in particular on the two complete extant Bibles compiled by Theodulf (the Le Puy Bible and the Mesmianus Codex), with especial attention paid to the appendix texts featured at the back of both manuscripts.¹⁸ These texts, more so than perhaps any other element of the manuscript, will provide the final pieces to form an image of the overall semiotic Christian philosophy emergent within the intellectual culture of the late eighth and early ninth centuries. Accordingly, the aim of this chapter is not to discuss in detail the various biblical versions or traditions incorporated by Alcuin or Theodulf (although our discussion will touch on them generally). Work by Samuel Berger, Bonifatius Fischer, and Raphael Loewe have yielded extensive and detailed results in this regard.¹⁹ Our purpose, in contrast, is to examine the application of the semiotic theory which we have been discussing in Chapters Two and Three on a textual level: how the biblical revision of both Alcuin and Theodulf represented a programme of linguistic *correctio*, not *unitas*. Also, within the extra-biblical material, such as their introductory and concluding poems, and, in Theodulf's case, the appendix texts of his biblical pandects, we can see the underlying semiotic theory, appropriated from both a classical philosophical and patristic tradition, and its application for biblical study during the Carolingian period. As we shall see, this, perhaps more than anything else, was the legacy left by these Carolingian court scholars.

¹⁸ Le Puy-en-Velay, Trésor de la Cathedral & Paris BN lat. 9380.

¹⁹ See Footnote 12.

Alcuin and Biblical Revision

Although a number of scholars are associated with Charlemagne's *correctio* movement, Alcuin has dominated the studies of Carolingian biblical revision during the late eighth century, particularly in terms of his influence at the court school and his presence at the Tours monastery.²⁰ Alcuin's career following the Frankfurt Synod in 794 was one punctuated by his appointment as the monastery's abbot in 796.²¹ Following this "retirement" from court life, Alcuin set himself the weighty task of not only improving the standards of literacy within the scriptorium (writing frequently to Charlemagne on his "battles against ignorance") but also revising the biblical text.²² Alcuin's influence on biblical manuscript production at Tours has long been considered substantial; not only in the format of the Bibles produced at the scriptorium, but also their dissemination throughout the Frankish kingdoms. Indeed, Alcuin's revised text has often been known as "the" standard Bible for the Carolingian period, based in no small part on the massive and regularized production of biblical manuscripts at the Tours scriptorium during and following his abbacy.²³ The extent to which such a statement is accurate merits some discussion.

When looking to the Carolingian responsibility for an increase in the production of biblical manuscripts during this period, the influence of the scriptorium at Tours cannot be denied given the exponential increase in material written there following the mid-eighth century. Tours produced forty-six Bibles and eighteen gospel books prior to the year 853, not to mention a wealth of classical, patristic, and Carolingian works.²⁴ In terms of its production of biblical material, the similarity between the pandects of Tours gives an overall impression of "factory standards", implying a clear adherence to a prescribed textual format: each Bible containing approximately 450 leaves, measuring c.

²⁰ The amount of scholarship dedicated to Alcuin's biblical revision is extensive, not least due to the dissemination of his text via the Tours scriptorium. See e.g. B. Fischer, 'Die Alcuin-Bibel' in *Die Bibel von Moutier-Grandval* (Bern, 1971).

²¹ D. A. Bullough, *Alcuin: Reputation and Achievement* (Leiden, 2004), p. 261.

²² "Ego itaque licet parum proficiens cum Turonica cotidie pugno rusticitate." Alcuin, MGH *Epistolae Epp.* 4, Epist. 172, p. 285, lin. 21. (trans.) S. Allott, *Alcuin of York*, p. 92. M.L.W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe: AD 500-900* 2nd edn. (London, 1957), p. 205.

²³ R. McKitterick's article, 'Carolingian Bible Production: the Tours anomaly' explores the accuracy of this statement. See also: J. Contreni 'Carolingian Biblical Studies'.

²⁴ D. Ganz, 'Mass Production of early medieval manuscripts', p. 53.

480x375 mm, with 50-52 lines per page.²⁵ The Tours Bibles provide easy evidence with which to approach the Carolingian period as one of standardization. Tours presents scholars with a wealth of knowledge in the form of extant manuscripts from the ninth century: over two hundred manuscripts of the scriptorium survive, sixty of which are illuminated.²⁶ These include some of the wealthiest and most decorated Biblical pieces from Charlemagne's period and beyond, including the Moutier Grandval Bible (BL Add. 10546), the Stuttgart Gospels, the Bamberg Bible, the Vivian Bible (BN lat. 1), and the Lothar Gospels (BN lat. 266).²⁷

Yet the supremacy of the Tours Bibles as examples of Carolingian textual revision (and its association with Alcuin) has come under scrutiny in recent years, particularly in terms of how representative they may be in the development of Carolingian textual culture and its overall emphasis on *unitas*.²⁸ And they provide us little overall in terms of Alcuin's perspective on the biblical revision process as most post-date Alcuin's lifetime. A much better indicator of Alcuin's agenda can be seen in his various poems on the Bible, often designed to be included within the biblical manuscript itself, as can be found in such manuscripts as Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 1190.²⁹

Although the biblical manuscripts themselves provide evidence as to how Alcuin approached the revision of Scripture, Alcuin's poems provide a more direct indicator of his perspective on the biblical text. The relationship between the visible/invisible (also exemplified by the secular/holy and the body/soul) that Alcuin frames in his philosophical and linguistic treatises is made manifest within his various poems contained in his biblical revisions. A number of Alcuin's poems contained within his biblical codices suggest this topic and it is perhaps

²⁵ Ibid, p. 55.

²⁶R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians* (London, 1983), p. 222.

²⁷ R. McKitterick, 'Carolingian Bible Production: the Tours anomaly', p. 54.

²⁸ See in particular B. Fischer, *Die Alkuin-Bibel*; R. Loewe, 'The Medieval History of the Latin Vulgate', pp. 102-154; and R. McKitterick, 'Carolingian Bible Production: the Tours anomaly', pp. 64-69.

²⁹ "Continet iste uno sancto sub corpore codex/ Hic simul hos totos, munera magna Dei;/ Quisque legat huius sacrato in corpore libri/ Lector in ecclesia verba superna Dei/ Distinguens sensus, titulos, col, commata voce/ Dicat ut accentus ore sonare sciat." Alcuin, Carm. 66, *MGH, Poetae aevi Karolini I*, pp. 288-292. *Admonitio Generalis, MGH Cap. I, no. 22*, p. 60.

best exemplified in his *Dum primus pulchro fuerat homo pulsus ab horto*.³⁰ Although perhaps included in a Bible presented to the Emperor ca. 801, Alcuin may have written the poem far earlier, considering its parallels to his work ca. 793.³¹ As Donald Bullough has pointed out, the poem's circulation in manuscripts apart from Tours-based Bibles suggest this earlier composition date and only its later inclusion into a biblical text.³² Yet the themes highlighted by this poem (such as the *ratio* instilled in mankind by God) are of particular interest in terms of its inclusion in a biblical manuscript. As a prefatory poem to a royal Bible, this poem publicly highlighted the inclusion of Christian ontology within a hermeneutic context:

Among them, therefore, are the greatest gifts of books,
Which sing of the succession of events and about all of time,
And they retain the origins of the world through the
sayings of God,
And announce holy Christ to the secular world,
And in which the reason (*ratio*) of men was given those
determined things for the purpose of worshipping God who is
the same truth which is the way, life, health.³³

Other poems on the theme of the biblical text written by Alcuin also rely on the importance of reading the Bible with the divinely inspired *ratio*, as can be found in the prefatory poem in a manuscript of the Gospels (Trier municip. 23):

Of course hence, like the eagle crossing the air on its wings,
one seeks,
Revealing the divine nature of human reason (*rationi*),
Just as the people inhabit the Word having been made
flesh.³⁴

³⁰ Alcuin, Carmen 69, *MGH Poetae aevi Karolini I*, p. 288, ll. 13-17.

³¹ B. Fischer, *Alcuin-Bibel*, pp. 218-46. F. Stella and D. Ganz have agreed to this dating. F. Stella, *La Poesia Carolingia Latina a Tema Biblica*, Biblioteca di Medioevo Latino, 9 (Spoleto, 1993), pp. 43-4. D. Ganz, "Mass Production of early medieval manuscripts", p. 56.

³² Such as his repeated use of the adjectival "alm-" and the reiterated use of "cecinit". The poem's opening lines "Dum primus pulchro fuerat homo pulsus ab horto" also echo Alcuin's poem regarding the destruction of Lindisfarne in 793. Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 406-7.

³³ "Inter quae siquidem sunt maxima dona librorum,/ Qui series rerum et tempora cuncta canunt,/ Et dictante deo retinent primordia mundi,/ Et Christum saeculis praececinere pium, / In quibus et homini ratio est data certa colendi / Ipsa deum, vera est quae via, vita, salus." Alcuin, *Carmen 69, MGH Poetae aevi Karolini I*, p. 288, ll. 13-17. This poem can now be found in the manuscripts V Brussels 4433-4437 (tenth century) and also BL Harley 3685, f. 11-15. I adhere to Bullough's dating of the poem, *Alcuin: Achievement*, p. 265, no. 39 which relies on Jerome's epistle no. 53.

³⁴ "Scilicet hinc aquile petiit trans aethera pennis/ Divinam retegens naturam hominum rationi,/ Qualiter et populus habitans verbum caro factum est." Alcuin, *Carmen 71, MGH, Poetae aevi*

A combination of Alcuin's various treatises, poetry, and biblical revision provides an overall ontological framework, in which the emphasis is clearly on the *underlying* meaning of Scripture, rather than any attempt to establish a singular or orthodox version of the text. The human *ratio* provided the means by which to supersede the linguistic signs that contained Holy Scripture in order to glean a more transcendent meaning. In the same way one could dedicate one's mind to meditation upon the Cross, a similar process occurred when applied to Scripture, as we examined in Chapter Two, via Alcuin's 798 letter to Fridugisus.³⁵

Within these verses and his other letters, Alcuin outlines his involvement with the Carolingian correction programme, revealing that he was responsible for preparing two copies of the Bible for Charlemagne (one in 800 and one in 801), two copies for the monastery at Tours, one for Bishop Gerfrid of Laon and one commissioned by an *ancilla Dei* named Ava.³⁶ Yet the physical evidence to support Alcuin's involvement is unfortunately rather meagre as neither of these allegedly ornate copies survive. Although typically Tours was thought to have appropriated Alcuin's revision as the standard for the monastery during the ninth century, even this has come under question by such scholars as Raphael Loewe, who concluded in his landmark survey of the development of the medieval Vulgate in the late 1960s, "the textual influence of Alcuin's Bible was less widespread than its external features and it is to these and not to any *official* sponsorship that is due the prominence which Alcuin's text came to enjoy throughout the [Carolingian] Empire".³⁷ Rosamond McKitterick, in her own investigations into the Tours Bibles, has reached similar conclusions.³⁸ We should be careful not to conflate the influence of the Tours Bibles as ornate

Karolini I, 1, p. 294, ll. 9-11. Other examples of Alcuin's biblical poetry can be seen in *Carmen 83*: "Continet iste decem naturae verba libellus,/ Quae iam verba tenent rerum ratione stupenda/Omne quod in nostrum poterit decurrere sensum." Alcuin, *MGH, Poetae aevi Karolini I* 1,1, p. 295, ll. 1-4.

³⁵ Please refer to Appendix II and relevant sections in Chapter Two.

³⁶ Alcuin, *Carm.* 66, 67, 68, *MGH, Poetae aevi Karolini I*, pp. 286-294. He also mentions his involvement with emending the text of the Bible in a letter to Gisela and Rotrude (Charlemagne's sister and daughter) around Easter 800. "Totius forsitan evangelii expositionem direxerim vobis, si me non occupasset domni regis praeceptum in emedatione veteris novique testamenti." Alcuin, *MGH Epist 195*, p. 322. PL 100: 923c.

³⁷ R. Loewe, "The Medieval History of the Latin Vulgate", p. 135.

³⁸ R. McKitterick, "Carolingian Bible production" p. 73.

manuscripts with the authority of Alcuin's text (which, as we shall see, was altogether less influential).

Only two pandects have been dated to Alcuin's abbacy with any certainty: the St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek 75 and Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, G. 1 (alongside three gospel books and a Psalter).³⁹ As opposed to the wealthy and distinctive style that would later define the Tours Bibles, these earlier manuscripts appear comparatively modest, with little demonstrable emphasis on uniformity.

Bonifatius Fischer and E.K. Rand (among others) have shown that it was only after the period of Alcuin, during the abbacy of Fridugisus (c. 807-834), that Tours achieved scribal or decorative standards that we recognize today as the characteristic uniformity of Carolingian textual culture, reaching its pinnacle under Vivianus prior to Viking attack and invasion of the monastery in 853.⁴⁰ The association between Alcuin's revision project with the high-grade uniform Bibles produced within the Tours scriptorium give a false indication of his involvement with the visual components now associated with this development. Although his text was adopted by the scriptorium as an exemplar, the vast majority of the famous Tours Bibles postdate Alcuin's abbacy (and even his lifetime).⁴¹

The St. Gall 75 Bible may have been written as a gift for the St. Gall monastery under Alcuin's personal supervision, presented sometime during the ninth century (presumably prior to Alcuin's death in 804).⁴² Containing 418 folios, the manuscript features a two-column format with 50-55 lines per page.⁴³ The manuscript contains no illustrations and few decorations on the initial letters or titles. It remains the oldest complete preserved Bible from Tours and comprises a predominantly Vulgate text with numerous interpolations from the

³⁹ Paris, BN lat. 260 and 17227, and London British Library, Harley 2760 (Gospels) and Harley 2793 (Psalter). Rosamond McKitterick, "Carolingian Bible production" p. 71. The manuscript Paris Latin 8847 has also been suggested as an example of an early Tours Bible, contemporaneous to the St. Gall and Monza texts. Work on this manuscript has been predominantly conducted by M. C. Ferrari, 'Der älteste touronische Pandekt' in *Analecta Epternacensia: Beiträge zur Bibliotheksgeschichte der Abtei Echternach* (Trier, 2000), pp. 17-28.

⁴⁰B. Fischer, 'Die Alkuin-Bibel', p. 209.

⁴¹ E.K. Rand, *A Survey of the Manuscripts at Tours*, Vol. I, (Massachusetts, 1929), p. 19. R. McKitterick, 'Carolingian Bible production', p. 71.

⁴² B. Fischer, 'Die Alkuin-Bibel', p. 209.

⁴³ The St. Gall Bible is approximately 47-54 x 35-39cm. B. Fischer, 'Die Alkuin-Bibel', p. 209. L. Light, 'Versions et revisions du texte biblique', in *Le Moyen Age et La Bible* (Paris, 1984,) p. 63.

Vetus Latina.⁴⁴ Yet even this text, despite its unique existence as the earliest attributable text to Alcuin's direct influence, has been downplayed due to its "roughness", as Raphael Loewe describe it: "it is too rough a copy to be identifiable with that presented to Charlemagne in 800: calligraphically it is not a unity, orthographically it is irregular, and altogether it is to be regarded as an experimental model only."⁴⁵ Looking at the biblical sources from which he drew, Alcuin relied on a mixture of Northumbrian, Italian, and Gallic texts most likely available to him at the library in York but also available elsewhere in either the Carolingian court or throughout Gaul and indeed, the rest of Europe.⁴⁶

When comparing the St. Gall 75 to the Monza manuscript, it appears the two are approximately contemporaneous (although Monza is believed to be slightly later than St. Gall 75); however, there is no distinguishable uniformity between them. Based on these two manuscripts, Alcuin's association with standardization appears unfounded.⁴⁷ Neither the St. Gall 75 nor Monza texts demonstrate any affiliation to a single established biblical tradition.⁴⁸ It is evident Alcuin saw no problem with combining a variety of scriptural editions, focusing on improving the linguistic "structure" (i.e. grammar, punctuation, etc.) of the text.

⁴⁴ Although it was not incorporated into the critical edition of the Roman Vulgate but was included by P. Corssen in his evaluation of the Ada manuscripts and in the critical edition of the *Vetus Latina* text (as Φ^T). An earlier Bible from Tours, Metz Bibliothèque Municipale 7, was probably copied around 791; however the manuscript perished in 1944. B. Fischer, 'Bibeltext und Bibelreform', p. 170 and in K. Menzel & P. Corssen, et al., *Die Trierer Ada-Handschrift* (Leipzig, 1889).

⁴⁵ Loewe, 'The Medieval Latin Vulgate', p. 138.

⁴⁶ Based on Loewe's research, two types of gospel text were available in Northumbria during Alcuin's period: a south Italian text brought to Canterbury by Augustine which featured a number of *Vetus Latina* insertions, as well as a text brought to England by Ceolfrid in the 7th century. Ibid, p. 138.

⁴⁷ Fischer, "Bibeltext" p. 171.

⁴⁸ As we showed above, the text of these two Bibles is a blend of both *Vetus Latina* and Vulgate texts, alongside a mixture of texts available to Alcuin at York during his lifetime. There has been significant investigation into a potential relationship with the Codex Amiatinus, but several features of Alcuin's early Bibles do not show any affiliation. The Alcuin text, as noted by Fischer: 1-4 Kings, 1-2 Paralipomenon, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs adheres to the established Roman Vulgate (with some *Vetus Latina* interpolations), the introduction of the Gallic Psalter (based on the north-eastern, rather than the Irish text as a replacement for Jerome's *Iuxta Hebraeos*). The Gospel texts show a combination of influences from (and to) Ireland, Spain, Italy and Gaul. The similarity to the Spanish Codex Gothicus of Lyon (Λ^L , c. 960) probably shows influence *to* Spain rather than vice versa. Fischer, "Bibeltext", p. 174.

We should also be wary of Alcuin's subscription to the merits of identical editions of the Bible. In his numerous commentaries and treatises on the biblical text, Alcuin does not uniformly cite one specific biblical edition (let alone his own). Although the variations in his citation do not vary widely from the biblical text which can be found, for example, in his St Gall 75 text, his apparent nonchalance in terms of which text he was citing does not convey an overall picture of Alcuin as an enforcer of biblical standardization. When we compare his quotations of Genesis in his *Interrogationes et Responsiones in Genesin*, rarely does Alcuin strictly adhere to the precise wording of his own biblical text. In his treatise, Alcuin cites Genesis I, 5 as "Appellavit Deus lucem diem" while St Gall features "Appelluitque lucem diem".⁴⁹ Similarly in citing Genesis II, 7, again Alcuin deviates slightly in his treatise ("Deus inspiravit in faciem Adae spiraculum vitae") from the established wording of the St. Gall manuscript ("Et inspiravit in faciem eius spiraculum vitae").⁵⁰

Even when we move past Alcuin's lifetime and the productions of the Tours monastery, there is little demonstrable evidence that a single biblical edition was considered uniquely authentic. Despite the so-called prominence of Alcuin's revision at the monastery, his edition was by no means sacrosanct from later emendations. The Tours Bibles associated with Alcuin's revision from the abbacies of Fridugisus and Vivian contain numerous textual differences to those produced during Alcuin's period. As Bonifatius Fischer has demonstrated, many of the Tours Bibles show variation in the order of the books, prefatory material, and the chapters.⁵¹ For example, in some Tours Bibles the Apocalypse precedes the Pauline Epistles (found in Berlin Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 82 and St. Gall 75), while other Bibles end with the Apocalypse. After Fridugisus'

⁴⁹ Alcuin, *Interrogationes et Responsiones in Genesin*, PL 100:520a. St. Gall 75, f. 3.

⁵⁰ Ibid, col 518a. St. Gall 75, f. 4. Obviously the distinctions between the two textual examples could be a case of later transcription error and not necessarily indicative based on this sole example of Alcuin's orthographical choices as an element of his textual philosophy. However, the prevalence of these examples does strongly suggest that Alcuin was not citing from one single established biblical text nor that he believed it was important to do so. In many instances he may have been citing from memory; however, again, this demonstrates no advocacy of the need for textual adherence to a single biblical version.

⁵¹ Such variants have made establishing a precise dating system for the Tours Bible exceptionally difficult. B. Fischer. "Die Alkuin-Bibel", pp. 65-77. D. Ganz, "Mass Production: Carolingians Bibles from Tours", p. 57.

abbacy (807-834), the Pauline Epistles include the apocryphal letter to the Laodiceans.⁵² The Tours Bible at Zurich (Zentralbibliothek, C.1) has a series of prefaces and summaries for the Gospels (which can also be found in those at Bern Burgerbibliothek 3-4, Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek CLM 12741, Bamberg Staatsbibliothek Bibl. 1, and Cologne Dombibliothek 1). Other examples (such as the Bern, Moutier Grandval) feature the *Concordia Epistularum* prior to the Pauline Epistles.⁵³

Such wide-ranging variants for the so-called “standardized” Tours Bibles reinforce our discussion throughout both Chapters Two and Three. The Carolingian intellectual elite recognized the importance of the structure of language (in the form of grammatical and spelling clarity) for basic readability but emphasized the invisible transcendent meaning behind the text which exists on a level apart from and above the physical (or material) *images* of the written word. Continued malleability of text demonstrates a lack of any *unitas* affiliated with the overall *correctio* programme during this period. The transcendent divine meaning inherent to the text in some sense provided biblical revisionists (such as Alcuin) the freedom to select the biblical edition they preferred and also the freedom to improve upon that text as correctors of spelling and grammar. The building blocks of the biblical text (the letters, words, etc.) may have been changed and altered but this clearly was not considered to have impinged upon the invisible divine meaning contained within. This philosophy perhaps suggests a much-needed re-contextualization of our understanding of Carolingian literary *correctio*, as Rosamond McKitterick says, “The emphasis was on *correctio* and *emendatio* rather than on complete *unitas*, which simply was not and probably could not have been achieved.”⁵⁴ Alcuin’s incorporation of a number of different biblical traditions and the relative freedom his heirs at Tours obviously felt in further revising the text demonstrates this lack of *unitas*. But this perspective is underpinned by the overall semiotic philosophy we have been discussing throughout Chapters Two and Three. This development is evident in their

⁵² This includes: Zurich, C.1.; Berne 3-4; Stuttgart, II. 40; London, British Museum, Add. 11848, Paris, BN lat. 250. E. K. Rand, ‘A Preliminary Study of Alcuin’s Bible’, *The Harvard Theological Review* 24, No. 4 (Oct., 1931), p. 329.

⁵³ D. Ganz, “Mass Production: Carolingians Bibles from Tours”, p. 57.

⁵⁴ R. McKitterick, “Carolingian Bible production” p. 74.

biblical manuscripts, and also framed by Alcuin's poetry on the nature of the biblical text, as we saw above.

Theodulf of Orléans' Biblical Revision

Due to the paucity of manuscripts directly attributable to Alcuin's lifetime, we must look elsewhere for more concrete examples of the means by which prominent Carolingian writers applied an ontological visible/invisible theory to the reading of Scripture at the beginning of this textual revolution. Accordingly, we turn to Theodulf of Orléans. To some extent, comparison between the Alcuinian and Theodulfian Bibles is to be expected, as they were produced within approximately twenty years of each other and reflect two major writers at Charlemagne's court (and supposedly, professional rivals).⁵⁵ Traditionally, Alcuin's editions (again, predominantly a reference to Tours Bibles which postdate Alcuin's lifetime) have been prized as the codicological and paleographical gems of the period while Theodulf's have earned the reputation as the more "scholarly" attempt of the two. John C. Contreni describes it, "The Tours product of the post-Alcuinian period is a sumptuous book, both large and ornate...Theodulfian Bibles are half again smaller. Complete copies contain fewer folios...Even the script is on a smaller scale; some would even say that it is microscopic."⁵⁶ Yet, as we shall see, such a characterization cannot refer to either the St. Gall 75 nor Monza text (which feature little decoration or ornate display) and seems to ignore the sumptuous display copies of Theodulf's revision contained in both the Le Puy Bible and the Mesmianus Codex (Paris, BN, lat. 9380), two manuscripts we shall explore in depth.

Only six copies (with traces of two more) survive of Theodulf's single-

⁵⁵ Many scholars have commented on the supposed rivalry (or antipathy) between Alcuin and Theodulf. I find little demonstrable evidence to prove such an acrimonious relationship existed, apart from Theodulf's rather biting description of Alcuin in his poem *On the Court*, Carmen 25, *MGH Poetae aevi Karolini I* 1, p. 486, vers. 131-2. Alcuin and Theodulf were on opposing sides with regard to a case concerning an escaped convict. The question as to the convict's right to claim sanctuary within a church arose in the Orléans' diocese ca. 802. Theodulf's refusal to acknowledge the rite of sanctuary was criticized by Alcuin's letters and the case eventually went to Charlemagne for adjudication. See Alcuin, *Epistolae MGH 245, 247, and 249*, (ed.) E. Dümmler *MGH Epistolae, Epp. Kar. Aevi*, II.

⁵⁶ J. Contreni, 'Carolingian Biblical Studies', in U.-R. Blumenthal (ed.), *Carolingian Essays* (Washington D.C., 1983), p. 78.

volume Bibles.⁵⁷ All written approximately between 800 and 818⁵⁸, they represent Theodulf's career after his departure from the Carolingian court, having been made bishop of Orléans c. 798 together with his joint appointment as the abbot of Fleury.⁵⁹ Along with Alcuin's appointment at Tours, this period marks a new phase in the emergent Carolingian textual culture. The scriptoria at Tours, Fleury, and Orléans rose prominently as manuscript production centres during the late eighth century.⁶⁰ It is not difficult to believe that Charlemagne directed two acclaimed members of his court circle to such places with specific consideration as to how they could guide budding centres of textual culture.

Theodulf's Bibles remained relatively understudied for the majority of the twentieth century particularly in comparison to those of Alcuin. One may ascribe this to the presumption that Theodulf's Bibles were a textual "dead end" in terms of revision of the Vulgate, with little demonstrable influence on subsequent generations.⁶¹ This ascription has predominantly been a result of the difficulty in tracing the impact of Theodulf's Bibles in terms of subsequent

⁵⁷ The extant manuscripts are listed in a chronological order based on B. Fischer's arrangement: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB II. 16; London, British Library, Add. 24142; Berne A 9; Le Puy, Trésor de la Cathedral (CLA VI, 768); Paris, BN, lat. 9380 (CLA v, 576); Paris, BN, lat. 11937; and the fragmentary Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, N.K.S. 1 (perhaps originally from Carcassonne). D. Ganz, p. 53, B. Fischer, "Bibeltext und Bibelreform", p. 175-76.

⁵⁸ Theodulf was exiled in 818, due to his presumed involvement with Bernard of Italy's rebellion against Louis the Pious. This was recorded by Theodulf's friend Modoin, who describes Theodulf's fall from grace a result of his own *ingenium* and envy of others. Two other bishops suffered similar fates and all were deposed from their sees. Theodulf spent the next year exiled in Angers. Despite the general amnesty pronounced a year later, Theodulf remained in political exile until his death in 821. Modoin, *Carm. 73, MGH, Poetae Latini I*, p. 570, l. 42, and p. 571, ll. 45-48. Also see P. Godman, *Poets and Emperors*, p. 102-3 and A. Freeman, "Theodulf of Orléans: A Visigoth at Charlemagne's Court", p. 192.

⁵⁹ The precise date at which Theodulf was appointed bishop and abbot remains inconclusive. Although the latest possible date which the term *episcopus* is ascribed to him is 798, in his epitaph to Queen Fastrada in 794, there is vague reference to an episcopal title. A monastic catalogue refers to his abbacy of Fleury as nineteen years: which would place his instalment at Fleury in 798. Traditionally, therefore, 798, is accepted as the general period of both his episcopacy and his abbacy. S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 147-8. E. Dahlhaus-Berg, *Nova antiquitas et antiqua novitas*, p. 52-3.

⁶⁰ B. Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, (trans.) M. Gorman (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 30-1.

⁶¹ Loewe's diagram of the development of the medieval Latin Vulgate shows Theodulf's revision influencing only three traditions (those who adopted his preference for Hebrew interpolation): a conflated Italian text, Herbert of Bosham's biblical text (MS 12 Cathedral of London), and Stephen Harding's Cistercian text (MSS Dijon 12-15). R. Loewe, "The Medieval History of the Latin Vulgate", p. 118.

editions of the biblical text. Unlike the Tours powerhouse of manuscript production, the lack of a high-yielding scriptorium attached to Theodulf's manuscripts, combined with the fact that Theodulf's manuscripts do not adhere to a single version of the biblical text even among themselves, has made it particularly difficult for scholars to trace a specific "tradition" of Theodulf's Bibles. This has prematurely led to the dismissal of Theodulf's influence on later generations; however, this demonstrates the faulty approach of biblical historians in attempting to trace a "standardized" or authentic version of Theodulf's Bibles. As we shall show, Theodulf may have had no such intention when approaching the revision project. Looking for exact copies of Theodulf's Bibles in subsequent generations misunderstands the initiatives behind his revision project entirely.

Elisabeth Dahlhaus-Berg's groundbreaking study of Theodulf and his biblical revision in the 1970s provided the necessary impetus to study Theodulf's Bibles in their own right, as part of a larger spiritual agenda of the Spanish Carolingian scholar.⁶² While her study remains the most in-depth inquiry into Theodulf's spirituality, other studies have emerged recently looking at specific aspects of his writing: including work by Thomas Noble, Kristina Mitalaité, and, of course, Ann Freeman.⁶³ Yet none of these studies have focused on Theodulf's biblical revision as key evidence in terms of his overall linguistic epistemology. Prior to this, the most in-depth study of Theodulf's Bibles, carried out by Leopold Delisle at the end of the nineteenth century, provided only the most rudimentary investigation into the nature of Theodulf's biblical text, focusing predominantly on paleographical features rather than philosophical implications.⁶⁴

A brief examination of all the surviving Bibles of Theodulf is warranted, in order to understand the constantly shifting visual and textual elements to the manuscripts, but also as a means of surveying Theodulf's incorporation of

⁶² E. Dahlhaus-Berg, *Nova antiquitas et antiqua novitas*, p. 76.

⁶³ T. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians* (Philadelphia, 2009). K. Mitalaité, *Philosophie et Théologie de l'image dans les "Libri Carolini"* (Paris, 2007). A. Freeman, "Theodulf of Orléans: a Visigoth at Charlemagne's Court", In *L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne wisigothique*, (Madrid, 1992), pp. 185-194 (among many others).

⁶⁴ L. Delisle, 'Les Bibles de Theodulfe', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 40 (1879), pp. 5-47.

biblical traditions from throughout Europe (and the lack of any demonstrable standardization). The two oldest extant Theodulfian Bibles according to Bonifatius Fischer's dating, the Stuttgart Bible (Wurt. S. Landesbibliothek, H.B. II. 16, originally in Konstanz Cathedral, identified as Θ^S) and the Hubertian Codex (BL Add. Ms. 24142, Θ^H), share basic layout features: three columns, folio size (34 x 24cm), five folio quires, approximately 60-62 lines per page in a "Visigothic minuscule" (according to E.A. Lowe), and portions of the text written in *cola et commata*.⁶⁵ These early Bibles are the least decorated and contain little in the way of glossing, a stark contrast to later members of the "Theodulfian" collection. Adhering mostly to Vulgate material, they are the poorest examples of spelling and grammatical improvements, demonstrating a wealth of errors.⁶⁶ Theodulf's revision in this manuscript features a significant incorporation of *Vetus Latina* interpolations to a predominantly Vulgate text.⁶⁷ This trend mirrors that of Alcuin's; however, Theodulf's edition incorporates far more extra-Vulgate material, such as Baruch, a book rarely found in Carolingian Bibles.⁶⁸ His editions of the Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiastes adhere to predominantly Spanish and Italian traditions, as opposed to Alcuin's Northumbrian text. Glossing is minimal in these two texts but we do see the beginning of Theodulf's notational system for biblical variants, demarcating each with an "al" as indicative of alternative readings (*aliter*).

Several features, such as the Hubertian Codex's canon tables and both the

⁶⁵ Specifically Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, and Wisdom. Fischer is unwilling to provide a more detailed chronology for the Theodulf manuscripts saving their relationship to one another. E. A. Loewe compared the writing to that seen in the Cava Bible, whose potential relationship to the Theodulf Bibles we shall discuss below. Both Bibles do not survive in their entirety. The Stuttgart Bible is lacking Genesis-Leviticus 23.32, Josiah 2.11-7.23, the majority of Baruch; Lamentations; Job, Psalms until 144.21; 2 II Chronicles 32.26-35.20, Sirach 31.33-37.17, I Maccabees 1.27-3.56, 2 Maccabees 15.30-end; all the Gospels and most of the Catholic letters, Acts, and the Apocalypse. The Hubertian Codex is missing the beginning until Genesis 49.6, Hosaiah 6.8-until Malachi. The script itself is a regular if small hand, usually described as Caroline Minuscule but with Visigothic orthographical features. B. Fischer, 'Bibeltext und Bibelreform', p. 175-76. E. Dalhous-Berg, *Nova Antiquitas et antiqua novitas*, p. 49. E. A. Loewe, *Codices latini antiquiores, France*, vol. VI, (1953), pp. xviii-xxi.

⁶⁶ B. Fischer, 'Bibeltext und Bibelreform', p. 175-76.

⁶⁷ The Stuttgart text contains the Vulgate text for all of 1-4 Kings, Wisdom, and Sirach and the *Vetus Latina* for Ephesians while the Hubertian text features both Vulgate and *Vetus Latina* material throughout. B. Fischer, 'Bibeltext und Bibelreform', p. 176.

⁶⁸ Alcuin's Bibles, for example, do not contain the text and Baruch's transmission history is almost exclusively Spanish. B. Fischer, 'Bibeltext und Bibelreform', p. 176.

texts' orthographical variants, indicate significant correlations with Spanish biblical material from this period. Given Theodulf's possible origins in the north of Spain, such elements have been used to show textual exchange between Frankish and Spanish scriptoria during this period.⁶⁹ The St Hubert codex, which survives in a better state than that of the Stuttgart Bible, retains its canon tables, which show demonstrable affiliation to those of the Gundohinus Gospel and those contained in the Spanish Codex Cavensis (also known as the Cava Bible).⁷⁰ In these manuscripts in particular, the scribe adheres to contemporary standard Spanish or southern French spelling variants: the use of *quur* for *cur* and *quum* for *cum*, Visigothic abbreviations of *Israhel*⁷¹ and other resemblances to Spanish orthographical variants.⁷² Bonifatius Fischer bases this on the two Bibles' similarities on some of the only Spanish biblical material we have from that time, namely the Codex Cavensis and St. Gall 194.⁷³

The Codex Cavensis has long been regarded as one of the oldest surviving Spanish biblical manuscripts, dated to sometime in the mid-ninth century.⁷⁴ It has been ascribed to the copyist Danila (who signed his work on fol. 166v) who

⁶⁹ Vieillard-Troiekoureff, 'Les Bibles de Théodulphe et la Bible de La Cava dei Tirreni', *Synthronon*, (Paris, 1968), p. 157. E. Power, 'The Lost Ninth Century Bible', p. 201.

⁷⁰ M. Vieillard-Troiekoureff, 'Les Bibles de Théodulphe', p. 157

⁷¹ As seen on fol. 148 of St. Gall 194.

⁷² Ann Freeman, "Theodulf of Orleans and the Libri Carolini" *Speculum*, vol. 32, no. 4 (Oct., 1957), p. 690.

⁷³ Such as confusion for d for t, g for c, o and cu, ci for ti, and incorrect use of h. The St. Gall 194 manuscript is a compilation of a number of different texts written presumably during the seventh and eighth centuries and demonstrates pre-Caroline script from southern France and Spain. B. Fischer, *Bibeltext und Bibelreform*, p. 180-1. E.A. Loewe (ed.), *CLA, A paleographical guide to latin manuscripts prior to the ninth century*, Part 7: Switzerland, (Oxford 1956), no. 917-119, p. 24

⁷⁴ Cava dei Terreni, Archiva Badia della S.ma Trinita, ms. 1, mm 320 x 265. Although early scholarship (predominantly that of E.A. Loewe) ascribed the manuscript to the mid-ninth century, new research has indicated an earlier provenance, perhaps no later than the first decade of the ninth century in Oviedo, perhaps under King Alfonso II of Asturias (759-842). The manuscript is signed by its copyist, Danila on fol. 166v. The manuscript is predominantly in Visigothic semi-uncial (usually referred to as the "old style"), with particular scriptural flourishes for incipits, explicits, and extra-biblical material. What should draw our particular attention are the numerous Visigothic minuscule glosses, focused predominantly on Christological arguments. We should also highlight the various notes in Arabic and Hebrew, believed to be contemporaneous to the glosses. The implications of Islamic and Christian influences and use of the Cava Bible has not yet been fully explored (particularly the potential influence of Beatus of Liébana), and it is something I wish to investigate in future research. Paolo Cherubini, "Le Bibbie Spagnole in Visigotica" *Forme e modelli della tradizione manoscritta della Bibbia*. Città del Vaticano: Scuola vaticana di paleografia, diplomaticae archivistica, 2005, p. 150. E.A. Lowe, "The Codex Cavensis: New Light on its Later History", *Quantulacumque*, London, pp. 325-331.

worked probably in the kingdom of Asturias under King Alfonso II.⁷⁵ It is a single pandect Bible with minimal decoration; however, it contains lavish purple-dipped pages on which silver and gold lettering is written.⁷⁶ Comparison between these two Theodulf Bibles and the Codex Cavensis shows several similarities, not least of which includes orthographical variants, choice of biblical books, and overall page layout.⁷⁷ Decoration, textual variants, and canon tables show strong correlation; however, the lack of Spanish material from the period as well as a well-traced pattern of transmission between Francia and Spain has made this aspect of early medieval manuscripts particularly difficult to study. Certainly by Theodulf's period, manuscript traits now identified with Spain could be found in Frankish scriptoria, including both Fleury and the Loire.⁷⁸ A recent dating of the Codex Cavensis places its composition between the early to mid-ninth century, making it difficult to determine which manuscript influenced which. Despite this, similarities between the three indicate at least general manuscript transmission (or awareness) between Spain and the Frankish scriptoria. In terms of Spanish material found in Theodulf's texts, as we mentioned earlier, both in terms of decoration (such as with the Canon Tables) and orthography, Theodulf's texts demonstrate a close affinity to Spanish styles. Particularly in his earlier manuscripts, such as the Stuttgart Bible and Hubertian Codex, these share a strong similarity to the Cava Bible: three text columns with minimal book decoration, arcaded framing, and diminutive script.⁷⁹ The ornamentation in particular shows a remarkable similarity in style. As May Viellard-Troiekouff argues, the canon tables' pillars in decoration show the same plaiting, rafting, and inverse floral designs, indicative perhaps of the artistic influence after the

⁷⁵ E.A. Lowe, 'The Codex Cavensis: New Light on its Later History', p. 327.

⁷⁶ These purple pages mirror the decorative styles of Theodulf's later Bibles, the Le Puy Bible and Mesmianus Codex, which we shall describe in detail in a later section. See footnote 133 below.

⁷⁷ P. Cherubini, "'La Bibbia di Danila: Un monumento 'Trionfale' per Alfonso II di Asturie,'" in *Scrittura e Civiltà*, XXIII (1999), p. 81.

⁷⁸ Spanish features in texts, particularly those of Isidore of Seville, were well known in the Fleury and Loire regions during Theodulf's period, as seen in such manuscripts as Bern, cod. 101, p. 64, Bern, Cod. 224, Bern, cod. 36, p. 95. M. Vieillard-Troiekouff, 'Les Bibles de Theodulphe', p. 160.

⁷⁹ E. Dahlhaus-Berg, *Nova antiquitas et antiqua novitas*, p. 53

Arab invasion of Spain in the eighth century.⁸⁰ This in and of itself does not prove a link between the three but it provides enough characteristics to label them a subgroup when compared to the other four Theodulf manuscripts. In-depth studies of the similarities between Theodulf's early Bibles and Spanish manuscripts have been conducted, most notably and recently by May Vieillard-Troiekouroff; however, for our purposes, it is enough to demonstrate the noticeable presence of some Spanish traits, both decorative and orthographic, in order to understand the overall perspective (if any) Theodulf had in his biblical revision.⁸¹

Investigations into Theodulf's Bibles can be deceptively Spanish-focused, but examination reveals not exclusive adherence to Spanish manuscripts, but significant influence from Italy as well, particularly in terms of the script and choice of *Vetus Latina* interpolation.⁸² Even basic design features in both the Cava Bible and the complete Theodulf Bibles (the Le Puy en Velay and the Mesmianus Codex, which we shall discuss in depth in a subsequent section), contain elements that are standard in some of the earliest codices available from the late antique period and draw explicit comparisons to earlier, sixth century manuscripts from Italy and, beyond that, to early Syrian or Byzantine illumination, such as purple pages and canon table design.⁸³ Whether this kind of artistic manuscript influence had already made its way to Spanish scriptoria prior to the eighth century is difficult to establish and these types of questions have plagued historians for generations. However, Theodulf's Bibles serve as a strong temporal marker for the incorporation of regional styles within the Frankish kingdoms, when we can see both clear Spanish (in terms of orthographical variants) and potential hybridized Spanish, Byzantine, and Italian decorative features all within one codex. This contrasts starkly to the Alcuinian codices from the same period that reflect almost no design features apart from standard Anglo-Saxon styles of minimal illustration (a stark contrast

⁸⁰ M. Vieillard-Troiekouroff, 'Les Bibles de Théodulphe', p. 156. Bassetti, 'Le Bibbie imperiali d'eta carolingia ed ottoniana' in (ed.) P. Cherubini, *Forme e Modelli della tradizione manoscritta della bibbia*, p. 194. L. Light, 'Versions et revisions du texte biblique', p. 39.

⁸¹ M. Vieillard-Troiekouroff, 'Les Bibles de Théodulphe', p. 171.

⁸² E.A. Loewe, 'The Codex Cavensis', p. 331.

⁸³ Such as that found in the Le Puy and Mesmianus Codex.

to the ornate illustration which would characterize the Tours Bibles in subsequent generations).

Much has been made of the lack of “figures” within Theodulf’s Bible, seeming conclusive evidence that Theodulf indeed adhered to an aniconic spiritual approach. Dahlhous-Berg cites numerous examples from the *Opus Caroli* in which Theodulf upholds the “*non pingendo, sed scribendo edocuit*” argument.⁸⁴ Yet such an across-the-board castigation of images does not explain Theodulf’s commission of an apse-mosaic at his the church Germigny-des-Prés⁸⁵, nor does it serve as a suitable comparison with the relatively “pro-image” perspective of Alcuin’s Bibles which equally do not feature human depiction in their earliest codices.⁸⁶ As we have shown in both Chapters Two and Three, the *physical* (or visible) attributes of a holy object (either Scripture, the cross, even the visible form of Christ) served to illuminate the non-corporeal or invisible aspects of divine wisdom. It was inappropriate to worship the physical; however, such form was needed as a conduit of the divine (i.e. in its role as a sign).

Although orthographical choices, adherence to Spanish script, and similar biblical variants link the earlier Theodulfian Bibles to their later contemporaries, the second group of Theodulfian Bibles marks a significant visual and organizational change. This group includes: the Le Puy en Velay Bible

⁸⁴ Dahlhous-Berg, p. 59, citing *Opus Caroli*, Lib II, 30, MGH, p. 92-95. Also see our discussion on the decorated fabric contained in Theodulf’s biblical manuscripts, footnote **Error! Bookmark not defined.** below.

⁸⁵ Theodulf erected an apse mosaic at the church near his country villa Germigny-des-Prés’. Although the church and part of the mosaic survives today it has suffered from an overzealous Victorian “reconstruction”. Images and drawings of the original mosaic reveal an image of the Tabernacle flanked by two cherubim, with a divine hand extending downwards from the heavens. A two-line inscription is included: “ORACLUM SCM ET CERUBIN HIC ASPICE SPECTANS ET TESTAMENTI EN MICAT ARCA DEI/HAEC CERNENS PRECIBUSQUE STUDENS PULSARE TONANTEM THEODULFUM VOTIS IUNGITO QUAESO TUIS (“As you gaze upon this inner sanctuary with the Cherubim, beholder, And see the shimmering of the Ark of God’s covenant, Perceiving these things, and prepared to beset the Thunderer with prayers, Add, I beg you, Theodulf’s name to your invocations”). See our discussion in Chapter Three with regards to how this “image” did not conflict with the anti-iconic stance of the *Opus Caroli regist contra Synodum*. A. Freeman & P. Meyvaert, ‘The Meaning of Theodulf’s Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés’, *Gesta* 40, no. 2 (2001), pp. 125-139. A.-O. Poilpré, “Le décor de l’oratoire de Germigny-des-Prés: l’authentique et le restauré,” *Caheirs de civilisation médiévale*, XLI (1998), pp. 281-297. E., Revel-Neher, “Antiquus populus, novus populus: Jerusalem and the People of God in the Germigny-des-Prés Carolingian Mosaic” *Jewish Art* 23/24 (1997/1998), pp. 54-66.

⁸⁶ Neither St. Gall 75 nor Monza G.1 Bibles feature any images apart from aniconic floral decoration.

(Trésor de la Cathedral, Θ^A), its “twin”, the Mesmianus Codex⁸⁷ (Paris BN cod. lat. 9380, Θ^M), the St. Germain-des-Prés Bible (Paris BN cod. lat. 11937, Θ^G), and a Bible whose provenance is tentatively attributed to Carcassonne, now in Copenhagen (Königliche Bibliothek, Ny Kgl. S. Nr. 1, Θ^K).⁸⁸ While of similar size (roughly 34 x 24cm), these Bibles exhibit a different style of manuscript layout: two columns instead of three, an exponential increase in marginal notation, and indisputably more emphasis on decoration and illustration. It is within these Bibles that we also see the standard “scholastic” features of the Theodulf Bibles, particularly when compared to the later Tours pandects. Written in a Visigothic form of minuscule, with approximately 60-62 lines per page, the “denseness” of these manuscripts is evident. Despite this, both manuscripts’ purple-dyed pages and heavier reliance on decoration indicate these manuscripts were either intended as a gift or had an intended audience beyond solely personal use.⁸⁹

What should attract our attention about all of Theodulf’s Bibles, especially in comparison to Alcuin’s, is the clarity of script. Although Theodulf’s Bibles adhere to what has been termed by Fischer and Ganz as a “Visigothic minuscule”, the regularity of script, along with minimal abbreviations lends itself to an emphasis on visual clarity.⁹⁰ Similarly in the two manuscripts attributed to Alcuin, the St. Gall and Monza texts, we find early examples of what will become the standard Tournonian minuscule, lauded for its regularity.⁹¹ As with their exhortations for improvements on spelling and grammar, so too do

⁸⁷ This name originates in the name of the family Mesmes who owned the text from the period of the Benedictines and bequeathed it to the Bibliotheque Nationale. S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate* (Nancy, 1893), p. 149.

⁸⁸ E. Dahlhous-Berg, *Nova antiquitas et antiqua novitas*, p. 52-3.

⁸⁹ It has also been suggested that the small script used in the Theodulfian bibles was an appropriation of an Italian format, advocated by Cassiodorus as the *miniutior manus* in his “coenobium Vivariense” (hunc autem pandecten propter copiam lectionis minutiore manu in quaternionibus quinquaginta tribus aestimavimus conscribendum, ut quod lectio copiosa tetendit, scripturae densitas adunata contraheret). This conclusion, although tentatively supported by both Henri Quentin and Bonifatius Fischer, is without evidential basis and there is no physical evidence to indicate that Theodulf had ever encountered a textual example from *Vivarium*. Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, (ed.) R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1937), p. 40. M. Bassetti, ‘Le Bibbie imperiali d’eta carolingia ed ottoniana’ in (ed.) P. Cherubini, *Forme e Modelli della tradizione manoscritta della bibbia*, p. 194. H. Quentin, *Mémoires sur l’établissement*, p. 250, 252. B. Fischer, ‘Bibelausgaben des fruhen Mittelalters’, p. 594.

⁹⁰ B. Fischer, “Bibeltex and bibelreform”, p. 178. D. Ganz, ‘Mass Production of early medieval manuscripts’, p. 60.

⁹¹ D. Ganz, ‘Mass Production of early medieval manuscripts’, p. 60.

we find Alcuin and Theodulf concerned with other aspects that might impinge on the reader's "visible" comprehension of the text.

When we look at Theodulf's Mesmianus Codex and Le Puy Bible, we see a dramatic improvement in terms of spelling and grammar as well as a diversification and increased complexity in Theodulf's variant notational system. Although the Le Puy Bible is restricted to the "al" (*aliter*) notation we noticed earlier in the Stuttgart and Hubertian Codex, the Mesmianus Codex contains a new highly diversified system, including "s" (*spanicus*), "a" (*alcuinus*), ij (*alcuinus* and *spanicus*) and "al" (*aliter*).⁹² Although the St. Germain-des-Prés and Copenhagen Bibles reflect by far the most glossing on the biblical text, these two comparatively late Bibles feature only Hebraic variants in Theodulf's notational system (designated with an "h").⁹³ The diversity in this notational system has yet to be explained conclusively; however, it may indicate the commissioning of these Bibles by specific patrons, those with particular interests in specific revisions or editions of the Bible (e.g. Hebrew, Spanish, etc.). The system does not show any cohesive development in one direction or another (e.g. the *aliter* notation is used consistently; however, Hebraic variants appear in no other Bibles except the St. Germain-des-Prés and Copenhagen Bibles nor does the Spanish notation appear anywhere except the Mesmianus Codex). When compared to the other group of Theodulf's Bibles, there appears to be a vastly different style and purpose for the text in each manuscript. The Le Puy Bible and Mesmianus Codex, perhaps the two most similar manuscripts in the Theodulf collection, contain different types of notational variants. Oddly, despite the visual similarities of the two Bibles in terms of decoration, differences such as marginal variants and even dependence on *Vetus Latina* material render the two far more distinct than a first glance might suggest. Such a distinction in variant notation has led to various theories regarding the relative age of the two codices, with the tentative conclusion that, as Le Puy features fewer variants, it is the older of the two.⁹⁴

⁹² E. Dahlhous-Berg, *Nova antiquitas et antiqua novitas*, p. 52-3.

⁹³ *Ibid*, p. 52-3.

⁹⁴ B. Fischer, 'Bibeltext und Bibelreform', p. 178.

The complexities of Theodulf's variant notation is just one of the many elements complicating the establishment of a firm chronology of his manuscripts. What is evident is that Theodulf, or those working under him, were compiling variant biblical texts specifically—collating them with established revisions of the Vulgate material based on the types of regional variants they encountered via their local scriptorium. As we can see from the above evidence, in contrast to the Alcuinian textual tradition in Tours which 'remained static', Theodulf's Bibles show a constant state of revision.⁹⁵ These manuscripts also show a concern for the incorporation of well-known "versions" of the emended biblical text, such as his inclusion of Alcuin's edition upon its presentation to Charlemagne ca. 800.⁹⁶ As opposed to Alcuin's associations with the Tours monastery, whose particular visual or decorative characteristics make identification relatively easy, Theodulf's Bibles do not adhere to an easily recognizable visual format (except for the few full-page cross designs as contained in the Le Puy Bible and Mesmianus Codex). Despite such discrepancies between the Bibles, Bonifatius Fischer, whose landmark study of Carolingian Bibles during the 1960s remains essential for study of this period, described the Theodulfian Bibles as a closed group, all written presumably within a short period of time within the same scriptorium.⁹⁷

Yet, which scriptorium produced these Bibles? The wealthy holdings of both Fleury and Orleans have been suggested as possible origins of Theodulf's Bibles, as his appropriation of various biblical traditions indicates he had access to a wide variety of both Vulgate and *Vetus Latina* texts.⁹⁸ If we use the Le Puy Bible as an example, dated to the first two decades of the ninth century, then we can compare this manuscript to its contemporaries at the scriptoria of Fleury and Orléans.⁹⁹ Fleury however provides its own complexities in terms of dating and provenance as we are left with few datable manuscripts from this period at

⁹⁵ As we discuss above, see footnote 49-51.

⁹⁶ M. Vieillard-Troi, 'Les Bibles de Theodulphe', p. 160

⁹⁷ B. Fischer, *Bibeltext und Bibelreform*, p. 175-76.

⁹⁸ Textually, Theodulf's Bibles show a range of geographical influences, including Spain, Italy and Northumbria. We shall discuss these in depth in a later section. Loewe, "Medieval History of the Latin Vulgate", p. 106. B. Fischer, *Bibeltext und Bibelreform*, p. 175-76.

⁹⁹ B. Fischer, *Bibeltext und Bibelreform*, p. 177.

the monastery.¹⁰⁰ Instead of products of the scriptorium itself, paleographical evidence indicates that the majority of the manuscript holdings at Fleury before the middle of the ninth century were importations from Italy. Only one manuscript, Paris N.A. Lat. 1597 (Lowe's V 687) can be treated as a "home product" of the scriptoria and dated to roughly the later years of the eighth century or the very early part of the ninth, thanks to a marginal ex-libris on foll. 3v and 180v, "Dodo fieri iussit" and "Dodo fieri rogavit".¹⁰¹ But beyond this scant evidence of a "home style" for Fleury, we must look to the Italian holdings of the Fleury library to ascertain any influences on style, spelling, or content with both the Paris 1597 manuscript as well as the Le Puy Bible. From the paleographical description Lowe provides to this manuscript, it might be unlikely that a Fleury provenance for the Le Puy Bible can be ascribed. Paris Lat. 1597, an exposition of patristic authors on the Old and New Testament, while roughly the same size as the Le Puy Bible features a completely different pattern of organizing the line length and column number on the page.

Unfortunately, only scant evidence can be found to support any other nearby scriptorium as the origin of Theodulf's Bibles. Although Fleury during the early ninth century was well-established as a scriptorium, Theodulf's connection with it cannot be proven to the extent that would explain the production of these Bibles.¹⁰² In addition, if we look to Theodulf's episcopal church at Sainte-Croix in Orleans, we do not find any evidence of an established scriptorium during the period.¹⁰³ In order to produce such complex and ornate manuscripts such as the Le Puy and Paris codices, Theodulf would have needed to build a school from scratch in this location, one which has not left any trace of its existence during this time.¹⁰⁴ A similar condemning case could be made for St-Mesmin-de-Micy in terms of manuscript production, although for this period

¹⁰⁰ E.A. Loewe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, Vol VI, xx.

¹⁰¹ Loewe assumes that Dodo was an eighth century abbot of Fleury. E.A. Loewe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, Vol V, no. 687.

¹⁰² E. Dahlhaus-Berg, *Nova antiquitas et antiqua novitas*, p. 64

¹⁰³ The only evidence of a scriptorium in this location during the time is an "ex libris" in miniscule, dated to the eighth century found in Orleans 192 (169), f. 34-36, (CLA 6.816). B. Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, p. 31

¹⁰⁴ Bernhard Bischoff adhered to the theory that the majority of Theodulfian Bibles originated from Orleans (at least Le Puy, Paris lat. 9380, London Add. 24142 and Paris lat. 11937). B. Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries*, p. 31.

we do have evidence of both writing within the convent school and the preservation of manuscripts (which led David Ganz to see Theodulf's Bibles as a product of this location).¹⁰⁵ Yet Bischoff rejected any identification of manuscripts with Micy prior to the tenth century, which again leaves the question unresolved as to any definitive origin of the manuscripts.¹⁰⁶ But, whether stemming from Fleury or (less likely) one of these other scriptoria, these manuscripts are certainly the work of Theodulf.

The Le Puy Bible and the Mesmianus Codex

Having briefly examined the orthography and visual aspects of Theodulf's Bibles, we need now to discuss the two surviving complete Bibles in depth. This will allow us to contextualize his biblical revision within the ontological framework discussed by Theodulf in his other treatises at the Carolingian court. We turn to these Bibles to look at their decoration and organization, but also because they feature extensive appendix material chosen by Theodulf to accompany Scripture.¹⁰⁷ In these Bibles we have an excellent demonstration of Theodulf's biblical agenda (in the appropriation of both Vulgate and *Vetus Latina* material) within a (comparatively) highly decorated and luxury manuscript, intended for display. Theodulf's verses as contained within these Bibles also provide us a more direct means of examining his perspective towards the texts. Through an investigation of both the separate elements of the Bible (gloss, biblical text, appendices, decoration, binding, etc.) and the manuscript as a whole, the complexities of Theodulf's understanding of the spiritual use of such a manuscript (and more generally its role in Carolingian culture) can perhaps be better understood. Despite the plethora of questions surrounding the origin and relationship of these two Bibles, the most significant study comparing them

¹⁰⁵ D. Ganz, 'Mass Production', p. 53.

¹⁰⁶ Although Homburger insisted that Berne 233 and Berne 312 were copied at Micy, Bischoff argues that their *ex-libris* date from the tenth century at the earliest. The only ninth-century codex Bischoff is willing to grant a possible Micy origin is Valenciennes 247, which contains works by Augustine, Ambrose, and Alcuin and was written by the scribe Aiglulfus for an abbot named Remigius. B. Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries*, p. 31. O. Homburger, *Die illustrierten Handschriften der Burgerbibliothek Bern: die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften* (Bern, 1962), pp. 57-8.

¹⁰⁷ Theodulf's role in choosing this material is based on the arrangement of the manuscripts and the inclusion of poems written by him that refer to the appendix material specifically. We shall discuss this in depth in a subsequent section. See footnote 150 below.

remains Leopold Delisle and Samuel Berger's work in the late nineteenth century.¹⁰⁸ It is necessary to discuss the shared features of both Bibles, particularly in demonstrating how both Bibles either conform to or deviate from established models of biblical manuscripts for the period.

The intended recipient for these two manuscripts is still unfortunately unknown (although there is still a strong argument that the Le Puy Bible was specifically designed for the church there). Despite their appellation as "scholastic" manuscripts, the costly material of purple-dyed pages and gold and silver ink provide fairly strong indications that these manuscripts were not intended for common use. The purple-dyed pages can be found on the verse and prose prefaces to the manuscript; in addition to the pages of the Gospels and the Explicit page containing Theodulf's concluding poem. Floral plaiting, arguably in the Spanish style, can be found in the Canon Tables. See Appendix III for more detail. We should also mention the cloth 'tissues' found within the Le Puy Bible, ostensibly to protect the gold leaf from touching the other parchment. These tissues, of which sixteen survived, were studied thoroughly by P. Hedde and F. Michel at the end of the nineteenth century and again in 1950 by R. Pfister.¹⁰⁹ Their conclusions were that the cloth "pages" were constructed at approximately the same time as the Bible and inserted upon its completion as a protective measure. The surviving woven colours and figures on these cloth pages may indicate that these were also considered as further "decorative" elements of the Bible. The design style of the pages is Eastern or Arabic (predominantly pillars and plaiting of an aniconic style), as is the cloth (that typically used for scarves or turbans). This may indicate a further connection to Spanish goods or at the least Muslim decorative styles; however, without a first hand look at these cloth pages, any conclusion is tentative.

Elisabeth Dalhaus-Berg's work is a noteworthy examination of Theodulf's spiritual writing, deconstructing the multivalent elements present in his Bibles, noting the subtle linked meanings of the binding, the inclusion of Theodulf's

¹⁰⁸ L. Delisle, "Les Bibles de Theodulfe," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 40 (1879): 5-47. S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, pp. 151-175.

¹⁰⁹ R. Pfister, 'Les Tissus Orientaux de la Bible de Theodulfe' in *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum*, Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute, Vol. II (Washington, 1950), p. 503. F. Michel, *Recherches sur le Commerce, etc., des étoffes de soie, d'or et d'argent* (1852).

poetry, the order of the various books of the Old and New Testament, and the texts of the appendices to the two manuscripts.¹¹⁰ Dalhaus-Berg constructs an insightful argument using both the Le Puy Bible and Mesmianus Codex as a means of understanding Theodulf's agenda within his biblical revision on the spiritual meaning of written language.¹¹¹ Using the hermeneutic agenda advocated by the patristic fathers (specifically Augustine), she examines the appendix texts as a means of Theodulf's programme for biblical exegesis. Yet she does not link this philosophy conclusively to the semiotic or ontological context of either his work in the *Opus Caroli regis contra Synodum* nor the overall programme of language during the late eighth century. These manuscripts may be explicit examples of the growing exegetical framework of the Carolingian period, but without a study of the relationship between semiotics and man's divine *ratio*, such analysis is incomplete. A comprehensive examination of each manuscript, including the appendix texts, reveals Theodulf's emphasis on linguistic introspection rather than any formal or externally applied concept of *unitas*, just as we saw in Alcuin's case earlier. As Massimiliano Bassetti has stated, Theodulf designed each biblical manuscript to be a "Bibbia aperta", an open Bible, in which the reader could discern the various stages of revision and refinement made by Theodulf (or the employed scribe) and, thanks to one's God-given ability to discern the divine, he (or she) would be able to glean the truth from each biblical passage.¹¹²

Theodulf's introductory poem, *Praefatio Bibliothecae*, to both the Le Puy and Mesmianus Codex, is arguably his most lasting contribution to Frankish biblical manuscripts, for it is included in a number of subsequent codices from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries.¹¹³ Within both codices, the poem is written

¹¹⁰ E. Dalhaus-Berg, *Nova Antiquitas et Antiqua Novitas*, p. 71.

¹¹¹ This is to be differentiated from spoken language, which has its own spiritual implications. Ibid, p. 69-88.

¹¹² M. Bassetti, 'Le Bibbie Imperiali', p. 194.

¹¹³ Apart from the Paris and Le Puy Bibles, these include: St. Gall 197, Paris, lat. 2832, London Harley 2798, Paris lat 2., Paris lat. 53, Paris lat. 57, Paris, lat. 60, Paris, lat. 15177, and Rothomagensis 7, and many others. Theodulf, Carmen 41, *MGH, Carmina, Poetae 1*, p. 532-540, E. Dalhaus-Berg, *nova antiquitas et antiqua novitas*, p. 69-88. D. Schaller, "Philologische Untersuchungen zu den Gedichten Theodulfs von Orleans," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 18 (1962), p. 16 (Table).

in a cross shape, in silver uncial on purple-dyed parchment.¹¹⁴ These verses are adopted from the style of Isidore's *Prooemia in libros Veteris ac Novi Testamenti* and material from the *Etymologies* (Book VI, chapter 2) in which he discusses the history of the books of the Bible and their individual meanings.¹¹⁵ The poem thus becomes a short summary of the Bible, providing didactic explanations of the meanings of each book and the order in which they can be found. Theodulf also includes the means by which humans can understand the Bible, referencing the relationship between word, image, and the rational human mind. The poem contains a number of verses on the means by which one can apply one's senses (and in particular one's *ratio*) to the reading of Scripture.

The education is powerful and conquers all other knowledge,
 Nothing under the axis of heaven is strong enough to equal it.
 If you desire to bring something to it either with sense or with
 art,
 Such as the earth desiring to bring something to the sky, thus
 this sacrifices for it.
 Whatever mundane thing is learned by skill in the secular arts,
 Here it runs more freely along a path.
 Because what is guarded by reason (*ratione*), or whatever is
 loved in those things,
 Travels from this fountain, whose [waters] emanate from the
 river.¹¹⁶

Such phrasing (and the very title of Theodulf's poem) emphasizes the role the divine *ratio* plays in interpretation, but more specifically, how it interacts with the secular arts in the context of all human knowledge. The biblical text represents the perfect dualistic union between secular and sacred forms of knowledge; for Theodulf, the Bible represented a compendium of wisdom, lacking "no good thing".¹¹⁷ Additionally, the use and proliferation of the term *bibliotheca*

¹¹⁴ Fol. 1v in both the Le Puy Bible and the Mesmianus Codex, see Appendix III for more detail.

¹¹⁵ Isidore of Seville, *Prooemia in libros Veteris ac Novi Testamenti*, PL 83: 155-180.

¹¹⁶ Est doctrina potens, superansque scientia cunctas,/ Cui valet aequari nulla sub axe poli./ Cui si quam cupias sensu conferre vel arte,/ Ut caelo tellus, haec ita caedet ei./ Quicquid in ingenuis mundana discitur arte/ Artibus, hic currit liberiore via./ Quod ratione viget, vel quicquid amatur in illis,/ Hoc a fonte meat, huius ab amne fluit. Theodulf, Carmen 41, *MGH Poetae I*, p. 536, verses 151-160.

¹¹⁷ "Est enim thesaurus nullo bono carens, omnibus bonis redundans, ad quem quisquis devotus accedit, quicquid fideliter quaerit, feliciter se adquisisse gaudet." Theodulf of Orleans. *MGH Opus Caroli contra Synodum*. Conc. 2, Suppl. 1, Lib. 2, cap. 30, pag. 312-3, lin. 28-18.

during this period as a referent to the Bible is understandable within this context: as both Alcuin and Theodulf use this terminology to refer to Scripture.¹¹⁸

Both manuscripts contain an introductory passage, taken from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, in which is explained the various texts of the Bible, ranging from explanations of the Old and New Testaments to descriptions of parchment, wax tablets, and the role of translators.¹¹⁹ The inclusion of such material within both codices is fairly rare within Frankish biblical texts; however, it can be found in almost contemporaneous Spanish material, such as in the first bible of Alcalá, a somewhat later contemporary of the Cava Bible.¹²⁰ Whether or not this was a "standard" Spanish element however is not necessarily relevant for our discussion. Rather the inclusion of such pedagogical or explanatory material, presented in such an opulent manner, emphasizes the relationship between the physical text and the mental understanding inherent to the biblical text. Isidore's Book VI delineates the history of the physical text; however, it also emphasizes the mental interpretation needed to understand the underlying meaning known to be contained within.¹²¹

Each manuscript features a division of the biblical books according to six classes: laws, prophets, hagiography, books not included in the Hebrew canon, evangelists, and apostolic books.¹²² Theodulf displays an editor's ruthlessness in determining which books of the Bible to incorporate. None of the Apocrypha appear in his codices (such as the III and IV book of Esdra, the III Letter to the Corinthians, or the Letter to the Laodiceans).¹²³ Such texts may not have been available to Theodulf (particularly due to their non-canonical status) as Alcuin's original revision similarly does not feature them and they were only appended to

¹¹⁸ "A foris in prima tabula Bibliothecae. Qui sim nosse volens, scita Bibliotheca dicar./Et Veteris Legis ius veho sive Novae" Theodulf, Carm. 42, *MGH Poetae I*, p. 541, "Nomine Pandecten proprio vocitare memento/ hoc corpus sacrum, lector, in ore tuo./ quod nunc a multis constat Bibliotheca dicta./ nomine non proprio ut lingua pelasga docet." Alcuin, Carmen 65: *Inscriptio sacri codicis: ad Carolum et jussu Caroli conditum; MGH Poetae I*, p. 283. A. Mundó. "Biblioteca' Bible et Lecture du Carême d'Après Saint Benoît," *Revue Bénédictine* 60 (1950), pp. 76-77.

¹¹⁹ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*. Book VI, i-xi. Pl 82: 229a.

¹²⁰ S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 151.

¹²¹ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*. Book VI, i-xi. Pl 82: 229a.

¹²² This method is adopted from the Hebrew canon and was not altered in Jerome's revision. For a thorough comparison of these two texts in Theodulf's manuscripts, consult Appendix III.

¹²³ M. Bassetti, 'Le Bibbie Imperiali', p. 195.

the recension under Alcuin's successor Fridugisus.¹²⁴ But similarities between Alcuinian and Theodulfian codices may often be merely a matter of coincidence. As opposed to Alcuin's inclusion of the Gallican Psalter, Theodulf upholds Jerome's *Iuxta Hebraeos*, again a predominantly Spanish feature.¹²⁵ Yet Theodulf's so-called dependence on or affiliation with Spanish texts does not adequately describe his methods of appropriation for these texts. The summaries he includes for the books of Pentateuch (excepting Genesis, Judges, and Joshua) are found nowhere else except the *Codex Amiatinus*, a seeming connection to the Northumbrian influence (and also to that of Alcuin).¹²⁶ The inclusion of the book of Baruch (as we mentioned above) also demonstrates a loyalty or affiliation to Spanish material, although following Theodulf's manuscripts, it was increasingly found in Frankish manuscripts during the ninth century, such as the Vienne Bible (Berne A.9).¹²⁷ When we look to the texts of the Evangelists, Theodulf seemingly changes from a dependence on Spanish material to that of predominantly Irish or Anglo-Saxon influence. Is this due to the influence of Alcuin? One cannot be sure, except that Theodulf clearly is appropriating material from a variety of texts, not merely one. Perhaps the most evident distinction between other Frankish biblical manuscripts and those of Theodulf's is the inclusion of Priscillian's canon tables included prior to the letters of St. Paul and the *Vetus Latina* interpolations into Proverbs, again demonstrating a predominantly Spanish tradition.¹²⁸

How to explain the apparent randomness of Theodulf's revision? The questions that have plagued Carolingian historians for decades, can be easily addressed if we refrain from associating the Carolingian programme of *correctio* with that of *unitas*. We can also situate this within the framework of the linguistic epistemology we have been discussing. Similar to the grammar and spelling revisions emphasized by Carolingian *correctio*, the selection of which "version" of the Bible to incorporate was a question of readability rather than

¹²⁴ D. Ganz, "Mass Production of early medieval manuscripts" p. 57.

¹²⁵ Again, this element is mirrored in many Spanish texts, such as the later tenth century Codex Toletanus. L. Light, "Versione et révisions", p. 65.

¹²⁶ S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 151.

¹²⁷ Ibid, p. 154.

¹²⁸ Ibid, p. 159. R. Loewe, "The Medieval History of the Latin Vulgate", p. 122.

any programme of preserving a particular layout or even word choice in the text. The numerous *Vetus Latina* interpolations made to the Vulgate, alongside the apparent freedom to move books, chapters, and canon tables according to one's personal preferences within these manuscripts, shows that neither Alcuin nor Theodulf believed in the fundamental sacrality of maintaining the precise word choices of earlier editions of the text. Phrasing, word choice, and order of books were considered material (and superficial) elements, ones that could not affect the underlying divine wisdom inherent to the text. By virtue of their divine *ratio*, humans had the ability to see beyond the physical attributes of the text, in a sense, seeing beyond the "body" of the Bible to its "soul".

We should also contextualize Theodulf's notational system within his overall programme of biblical revision. Although this system is present in each of the manuscripts (and shows considerable variation), the use of marginal symbols to indicate the origins of a particular text is an unusual one for a biblical manuscript. The only other prominent example of this technique might be found in the text of the *Liber Glossarum*, the Carolingian medieval "encyclopedia" presumed to have been compiled during this time. The oldest known manuscript of this work is arguably attributed to Adalhard of Corbie (781-826) and perhaps was known to Theodulf at Fleury. Notational symbols were used in this text to indicate geographical origins of material, as we saw in Theodulf, or also explanations of etymologies or foreign vocabulary. This parallels the material found in Theodulf's appendixes, which we shall discuss in depth in a subsequent section.¹²⁹ Such similarities lend themselves to the pervading idea that Theodulf was not compiling a Bible that was to be considered orthodox in its selection of texts, but rather to provide an "encyclopedic" approach to biblical variants. Adherence to one particular version of text was not necessary for its "literal" truth; but rather, a multitude of different versions could provide the same spiritual guidance for the reader. Theodulf's agenda for the Bible was thus not predicated upon providing an orthodox version, but rather an explanation or examples of variation in order to show the most comprehensive aspect to the

¹²⁹ D. Ganz, "The *Liber Glossarum*: A Carolingian Encyclopedia" in *Science in Western and Eastern Civilization in Carolingian Times*, (eds.) P. Butzer & D. Lohrmann (Birkhäuser Verlag, 1993), p. 132. See footnote 140 below.

text.

Theodulf's lack of concern for "unity" can perhaps best be seen in the apparent "twin" Bibles of the Mesmianus Codex and Le Puy Bible.¹³⁰ Even these two Bibles, which appear on the surface to be identical, in terms of canon tables, decoration, introductory and concluding poems, and organization of biblical books, reveal a wealth of differences between them. Textually, the Bibles adhere to different biblical traditions: while the Paris manuscript features a consistent and generally structured Latin, the Le Puy manuscript features many more of the orthographical variants common to Visigothic texts, resembling nothing so much as the Codex Cavensis.¹³¹ The Mesmianus Codex also demonstrates a much higher standard in terms of Latin orthography: its writing is overall clearer and with far fewer corrections than the Le Puy Bible.¹³²

Alongside their comparatively high level of decoration (in contrast to the other Theodulf manuscripts) and luxurious purple pages, the two surviving pandects are perhaps best known for their appendix texts (four in total: Isidore of Seville's *Chronicon*, Eucherius of Lyon's *Instructionum ad Salonium*, the *Clavis Melitonis*, and the pseudo-Augustine *Speculum*), which precede Theodulf's poem at the end of the manuscript.¹³³ Just as in his prefatory poem, and as we saw in Alcuin's verse, the poem features clear reference to the dichotomy of the visible/invisible; the Bible acting as the corporeal "body" for divine wisdom: containing all aspects of secular knowledge and practical action for mankind. Theodulf relies on the vocabulary of the body frequently to describe both the manuscript itself and the "totality" of the Bible's wisdom.¹³⁴ Simultaneously, Theodulf refers to the appendix material as part of his overall biblical revision project:

¹³⁰ A full listing of both the Bibles' contents can be found in Appendix III.

¹³¹ S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 150.

¹³² E. Dalhaus-Berg, *Nova Antiquitas et Antiqua Novitas*, p. 71.

¹³³ Theodulf, Carmen 41, *MGH Poetae aevi Karolini I* 1, 2 p. 538-40.

¹³⁴ "Corpore sub parvo mysteria magna retentant/ Heae res, quas limes codicis huius habet." Theodulf, Carmen 41, 2 *MGH Poetae aevi Karolini I* 1 2, p. 539, vers. 19-20.

Theodulf built the work of this codex with love
in which here its blessed law resounds.
For its covers shine with gold and purple, having been adorned
with gems
Nevertheless it glitters more splendidly with inner grace.
After where you read about the volumes of catholic laws which
ought to be venerated,
you find the writing contains a small treatise.
Namely the beginning contains a preface from that same man
Who constructed the work by means of the fathers and kings.¹³⁵

This poem illustrates the intention to include the material during the compilation of the manuscript and refers specifically to many of the texts contained in the appendix material. The verses above, for example, describe Isidore of Seville's *Chronicon*, the first of Theodulf's appendix texts. The following verses contain either direct or indirect references to the rest of the appendix material: "Here the names of the Hebrew language are opened, which the famous man made use of in the sacred law" refers to the second book of Eucherius of Lyons' *Instructionum ad Salonium*.¹³⁶ The next verses describe both the collection of allegorical vocabulary, known as the *Clavis Melitonis*, and the biblical reference list, referred to as the pseudo-Augustinian *Speculum* (the two works are not divided within the Le Puy manuscript):

A small forest is constructed from the Latin names
Which bears the heavy weight of a great fruit.
These great mysterious things are retained within this small
book
Which the borders of this codex contain.¹³⁷

Not since Delisle's examination of the manuscript in the late nineteenth century have these manuscripts been studied in detail in comparison to each other,

¹³⁵ Codicis hujus opus struxit Theodulus amore/ Illius hic cujus lex benedicta tonat./ Nam foris hoc gemmis, auro splendet et ostro./ Splendidiore tamen intus honore micat. Quo post catholicae veneranda volumina legis/ Parva tenet modicum scriptio, cerne, locum./ Scilicet initio sumens exordia ab ipso/ Per patrum et regum nomina texit opus. Theodulf, Carmen 41, *MGH Poetae 1 2*, p. 539, vers 1-10. The poem is located on fol. 347v in the Le Puy Bible and 348v in the Mesmianus Codex.

¹³⁶ Hinc adaperta sedent Hebraeae nomina linguae, Quae sacrae legis inclitus usus habet. Theodulf, Carmen 41, *MGH Poetae 1 2*, p. 539, vers 13-14.

¹³⁷ Conficitur Latio de nomine silvula parva,/ Quae magni fructus pondera digna vehit./ Corpore sub parvo mysteria magna retentant/ Heae res, quas limes codicis huius habet. Theodulf, Carmen 41, *MGH Poetae 1 2*, p. 539, vers 17-20. We will explore the nature of these texts in depth in a subsequent section.

which is a shame, as they are some of the finer examples of Theodulf's attitude toward biblical study and revision.¹³⁸ Ann Freeman, in one of her early articles in *Speculum*, comments on the need to look at particular elements of the appendices in depth, a task we set ourselves as a crucial part of establishing Theodulf's linguistic epistemology.¹³⁹ While often obscure, Theodulf's edition of some of these texts, the *Clavis Melitonis* in particular, are the earliest surviving versions and often can be found in no other Carolingian text. Elisabeth Dalhaus-Berg briefly touches on the potential applicability of the appendix texts to Theodulf's general theological program; however, her work does not feature an in-depth study of the appendix texts in and of themselves.

The Appendix Texts

Theodulf's appendix texts have long been described as a *Hilfsmittel*, a pedagogical tool for those looking for specific interpretative or thematic elements to biblical passages.¹⁴⁰ The four texts contained in both the Le Puy Bible and the Mesmianus Codex certainly adhere to the increasingly hierarchical style of biblical exegesis, popularized by the patristic fathers.¹⁴¹ Although, as we have seen, a new promotion of the textual aspects of the Bible (grammar, spelling, etc.) often characterizes the work of the Carolingian scholars, this complemented an increasing appreciation for a systematic means of reading *beyond* the words of the manuscript. A renewed appreciation for Jerome highlights this new perspective: not only his work on the translation of the text, but his examination of Scripture's figurative and allegorical meanings, as he said, the "specialized lore of spiritual understanding."¹⁴² The further duality of both a textual and

¹³⁸ This, of course, excludes the general studies of Theodulf's Bibles conducted by Dahlhaus-Berg and Fischer. E. Dalhaus-Berg, *Nova Antiquitas et Antiqua Novitas*, p. 71. B. Fischer, 'Bibelausgaben des fruhen Mittelalters' and his 'Bibeltext und Bibelreform unter Karl dem Grossen', p. 210.

¹³⁹ A. Freeman, 'Further Studies in the *Libri Carolini* I' *Speculum* 40 (1965), p. 258.

¹⁴⁰ J. Contreni, 'Carolingian Biblical Studies', p. 79.

¹⁴¹ H. De Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, (trans.) Mark Sebanc, Vol II. (Edinburgh, 1998), p. 14-33.

¹⁴² "spiritualis intelligentiae sacramenta". Jerome, *Commentariorum in Hiezechielem Libri XIV*, 13.42.13, in (ed.) F. Glorie, *S. Hieronymi presbyteri opera*, pt. 1, *Opera exegetica*, vol. 4, CCSL 75 (Turnhout, 1965), pp. 615-616.

spiritual appreciation of the biblical text contextualizes our understanding of Theodulf's appendices.

The multiple meanings of Scripture find their origins in the work of Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Augustine (although the sentiment is echoed throughout patristic writing) and had considerable influence among the writers of the early medieval period.¹⁴³ But inherently each of these writers relies on an assumption of a semiotic system of language, a topic espoused by their pagan philosophical predecessors: most influentially Aristotle, Plato, and the Stoics.¹⁴⁴ By the early medieval period, Augustine had emerged as a major influence on the development of a hierarchy of exegetical interpretation. Augustine advocated a four-fold sense of Scripture, as seen in his *De Utilitate credendi*: historical, etiological, anagogical, and allegorical.¹⁴⁵ Yet this early explication depended more on the alliance between the two Testaments (in terms of the New Testament as a fulfilment of the Old), a means by which the two halves of the Bible complemented one another. Augustine expanded this mode of interpretation in his later *De Genesi ad litteram imperfectus liber* in which he explained the interpretative styles more fully and advocated the application in a more widespread context:

¹⁴³ The background to this topic is understandably cosmic. In terms of primary sources, the multiple meanings of Scripture in the above writers can best be found in: Chapter 28 of Clement of Alexandria's "Stromata". *The writings of Clement of Alexandria*, (trans.) W. Wilson, Vol. I (Edinburgh, 1882-1884), in Origen's *Periarchôn* (*On the Principles* translated into Latin by Rufinus). *De Principiis*, (ed. & trans.) G.W. Butterworth (Gloucester, Mass, 1973), and found in a number of Augustine's treatises (which we shall explain), *De utilitate credendi*, *De genesi ad litteram*, and *De vera religione*. Reiterations of the multiple meanings to Scripture can be found throughout Christian writing in the early medieval period, including Gregory the Great ("thus working from the basis of one, single, unitary knowledge of Sacred Scripture, expositors make use of innumerable understanding to fashion various ornaments, as it were, all of which are of profit to adorn the heavenly spouse" *Epistolae* Bk 3, 67, PL 76: 668AB), Isidore of Seville ("The language of the Lord is adapted to each individual according to the capacity of his understanding. And while this language of the Lord is diverse, in that it is adapted to the understanding of each and every person, in itself, however, it remains one." *Sententiae*, Book 1, c. 18, n. 5, PL 83: 576BC) to eighth century Ireland ("The eloquence of Sacred Scripture takes many shapes and its meanings are many and varied...", De Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, Vol. I, p. 31). Secondary work on the subject is also considerable, but perhaps best encapsulated by H. De Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*.

¹⁴⁴ See our discussion in Chapter Two.

¹⁴⁵ Augustine, *De utilitate credendi*, PL 42: 68.

History is when a deed that has been done on the part of either God or man is recounted. Allegory is when the words are understood figuratively. Analogy is when harmonious agreement between the Old and New Testaments is shown. Etiology is when the causes of the words and deeds are rendered.¹⁴⁶

Of course, from the period of Augustine to that of Theodulf, the means of interpreting Scripture had seen a wealth of various corollary views or divergent approaches, some based loosely on Augustine's model, others taking a more complicated and multi-step approach (for example, a six or seven-layered method of interpretation was advocated by Primasius, bishop of Hadrumetum (d. ca. 560), cited by Theodulf in the *Opus Caroli*).¹⁴⁷ The diversity of layers of interpretation during the early medieval period indicates the relative freedom biblical interpreters felt in advocating one system over another. Although all confirm the divinity inherent to the text, the means by which one could acquire this knowledge could be taken by a variety of routes. Fundamentally this was due to the semiotic nature of each of these styles. Regardless of the system the given writer would promote, each was associated with the "literality" of the text, that is, the words themselves. Each system was designed to elevate the reader to a metaphysical understanding of the text (i.e. the divine transcendent aspect to Scripture), that is, to move the reader beyond the words on the page.

As we have discussed in Chapter Two, the philosophy expressed in such works as the *De Imagine Dei* and the ontology discussed by Augustine had advocated man's creation in the image and likeness of God (based on Genesis 1:27). The *ratio* provided man the ability to inherently understand divine wisdom on a level beyond human language. Yet our abilities in this regard were flawed and, according to Augustine and Gregory the Great, this sense of understanding had been impaired by Original Sin, creating the need for God to communicate via

¹⁴⁶ "Historia est, cum sive divinitus sive humanitus res gesta commemoratur. Allegoria, cum figurate dicta intelliguntur. Analogia, cum veteris et novi Testamentorum congruentia demonstratur. Aetiologia, cum dictorum factorumque causae redduntur." Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram imperfectus liber*. PL 34:222.

¹⁴⁷ Primasius, *Commentariorum super Apocalypsim*, PL 68: 822c. Theodulf does not quote the section relating to the seven-fold method of interpretation, but rather on the prudent reader's ability to discern the appropriate meaning of Scripture, found in *OC* Book I, c. 1, n. 1.

human language.¹⁴⁸ Accordingly, spiritual understanding now had to come via “aids”, e.g. the divine wisdom via the written words of the Bible. By studying the literal elements (i.e. the language) of the Bible, the aid provided by God for the imperfect *ratio*, one could “re-awaken” this divine sense, and hopefully glean some element of God’s divine wisdom, as Augustine said: “Though he is everywhere present to the inner eye when it is sound and clear, [God] condescended to make himself manifest to the outward eye of those whose inward sight is weak and dim.”¹⁴⁹ In order to do so, however, a hierarchical system of linguistic interpretation was necessary. Assisted by a hierarchy of secular disciplines, the human reader could eventually move beyond “visible” language to the “invisible” underlying divine meaning. Alongside the wealth of exegetical material produced during this time, Theodulf’s appendix texts demonstrate the application of this hierarchical format. By including these texts within his biblical pandects, Theodulf demonstrates the fusion between his revision of the biblical text itself (from a linguistic perspective) and the application of semiotics (in the hierarchical format) within his overall Christian ontological context that we shall now explore.

Within these texts, we find a continuation of Theodulf’s linguistic epistemology advocated in the *Opus Caroli*. Theodulf adheres to the basic division of interpretation as set out in Book VI of Isidore’s *Etymologiae*, “The entire content of both Testaments is characterized in one of three ways, that is, as narrative (*historia*), moral instruction (*mores*), and allegorical meaning (*allegoria*)”.¹⁵⁰ This, of course, was adopted from both Origen and Gregory the Great’s work on the subject, who both advocated a tripartite means of divine contemplation via the reading of Scripture.¹⁵¹ Theodulf cited this passage in full

¹⁴⁸ As explained in Gregory’s *In Canticum Canticorum*, ed. P Verbraken, CCSL, 144, 1963, p. 3 9-10.

¹⁴⁹ Augustine. *De Doctrina Christiana*. I. xiv. 13, p. 13 2-14, 30.

¹⁵⁰ “Summa autem utriusque Testamenti trifarie distinguitur, id est, in historia, in moribus, in allegoria.” Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, PL 82: col. 230A

¹⁵¹ In Gregory’s work, this is most clearly expressed in his *Moralia in Job*, “Qui hoc quoque mihi in onere suae petitionis addiderunt, ut non solum uerba historiae per allego-riarum sensus excuterem, sed allego-riarum sensus protinus in exercitium moralitatis inclinarem, adhuc aliquid grauius adiungentes, ut intellecta quaeque testimoniis cingerem et prolata testimonia, si implicita fortasse uiderentur interpositione superadditae expositionis enodarem.” Gregory the

at the beginning of both the Le Puy Bible and Mesmianus Codex, but apart from this basic division of interpretation, there is also a clear emphasis on etymological and overall linguistic explanations within his codices (as we shall see in Eucherius' *Instructionum ad Salonium*). His appendix texts adhere to the tradition of respecting the literality/historical reality of Scripture: the historical "reality" of the Bible (with Isidore's *Chronicon*) and the explanation of foreign words and places (in Eucherius' *Instructiones ad Salonium*). But his inclusion of texts such as the *Clavis Melitonis* also indicates an appreciation for the allegorical *signa* of the Bible; i.e. that each word of the text was a "key" to a complex underlying meaning. In this text, words were merely signposts, guides for the educated reader to delve into the deeper meaning within the text. Finally, the inclusion of the pseudo-Augustinian *Speculum* addresses the topic of moral instruction within the Bible, organized into helpful (moral) chapters that list where one could find quotations on specific subjects within the text.

Isidore of Seville's *Chronicon*

Theodulf begins his appendix material with what many patristic writers considered the foundation of biblical interpretation: the "literal" of the Bible in terms of its role in human (secular) history.¹⁵² The text provides a history of the world in six ages, from Creation until the mid-seventh century.¹⁵³ The literal history of the Bible demonstrated the "material" role of Christian belief as opposed to its internal or perhaps mystic significance.¹⁵⁴ Isidore of Seville's *Chronicon*, or, as it is often called, the *Chronica Maiora* drew upon an established Christian perspective of history, paralleling God's creation of the world in six days. Exegetically speaking, this technique was exemplified by Augustine in his *De Trinitate* and further discussed in his *De Genesi contra*

Great, *Moralia in Job*, LLT-A, col. 1708, SL. 143, l. 46A. In Origen's, it can be found in his *De Principiis*, Book IV, Chap. II (trans.) G.W. Butterworth, p. 279.

¹⁵² As advocated by both Origen and Augustine, see above, footnote 143.

¹⁵³ Isidore of Seville, *Chronicon*, (ed.) J.C. Martín, *Isidori Hispalensis Chronica*, CCSL CXII (Turnhout, 2003).

¹⁵⁴ H. De Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, (trans.) M. Seban. Vol. 2, (Edinburgh, 1998), p. 42.

Manichaeos.¹⁵⁵ Augustine advocated the relationship between man's creation in the *imago* of God and the beginning of historical time. Augustine and later Christian writers viewed the genre of historical writing not necessarily as events perceived by one man or composer, but rather as an "infinite, multiple thing" which could comprise of every kind of history of the world, one which also had significant links to the linguistic disciplines (a topic we shall address later).¹⁵⁶ Isidore's *Chronicon* adhered to this patristic ideology completely, listing the accomplishments of man from Creation to the present day (which for Isidore was the early seventh century).

The chronicle makes up part of what has been termed Isidore's "historical works", an often-neglected aspect of his canon. Only recently has Jose Carlos Martín provided a critical edition of the text, or rather "texts", as two redactions of this work survive.¹⁵⁷ The first, an older (but shorter) version, was composed probably around the year 615 under the reign of King Sisebut.¹⁵⁸ The second, more extensive edition, composed approximately ten years later (probably in 626) during the reign of King Swinthila, also resurfaces within the *Etymologies* in Book 5, Chapter 39.¹⁵⁹ Both the Le Puy Bible and the Mesmianus Codex contain the earlier, shorter edition; however, the two texts differ substantially, not least with regard to the titles of the works.¹⁶⁰ While the Le Puy Bible features an

¹⁵⁵ "Unum autem et duo et tria consummant eumdem senarium. Cujus perfectionem nobis sancta Scriptura commendat, in eo maxime quod Deus sex diebus perfecit opera sua, et sexto die factus est homo ad imaginem Dei" Augustine, *De Trinitate*, 4.16.21, PL 42: 892. Augustine, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 1.23.35, PL 34: 189.

¹⁵⁶ "Itaque unum quidem nomen, sed res infinita, multiplex, curarum plenior quam jucunditatis aut veritatis, huic disciplinae accessit historia, non tam ipsis historicis quam grammaticis laboriosa." Augustine, *De Ordine*, PL 32: 1012. The implications of this are wide-reaching for Theodulf's appendix texts, and which we shall investigate further in a later section. See below, footnote 180.

¹⁵⁷ J. C. Martín (ed. and trans.), *Isidori Hispalensis Chronica*, CCSL Vol. CXII, (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 130-45.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁵⁹ S. Koon & J. Wood, 'The *Chronica Maiora* of Isidore of Seville', *e-Spania*, Vol. 6 (2008), <http://e-spania.revues.org/15552?&id=15552#tocto1n1>. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, PL 82: 224a.

¹⁶⁰ These two texts adhere to the same textual transmission history, based on Martín's research despite minor variations in spelling and orthography. They most closely resemble Citta del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palatinus Latinus 239 (first half of 9th century, which also contains *Poema coniugis ad uxorem*, attributed to Prosper of Aquitaine and the *Monosticha* by Ps-Cato), Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, C-9/69 (first half of the 10th century, which also contains other work by Isidore of Seville and Eucherius of Lyon's *Instructionum*), Citta del Vaticano, BAV, Vaticanus Latinus 645 (before 825, also contains works by Bede, other calendar material, and extracts from *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*), and London, BL, Add. 16974

explicit attribution to Isidore: “Incipit chronographia beati Isidori”, the Mesmianus Codex contains an entirely different incipit (as it is predominantly without separate titles): “Breves temporum per generationes et regna”.¹⁶¹ One important point to consider in light of this manuscript tradition: in compiling the discrepancies between the various editions of the *Chronicon*, Martín is insistent that the Le Puy text could not have been copied from the Mesmianus Codex. This theory is not without faults, as the copyist could have merely corrected the text as he was copying it. Despite this, the variations between these texts do indicate a more complicated relationship than merely two identical versions of the same biblical text.¹⁶²

José Carlos Martín’s treatment of the text in 2003 also features an examination of the manuscripts featuring the *Chronicon* and which version they use (either the shorter earlier history, known as C1, or the longer younger version, known as C2).¹⁶³ In this comprehensive list, we can see what other texts the *Chronicon* was paired with, in the hopes of finding similar type “appendix texts” which resemble Theodulf’s Bible. Four other texts mirror the edition found in the Le Puy and Mesmianus Codex: Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vaticanus Latinus 645, London, British Library, Add. 16974, Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, C-9/69, and Città del Vaticano, BAV, Palatinus Latinus 239.¹⁶⁴ All six date from approximately the early ninth century (with the exception of the Monza manuscript which dates from the tenth), and are from a small geographical area (predominantly central to southwestern France), but these manuscripts seem to contain few similarities except for their transmission of the same version of the *Chronicon*. None of these texts are either biblical manuscripts or contain the

(end of 9th century/beginning of 10th, which also contains *Commentarii in Mattaheum* by Jerome, other chronicles, and various hagiographical material). J. C. Martín, ‘La Tradition Indirecte de la ‘Chronique’ d’Isidore de Séville’, *Revue d’Histoire des Textes*, 31, (2001), p. 198.

¹⁶¹ F. 319 in the Le Puy Bible, f. 319v in the Mesmianus Codex.

¹⁶² An interesting implication regarding the relative age of these two texts and the potential later addition of the Mesmianus Codex’s appendix texts. Such differences between the texts seem to indicate that the younger of the two texts (whichever it may be) was not copied verbatim from the older model. Absolute unity between the two Bibles does not seem to have been a pressing feature, considering the differences in variant notation between the two texts. No scholar as of yet has addressed this problem with any conclusive answer.

¹⁶³ J. C. Martín (ed. and trans.), *Isidori Hispalensis Chronica*, p. 141.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 143.

same patristic or pseudo-patristic texts as the Le Puy or Mesmianus Codex. There is one exception to this: a number of texts which feature the *Chronicon* also contain Book II of Eucherius of Lyon's *Instructionum ad Salonium*.¹⁶⁵ The number of manuscripts from the late eighth or early ninth century that contain the two texts and also originate in areas under Frankish control lends further credibility to Theodulf's interaction with an ongoing exegetical programme when compiling his texts. In many of the texts that contain the works by both Isidore and Eucherius, we find other exegetical material of a similar type to those texts found in Theodulf's appendix (often works by Pseudo-Augustine or other exegetical wordbooks). This may imply an established tradition of texts associated with an exegetical hierarchy; however, without explicit proof of Theodulf's access to these other texts, this theory must remain tentative.

During the early part of the twentieth century the historical texts by Isidore were considered to be of inferior quality as compared to his *Etymologiae* or other exegetical or spiritual work, as Ernest Brehaut said in 1912:

His view of the past had no perspective; or rather, it had an inverted perspective, because of the increasing confusion of every department of the sublunar world led him to dwell upon the earlier time when the course of history was confined to the pure stream of Hebrew tradition, when the supernatural manifested itself more frequently, and when even the names of personages were charged with prophetic meaning.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ Within the same sub-family as Le Puy and the Mesmianus Codex, only Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, C-9/69 contains Eucherius' text as well (or Jerome's text *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*, on which Eucherius' text is based); however, this is the only text from this family that is not believed to have originated in southwestern France, but northern Italy (perhaps even Monza itself). Due to its age, it is believed that this text may have been copied from the Mesmianus Codex as it also contains the same incipit to the work as Theodulf's Bible. Other texts (from different editions of the *Chronicon*) which also feature Eucherius' text include: Albi, Bibliothéque Municipale 29 (2nd half of 8th century, Septimania/Spain), Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, PL. XX.54 (11th century, Italy), Paris, BNF, lat. 4860 (1st half of the 9th century, Reichenau), Sankt-Peterburg, Publichnaja Biblioteka im. M.E. Saltykova Shchedrina, lat. Q.I.v.20 + Paris, BNF, lat. 14144 (9th century, maybe Corbie), Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 133 (end of 8th/beginning of 9th century, St. Gall), Wolfenbuttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Helmstedt 532 (ca. 820, Salzbourg), Citta del Vaticano, BAV, Vaticanus Latinus 6018 (1st half of the 9th century, central Italy), Paris, BNF, lat. 12237 (9th century, Lyon). J. C. Martín, *Isidori Hispalensis Chronica*, pp. 90-114.

¹⁶⁶ E. Brehaut, "An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages: Isidore of Seville" *Columbia University Studies in Economics, History and Public Law*, XLVIII, no. 1 (1912), p. 80. P. M. Bassett, "The Use of History in the Chronicon of Isidore of Seville", *History and Theory*, vol. 15, 3. (Oct., 1976), p. 278.

Jacques Fontaine attempted in the late 1950s to counteract this perspective with his multi-volume work *Isidore de Séville et la Culture Classique dans L'Espagne Wisigothique*; however, this did little to change the general neglect of works like the *Chronicon* by medievalists, as E.A. Thompson wryly wrote in 1969: “He could hardly have told us less, except by not writing at all”, referring to Isidore’s *Historia Gothorum Wandalorum Sueborum*.¹⁶⁷ Even Isidore’s authorship of the *Chronicon* was significantly downplayed, as it was considered a collection of quotes and dates from earlier chroniclers (such as Julius Africanus, Eusebius of Caesarea, Jerome, and other patristic authors) rather than an independent original text.¹⁶⁸ Only recently have scholars, most notably Jamie Wood and José Carlos Martín, examined the *Chronicon* as a potentially valuable source in terms of the changing political and religious currents in seventh-century Spain.¹⁶⁹ We must examine the exegetical tradition embodied by the *Chronicon* as applicable to Carolingian biblical thought. The classification of the work as part of a literary tradition of sacred “history” during the early medieval period may add to our understanding not only of how this text functioned as an appendix to the Bible but how the Bible in general was viewed as a “historical” book.¹⁷⁰ In arranging this series of collected quotes and dates, Isidore adopts Augustine’s model of the historical chronicle as found in *De catechizandis rudibus*, presenting the history of the world in six ages.¹⁷¹ The models are clearly similar (as seen below) but Augustine’s text noticeably only includes biblical data.

¹⁶⁷ J. Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la Culture Classique dans L'Espagne Wisigothique*, 2 Vols (Paris, 1959). E. A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford, 1969), p. 7.

¹⁶⁸ P. M. Bassett, ‘The Use of History’, p. 279

¹⁶⁹ See in particular S. Koon & J. Wood, “The *Chronica Maiora* of Isidore of Seville” *e-Spania*, Vol. 6 (2008), <http://e-spania.revues.org/15552?&id=15552#tocto1n1>. J. C. Martín, *Isidori Hispalensis Chronica*, p. 80.

¹⁷⁰ The nature of “history” in the early medieval world has recently been thoroughly explored by medievalists. See Rosamund McKitterick’s *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (2004) and Guy Halsall’s *Humour, History, and Politics in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (2002) as two examples.

¹⁷¹ Augustine, *De catechizandis rudibus*, PL 40:338.

Augustine of Hippo	Isidore of Seville¹⁷²
The First Age: The first is from the beginning of the human race, that is, from Adam, who was the first man that was made, down to Noah, who constructed the ark at the time of the flood.	God created all things... It is read that the Flood happened in the 600th year of Noah, whose Ark Josephus reports to have settled in the mountains of Armenia, which is named Ararat.
The Second Age: ...extends from that period on to Abraham, who was called the father indeed of all nations...	In the second year after the Flood Sem bore Arfaxat... The Egyptian kingdom, where Zoes ruled first, assumed the principal rule. Nahor, at the age of 79, begat Thara.
The Third Age: For the third age extends from Abraham on to David the king.	Thara, at the age of 70, begat Abraham. Samuel and Saul for 40 years. The kingdom of the Lacedaemonians arises and it is thought that in Greece Homer was the first poet.
The Fourth Age: "The fourth from David on to that captivity whereby the people of God passed over into Babylonia."	"David for 40 years... Solon gave laws to the Athenians"
The Fifth Age: The fifth from that transmigration down to the advent of our Lord Jesus Christ.	The captivity of the Hebrews lasted for 70 years... Following the civil war against Pompey, when he had been invited, he obtained the monarchy of the entire Roman Empire
The Sixth Age: With His [Jesus Christ's] coming the sixth age has entered on its process.	Octavian Augustus reigned 56 years... And, with the ceasing of the kingdom and priesthood of the Jews, the Lord Jesus is born of the Virgin in Bethlehem in the forty-second year of his rule... The remaining time of the world is not ascertainable by human investigation.

Augustine did compile a very brief schematic secular and sacred history of the world, as seen in *De Civitate Dei*; however, there is a strict segregation in Augustine's work that is not seen in Isidore's between what was considered to be "divine" history and that relating to the secular world.¹⁷³ Augustine's bipartite

¹⁷² This selection of quotations comprises both the longer and shorter forms of the *Chronicon*, as both divide history into six ages.

¹⁷³ Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, PL 41: 13-803.

chronology was designed to highlight the distinction between the city of God and that of man; Isidore seems to have no such agenda. Isidore's model seems to be much more based on the idea of chronicle of Eusebius' *Chronicon* (translated into Latin by Jerome) in which biblical and secular histories were collated.¹⁷⁴ While many other early medieval writers employed a multi-column format in their works in order to distinguish the various histories of given people alongside biblical events, Isidore wrote in a continuous single-column narrative, leading some scholars to call the work the first "single universal chronology".¹⁷⁵

Theodulf, in using Isidore's text, show the reader a united history of secular and spiritual events since the beginning of time.¹⁷⁶ Exegetically speaking, this represents the most secular means of accessing the Bible (or at least an interpretation of Scripture most reliant upon the deeds of humanity). By fixing important dates of biblical history to those of the secular world, Isidore affirms the historical legitimacy of the Bible, giving it concrete form in man's past. Augustine discusses this topic at length within his *De Trinitate* when examining how one can see Scripture at both a historical and spiritual text, as he states in reference to the Gospel of John:

This is already something that happened in time and belongs to the knowledge which is contained in awareness in history. When we think about the man John we do it with an image which has been impressed on our memory from our notion of human nature. And this is the way people think about him, whether they believe in these things or not.¹⁷⁷

Yet for Augustine, history in this sense is little more than recollection, an invocation of the faculty of memory that all animals possess.¹⁷⁸ Yet Augustine does not view history as a subject arising purely out of secular memory, but one

¹⁷⁴ Eusebius of Caesarea & Jerome, *Chronicon*, (trans.) M. D. Donalson, *A Translation of Jerome's Chronicon With Historical Commentary*, NPNF Vol. 38 (1996).

¹⁷⁵ R. J. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (New York: 1956), p. 51. P. M. Bassett, 'The Use of History', p. 281.

¹⁷⁶ Taking from Augustine's definition of history. See above, footnote 146.

¹⁷⁷ "Hoc jam temporaliter gestum est, et ad scientiam pertinet, quae cognitione historica continetur. Hominem autem Joannem in phantasia cogitamus, quae de humanae naturae notitia impressa est nostrae memoriae. Et hoc eodem modo cogitant, sive qui ista non credunt, sive qui credunt." Augustine, *De Trinitate* XIII.2, (trans. E. Hill), p. 343, PL 42: 1013.

¹⁷⁸ "And when the images of things sensed that are fixed in the memory are looked over again in recollection, it is still belonging to the outer man that is being done. In all these things, the only way that we differ from animals is that we are upright, not horizontal, in posture. Augustine, *De Trinitate*, XII.1, p. 322.

linked inherently to one's natural *ratio*. The analysis and "judgment" of history, that is, the ability to use history as an indicator of eternal concepts, is an ability given to man alone, as he states, "But it pertains to the loftier reason to make judgments on these bodily things according to non-bodily and everlasting meaning (*rationes*)".¹⁷⁹ History thus has a sacred and *rational* component for Augustine, a perspective that may have significantly influenced later Christian thought on the discipline. Rational interpretation thus can start from historical recollection, leading to further, more abstract contemplation on the role of the divine in the history of the world. Placing Isidore's *Chronicon* at the beginning of the appendix texts makes perfect sense in this regard, followed by texts that would augment this baseline introduction to biblical history, in this case, Eucherius of Lyon's *Instructionum ad Salonium*.¹⁸⁰

Finding these two texts side by side was not a practice initiated by Theodulf, as other examples of Eucherius' work from the late eighth century indicates a fairly common occurrence in other manuscripts containing the texts from the late eighth century.¹⁸¹ In Augustine's promotion of the "infinite history" in his *De Ordine*¹⁸², the application of the biblical text in the "material" world is associated firmly with the nature of grammatical and linguistic inquiry, again a relationship between the materiality of the world and the material "structure" of language. For Augustine, the historical or literal element of biblical interpretation was key, not only for the presence of the Bible in the "historical" world, but also because it tied the entire method of interpretation to a corporeal or material form. He exhorts people never to suppress the "fundamentum rei

¹⁷⁹ "Sed sublimioris rationis est iudicare de istis corporalibus secundum rationes incorporales et sempiternas" Augustine, *De Trinitate* XII.3, (Trans. E. Hill) p. 323., PL 42: 997

¹⁸⁰ "Poterat jam perfecta esse grammatica, sed quia ipso nomine profiteri se litteras clamat, unde etiam latine litteratura dicitur, factum est ut quidquid dignum memoria litteris mandaretur, ad eam necessario pertineret. Itaque unum quidem nomen, sed res infinita, multiplex, curarum plenior quam jucunditatis aut veritatis, huic disciplinae accessit historia, non tam ipsis historicis quam grammaticis laboriosa." Augustine, *De Ordine*, PL 32: 1012.

¹⁸¹ For manuscript examples, see footnote 165.

¹⁸² The availability of *De Ordine* during the Carolingian period has not yet been established. Although a tenth century manuscript has been found at Bobbio; neither Theodulf nor Alcuin cites the work explicitly. Despite this, the necessity of locating biblical history within that of secular time was of increasing importance to writers such as Alcuin and Theodulf from an epistemological standpoint. The abstract nature of Scripture required placement within secular "reality". M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, p. 58.

gestae” without which, the entire philosophical and linguistic structure of *significatio* would be “floating in air”, a spiritual truth which Alcuin also supported, commenting on the blessings of the Patriarchs in citing “The foundations of history are to be laid down first”.¹⁸³

Eucherius of Lyons: Instructionum ad Salonium

Theodulf continues to explore the “physicality” of Scripture via his second appendix text, the *Instructionum ad Salonium* by Eucherius, bishop of Lyons (ca. 380-449).¹⁸⁴ This text, originally intended for Eucherius’ son, Salonius, became a handy and popular text in the early medieval period for difficult or foreign biblical vocabulary. Eucherius’ aim was to provide the reader with the necessary vocabulary with which to understand the basic language of Scripture by including lists of foreign words (for the Hebrew and Greek which appear in the text), measurements, notes on places, etc.¹⁸⁵ Providing such etymological and linguistic explanations again implies a concern for the physicality of the Bible, demonstrating a concern for the union of both the corporeal and spiritual aspects to the text. Augustine had advocated the investigation or spiritual use of proper names, which might lead to further information not only in terms of the literal aspects of the Bible but also the symbolism of any kind of metaphorical meaning underneath, such as we understand the name David to mean “desirable” and represent the figure of the Church.¹⁸⁶ Within the *Instructionum*, Latin grammar and orthography are key elements of spiritual enquiry,

¹⁸³ “Ante omnia tamen, fratres, hoc in nomine Domini et admonemus, quantum possumus, et praecipimus, ut quando auditis exponi sacramentum Scripturae narrantis quae gesta sunt, prius illud quod lectum est credatis sic gestum, quomodo lectum est; ne subtracto fundamento rei gestae, *quasi in aere quaeratis aedificare*. Augustine, *De Scripturis*, PL 38: 30. In Alcuin, “Sed prius historiae fundamenta ponenda sunt, ut aptius allegoriae culmen priori structurae superponatur.” *Interrogationes et Responsiones in Genesin*, PL 100: 559A.

¹⁸⁴ Eucherius of Lyon, *Instructionum ad Salonium Libri Duo*, PL 50:711-822d.

¹⁸⁵ T. O’Loughlin, *Teachers and Code-Breakers: The Latin Genesis Tradition, 430-800* (Turnhout, 1999), p. 44.

¹⁸⁶ “Nunc peccatum David quid in prophetia significaverit, quanta possum brevitate perstringam. Nomina quippe ipsa interpretata satis ostendunt quid etiam hoc factum praefiguraverit. David interpretatur Manu fortis, sive Desiderabilis: et quid fortius Leone illo de tribu Juda, qui vicit mundum? et quid desiderabilis illo, de quo propheta dicit, *Veniet desideratus omnibus gentibus*? Bersabee interpretatur Puteus satietatis, sive Puteus septimus: quamlibet autem harum nominis hujus interpretationum in id quod dicere intendimus, assumamus, satis congruit.” Augustine, *Contra faustum Manichaeum*, Book 22, chap. 887, PL 42: 458.

These names which follow, are found in these places, either in Exodus or in the book of Kings, which contain the reciting of events regarding the ark or of the tabernacle or of the temple of the Lord. The vocabularies of those names, which are more obscure compared to these, were kept in the old translation. But these [words] which appear clearer are contained in the text of the new translation. So that when the old translation has “*sperateres*”, the new has “*ferulas*”.¹⁸⁷

As Theodulf explained in the *Opus Caroli*, the ulterior divine meaning of the text was of fundamental importance, but a lack of concern or introspection as to its construction (either with regards to its adherence to the rules of language or its “physical” components e.g. the order of biblical books, use of a clear script, etc.) could lead to problems of interpretation. Providing basic etymology to biblical vocabulary clarified the semiotic nature of the word (linked inherently to its form). Theodulf (and other Carolingian writers) were more than aware of the translation problems inherent to the biblical text. Explanations such as these quickly solved any accusation that the Bible was inaccurate or unclear based on its precise wording (as we see above in the translation between *Vetus Latina* and the Vulgate). As had been said, one could not neglect the “body” of Scripture any more than a grammarian could ignore the alphabet.¹⁸⁸

Of course, the text also shows recognition as to the awareness of foreign names and places within Scripture, particularly those of Hebrew and Greek. The work follows the formula of onomastic literature, a genre popular in classical Greece that explored the meanings and origins of proper names.¹⁸⁹ The most famous example of this type of work in the early Christian Church was Eusebius of Caesarea’s *Onomasticon*, translated from the Greek and adapted by Jerome in

¹⁸⁷ “Haec nomina quae subsequuntur, in Exodo, vel in Regum libris his reperiuntur locis, quae arcae vel tabernaculi, aut templi Domini relationem continent. Quorum nominum vocabula, ad haec quae obscuriora sunt, in translatione veteri habentur. Haec vero quae lucidiora apparent, novae translationis textu continentur. Vetus ergo translatio habet, *sperateres*; nova, *ferulas*.” The “recent translation” here refers to Jerome’s translation. Eucherius, *Instructionum ad Salonium libri duo*, PL 50: 816b-c.

¹⁸⁸ “Si primo alphabetum discere contempsisses, nunc inter grammaticos tantum nomen non haberes.” Hugh of St. Victor, *Eruditionis Didascaliae Libri Septem*, Book VI, n. 3, PL 176: 799. Although this quotation postdates (by far) the period of Alcuin and Theodulf, its sentiment remains nonetheless applicable for the Carolingian era.

¹⁸⁹ H. Attridge & H. Gohei (eds.), *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism*. (Detroit, 1992), p. 25.

his *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*, which in and of itself became a landmark text for early Christian exegesis.¹⁹⁰ This text relied heavily on the Greek fathers, specifically Origen, whose knowledge of Hebrew may have aided Jerome in his etymological work (as Eucherius' capacity for Hebrew has been called into doubt).¹⁹¹ Onomastic material on Hebrew names in particular became especially popular following the late antique period, a trend to which Eucherius' text bears witness. The *Instructionum* is predominantly a compilation of Jerome's work (a fact Eucherius addresses in the text's preface).¹⁹² Eucherius does not copy every meaning Jerome accords to a word or proper name; he often takes it upon himself to improve or elaborate upon a given explanation. The work was featured in a number of manuscripts following Eucherius' death and later scribes continued to amend revisions to the Hebrew interpretations.¹⁹³ Many of those from the seventh century indeed prove to be more accurate or closer to the original biblical Hebrew meaning than those of Jerome.¹⁹⁴ These meanings are not found in Isidore's text on the same subject, but they are interestingly found in the *Clavis Melitonis*, the next text in the appendix.

Following in the Greek tradition, Jerome and (later) Eucherius were among the first proponents of merging Christian study with natural or secular disciplines, a spiritual framework well established by the Carolingian period.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁰ M. Thiel, *Grundlagen und Gestalt der Hebräischkenntnisse des Frühen Mittelalters* (Spoleto, 1973), p. 54.

¹⁹¹ Despite some claims that Jerome knew nothing of Hebrew, his commentary on Old Testament texts suggests a least a basic working knowledge of the language. S. Rebenich, 'Jerome: The "Vir Trilinguis" and the "Hebraica Veritas"', *Vigiliae Christianae* Vol. 47, No. 1 (Mar., 1993), p. 57.

¹⁹² "...et primo veniam ad Hebraeorum nominum interpretationem e quibus certa quaeque et celebriora brevitatis causa ponam" Preface to Salonus, *Instructionum ad Salonium*, PL 50: 773a. O. Szerwiniack, "Interprétations de Noms Hébreux" *Scriptorium* XLVIII (1994), p. 210.

¹⁹³ Examples of other early medieval manuscripts of the text include: Marburg, Saatsarchiv Hr. 2.2 (8th century, from Fulda), Salzburg, Studienbibliothek M I I (9th century, also contains Eucherius' *Formulae*), Angers, Bibl. Mun. ms. 275 (9th century), Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 34, (9th century), Città del Vaticano, Apost. Vatic. ms. Vat. Lat. 3321 (8th century, Italian, perhaps Beneventan), Città del Vaticano, Vat. Reg. 846 (9th century), , Città del Vaticano, ms. Reg. Lat. 191 (9th/10th century), Köln, Diözesan Bibliothek, 82 (9th century, also contains Eucherius' *Formulae*), Leyden, Voss. Lat. F. 82 (8th-9th century), Madrid, Acad de la Hist., Cmoes 12.III.II (9th century), Montecassino (9th century). Eucherius of Lyons, *Formulae Spiritualis Intelligentiae & Instructionum ad Salonium*, (ed.) C. Mandolfo, CCSL 66 (Turnhout, 2004), pp. xxiii-xli.

¹⁹⁴ O. Szerwiniack, "Interprétations de Noms Hébreux", p. 211.

¹⁹⁵ As can be seen in the *Anonymous Life of Saint Aldric, Archbishop of Sens* (d. 837), "He began...to acknowledge that an increase of religious sentiment was connected with an augmentation of doctrinal knowledge. In this way, knowledge could be effectively grounded not

Eucherius was lauded for his application of “a scientific method” to Scripture, emphasizing the need to look at Scripture on all levels: in the word, the meaning, and its application to secular disciplines. The *Instructionum* adhered to his linguistic emphasis on biblical study; however, a more comprehensive description of Eucherius’ attitude toward Scripture can be found in his *Formularum spiritalis intelligentiae ad uranium liber unus* in which he described his understanding of exegesis:

Thus the body of Sacred Scripture is to be found, as they say, in the letter. The soul resides in the moral sense, which is said to be tropological, and the spirit in a higher understanding, which is called anagogical...The wisdom of this world has divided its philosophy into three parts, the physical, ethical, and logical, that is to say, the natural, moral, and rational. But this natural part pertains to the cause of nature, which contains the universe. And the rational part, moreover, is the one which discusses higher matters and confirms that God is the father of all things. That dialectical distinction of ours by which all of the learned suppose that this heavenly Philosophy of the Scriptures should be discussed historically, tropologically, and anagogically is not therefore incongruent with this threefold way in which teaching is arranged. Wherefore history impresses on us the truth of deeds and the credibility of something that has been reported. Tropology gives an account of mystical understandings for the purpose of amending our lives. Anagogy leads the way to the more sacred mysteries of the heavenly figures.¹⁹⁶

This division of exegesis mirrors what we have previously discussed in terms of appropriating Platonic or other classical philosophical divisions of knowledge.¹⁹⁷

Eucherius, like Jerome, embraced the Greek Fathers and their use of secular

only in the liberal disciplines, but also in the spritual discipliness”. PL 105: 800c. H. de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, Vol. I (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1998), p. 41.

¹⁹⁶ “Corpus ergo Scripturae sacrae, sicut traditur, in littera est, anima morali sensu, qui tropicus dicitur, spiritus in superiore intellectu, qui anagoge appellatur....Sapientia mundi hujus philosophiam suam in tres partes divisit, physicam, ethicam, logicam, id est naturalem, moralem, rationalem; sed naturalem illam pertinentem ad causas naturae, quae universa contineat; moralem, vero, quae respiciat ad mores; rationalem autem, quae de sublimioribus disputans, Deum omnium patrem esse confirmet. Quam tripertitam doctrinae distributionem non adeo abhorret illa nostrorum in disputatione distinctio, qua docti quique hanc caelestem Scripturarum Philosophiam secundum historiam, secundum tropologiam, secundum anagogen disserendam putant. Quapropter historia veritatem nobis factorum ac fidem relationis inculcat. Tropologia ad vitae emendationem mysticos intellectus refert. Anagoge ad sacratoria caelestium figurarum secreta perducit.” Eucherius of Lyons, “Prefatio”, *Formularum spiritalis intelligentiae ad uranium liber unus*, PL 50: 728a-b.

¹⁹⁷ As we discussed in Chapter Two.

disciplines (specifically philosophy and grammar) in their examination of Scripture. As seen above, Eucherius, like Augustine and Jerome, superimposed the threefold division of body, soul, and spirit onto the tripartite division of Scripture. This also complemented Augustine's tripartite division of vision; all with a firm basis in Platonic and Aristotelian ontology. The popularity of Eucherius during the early medieval period attests to the growing prominence of this attitude towards Scripture and the increasing union of the philosophical and exegetical traditions. Cassiodorus in his *Institutiones* recommends reading Eucherius' work as a means of introducing the reader to Scripture.¹⁹⁸ Alongside Junilius and the *Clavis Scripturae*, Cassiodorus considered Eucherius to be an *introduktor*, a must-read for any potential student of Scripture.¹⁹⁹ Although we have seen explicit incorporation of classical philosophy would only emerge in the Carolingian period, writers such as Eucherius and Jerome demonstrate the growing appropriation of ontological concepts, particularly the relationship between the "visible" elements of Scripture and the "invisible" divine meaning. How the human reader could access the meaning behind the symbol was clearly a topic of interest throughout the early medieval exegetical tradition.

Eucherius augments the Augustinian doctrine found in *De Doctrina Christiana* that the reader need not be a biblical scholar in order to understand Scripture but any clue to the "foreign" elements in the text would assist in general comprehension.²⁰⁰ Theodulf's incorporation of this book into his biblical codices nicely straddles Augustine's seemingly contradictory theology of Scriptural understanding and education. Yes, non-scholarly readers of Scripture

¹⁹⁸ Noteworthy, as his text was the model for many early medieval schools. P. Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West: From the Sixth to the Eighth Century* (Columbia, South Carolina, 1978), p. 473.

¹⁹⁹ "Primum est post huius operis instituta ut ad introductores Scripturae divinae, quos postea reperimus, sollicita mente redeamus, id est Ticonium Donatistam, sanctum Augustinum de Doctrina Christiana, Adrianum, Eucherium et Iunilium; quos sedula curiositate collegi, ut quibus erat similis intentio, in uno corpore adunati codices clauderentur; qui modos elocutionum explanationis causa formantes per exemplorum diversas similitudines intellegi faciunt, quae prius clausa manserunt." Cassiodorus, *Instructiones*, LLTA Cl. 0906, lib. 1, cap. 10, par. 1, p. 34, l. 6.

²⁰⁰ "...a knowledge of languages protects him from uncertainty over unfamiliar words or phrases, and a knowledge of certain essential things protects him from ignorance of the significance and detail of what is used by way of imagery." Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, III.1.1-10. T. O'Loughlin, "The Symbol Gives Life" *Scriptural Interpretation in the Fathers: Letter and Spirit* (Dublin, 1995), p. 226.

may glean spiritual knowledge from the text, due to its simple style and divine origin; however, this does not mean that additional study in language, rhetoric, geography, etc., would not augment a person's understanding of the "literal" text.

Although Eucherius and Theodulf represent two different points on the same evolving strand of biblical exegesis, Theodulf's awareness of Eucherius' philosophy must be examined in relationship to both his awareness of the *Instructionum* and the *Formularum* (particularly with regards to Theodulf's awareness and perhaps absorption of Eucherius' view on the tripartite nature of Scripture). The two texts were circulated together frequently during the early medieval period: the earliest extant manuscript of both dates from the sixth or seventh century (Paris, BN, lat. 9550).²⁰¹ Indeed, the majority of manuscripts of the *Formulae* prior to the mid-ninth century also contain both books of the *Instructionum*.²⁰²

As has been shown, the text of Eucherius' *Instructionum* was also a frequent companion to Isidore's *Chronicon* and this may indicate a subscription to an established exegetical tradition on Theodulf's part.²⁰³ Yet in terms of the text itself, it was also frequently collated with other texts of similar topics, particularly given the fact that Eucherius' text itself was an adapted version of Jerome's earlier work on Hebrew names. Although the text is unrubricated in both manuscripts, the Mesmianus Codex features the brief preface to Salonius written by Eucherius ("Quoniam fili carissime superiore libro propositionibus tuis...").²⁰⁴ While this is a general indication that the two manuscripts were not copied from the same text, both manuscripts conflate this text with the *Clavis Melitonis* (another exegetical wordbook) in the appendix. Eucherius' text may have been appropriated from another manuscript in which the *Instructionum*

²⁰¹ Eucherius of Lyons, "Introduzione" in (ed.) C. Mandolfo, *Formulae Spiritalis Intellegentiae & Instructionum Libri Duo* (Turnhout, 2004), p. x

²⁰² This includes: St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 225 (end of 8th century); Citta del Vaticano, Bibl. Apost. Vatic., ms. Vat. Lat. 552 (9th century); Karlsruhe, badische Landesbibliothek, ms. Aug. CCXVIII (9th century); Paris, BN, Lat. 2769 (middle of 6th century); St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 230 (2nd half of 8th century); Valenciennes, Bibl. Mun. ms. 95 (88) (9th century); St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 110 (8th-9th century); Roma, Sessorianus, ms. 77 (2107) (end of 8th century). Eucherius of Lyons, "Introduzione" in (ed.) C. Mandolfo, *Formulae Spiritalis Intellegentiae*, pp. xi-xv.

²⁰³ See above, footnote 165.

²⁰⁴ f. 321v in the Mesmianus Codex.

had already been merged with the *Clavis*, creating a longer and more elaborate exploration of Scriptural vocabulary.²⁰⁵ Yet the purpose behind these two texts (conflated or not) further demonstrate Theodulf's promotion of a slowly emergent philosophical Christian hermeneutics—one which recognized the power of the visible “words” but relied on classical hermeneutics with which to instil divine meaning into the text.

The *Clavis Melitonis*

The *Clavis Melitonis*, the third text in Theodulf's appendix, is perhaps the most obscure of the four texts. Melito (d. ca. 180), bishop of Sardis during the mid to late second century and a contemporary of St. Polycarp and St. Irenaeus, supposedly composed the *Clavis* as a means of deciphering layers of word symbolism inherent in the biblical text.²⁰⁶ Like Eucherius' *Instructionum*, the wordbook provides explanations of Scriptural vocabulary; however, while Eucherius' text focused on those words understandably unfamiliar to the Latin reader (either those in Hebrew or Greek or foreign place names), the *Clavis* emphasized the metaphorical or “symbolic” aspect of biblical vocabulary. This type of interpretation again was not a method of reading via one's divine *ratio*, but rather a more “spiritual” means of approaching the text. Inherently, this method emphasized the words of the text, i.e. the “visible” features of Scripture. Yet rather than this text suggesting a “literal” interpretation of the Bible based on its vocabulary, it revealed the complexity of Scripture, as each word or phrase could refer to large-scale divine concepts (e.g. the phrase “caput Domini” referred to the Divinity of God, particularly as his role as the creator of all things). Texts such as the *Clavis* straddled the difficult line between an emphasis on the importance of biblical vocabulary and the ineffable divine wisdom Scripture contained, wisdom that superceded human language. Like Eucherius' text, the *Clavis* was intended as an aid to the reader, one who wished to move beyond the limitations of the literal biblical text.

²⁰⁵ We shall discuss this in depth in the section dedicated to the *Clavis Melitonis* as that text provides a more difficult task in ascribing definitive authorship or origin.

²⁰⁶ J. B. Pitra (ed.) “Le Clef Du Symbolisme: Par Saint Mélicon, Évêque de Sardes” *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi*, Vol. II (Patres Antenicani, 1884), p. 587.

The *Clavis Melitonis* was designed to help the reader better understand the mystical nature of God and his presence in the secular world. More specifically, it provides a categorized word list of Scripture—providing the reader with standard metaphors found throughout the Old and New Testament. For example, the first chapter, “On the Nature of God”, provides a Scriptural citation and the symbolic meanings for the phrase *oculi domini*: “Divine inspection, by which he sees everything, just as it is [said] in the Gospel: ‘For everything is open and laid bare to his eyes’”.²⁰⁷ When we refer to the *Clavis Melitonis* as an allegorical text, we must contextualize this within the specific definition outlined by the early medieval writers upon whom Theodulf was reliant. For both Isidore and Theodulf (and much of early medieval exegetical theory before them), allegory was considered a linguistic element of the Bible; another application of the semiotics of language, as Isidore defines it: “Allegory (*allegoria*) is ‘other-speech’ (*alieilo-quium*), for it literally says one thing and another thing is understood.”²⁰⁸ The *Clavis* represents Augustine’s spiritual sense of vision, moving beyond the purely literal but not yet to the divine *intellectus* or *ratio*. As Augustine writes in *De Trinitate*: because humanity cannot view God’s wisdom directly, but views it as through a mirror (1 Corinthians 13:12), allegory provides a linguistic form as a means by which divine wisdom can be refracted and understood.²⁰⁹ Texts such as the *Clavis* helped the reader see different layers to the words of Scripture, helping to move the reader beyond the material words on the page to a more comprehensive (and intellectual) understanding of the text’s divine meaning. Allegorical wordbooks display the “present-ness” of the Bible, moving the text from a simple worldly account of human events to an eternal spiritual application for Christians; however, such interpretation is still localized within the material element of language and text. This is evident within

²⁰⁷ “... inspectio divina, eo quod omnia videat, sicut est illud in Apostolo: Omnia enim nuda et aperta sunt oculis ejus.” J.B. Pitra (ed.) “Codex Claromontus: Clavis Melitonis”, p. 296.

²⁰⁸ “Allegoria est alieniloquium, aliud enim sonat, aliud intelligitur.” Isidore here is appropriating both Ambrose’s and Cicero’s definition. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, Book 1, chap. 22. PL 85: 115b, (trans.) S. Barney et al., p. 63.

²⁰⁹ “Deum nunc videri a nobis per speculum quomodo dicat Apostolus. Incorporalem substantiam scio esse sapientiam, et lumen esse in quo videntur quae oculis carnalibus non videntur: et tamen vir tantus tamque spiritualis, Videmus nunc, inquit, per speculum in aenigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem.” Augustine, *De Trinitate*, XV.8. PL 42: 1067.

Theodulf's agenda in its conflation with Eucherius' *Instructionum* in the two biblical manuscripts: both texts are devoted to the wording of Scripture, the "visible" rather than the "invisible" elements to it. Although the *Clavis* emphasizes a more abstract meaning to the words (as opposed to foreign place names), it is still indisputably tied to the physicality of Scripture by emphasizing the words contained within it.

The origins of the *Clavis* are at best uncertain: while Eusebius of Caesarea (third to fourth century) gives a description of the meaning and importance of the *Clavis* in his *Historica Ecclesiastica* as a prominent work of Scriptural scholarship, no extant text has been found in which any author claims to have personally seen or read the work.²¹⁰ Jerome mentions the work in his *De Viris Illustribus* but gives no indication of actually having read it.²¹¹ Indeed, the text found in the Le Puy Bible (if it indeed predates the Mesmianus Codex) is the oldest known copy. Other texts used for critical editions, such as Cardinal J.B. Pitra's in 1884 in the *Analecta sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi* date predominantly from the eleventh or twelfth centuries and show textual reliance upon the *Clavis* as found in the Le Puy Bible, suggesting that Theodulf's Bibles may have served as the predominant source for the text in the medieval period.²¹² To what extent, however, this text shares any similarity to the text described by Jerome in the fourth century cannot easily be established. There is every possibility the *Clavis* material was considered as part of Eucherius of Lyon's *Instructionum* during the early ninth century, especially since later editions of the *Clavis* feature lengthy

²¹⁰ "Haec et multa alia nobiliter ab eo scripta in libello, de quo memoravimus, inferuntur. In his autem quae de explanatione scripturarum scribit, quasi in praefatione enumerat, quae sint volumina veteris testamenti, quae in canone debeant observari. quam partem scripturae indere his necessarium puto: 'Melito Onesimo fratri salutem. Quoniam quidem frequenter me rogasti pro studio, quod habes erga verbum dei, ut excerptam tibi testimonia ex lege et profetis de salvatore et de fide nostra simul que indicem, qui sit ordo vel numeros veteris testamenti voluminum, postulata libenter explevi, sciens quod sit in te discendi studium vel quanta fidei devotio, ut vitae aeternae desiderio nihil praeponis. Scias ergo perrexisse me usque ad orientis eum locum, ubi praedicationis nostrae coepit exordium et ubi gesta sunt illa omnia, quae leguntur scripta, ibi que diligenter de omnibus explorasse, quae essent veteris testamenti volumina.'" Eusebius of Caesarea. *Eusebius Caesariensis sec. transl. quam fecit Rufinus - Historia ecclesiastica*. LLTA Cl. 0198 K (A), lib. 4, cap. 26, par.12, p. 387, l. 16.

²¹¹ "...melito asianus, sardensis episcopus, librum imperatori marco antonino uero, qui frontonis oratoris discipulus fuit, pro christiano dogmate dedit... et alium librum qui clavis inscribitur, Jerome. *De uiris illustribus*. LLT Cl. 0616, cap. : 24, pag. : 22, linea : 2-6.

²¹² J. B. Pitra (ed.) "Codex Claromontanus: Clavis" *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi*, Vol. II (Patres Antenicani, 1884), p. 587.

quotations from Eucherius' work.²¹³ In both the Le Puy Bible and the Mesmianus Codex, the *Clavis* and the *Instructionum* (or other of Eucherius' works, as we shall see when examining the manuscript tradition) are merged into a single unrubricated text. Within the Le Puy text, the incipit to the *Clavis* is inserted into the middle of Eucherius' text ("Caput domini ipsa divinitas..." on fol. 326v). This is also found in the Mesmianus Codex on fol. 325v.²¹⁴

The inability to find texts of the *Clavis* earlier than the ninth century (and its conflation with Eucherius' text in Theodulf's manuscripts) led to increasing doubt that the text's author was indeed the second century Melito. Anachronistic vocabulary and phrasing also called into question the date of composition of the text.²¹⁵ Eventually any ascription to Melito was removed altogether, and the text is considered now simply to be a compilation of patristic works. Since the late nineteenth century, when discovering the origins of the text occupied a number of scholars, the now erroneously entitled *Clavis* has suffered from neglect by historians. Conclusive statements about the *Clavis* remain elusive, simply due to a lack of scholarly attention. Although a new edition and a translation was made of the text by J.-P. Laurant, it contains neither philological nor codicological information on the text.²¹⁶ Olivier Szerwiniack did some of the most recent work on the *Clavis Melitonis* in the early 1990s in which he proposed Theodulf himself as the author (or, perhaps, better put, compiler) of the text.²¹⁷ He was not the first to suggest this: Ann Freeman cited Theodulf as the potential long-unknown medieval compiler of the text in her articles on the *Opus Caroli regis Contra*

²¹³ Ibid, p. xxiii.

²¹⁴ Refer to Appendix III for a more extensive examination of the two manuscripts' foliation.

²¹⁵ This was due in part to the text's anachronistic references to the monastic life (mostly unestablished in a formal setting during Melito's lifetime). The proverbial nail in the coffin in terms of Melito's authorship came when scholars demonstrated that the original language of the text could not have been Greek owing to the etymology of the following definition within the text: "Hostia, quae iedo appellatur, eo quod hosti diabolo resistat; virga = virgo Maria". This demonstrated the original source to be Latin, and for the majority of the academic community, this served as proof that *Clavis* could not have been authored by the Greek-speaking Melito. "Clef de Saint Meliton" E. Renoir. *Dictionnaire d'Archeologie Chretienne et de Liturgie*. Vol III, 2nd part. Eucherius of Lyons. *Formularum Spiritualis Intelligentiae ad Uranium*. PL 50: 727.

²¹⁶ O. Szerwiniack, "Interprétations de Noms Hébreux" p. 217. J.-P. Laurant, *Symbolisme et écriture: le cardinal Pitra et la "Clef" de Méliton de Sardes*, (Paris, 1988).

²¹⁷ O. Szerwiniack, "Interprétations de Noms Hébreux", p. 220.

Synodum during the 1960s.²¹⁸ Despite this ascription, the text has received comparatively little attention in recent decades, and the evidence for or against this statement still has yet to be analyzed. I will address the majority of Szerwiniack's points here without indulging in a full critical edition of the text, a task to be saved for future researchers.²¹⁹

There are several features that point to Theodulf as the potential author of the *Clavis Melitonis*. On perhaps the most basic level, the earliest known versions of the text, Theodulf's two Bibles and the fragmentary Codex Claromontanus (all three of which feature almost identical texts), can all be localized to areas (either Orleans or Fleury) under Theodulf's episcopal control during the early ninth century.²²⁰ The surviving copies of the *Clavis* which do not date from the ninth century are almost entirely twelfth and thirteenth copies which can be traced directly back to Theodulf's two Bibles.²²¹ According to Freeman, the only version which cannot be attributed to Theodulf's influence or that of the Claromontanus, is that contained in Paris B.N. 2327, a thirteenth-century text.²²² Yet Szerwiniack, in his discussion of the *Clavis* demonstrates this manuscript's many shared characteristics with the Theodulf Bibles and the Claromontanus, citing not only a re-organization of the chapters but also an inherent alliance with the earlier texts. The Paris 2327 manuscript also features an edition of the *Instructionum ad Salonium* as well as Isidore's *Chronicon*, just

²¹⁸ A. Freeman, "Further Studies in the Libri Carolini: I. Palaeographical Problems in Vaticanus Latinus 7207 II. Patristic Exegesis, Mozarabic Antiphons, and the Vetus Latina." *Speculum* 40, no. 2 (April 1965), p. 224.

²¹⁹ The historian Jean-Pierre Laurant compiled a French translation of the text in the late 1980s; however, the majority of the analysis within his work is focused on the person of Pitra and the context of the 19th century. He explores little of the overall textual and transmission problems. There is currently a project to produce a critical edition of the *Clavis Melitonis* for the *Corpus Christianorum*. Preparation for the edition is led by Toby Burrows at the University of Western Australia. J.-P. Laurant, *Symbolisme et Ecriture*, p. 126.

²²⁰ While the provenance of both the Le Puy Bible and the Mesmianus Codex have been established for some time, the origin of the Codex Claromontanus was only (relatively) recently pinpointed at the ninth century, instead of the tenth (as it was catalogued in the Vatican until the 1950s). Bernard Bischoff, after consulting the manuscript, determined the age of the manuscript to be ninth century and associated with the Orléans school. A. Freeman, "Further Studies in the Libri Carolini: I. Palaeographical Problems in Vaticanus Latinus 7207, II. "Patristic Exegesis, Mozarabic Antiphons, and the Vetus Latina" *Speculum*, Vol. 40, No. 2, (Apr. 1965) p. 258. B. Bischoff. *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts : (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)* (Wiesbaden, 1998).

²²¹ A. Freeman, "Further Studies in the Libri Carolini: I." p. 262

²²² *Ibid*, p. 265.

as found within Theodulf's two biblical pandects.²²³ Even Pitra's original source, Cod. Vat. Barberin. Lat. 492 originated within Theodulf's bishopric in Orléans, further connecting the bishop to this little known classical work.²²⁴

This evidence cannot show Theodulf's authorship, but other elements suggest that Theodulf's Spanish background also may explain various textual factors. Matthias Thiel in the 1970s investigated the potential Spanish origin theory of the *Clavis*, noticing the text's reliance on the sixth century Apringius of Beja's *Commentaria minora in Apocalypsin Johannis*.²²⁵ Considering the text was not known outside the Iberian Peninsula, Thiel uses this as justification for his ascription of the text's origins to Spain.²²⁶ But, as is the case with most medieval texts, Apringius' text is a compilation, relying heavily on Jerome at many points. Szerwiniack argues persuasively that the claim that the *Clavis* used Apringius' text may be over-ambitious, as it is equally as likely they both copied elements independently from Jerome, who was much more accessible throughout Europe.²²⁷

Ann Freeman also pointed out the extensive use or parallels with the *Clavis* in the *Opus Caroli regis contra Synodum* as part of her quest to establish Theodulf as the author of the Carolingian treatise on images.²²⁸ In the nine Scriptural passages the *Opus Caroli* cites, eight appear in the 54th chapter of the *Clavis Melitonis*, a chapter devoted to Christ as *petra*.²²⁹ Both texts cite identical explanations for this metaphor for Christ, drawing on a text from Zachariah (iii, 8-9). These passages can be found cited as such nowhere else except the Mozarabic Liturgy, as seen in the *Antifonario Visigotico Mozarabe de la Catedral*

²²³ "Latin 2327," Ph. Lauer (ed.), *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits Latins: Bibliothèque Nationale*, II: Nos 1439-2692, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1940.

²²⁴ J. B. Pitra (ed.) *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi*, p. 600.

²²⁵ M. Thiel, *Grundlagen und Gestalt der Hebräischkenntnisse des frühen Mittelalters* (Spoleto, 1973), p. 55

²²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 58.

²²⁷ O. Szerwiniack, "Interprétations de Noms Hébreux" p. 216

²²⁸ A. Freeman, "Further Studies in the Libri Carolini: I. Palaeographical Problems in Vaticanus Latinus 7207, II. 'Patristic Exegesis, Mozarabic Antiphons, and the Vetus Latina', *Speculum*, Vol. 40, No. 2, (Apr. 1965) p. 262.

²²⁹ A. Freeman, 'Theodulf of Orleans and the Libri Carolini', *Speculum*, No. 32 (1957), p. 695.

de León, a manuscript of the tenth century but believed to reproduce a text prepared in the seventh, under the Visigothic King Wamba.²³⁰

Theodulf's Bibles and the Codex Claromontanus ²³¹	<i>Opus Caroli Regis</i>	Mozarabic Liturgy
Lapis, Christus In psalmo: Lapidem reprobaverunt aedificantes. Et in Zacharia: <i>Lapis</i> <u><i>quem dedi coram</i></u> <u><i>Ihesu,</i></u> <u><i>Septem in eo oculi</i></u> <u><i>sunt;</i></u> Idest septiformis charismatum gratiae.	Ecce quo adducam Filium meum orientem Quia lapis, <u><i>quem dedi</i></u> <u><i>coram Ihesu,</i></u> <u><i>Septem in eo oculi</i></u> <u><i>sunt...</i></u> In quibus <i>septem oculis</i> <i>septiformis gratiae</i> Spiritus, qui a Patre Filioque procedit, evidenter ostenditur	Ecce ego adducam Filius meum orientem, dicit Dominus, <i>quia lapis, quem dedi</i> <u><i>coram Ihesu,</i></u> <u><i>septem in eo oculi</i></u> <u><i>sunt.</i></u>

Even if Theodulf was the compiler of the text as it stands within his two appendix texts, the work remains predominantly a collation of early medieval and patristic writing. Perhaps the *Clavis'* close textual affiliation with two of Eucherius of Lyons' texts, both the *Instructionum ad Salonium* and the *Formulae Spiritualis Intelligentiae*, best demonstrates this. Later editions of the text (such as the Codex Claromontanus) also demonstrate the incorporation of Eucherius' two works within the text, although the influence of Theodulf's Bibles on later editions of the text should not be discounted.²³² It demonstrates the extent to which an independent version of the *Clavis* shows affinity to Eucherius' *Instructionum*, as seen in the section *De Civitatibus et Provinciis*, recorded as part of the *Clavis* text, but is in fact almost a direct copy of the *Instructionum*. The underlined text above shows the affinity between the two texts, in addition to the obvious stylistic similarities found between the two (as seen below).

²³⁰ Férotin, *Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum et les manuscrits mozarabes*, Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica, VI, Paris, 1912.

²³¹ P. 31, no. 50 in Pitra's edition of the *Clavis* in *Analecta Sacra*, II, of the Claromontanus; fol. 328v in Paris B.N. lat. 9380, p. 625. Claromontanus text is Paris BN Gr. 107.

²³² J. B. Pitra (ed.) *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi*, p. 600.

Instructionum ad Salonium

Bethphage, Syrum, domus vallis.
Bethania, domus afflictionis.
Genesear, ortus principis.
Amaus, populus abjectus.
Capharnaum, ager consolationis.
Sarepta, incensa, sive angustia panis.
Gethsemani, vallis pinguedinum.
Golgotha, calvaria.
Nazareth, flos munditiae, vel
virgultum.

*Clavis Melitonis (Codex
Claromontanus)*²³³

Bethania, Domus obientaie. In
Evangelio.
Bethphage, Domus vallis, ubi et supra.
Syrum est.
Genesar, Hortus principum. In
Evangelio.
Amaus, Populus abjectus.
Bethleem, Domus panis, id est Ecclesia
Christi. In Michaea: Et tu Bethleem,
domus Euphrata, non eris minima in
principibus Juda.
Euphrata, Ubertas, ubi et supra.
Capharnaum, Ager consolationis. In
Evangelio.
Sarepta, Incensa, sive Angustia panis.
Gethsamani, Vallis pinguium.
Golgota, Calvaria. In Evangelio.
Nazaret, Os munditiae, vel Virgullum.

Naturally, as a biblical wordbook, there is understandably some overlap between the two texts; the close similarity of many of the texts' descriptions perhaps accounts for their merging in Theodulf's Bibles. But Eucherius' *Instructionum* is not the only Eucherius text the *Clavis* depends on in terms of appropriating material. Eucherius of Lyons' *Formulae Spiritualis Intelligentiae* is also appropriated within the text, providing more metaphorical or allegorical meanings to imagery in Scripture.²³⁴ If we look at the entries for Chapter One for both texts, the parallels are easily noted:

²³³ Ibid, p. 587.

²³⁴ "Clef de Saint Meliton" E. Renoir. *Dictionnaire d'Archeologie Chretienne et de Liturgie*. Vol III, 2nd part. Eucherius of Lyons. *Formularum Spiritualis Intelligentiae ad Uranium*. PL 50: 727.

<i>Clavis Melitonis</i>	<i>Formulae Spiritualis Intelligentiae</i>
<p>Caput Domini, ipsa Divinitas, eo quod principium et creator sit omnium rerum. In Daniele.</p> <p>Capilli Domini candidi, eo quod Antiquus sit dierum. Ubi et supra.</p> <p>Oculi Domini, inspectio divina, eo quod omnia videat, sicut est illud in apostolo: Omnia enim nuda et aperta sunt oculis eius.²³⁵</p>	<p>Igitur, ut dictum est, figuraliter in Deo <i>caput</i> esse legimus, ipsam essentiam divinitatis ejus, quae praecedit, et cui omnia sunt subjecta intelligere debemus.</p> <p>Capillos vero capitis ejus sanctos angelos, seu virtuosos electos typice accipi oportet; de quo in sacramento libri Danielis scriptum est: 'Aspiciebam donec throni positi sunt, et Antiquus dierum sedit. Vestimentum ejus quasi nix candidum, et capilli capitis ejus quasi lana munda': hoc enim significat per vestimenta candida Dei, quod et per capillos capitis ejus, sanctos videlicet angelos et multitudinem sanctorum dealbatorum. Vel certe ideo capilli lanae mundaе comparantur, ut per hoc Antiquus dierum credatur esse.</p> <p>Oculos dicitur Deus habere, pro eo quod omnia videt, et nihil eum latet, in cujus conspectu, ut ait Apostolus, nulla creatura invisibilis est: omnia enim nuda et aperta sunt oculis ejus. Aliter vero respectus gratiae ejus intelliguntur: ut est illud in psalmo, Oculi Domini super justos. Item aliter, Oculi Domini praecepta ejus, per quae nobis lumen scientiae ministratur, accipiuntur: ut est illud in psalmo, Praeceptum Domini lucidum illuminans oculos.²³⁶</p>

As one can see, while the two share general topical themes, Eucherius' text is by far the more elaborate and explanatory. Yet both texts display the same level of metaphorical analysis of the vocabulary of Scripture (such as the description of

²³⁵ J.B. Pitra (ed.) "Codex Claromontus: Clavis Melitonis" p. 612.

²³⁶ Eucherius of Lyons. *Formularum Spiritualis Intelligentiae ad Uranium*. PL 50: 730C-731A.

the phrase *caput domini* as a symbol for God’s divinity and creator of all things): providing ulterior meanings for basic imagery or phrasing within the Bible.

The chapters of the *Clavis* examine the metaphorical nature of the vocabulary of the Bible. As opposed to Eucherius’ wordlist, which confines itself to words that would be understandably foreign, this work instead addresses the metaphorical meaning of the imagery of Scripture. We also see more abstract interpretations of specific words of the Bible—no longer based purely on issues of translation or foreign names, but more literary or abstract semiotic interpretation. Yet in presenting this text interwoven with that of Eucherius, Theodulf reminds the reader that these kinds of wordbooks exist fundamentally on the same spiritual level—not taking the reader to a transcendent understanding. We can see two distinct elements of “comprehension” addressed in this text—on the surface, a laundry list of various items and themes contained in the Bible, a necessary but ultimately limited means of accessing Scripture. Yet we should not confuse “limited” with “negative”. For Theodulf, these were ultimately helpful addenda to the Bible, aspects of semiotics that, although limited in their “visibility”, could help the reader in unlocking the material language that constituted the Latin Bible. After all, the Bible represented the ultimate in human and divine knowledge; although the transcendent divine meaning was the ultimate goal for any human reader, this did not negate the usefulness of the other lessons and disciplines contained therein.

Pseudo-Augustine: *Speculum*

The last appendix text of Theodulf’s pandects is the *Speculum* or *Liber de Divinis Scripturis*, which during the early medieval period, was believed to have been composed by Augustine.²³⁷ It should not be confused with the authentic Augustinian text, *Liber qui Appellatur Speculum*, an in-depth examination of the books of the Bible.²³⁸ The *Divinis Scripturis*, in contrast, is a collection of

²³⁷ The pseudo-Augustinian text is found on folios 338-344 in the Le Puy Bible and folios 338-346 in the Mesmianus Codex. Augustine & Pseudo-Augustine, *Libri qui appellatur speculum et Liber de divinis scripturis sive speculum quod fertur S. Augustini*, (trans. & ed.) F. Wehrich, CSEL Vol. XII, (1887) p. xlii.

²³⁸ Also edited by Francis Wehrich and contained within the same critical edition as that of the text found in the Theodulfian codices. Ibid.

biblical and patristic quotations, arranged according to various spiritual or moral themes, such as *De patientia*, *De contentione vitanda*, *Quod in baptismo omni peccata dimittantur et quod in novitate vitae ambulandum sit*.²³⁹ Within this text, we find the tropological interpretation of the Bible, or, more simply put in Isidore's tripartite division, instructions on *mores* or morals.²⁴⁰ For patristic writers, this sense was an element of the "spiritual" (as opposed to the intellectual) investigation into the Bible, for moral instruction still pertained to the actions of the corporeal body, e.g. how one ought to behave in the material or secular world.²⁴¹ More than any of the other texts within Theodulf's appendix, this type of text relied less on the precise wording of Scripture and emphasized general lessons or content to be gleaned from it. Topics contained in the *Speculum* addressed fundamental aspects of faith and the means by which one could live a spiritual life.

The intention behind the pseudo-Augustinian *Speculum* seems to echo the style of Cyprian of Carthage's (d. 257) *Testimonies*, a text devoted to illustrating the supremacy of Christianity over Judaism in thematic chapters.²⁴² No such triumphalist agenda can be found in the *Speculum*; the organization of the chapters appears more for the purpose of a reference guide for those looking for biblical quotations on a given theme. Many of the subjects featured in the text have philosophical resonance, particularly Chapter 104, *De substantia Dei*, which in the Mesmiamus Codex contains the following:

²³⁹ Wehrich *Libri qui appellatur speculum*, p. 291-293.

²⁴⁰ See footnote 150 above.

²⁴¹ As explained by Gregory the Great: "Haec in significationem nostri capitis breviter tractata transcurrimus: nunc in aedificationem ejus corporis, ea moraliter tractanda replicemus ut quod actum foris narratur in opere, sciamus quomodo intus agatur in mente" Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, Book II, chap. 38, n. 63, PL 75: 486c.

²⁴² L. Delisle, 'Le plus ancien manuscrit du Miroir de Saint Augustin', *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartres* XIV (1884), p. 484. Cyprian, *Testimoniorum Libri Tres Adversus Judaeos*, PL 4: 675-780a.

In Psalm 68: “I am stuck fast to the mire of the deep and there is no sure standing”. In Jeremiah Chapter (left blank but Chapter 10 in the Vulgate): “They have not heard the voice of the master; from the fowl of the air to the beasts they have gone away and departed”. Also in Chapter (left blank): “Because who comes to the council of the Lord and sees and hears his sermon? Who considers his words and listens to them?” Also in chapter (left blank): “If they stood in my council, I would turn them away from their evil path and from all their evil thoughts”.²⁴³

Quotations provided within the *Speculum* provide a far more abstract (and arguably less literal) approach to Scripture. These themes contain the “ethical” form of Scripture (described by Isidore as *mores*) advocated by Origen, and were considered representative of the body’s journey on the path to salvation.²⁴⁴

Francis Wehrich produced a modern critical edition of the *Speculum* in the late nineteenth century.²⁴⁵ Wehrich was the first to attempt a systematic transmission history for the *Speculum*, based on the earliest known manuscripts of the text. This included fragments of the text now contained within the famous sixth-century codex Floriacensis (BN lat. 6400 G), a manuscript of the New Testament, but which has been shown to have originated in another sixth century biblical manuscript: Orléans 16 (now 19).²⁴⁶ The text, due to the extensive damage of the manuscript, barely survives. While the

²⁴³ *De Substantia Dei*: In psalmo LXVIII: Infixus sum in limo profundi et non est substantia. In hieremia cap. : Et non audierunt vocem possidentis: a voluere caeli usque ad pecora transmigraverunt et recesserunt. Item cap. : Quia enim adfuit in consilio domini et vidit et audivit sermonem eius? quis consideravit verbum illius et audivit? Item ibi cap. : Si stetissent in consilio meo usque avertissem utique eos a via sua mala et a pessimis cogitationibus suis. Wehrich *Libri qui appellatur speculum*, p. 630-1.

²⁴⁴ This is a conflation of Origen’s third sense of exegesis with Philo’s work, such as seen in his treatise *On the Migration of Abraham*, n. 17-32. H. de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, p. 149.

²⁴⁵ Pseudo-Augustine, *Liber de divinis scripturis sive speculum*, p. xlii.

²⁴⁶ The biblical text is that of a sixth century Latin manuscript, also known as the Fleury Palimpsest. The *Speculum* text was inserted later over the original writing, as was the treatise *De hypotheticis Syllabis* by Boethius and the *De Mundo* by Isidore of Seville (fols. 112^v-145^v). Although the *De Mundo* treatise has been dated to the eighth century, the Boethius treatise is believed to have been written using the manuscript as a palimpsest during the 12th. The Floriacensis manuscript features a half-uncial which resembles early script from Tours. The *Speculum* folios within the Fleury manuscript were proven to have originated within a similar sixth century biblical manuscript (Orléans no. 16, now 19); however, were mistakenly bound together with the Fleury manuscript. The fragmentary folios of this oldest known edition of the *Speculum* can now be found in BN N.A. lat. 1596. B. M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations* (Oxford, 1977), p. 308. C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, Vol. II (Leipzig: 1909), pp. 608-9. S. Berger, *Le Palimpseste de Fleury: Fragments du Nouveau Testament en Latin* (Paris, 1889), p. 9. L. Delisle, ‘Le plus ancien manuscrit’, p. 479.

Floriacensis/Orleans *Speculum* fragments predate both the Le Puy Bible and Mesmianus Codex, only two other pre-tenth century manuscripts contain the *Speculum* as listed by Weihrich: the Codex Sessorianus 58 (eighth to ninth century) and the Codex Michaelinus 173 (now Abrincensis/Avranches 87, ninth century).²⁴⁷ Both codices contain fuller editions of the text (Codex Michaelinus contains 132 folios of the *Speculum* and the Sessorianus contains 154), than either of Theodulf's codices.²⁴⁸ The three other known early medieval versions of the text, the Codex Lemouicensis 127 (Paris BN Lat. 2977A), the Codex Victorinus 906 (Paris BN Lat. 15082), and the Paris BN N.A. Lat. 256 all date from the eleventh century or later. When looking at the other pre-tenth century examples of the *Speculum* text, establishing a precise *stemma* of transmission remains elusive. The text itself is defined by nothing more than its collection of thematic chapter headings, rather than adherence to a specific biblical edition. When examining early examples of the text, each conforms to a different biblical recension, making any attempt to trace the text's diffusion extremely difficult. Therefore, correspondence between the *Speculum* texts of both the Floriacensis/Orleans and Sessorianus manuscripts are rare apart from their chapter headings. In the case of the Sessorianus manuscript, the biblical text is that connected to the Priscillian heresy (a predominantly *Vetus Latina* text) in early medieval Iberia, and may represent an early Spanish example of the text.²⁴⁹ Meanwhile, the Floriacensis/Orleans text, partially due to its fragmentary nature, is more difficult to identify in terms of origin. Early investigations into the text yielded many similarities with African texts, particularly during the era of the Vandals (fifth to early sixth century) and may

²⁴⁷ F. Weihrich, *Libri qui appellatur speculum*, p. xxxv-xli.

²⁴⁸ Ibid, p. xli. This was later confirmed by Belsheim's 1899 work. J. Belsheim, *Fragmenta Novi Testamenti in translatione Latina antehieronymiana ex libro qui vocatur 'Speculum'* (Christiana, 1899).

²⁴⁹ It also has connections to perhaps an early African tradition, such as various words and abbreviations, as seen in Matthew 6,4: "absconso" (which is unused in the Vulgate); 6,19,20: "thensauros" (Vulgate: thesauros), as well as frequent orthographic changes: mixing "p" and "b", "v" and "b", "t" and "d" "ae" and "e", "e" and "i" and other frequent intermixing of ablative and accusative cases. C. Gregory. *Textkritik*, p. 606. J. Belsheim, *Fragmenta Novi Testamenti*, p. 4.

represent an African or West Gothic recension of the New Testament text.²⁵⁰

Definitive ascription of the text to Augustine is also difficult to determine, as neither the Sessorianus nor the Floriacensis/Orleans versions of the *Speculum* originally contained authorial *tituli*.²⁵¹ As is the case with the Sessorianus Codex, later hands (probably during the eleventh century) have added the attribution of authorship to Augustine.²⁵² Theodulf's Mesmianus Codex therefore provides the earliest known *tituli* of the *Speculum* to Augustine.²⁵³ Yet even this may have been a later addition to the text, as it is written on an entirely different folio than the beginning of the *Speculum*. The hand does not appear significantly different from the rest of the text; however, the location of the *tituli* would indicate it was not a part of the original transcription of the text. Additionally, the Le Puy Bible contains neither rubrication nor any ascription of the text as belonging to Augustine.²⁵⁴

Following Weihrich's investigation into the *Speculum* text during the late nineteenth century, it was discovered, mostly through the work of De Bruyne in the 1930s, that the text was remarkably similar (at some points identical) to a text presumed to have been compiled by Isidore of Seville in the seventh century.²⁵⁵ De Bruyne identified the work in two manuscripts, the Veronensis LVI (54) from the tenth century and the Munich clm 14096 manuscript (perhaps originally from Regensburg) from the late eighth century. The Munich clm 14096

²⁵⁰ The manuscript today exists in a state of three fragmentary pieces on a total of 45 folios. Text from the *Speculum* comprises the chapters XXVII-XXXII and LVI-LXII. F.J.A. Hort "Old-Latin Palimpsest of the Acts and Apocalypse" *The Classical Review*, Vol. 3, No. 1/2 (Feb., 1889), pp. 11-12. S. Berger, *Le Palimpseste de Fleury*, p. 17.

²⁵¹ For example, within the Floriacensis, and Michaelinus manuscripts.

²⁵² In the case of the Sessorianus Codex, three later eleventh century hands are believed to have added the following *tituli*: "In nomine dni ni ihu xpi incp ordo capitulorum de divinis scripturis n CXLIIII sit", below which on fol 1 is written "de testimon. scripturau aug./ contra donatistas" above the following: "Beati augustini de testimoniis scripturarum/ contra donatistas & idola hic liber esse dinoscitur./ ceteri tres...". Reifferscheid, *Bibliotheca Patrum Italica*. II. Vienna: 1870-72, p. 129. F. Weihrich, *Libri qui appellatur speculum*, p. xxxv.

²⁵³ Fol. 338r: *Incipiunt capitula in Speculum domni Augustini*. See Appendix III for more detail.

²⁵⁴ This complicates the question as to the relative age of the Le Puy and Mesmianus Codices. If the Le Puy manuscript was based on the Mesmianus Codex model, and its appendix texts were included as part of its original composition, there is no easy explanation as to why ascription to Augustine can be found in one and not the other. This touches on the wide variance of the two manuscripts particularly in terms of this text, a discussion we shall return to in a later section.

²⁵⁵ D. de Bruyne, "Étude sur le 'Liber de divinis Scripturis. III. Abrégé du VIIe siècle'", *Revue Bénédictine* 45 (1933), p. 119-120.

manuscript is of particular interest when examining the transmission history of the pseudo-Augustine text. While Weihrich had been unable to find any *tituli* for the text earlier (or even contemporary) to Theodulf's Le Puy Bible, de Bruyne's Munich text featured not an ascription to Augustine, but a title of the work on fol. 63: *INCIPIUNT TESTIMONIA DIVINAE SCRIPTURAE* which bore seemingly no relationship to the established manuscript tradition listed by Weihrich. We find the *Speculum/Testimonia* tucked within the middle of the manuscript, on folios 63-99. Alongside a wealth of other texts of florilegia or hagiographical material²⁵⁶, it features a number of insular abbreviations, which has led to a tentative provenance of either the western portions of Anglo-Saxon England or even Wales (although Bischoff has claimed that it possibly dates from a continental scriptorium with insular influence).²⁵⁷ Comparison to other known texts from this period shows a strong correlation with a text attributed to Isidore of Seville, the *Testimonia divinae scripturae*.²⁵⁸ Although the initial lines of the text are the same within the two versions (e.g. those from the Theodulf Bibles and the *Testimonia* text), the *Testimonia* provides far longer quotations for fewer chapters (the pseudo-Isidore text only contains twenty-nine chapters) than contained in other manuscripts containing the *Speculum*.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁶ Other material in the Munich text includes: *Sex sunt quae odit dominus* etc (Prov. 6, 18-19, taken from the Vulgate), *Quattuor sunt perturbationes...Octo sunt principalia vitia*, *Testimonia de Sententias Evagri* (fol. 81^r), *Testimonia de Libro Sancti Martini*, *Testimonia de Libro Sancti Ambrosi* (f. 83^r), *Testimonia de Libro Prosperi* (fol. 84^v), *Eiusdem de Libro Sententiarum* (fol. 88^r), *Testimonia de Libro Beati Gregorii*, *Test. de Libro S. Hieronimi Epistularum; De Sobrietate, De Ebrietatem, De Libro Cecili Cibriani* (actually the pseudo-Cyprian *De montibus Sina et Sion*), *De Libro conlationum de S. Hieronymi*, and *Quaetiones Salamonis*. D. de Bruyne, "Étude" p. 120.

²⁵⁷ D. de Bruyne, "Étude" p. 119 (who quotes Bischoff's assistance in his research).

²⁵⁸ Pseudo-Isidore of Seville. *Testimonia divinae scripturae*. LLT-Series A. cl. 0385. For a comparison of chapter titles, consult Appendix III.

²⁵⁹ As with many of the works we have discussed, the text is predominantly a series of quotations, drawing not only from Augustine but also works by Gregory the Great and Martin of Braga. Perhaps the better phrase is with regard to the original "compiler" of this text (with no doubt others contributing later medieval authors).

Although a link between the *Speculum* and the *Testimonia* was established by De Bruyne in the early twentieth century, investigation of the manuscript transmission for both texts has remained fairly disjointed. Due to Isidore of Seville's prevalence as a cited author during the eighth and ninth centuries, quotation of his work is often used as a marker by which scholars gauge the age of the work. As the *Speculum* features no explicit quotations by Isidore of Seville, scholars surmised that the text must date between these three writers—commonly accepting the early seventh century as the most likely period of origin.²⁵⁹ Similar to the uncertain history of many of the other texts we have looked at, it bears relevance to examine the role of the *Speculum* within the Carolingian period. For those interested in the transmission of early biblical texts, the *Speculum* is quite valuable. As it comprises only biblical quotations, it can demonstrate clearly

With this background in mind, we should turn our attention to the editions of the *Speculum* as contained within the Mesmianus Codex and the Le Puy Bible in terms of their contribution to our knowledge of the transmission of the text during the early medieval period as well as an overall examination as to why a text such as this would be inserted as appendix material to both codices. As we have seen, the *Speculum* and *Testimonia* chapter headings could be found not only as appended to biblical texts but also attached to other patristic work or more general florilegia (as we saw with the Orleans 16 manuscript).²⁶⁰ The organization of this text (merely a collection of chapter themes rather than disseminating a specific biblical edition) has lent credibility to the theory that such a text existed as a kind of “blank slate” for biblical quotations: providing appropriate chapter themes which were deemed generally relevant on a tropological level. Each scribe would provide the appropriate biblical quotations in accordance to the local monastery’s or scriptorium’s edition of the Bible. When looking at these similar texts, it seems likely that these collections were meant for a limited audience, perhaps written for the compiler himself. In looking at the Munich manuscript²⁶¹ in particular, which appears to be a fairly un-uniform (and probably personal) collection of handbooks and florilegia, it appears that this collection was not meant for large-scale distribution. Comparing the version of the text as seen in the Munich manuscript with that in the Sessorianus, Floriacensis/Orleans, or the other editions of the *Speculum* text, and the

an adherence to a specific biblical transmission. A *Corpus Christianorum* edition of the *Testimonia* was produced by Albert Lehner in the 1980s; however, it shows little interaction with the transmission history of the *Speculum*. A. Lehner, *Florilegia: Florilegium Frisingense (CLM 6433), Testimonia Divinae Scripturae <et Patrum> CCSL CVIII D.* (Turnhout, 1987).

²⁶⁰ See footnote 246 above.

²⁶¹ In terms of the *Testimonia* in the Munich 14096 manuscript, it very likely is not the original version of this manuscript, but like the transmission of the *Speculum*, was copied from another earlier edition. The general poor quality of the manuscript and the variety of script indicates the text was not meant for wide-scale or elite consumption. While the hands correspond to 8th or 9th century insular features, the text seems to clearly refer to an earlier composition date, particularly thanks to the chronology provided at the beginning of the text. The reference to Dagobert’s reign and the end point of the chronology refers only to Dagobert’s regnal year (the 12th in this case), a reference point that would only have made sense to someone probably in the vicinity of Dagobert himself. The transmission of this text to the eighth or ninth century probably was thus quite limited, perhaps restricted to this original (presumably lost) manuscript, the manuscript at Munich, and the 10th century copy at Verona. A. Lehner, *Florilegia: Florilegium Frisingense*. p. 45.

noticeable lack of quotation adherence between the texts (apart from chapter headings), it appears these texts were highly localized.

This may aid in explaining the noticeable differences in the *Speculum* text as contained within Theodulf's two pandects. As each of the texts feature slightly altered versions of the Vulgate and interpolations from the *Vetus Latina*, the *Speculum* texts are likewise not identical. Yet the lessons or thematic chapters remain exactly the same between the texts. For Theodulf, absolute matching between Scriptural versions is less important than the enduring lessons either versions of the Bible can convey. The (relative) prevalence of this type of texts (a distribution of chapter themes rather than an entire text of biblical quotations) only befits a culture uninterested in standardization of the biblical text. The *Speculum* text could only survive in such a state in which it was acceptable to have multiple varying copies of the text simultaneously.

Apart from these indicators of textual transmission and the overall need for standardization, the *Speculum* texts in both manuscripts betray the sloppy work of the copyist or perhaps another event which affected work at the scriptorium. The *Speculum* text in neither the Le Puy Bible nor Mesmianus Codex is complete. Almost halfway through the text, specific chapter and verse citations fade out (although identification of the biblical books remains), leaving blank spaces where a later scribe would have presumably come along to fill them in as appropriate.²⁶² What happened to affect the transcription of both copies of the manuscript remains unknown.

Despite its apparent ever-changing nature, such an investigation into the *Speculum* provides us with evidence, not only about the text itself, but more generally, about its role in terms of the composition and use of florilegia during the early medieval period. In discussing its ascription to Augustine (now found to be merely an eleventh century invention by later scribes rather than an intended deception by the compiler of the early medieval text), we can see the growth or

²⁶² Although the quotations are in place (although are frequently different between the two manuscripts), a blank area is often left for a scribe to presumably later fill in the details of the biblical book, chapter, and verse. These have been left blank both at (different) points within Chapter 44, *De Interdictu Idolateriae*. But the Le Puy Bible's version of the *Speculum* features on the whole far more blank quotations throughout the text in comparison to the Mesmianus Codex.

use of these “blank slate” florilegia—providing basic themes around which any compiler could create their own exegetical handbook. Also, in terms of the transmission of biblical editions, the *Speculum* and *Testimonia* texts do provide substantial evidence in terms of the wealth of various biblical editions circulating around the continent (and perhaps even in the British Isles) throughout the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. The growth of such texts, as seen in the transmission histories of both the *Speculum* and the *Testimonia*, are texts which benefit varied types of biblical material, allowing for customization or personalization of the text. Factors such as the rising prevalence of the Vulgate edition of the text may have streamlined the various biblical recensions popular within the Carolingian Empire; however, as we have shown above, this was by no means a standardizing force within the scriptoria, not even at such powerhouses as Tours.²⁶³ When we look at the biblical manuscripts of Theodulf, we see how such complexity can arise when attaching material quoting one version of the Bible to a manuscript that features an entirely different edited version of the text. It is unlikely that we will ever be able to pinpoint the origin of the *Speculum* text, despite the dedicated efforts of medievalists, and this is perhaps to be expected. As a blank slate, the text does not and cannot conform to any standard examination of manuscript transmission. By definition, this was a malleable work, able to be adapted and modified to suit any use and with any available accompanying text. While the themes of the chapters may have their origins in Augustinian theology, in reality, the *Speculum* is inherently ephemeral and ultimately local: dependent on scribe, provenance, and the biblical and patristic texts available at the time.

Conclusion

These appendix texts demonstrate a comprehensive programme on the part of Theodulf’s agenda for biblical revision. The historical veracity of Isidore’s *Chronicon*, the wordbooks of Eucherius and pseudo-Melito, and the moral themes of pseudo-Augustine, all combine to demonstrate a hierarchical but fundamentally linguistic and materialistic aspect to Theodulf’s perspective on

²⁶³ See footnote 51 above.

Scripture. Theodulf demonstrates a clear subscription to an inherited patristic tradition (as we have seen in the works of Augustine and Isidore) that advocates an educated approach to Scripture, one that sees secular learning as a means to better understand the nature of the biblical text. None of these appendix texts (nor the hierarchical levels of exegesis they represented) invoked the “intellectual” side of Scripture, the fullest application of the human *ratio*; however, they were a means to that end. In Theodulf’s eyes, the more the reader understood about the material elements of Scripture, the better prepared he (or she) was to achieve the “true” or “divine” element of the text, one which went beyond the words on the page. Such a perspective is clear when one examines the types of biblical text to which these appendix texts are attached. Even in Theodulf’s “twin” Bibles, we see a clear lack of adherence to a uniform text. Theodulf’s variant notation, citing other available versions of the Vulgate or *Vetus Latina*, demonstrates no subscription to a single version of Scripture and, like his appendix texts, provides the reader with a wealth of information about the “material” or “visible” elements to the Bible, with the hope they will lead each reader to the “invisible” meaning.

As we have seen in our brief examination of both Alcuin and Theodulf’s Bibles, the emphasis on language and the interpretative nature of Scripture was at the heart of their biblical revision, not a word-for-word standardization. As opposed to preconceptions regarding the *unitas* of Carolingian textual revision, both Alcuin and Theodulf markedly demonstrate a preference not for the verbatim transcription of Scripture, but rather an emphasis on the “physical” form of the Bible as a means of helping the reader achieve an intellectual (*ratio*) understanding of the invisible divine elements of the text. Neither in Alcuin nor in Theodulf’s Bibles (nor even in the subsequent Bibles from Tours) is there a marked maintenance of a certain *type* of Bible, one which was to be considered “more accurate” than any other. A concern for the grammatical, spelling, or orthographical aspects of the Bible should not suggest to us an overt concern for a more Antiochean-style approach to the Bible (a literal-ness to biblical interpretation), but rather a concern for both the “physical” and “spiritual” aspects of the text, taking directly from the Alexandrian school of interpretation,

in the style of Augustine and Isidore of Seville, as we discussed above.

Augustine, in his *De Trinitate*, emphasized this transition from the visible to the invisible in terms of the biblical text, likening it to the same relationship within man between being an *imago* versus a *similitudo* of God:

For when we utter something true, that is when we utter what we know, a word is necessarily born from the knowledge which we hold in the memory, a word which is absolutely the same kind of thing as the knowledge it is born from. It is the thought formed from the thing we know that is the word which we utter in our heart, a word that is neither in Greek nor Latin nor any language; but when it is necessary to convey the knowledge in the language of those we are speaking to, some sign is adopted to signify this word...As so we must come to that word of man, the word of a rational animal, the word of the image of God which is not born of God but made of God, the word which is neither uttered in sound nor thought of in the likeness of sound which necessarily belongs to some language, but which precedes all the signs that signify it and is begotten of the knowledge abiding in the consciousness, when this knowledge is uttered inwardly just exactly as it is...In this way this likeness of the made image approaches as far as it can to the likeness of the born image, in which God the Son is declared substantially like the Father in all respects.²⁶⁴

In the modes of interpretation seen by Theodulf's Bibles, and particularly his appendix texts, he upholds (as he did in the *Opus Caroli*) the mirror of the Bible for each human: made up of body, soul, and intellect (in the definition of Augustine). None of these elements may be neglected in terms of attempting to achieve knowledge of God. Grammar and the "rules" of language make up the corporeal sense, metaphors and allegorical "signs" of language appeal to our

²⁶⁴ "Necesse est enim cum verum loquimur, id est, quod scimus loquimur, ex ipsa scientia quam memoria tenemus, nascatur verbum quod ejusmodi sit omnino, cujusmodi est illa scientia de qua nascitur. Formata quippe cogitatio ab ea re quam scimus, verbum est quod in corde dicimus: quod nec graecum est, nec latinum, nec linguae alicujus alterius; sed cum id opus est in eorum quibus loquimur perferre notitiam, aliquod signum quo significetur assumitur... Pervenendum est ergo ad illud verbum hominis, ad verbum rationalis animantis, ad verbum non de Deo natae, sed a Deo factae imaginis Dei, quod neque prolativum est in sono, neque cogitativum in similitudine soni, quod alicujus linguae esse necesse sit, sed quod omnia quibus significatur signa praecedat, et gignitur de scientia quae manet in animo, quando eadem scientia intus dicitur, sicuti est. Simillima est enim visio cogitationis, visioni scientiae... Sic accedit, quantum potest, ista similitudo imaginis factae ad illam similitudinem imaginis natae, qua Deus Filius Patri per omnia substantialiter similis praedicatur." Augustine, *De Trinitate*, Book XV.3 PL 42: 1071-73, (trans.) E. Hill, p. 409-10..

spiritual sense, and finally, via contemplation and discipline, we can invoke the divine intellectual *ratio* that is in each of us, by virtue of our creation in the *imago* of God.

Conclusion

Overview

This thesis has examined the origins and development of a Christian philosophy of language as seen in the writings of the scholars at the Carolingian court, specifically Alcuin of York and Theodulf of Orléans. In the multi-regional court assembled by Charlemagne in the late eighth century, Alcuin and Theodulf, along with other representatives of the enduring European intellectual tradition, furthered a Christian perspective towards language begun in the patristic period with work by Augustine and Origen. Concurrent with Charlemagne's increased political reliance upon the authority of texts, court scholars dedicated themselves to the question of establishing a means by which the Bible (along with other religious texts) could be invested with spiritual authority. This concern stemmed from a belief in the underlying divine wisdom inherent to the biblical text coupled with a concern as to the extent to which this wisdom could be contained and transmitted via a human semiotic system. The promotion of grammar, spelling, and other secular disciplines, in addition to the Carolingian development of a regularized script (Caroline Minuscule) and the *mise en page* were a direct result of this attempt to "clarify" language. Additionally, investigations into the ontology of man (as created in the *imago* and *similitudo* of God) helped Christian scholars elucidate the means by which man could understand divine wisdom, relying heavily on classical philosophical ideas of language, specifically language's potential to convey abstract (and in the case of Christianity, divine) concepts. Man's unique *ratio*, given to him by God, allowed him to penetrate the "visible" or secular nature of language to see the transcendent divine wisdom underneath.

We have discussed how Augustine, along with other patristic writers, incorporated pagan philosophical ontology, specifically the works of the Stoics, Aristotle, and elements of Neoplatonism, in order to form a Christian

understanding of semiotics.¹ These aspects helped the Christian intellectual tradition to fully explore an increasingly binary understanding of reality, defined by the relationship between the visible and invisible, or better put, the physical and the spiritual. The application of this relationship was pervasive throughout the Christian tradition: defining not only the nature of Christ, but also the make up of Scripture and even humanity itself (conceptualized as the interaction between the *imago* and *similitudo* of God). Although many of these texts and perspectives continued throughout the late antique and early medieval period within the monastic intellectual tradition, it was only Charlemagne and the political stability which his rule brought that created the right conditions with which to merge these divergent strands of inherited classical and patristic traditions. Scholars such as Alcuin and Theodulf of Orléans were the vanguard of Charlemagne's court literary culture, a group of scholars who showed increasing reliance on patristic and classical writers as part of an overall promotion of the value and authority of the written word. The rediscovery and reconciliation² of works by Boethius, Augustine, and Aristotle (to mention only a few) acted as part of an overall introspection of Christian semiotic philosophy; in particular, the role of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic in their relation to Christian epistemology. Such a philosophy furthered the binary invisible/visible Christian framework, this time with specific application towards the written word. As Charlemagne increasingly sought to endorse his (and his predecessor's) authority via text, so too was there a new concern for the validation of divine authority within the inherited texts of Scripture. The growing popularity of the Vulgate text and the new emphasis on the dissemination of the written word provoked the court scholars to ascertain how differing textual traditions of the Bible could equally be considered the authentic word of God. While maintaining the standards of the linguistic "form" of the text (emphasizing

¹ See our discussion in Chapter Two.

² This refers to the "dismantling" of the Augustinian corpus in particular. Despite Augustine and Possidius' intention that their corpus would be transmitted together as a whole, these wishes were disregarded by early medieval writers. J. Contreni, "Augustine in the Carolingian period" in J. Fitzgerald's *Augustine Through the Ages* (Michigan, 1999), p. 126.

grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic, and of course, the writing itself in the form of Caroline Minuscule³), Alcuin and Theodulf in their biblical recension and treatises asserted the “invisible” and “transcendent” power of Scripture: the divine wisdom of God was not bound to the human creation of language but rather could only be grasped by the rational mind abstractly. This solved any need for exact standardization between texts, a reformation of our standard understanding of the goals of Carolingian *correctio*.

Chapter Two demonstrated how Augustine and other intellectual traditions of the early medieval west fostered the intellectual climate of the Carolingian court. The availability of Augustine, the translation of Aristotle’s works by Boethius, and the acceptance and promotion of late antique grammarians intersected at the Carolingian court in order to produce a new, more comprehensive attitude towards semiotics (in terms of the new union between Christian and classical epistemology and grammar), and the means by which the human intellect could process linguistic symbols. The importance of language not only as a secular discipline but as a conduit of communication between human and divine fostered a new emphasis on the structure of language, highlighted by Alcuin’s various treatises on grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic. In and of themselves these treatises appear to conform to the wealth of grammatical material prevalent in intellectual circles throughout Europe during this period; however, Alcuin’s incorporation of epistemological material, drawn from both Aristotle and Christian traditions, illustrates a new alliance between grammar and philosophy. Early medieval scholars embraced texts by late antique grammarians such as Donatus and Priscian, one of the few secular disciplines to enjoy continued popularity after the end of the Roman educational system.⁴ Grammar, or *grammatica*, during this period implied the examination of not only the “structure” of language, but also the various literary devices used in texts: allegory, tropes, metaphors, etc., many of which dealt with the same aspects of hermeneutics which increasingly were being applied to Scripture. An

³ D. Ganz, ‘The Preconditions for Caroline Minuscule’, *Viator* 18 (1987), p. 24.

⁴ V. Law, *Grammar and Grammarians* (London, 1977), p. 80.

appreciation of the structure of language and its ability to impart multiple meanings gave rise to explorations of various literary genres within the Carolingian court, including acrostic poetry, one of the most figurative poetic genres from the classical period. The revival of this genre in the Carolingian court by Alcuin, Theodulf, and Josephus Scottus (alongside other imitations of classical genres) indicates renewed interest in the grammatical and literary disciplines, but more specifically in their hermeneutic abilities. Nowhere would this be clearer than in relation to the Bible. The ability of language to contain abstract or divine concepts solidified Scripture as a holy text with holy meaning. The notion of man as having been created as both the *imago* and *similitudo* of God fostered the understanding of man's ability to understand the holy meaning of Scripture—transcending the physical (visible) words of language to reach an invisible and abstract comprehension of the divine.

Chapter Three examined the development of this semiotic philosophy in terms of its application beyond the Carolingian court and its role in the cultural politics of the late eighth century. Charlemagne's attempt to cultivate moral hegemony on a European-wide scale relied heavily on his court scholars' ability to establish a semiotic orthodoxy in terms of Scriptural, ontological, and christological concepts. This was nowhere more apparent than during the 794 Council of Frankfurt at which both the Byzantine Empire and the Adoptionist Controversy of northern Spain were castigated for their inappropriate understanding of Christian hermeneutics. In the Carolingian responses to these heresies, Theodulf's *Opus Caroli regis contra Synodum* and the numerous anti-Adoptionist treatises penned by those such as Alcuin and Paulinus of Aquileia, again we find a concentration on semiotics which highlighted their adversaries' fundamental misunderstanding of the relationship between the visible and the invisible, the sign and its signified.

Finally, in Chapter Four, we discussed how this semiotic development was actualized within the biblical manuscript culture of the late eighth and early ninth century. Looking at both Alcuin and Theodulf's biblical revision, nowhere can there

be found an emphasis on standardization between texts, either between monastic scriptoria or even between revision texts produced by the same compiler. Alcuin and Theodulf's poetry with regards to Scripture also reinforces the means by which they incorporated the Christian philosophical *ratio* within their textual revision—asserting the potential for understanding Scripture on an abstract, rather than physical, level. When looking at Theodulf's Bibles in particular, we find not an emphasis on standardization but rather an acceptance or even promotion of awareness of variant forms of the biblical text (incorporating Spanish, Alcuinian, and Hebrew variants, alongside a Vulgate text interpolated with *Vetus Latina* quotations). His ever-changing revision shows not a programme of strict textual adherence to one established Bible, but an acceptance of the multiple recensions available throughout Europe. In attaching four appendix texts to his two extant biblical pandects, the Le Puy Bible and the Mesmianus Codex, Theodulf demonstrates a concern for the reader's "visible" comprehension of the text: identifying the Bible's place in human history (in Isidore of Seville's *Chronicon*) and clarifying foreign place names and general vocabulary so as not to restrict the reader's understanding (as we see in Eucherius of Lyons' *Instructionum ad Salonius*). This is complemented by other metaphorical and tropological texts (such as within the *Clavis Melitonis* and the pseudo-Augustinian *Speculum*). Each text does not provide an authoritative "meaning" to the biblical text, but rather parallel ways of approaching it via the various tropes and literary devices used within the text, a clear appropriation of the value of the "secular disciplines" in the context of Christian exegesis.

Although neither Alcuin nor Theodulf minimized the emphasis on the linguistic structure of these texts, they both adhered to a clear "meaning over matter" philosophy with regards to Scripture. This is particularly evident when examining Theodulf's extant biblical pandects, the Le Puy Bible and the Mesmianus Codex, and the appendix texts contained in both manuscripts. The remaining texts of Theodulf's Bibles demonstrate no distinct affiliation with an established Vulgate

or *Vetus Latina* edition and, rather than producing one new authoritative text, these manuscripts incorporate variants from other established traditions, furthering the thesis that Theodulf's agenda was not one of textual consistency. The perceived *unitas* of the Carolingian Empire cannot be found here; and alongside Alcuin's texts, this evidence calls into doubt whether such a programme was ever in the minds of Carolingian scholars. The appendix texts further our understanding of the role of the linguistic arts within the Carolingian period: providing a hierarchical scale by which readers could expand their knowledge of the various meanings of Scripture on a corporeal or spiritual level based on Augustine's tripartite sense of vision. Yet the underlying divine meaning, the "heart" of the Bible, remains an intellectual process for the *ratio* of the human mind, unencumbered by the secular disciplines of *grammatica*. This intellectual understanding of the Bible transcends the visible semiotics of language and fosters a "true" knowledge of divine wisdom, as Augustine states in the *De Trinitate* regarding the Bible:

Human inadequacy was trying by speech to bring to the notice of men what it held about the Lord God its creator, according to its capacity, in the inner sanctum of the mind, whether this was held by devout faith or be the least amount of understanding... For it is known with complete certainty from the scriptures and is thus to be devoutly believed, and the mind's eye can also achieve a faint but undoubted glimpse of the truth.⁵

Our reason therefore is aided by grammar, but is ultimately not defined by it. Language can communicate important information about the nature of God; however, knowledge of these secular disciplines cannot convey this alone. Only faith via reason achieves understanding.⁶

This linguistic philosophy was an integral element to the Carolingian intellectual culture in the late eighth century, one that would continue to develop and proliferate during the ninth (particularly with the work of John Scottus). The incorporation of patristic and classical philosophy fostered a promotion of the

⁵ Augustine, *De Trinitate*, VII.3, p. 229-230.

⁶ *Ibid*, VII.4, p. 235

visible/invisible dichotomy of texts within the works of Alcuin of York and Theodulf of Orléans, as we have seen. Although the application of the “secular” arts and the appropriation of Neoplatonic theories (mostly through the lens of Augustine) had been expanding throughout the monasteries and schools of Europe and the Mediterranean basin since the late antique period, it was only with the reign of Charlemagne that these concepts could be developed with respect to an emergent intellectual culture (in terms of his pan-European court scholars) but also as a vehicle of cultural politics (in the face of both the Byzantine Empire and the Adoptionist controversy in northern Spain). Man’s intellectual nature and the semiotic underpinning of human language was now embodied in the revision of texts and exegetical philosophy.

In setting themselves to the task of biblical revision, Alcuin and Theodulf demonstrated their philosophies, not for a standardized version of the Bible, but instead, for a focus on the corporeal/spiritual relationship embodied by the concept of Scripture. Both advocated the necessity of maintaining the “structure” of the Bible: i.e. care for its “physical” form. This did not imply a standardized version, one which would insist on a single orthodox version of the Bible. Rather, both Theodulf and Alcuin advocated this care of the physical so as to cultivate the spiritual: providing readers the means by which they could approach Scripture for themselves, using their divinely-given *ratio* as a way to contemplate the divine wisdom contained within the pages of Scripture.

The Growth and Development of Semiotic Philosophy

With the death of Alcuin in 804, the death of Charlemagne in 814, and the subsequent exile and death of Theodulf in 821, the developments we have been examining during the late eighth and early ninth century passed to a new generation of scholars and a new king, Louis the Pious (778-840).⁷ New scholars, eager to rival their elders, continued the work of intellectual and philosophical

⁷ M. de Jong, *The Penitential State: Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious (814-840)* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 48.

development, again under the guidance or patronage of the Frankish Emperor. Alcuin's legacy perhaps had the most easily definable successes: the biblical revision attached to his name disseminated throughout the Frankish kingdoms thanks to the industry of the monastery at Tours.⁸ Although the revision itself became increasingly less dependent on those initial Bibles we have from the late eighth/early ninth century (St. Gall 75 and Monza G.1), the *name* of Alcuin sounded as a guarantor of quality and consistency.⁹ Alcuin's name became synonymous for intellectual pursuit and spiritual discipline even prior to his death, and his legacy grew exponentially, thanks to the success of not only Tours as a centre for manuscript production, but also via the successes of many of his pupils, such as Wizo (Candidus) and Fridugisus.¹⁰ Wizo (d. ca. 805) eventually became master of the palace school following his master's retirement, whereas Fridugisus (d. ca. 834) became head of the Tours scriptorium, improving upon Alcuin's biblical revision and further developing the "house style" of the scriptorium, making it one of the most vibrant production centres in the Carolingian world.¹¹ Under his abbacy, Tours perfected their biblical layout and refined the use of Caroline minuscule, making it one of the most uniform scripts developed during the medieval period.¹² Indeed, it is the abbacy of Fridugisus, not Alcuin, which we must thank for some of the finest examples of Turonian biblical manuscripts.¹³

⁸ D. Ganz, 'The Preconditions for Caroline Minuscule', *Viator* 18 (1987), p. 27.

⁹ R. McKitterick, 'Carolingian Bible Production: the Tours anomaly', in R. Gameson (ed.), *The Early Medieval Bible: Its production, decoration, and use*, (Cambridge, 1994), p. 70.

¹⁰ The problem of the joint name of Candidus has proved problematic for scholars, in terms of ascribing authorship to such works as the *Dicta Candidi* and distinguishing between Alcuin's pupil and Candidus Bruun, a student of Einhard's and eventually the head of the Corbie scriptorium. Both are relevant for our discussion in terms of the generation post-Alcuin and their accomplishments in the field of philosophy and ontology. J. Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin*, p. 61.

¹¹ R. McKitterick, 'Carolingian Bible Production: the Tours anomaly', p. 73

¹² D. Ganz, 'The Preconditions for Caroline Minuscule', *Viator* 18 (1987) p. 45.

¹³ These include: Basle, Universitätsbibliothek, A.N. 1. 3, Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 3-4, London, BL, Add. 11848, London, BL, Harley 2805, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Morgan 191, Oslo, Martin Schøyen collection, 624, Paris, BN, lat. 25, Paris, BN, lat. 68, Paris, BN lat. 11514, Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB.II.40, Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, C.1. R. McKitterick, "Carolingian Bible Production", p. 71.

But aspects other than manuscript production characterize the developments of the Carolingian world during the ninth century. This next generation was also responsible for taking and adapting the ontological perspective developed by the work of both Alcuin and Theodulf. The *Dicta Candidi presbiteri de imagine dei*, now shown to have been composed by Wizo (Candidus), provided a similar investigation into the nature of man in the image of God as that we saw in the *De Imagine Dei*, relied on so extensively by Alcuin.¹⁴ This second treatise demonstrates the continuing investigations into the ontological relationship between God and man, a subject only first scrutinized and applied on a pervasive spiritual level by Alcuin and Theodulf within the Carolingian kingdom. Its inclusion in the “Munich Passages” (CIm 6407, dated to c. 800) places its composition (and a title attributing the work to Candidus) alongside the later works of Alcuin.¹⁵ This provides evidence for a continual interest in Christian ontology underpinning many of the major developments in the field during the ninth century (as we shall see with John Scottus).¹⁶ The *Dicta Candidi* offers a more exploratory look at the nature of man as the image of God: how each man’s soul is “the power” by which the corporeal body is run and acts as a mirror for the nature of God. Such ontological arguments frame one of the first attempts to “reason” the existence of God: an assertive application of logic to spiritual concepts.¹⁷ Indeed, as has already been discussed by John Marenbon, these two texts at some point were merged and re-cast in the form of a letter in the ninth century to form what was traditionally referred to as the *De Dignitate Conditionis Humanae*, a text popular for centuries afterwards. Indeed, evidence of their influence can be seen in the School of Laon in the eleventh and twelfth centuries

¹⁴ This was demonstrated conclusively when the date of the earliest known *Dicta Candidi* was set at 800, at which time Bruun would have been only a child. This was originally suggested by Heinrich Löwe in the 1940s. M. Lebech & J. McEvoy, “*De Dignitate Conditionis Humanae*: Translation, Commentary, and Reception History of the *Dicta Albini* (Ps.-Alcuin) and the *Dicta Candidi*” *Viator* Vol. 40, No. 2 (2009), p. 4. Also see our discussion in Chapter Two.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

and shows remarkable similarity to the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor (d. 1187), successor to Peter Lombard at the School of Notre-Dame.¹⁸

Increasing discussions about the role of philosophy and grammar demonstrate the continued interest in the subject during the ninth century. A debate recorded between Agobard of Lyon (c. 775-840) and Alcuin's former pupil, Fridugisus, illustrates the sustained philosophical concerns of the Carolingian court. Also perhaps a native of the Septimanian or northern Spanish region, Agobard also arguably represents the same intellectual tradition as that of Theodulf, while Fridugisus continued the Alcuinian strain of Touronian manuscript production and biblical revision into the ninth century. Fridugisus' philosophical arguments with Agobard of Lyon during the late 820s represent continuations of discussions begun thirty years earlier, particularly with regards to the importance of linguistic structure (grammar, orthography, etc.) and its ability to discern underlying meaning. Although work on this controversy has focused predominantly on Fridugisus' understanding of the nature of the soul, what should draw our attention is the link to linguistics and epistemology found in Agobard's letter to Fridugisus on the role of grammar within Scripture.¹⁹ Although Fridugisus' letter to Agobard does not survive, Agobard's letter shows a reaction to what must have been Fridugisus' argument for the importance of grammatical standards within Scripture.²⁰ Agobard insists that the form of language is of minimal consequence when transcribing or revising Scripture, as linguistic conventions may be altered or changed so as to better reflect (in his opinion) the underlying divine wisdom. This deviates significantly from Alcuin and Theodulf's insistence on the maintenance of the linguistic "form" of the Bible, contravening Alcuin's earlier arguments as to the proper relationship (visible/invisible, corporeal/spiritual) extant in the Bible. For Alcuin and Theodulf, it was via the ability of *form* that the clearest path to an

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 20.

¹⁹ Only the last part of the letter survives in a tenth century copy in Paris BN 2853. Agobard of Lyon, *Item Liber Contra Lobjectiones Fredigisi Abbatis*, PL 104: 159-174.

²⁰ Ibid.

underlying meaning could be conveyed. Both Agobard and Fridugisus represent the evolution of these early investigations by Alcuin and the earlier court circle in terms of the amount of care needed to be shown to the material so as to preserve the invisible divine message. Agobard is much more willing to break the established rules of grammar so as to preserve the sense or underlying meaning of a passage:

And because now we said that the interpreters or the explainers of divine books did not altogether take care to hold resolutely to the rule of the grammatical arts; because certainly neither from ignorance nor from malice they did this, but rather from the reason of condescension; just as the use of the holy Scriptures stoops down to human words, as much as speaking with the force of ineffable things by a human convention, it leads man to the notice, and shows him the unusual mysteries by means of usual things; and thus the interpreters of [Holy Scripture] follow this, they study exceedingly to translate [or interpret] it, where they provide the clearer sense to the readers, even so far as it may be against proper grammar, so thus it may command with the divine truth of the matter.²¹

Although differing in his opinion as to the role of the grammatical arts, this letter indicates a continuing discussion as to the relationship between form and meaning within Scripture. But the philosophy of language and the Christian framework of ontology were questions still clearly meaningful to the Carolingian scholars, represented perhaps no better than in the work of John Scottus Eriugena.

John Scottus Eriugena

John Scottus Eriugena's (ca. 810- 877) work on the relationship of the body and soul is among the more lasting contributions to Christian philosophy during the early medieval period. Scottus' appropriation of Neoplatonism, via both Boethius and Augustine, was without doubt a product of Carolingian intellectual culture and

²¹ "Diximus namque quia interpretes divinorum voluminum vel expositores non curarunt omnino tenere indeclinabiliter regulam grammaticae artis; quod utique neque imperitia, neque malitia fecerunt, sed ratione condescensionis; ut sicut usus sanctae Scripturae est verbis condescendere humanis, quatenus vim ineffabilis rei humano more loquens, ad notitiam hominum deduceret, et mysteria insolita solitis ostenderet rebus; ita et interpretes ejus eam sequendo, illud studuerunt summopere transferre, unde manifestiorem sensum legentibus praeberent, etiam si contra grammaticam esset eatenus, ut sacramento rei concordaret." Agobard of Lyons, PL 104: 163a-b.

resulted in a more systematic approach to the relationship of God and the nature of his Creation than had been attempted since the patristic period. From Alcuin and Theodulf's early absorption of Aristotelian categories and the dependence on pagan grammatical masters, Scottus emphasizes these elements to their fullest: his first book, the *Periphyseon* (or the *De Divisione Naturae*) is devoted to the relationship between the ten Categories and God, a direct result of the reawakening of the western world to classical philosophy.²² Much of his argument revolves around an examination of the opening verses of Genesis, the same subject material as we have seen in the *De Imagine Dei*, a text relied on extensively by both Alcuin and Theodulf.²³

John Scottus also represents the changing nature of intellectual culture between the period of Charlemagne and that of Charles the Bald in the late ninth century. While Charlemagne can be credited with the "revival" of Latin learning within the Frankish landscape, Charles the Bald is credited with the reinvigoration of Greek patristic literature in the West.²⁴ Cultural exchange between the West and the East improved considerably during this period, as the Eastern Emperor Michael II (820-9) presented gifts of Greek codices to Louis the Pious in the late 820s, introducing the western world (and specifically John Scottus) to authors such as Maximus the Confessor and Gregory of Nyssa.²⁵ Access to Gregory of Nyssa's *De Imagine* (famously translated from the Greek by Scottus) further demonstrates the ongoing engagement with questions of ontology during the period, specifically the ongoing attempt to define the *imago* and *similitudo* debate regarding the nature of man.²⁶ This investigation into the intellect of man would continue into the tenth and eleventh centuries, prior to what has traditionally been

²² John Scottus Eriugena. *ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΣΕΩΣ ΜΕΡΙΣΜΟΥ* *id est De Divisione Naturae Libri Quinque*, PL 122: 439-1022d

²³ See our discussion in Chapter Two.

²⁴ E. Jeauneau, "Pseudo-Dionysius, Gregory of Nyssa, and Maximus the Confessor in the Works of John Scottus Eriugena" in (ed.) U-R. Blumenthal, *Carolingian Essays* (Washington D.C., 1983), p. 138.

²⁵ E. Jeauneau, "Pseudo-Dionysius, Gregory of Nyssa", p. 140.

²⁶ M. Cappuyns, "Le 'De Imagine' de Grégoire de Nysse traduit par Jean Scot Érigène" *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* Vol. 32 (1965), p. 260.

ascribed as the height of medieval philosophy with Abelard and others at the University of Paris in the twelfth century.

Like his predecessors, John Scottus relies heavily on the linguistic implications of epistemology within his writing: the ability of man to describe God. Appropriating his predecessors' emphasis on the "meaning" of Scripture over a firm adherence to textual standardization, John Scottus advocated an almost limitless number of interpretations possible in Scripture based on its underlying divinity. So too did Scottus depend on Alcuin and Theodulf for the continued promotion of the relationship between the visible and the invisible, echoes of the Neoplatonic elements of Augustine's philosophy.²⁷ His involvement with the cathedral school of Laon contextualizes the development of the Carolingian scholastic tradition of the ninth century. The importance of this library and the subsequent importance of John Scottus to the development of medieval philosophy should be framed within the influence of both the library, but more specifically, the man who was perhaps most responsible for shaping it: Martin Hiberniensis (819-875).²⁸ In a commentary on Martianus Capella that has been attributed to him, Martin advocates a "Christianization" of the arts, based on the assumption that the arts are natural to man. Education in these disciplines led the student to a more comprehensive knowledge of his "inner self" and accordingly, closer in unity to God as his Creator and as his link with his intellectual "internal" self.²⁹ While Alcuin advocated the use of the liberal arts, they were still limited as "secular" disciplines, merely pointing the way to a separate underlying divine meaning within Scripture. Within Martin's argument, however, the arts are a means unto themselves of realizing the elements of the divine in the secular world. Yet Martin and Alcuin (and indeed Theodulf) shared more than merely an attitude that the arts were beneficial in a Christian context. Indeed, both appropriated Origen's proposition that all wisdom and

²⁷ John Scottus Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, II, (ed.) E. Jeauneau CCCM (Turnhout, 1996-2003), 572c-3b.

²⁸ J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its Manuscripts and Masters* (Munich, 1978), p. 95.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 113.

knowledge inherently derive from God: that the arts have been given as part of man's intellect, that element of man's soul which is linked fundamentally to God.³⁰ Only by study and education, can one realize the potential of wisdom contained within themselves, a topic taken from Origen.³¹ For these two scholars, the liberal arts aid our quest for wisdom and God, entities which were increasingly conflated to mean one and the same. And, just as we saw during the earlier Carolingian period, Martin promoted instruction in grammar (although nothing of this work survives unfortunately); yet the library at Laon under his tenure contained the *Liber glossarium* also known as the *Glossarium Ansileubi*, which contained not only basic parts of speech, but Latin versions of Greek words, mythological vocabulary, and terms used in reference to the study of the arts.³² This can clearly be seen as a development in the line of Theodulf and his biblical manuscripts, let alone the grammatical traditions of the late eighth century Carolingian court. We have already examined early work in this direction within Theodulf's biblical poetry (as seen in Chapter Four); however, the philosophy of divine wisdom and its role in the secular arts enjoyed significantly more widespread support during the ninth century, particularly in the work of Martin at Laon.

Many of the texts and treatises we have discussed in prior chapters, such as the appendix treatises of Theodulf, not to mention one of only two known manuscripts of the *Opus Caroli*, are known to have been present at Laon by the mid-ninth century.³³ Treatises investigating Scriptural vocabulary were also prevalent such as a copy of Jerome's *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*

³⁰ Ibid, p. 116.

³¹ "...it can truly be said that these sciences are from the Most High...From this I conclude that anyone who would deny that all these kinds of learning are from the Lord is not being rational...So that we may still further fully understand that all wisdom draws its origin from the Lord." Origen MPG 12:715-16, as translate by J. Contreni, Ibid, p. 116.

³² Ibid, p. 119.

³³ This is based predominantly on the work of Bernhard Bischoff and Ann Freeman. Bischoff noticed the manuscript contains a 15th century librarian's mark from Laon. B. Bischoff, *Karl der Grosse: Werk und Wirkung*. Düsseldorf, 1965, plate 33. Ann Freeman, "Further Studies in the Libri Carolini", *Speculum* 40 (1965), p. 218. J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930*, p. 43.

(manuscript 24) which survives today in the cathedral monastery.³⁴ Indeed, the wealth of the Laon library during the ninth century, which included numerous patristic works, Alcuinian treatises, and copies of the Eastern Fathers, cultivated a continuing scholarly tradition in terms of investigations into language and Christianity. In the next generation of Carolingian scholars, at the cathedral school of Laon (and its associations with John Scottus), Bishop Dido (ca. 882-895) provided the library with even more texts, making it one of the preeminent libraries in western Europe. More comparisons to the early Carolingian thinkers and the later Laon school should be highlighted: Martin continued to emphasize the grammatical arts within the educational environment at Laon. Sustained devotion to literacy was the primary goal of any instruction at the school. The glossary that Martin was responsible for compiling as an aid to reading also demonstrates the continued prominence of the grammatical arts.³⁵

Conclusion

Despite these instabilities and the eventual demise of the Carolingian Empire, the intellectual advances made during the period roughly covering 770-870 represented a flourishing of Christian philosophy and the culmination of centuries of an uncertain alliance between the secular and spiritual disciplines. The growth of Augustine as a prominent Church Father, the translation of classical philosophy by Boethius and its rediscovery by the Carolingian court in the late eighth century, the ongoing union of the grammatical arts within the Christian tradition, and finally, the exponential increase in manuscript production and distribution laid the foundation for centuries of Christian learning in the centuries to follow. The Carolingians were certainly responsible for developing the “written word” as we would recognize it today: the layout of the page, the regularity of script as seen in Caroline Minuscule and the emphasis on the correct transcription of texts. Yet this

³⁴ J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930*, p. 34.

³⁵ In Manuscript 468 at Laon, we find on fol. 10r-11r: “De invention liberalium artium” and “De philosophis, de poetis, de sibillis, de magis”. This glossary would go on to become part of the collection of Bernhard and Adelelm in the tenth century. *Ibid*, p. 119.

textual “renaissance” was predicated firmly upon intense investigations as to the meaning of textual semiotics and the philosophy of language, work that had been advocated by pillars of Christian thought such as Augustine and Gregory the Great, but had yet to be actualized in a pervasive and pan-European dialogue between educated elite as we see during the Carolingian era.

Within the context of Charlemagne’s rule, the work of scholars such as Alcuin and Theodulf allowed for the materialization of a Christian semiotic philosophy and the relationship between “meaning” and “matter” on a textual basis. In conjunction with the lack of any argument for the necessity for the standardization of texts, this period fostered an exponential increase in manuscript production and distribution, one based on the new promotion of the divinity vested in the corrected texts of the Bible. Yet this textual revolution, although couched in a Christian context, also served political motivations as well. The breadth of Charlemagne’s kingdom necessitated a new means of conveying royal authority beyond the visible presence of the king in councils and synods. His reliance upon a military, administrative, and religious network of officials allowed his hegemony to spread to the farthest reaches of his European domains; however, it was the authority newly invested in the written word that allowed him to rule over such an expansive territory. Charlemagne’s adoption of the text as a conduit for political authority took the study of language outside the walls of the monastery on a sustained scale for the first time since the height of the Roman Empire. His subscription to the dual responsibilities of a king as both a political and religious leader manifested itself in the promotion of literacy for the spiritual well-being of his kingdom but also in its application for circulating the will of the king.

Although Charlemagne, as patron of both Alcuin and Theodulf, may have provided the general political and cultural framework for their work at his court in the late eighth century, their scholarship represents the culmination of a Christian intellectual tradition in development for over seven centuries. The patristic fathers, such as Origen and Augustine, had embraced the use of classical philosophy and the

worth of secular disciplines in gleaning divine meaning from the most important element of the Christian faith as a symbol of God's communication to mankind: the Bible. Yet the intervening years of the late antique and early medieval period prior to the Carolingians had produced only limited and isolated work in this tradition. Even Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*, which touched explicitly on these themes, did not produce a sustained literary culture intent on examining such topics.³⁶ No fixed philosophy of language helped to pin down the Christian literary tradition or took control of any overarching principles behind the transmission of the biblical text. Although Augustine and Boethius' texts circulated among the educated circles of Europe, no dialogue emerged on a pan-European scale to argue for a specific perspective regarding epistemological or ontological Christian thought. We must thank the Carolingians for the emergence of this dialogue, for it is only during the late eighth century can one argue for the growth of a "text-based" Christianity, and more specifically, the development of Western Europe as a textual culture. The semiotic theory and the relationship between the "literal" and "spiritual" aspects of the written word established during this period allowed for the proliferation of Christian philosophy and introspection, such as can be seen in the major thinkers for centuries afterward. Yet we must also acknowledge the profound effect the Carolingians had on the "physicality" of the written word, the lasting impact of the regular script of Caroline Minuscule, not to mention the growth of a text-based European intellectual culture. Accordingly, the Carolingians' legacy is twofold, seen in their lasting influence on the materiality of textual culture (via script and dissemination of texts) and their intangible yet considerable contribution to the development of Christian philosophy.

³⁶ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* PL 75: 509-1161B.

Appendix I: Acrostic Poetry

PORFYRIUS, POEM XIX (PL 19: 419-420)

A **L** **M** **E** **T** **V** **A** **S** **L** **A** **V** **R** **V** **S** **A** **E** **T** **A** **S** **S** **V** **S** **T** **O** **L** **L** **E** **T** **I** **N** **A** **S** **T** **R** **A**
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OMNI POTENS DOMINE ET PACIS DONATOR INA EVVM
MVNDI EXARCETONANS ROR EM DANS MVNERI SALMI
NAMT VESLVCI SORIGOCREATOR MAGNEREDEM TOR
INCLYTE CVNCTARVM RERVM EXCELSOS ATORACTV
AETHERI AVIRTVT EREGI STV CLIMMATASOLLERS
CVNCTADICATACREANS GELIDI DITATOR ABYSSI
VTI LENAMQVES EDENS SEDISSVPERARDVANVMEN
IVSQVE BEATA QVIESET DONANS CVLMINAS ANCTA
RESPIAVIRT VSPROCEDENSELAMP ADESPLENDOR
ETGENITORISHONOREENCELSOMISSVSETISTIC
SAECLAMI SELLAPIANS TABOPROBROQVELVEQVE
OCIVSOPTATATRIBVIS REDIMICVLAQVAEINHAC
NOSMETVITAPERLVSTRARVNTFLAMMI FERVT SOL
ARDVADVLCIFLVODANS MVNERASPLENDIDENVTV
NEMPE TVISMONITISEXTENDISVIS CERATERRAE
TVT ORENI MDOMINVS QVETIBIPERSIDERANOMEN
SANCTASALVSNIMIAETVIRTVTIS COPIACVRSVS
IVREQVIDEMRVTILODE DVCI STEMPORAETOBHOC
NVTIBVSEXIMIISTRIBVIS CAELESTETRIBVNAL
ECCLESI AESPLENDENS LAMPASREDEMITASOFIA
FACCAROLVMAVCTVMTV FELICESORTEREDEM TOR
ISTAMENEFI DEIPRAEPOLLENSSTIGMATESVDAE
NVNCRETINEREPOTEST SVBNIXICESPITISORAS
ENSVM MORVMHVNCCONS ORTEMXRISTEDVCVMFAC
CONGRVEQVOSVEXITDELECTANSGLORIA POMPAE
REGNATINORBEPIODITATVMEXFLVMI NEFLVMEN
ETDOMINI MONITISSANCTISQVETVETVRABARIS
ANNVITISMIHI QVISVMINMENSIS CASIBVSEXVL
TALIAPROLATOVTPROMAMNVNCCARMINATRACTV
ARTIPOTENS NIMIODIS PONITFOEDERETEMPLVM
CARAVBIVERBABONICHRISTVSCONCEDITOLIVI
ATQVECAPITPVRVMVENERANDAASORTELITAMEN
NVNCLAETOINGENS SPE SCVMMIRACONIVGEREGE
OMNIBVSAVGEBITCONATVMETPROEMIASANCTIS
RVRI COLISTRIBVENDONNONAMTEMPORISACTV
ECCEIGITVRMEACARMINA PROLES MAXIMADAVID
MVNI AQVEVT SVMAS PROSTRATIS VVLTIBVSOPTO

C R V X D E C V S E S M V N D I I E S S V D E S A N G V I N E S A N C T A
R E X D E V S E X C R V C E D O N A V I T C A E L E S T E T R I B V N A L
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T E M E A V I T A S A L V S T I B I T A N T U M C A N T I C A C O N D E T
E T G E N E R O S A C A N E T V O X S E M P E R C A R M I N A A P E R T O
S I L I C E A T P L E C T R O Q V I A C L A R V S C A R M I N E D A V I D
I N S I S T E N D O P R O B A T P R E T I O S O S A N C T A C O T V R N O
N O B I S T E S T I F I C A R E D E C E N S E S S E I N D E P A R A T V M
Q V E M P R I M V M I N C O E P I T V C H R I S T I S V M E S V P E R N I
V E R A S A L V S C A L A M V M T V L V X P I A S A N C T A Q V E D E I N
A L M A C R U C I S V E X I L L A C A N V N T G E N T I L I A S A E C L A
T O T A T R E M E N S T E L L V S E F F E R T V R E T V N I T E N O M E N
T E S T I F I C A T C R V C I S E N O R A N S S V B T I L I A P A N D I T
V I S C E R A N V N C V A N V S C O N F O S S V S I N I Q V V S A V E T E
O M N I P O T E N S F V L G E T S I T C O R D E B E A T A F I D E S N E C
R V R S U S Y L I D R V S A G A T V E T E R I V T P E C T O R A R E T R O
O P T I M V S A D R E G N V M N O S F I D V S E T I L L E R E D E M T O R
R E D D I D I T E T R I G I D V M S I G N O S V P E R A V I T I N I S T O
B E L L I G E R V M E V E R T E N S D E R E G N I S O R T E S A T A N A N
I N C L Y T A C R V X M V N D V S D E B E T T I B I S O L V E R E V O T A
S V S C I P E S I C T A L E M R V B I C V N D A M C E L S A C O R O N A M

P R I M V S A V V S V I V E N S E N N O S I N M O R T E R E D E G I T
 H E V S I C E T M V L I E R P R A E T E N D O P O M A P E R Y D R V M
 F E C I T N O S P L A G A S I V S T E P E R C V R R E R E M V L T A S
 E N N O S T R A E M O R T I S S E M E N T A F V I S S E V I D E M V S
 S C O R P I O P V L S A N D O V A L V I T N A M P E R S F I D E F A R I
 E V A P A R A T A P A T E T I V S I S H E V V A L D E S V P E R B I S
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 V I N P E C I T E S P E R I S A M M O T A T V N C V I R G I N I T A T E
 H O R R V I T A V E R S V S P A R I T E R S E V C O N I V G E T A L I
 D E P R A V A T V S A V V S G V S T V S M I S E R A B I L I S A V S V
 E R G O V I R E X L I G N O M A N D E N S N O S N O X A P E R E R E M I T
 I N C L Y T A V I R G O F I D E S E D R A R O V O T A S A C R A V I T
 I S T A M A R I A N O V A M V I T A M V E S V B I R E S V P E R N A M
 E T C A R N I S P R I O R A S C V L T E T S I B I I V R A T E N E R E
 A R D V A T V N C T O T O C V P I E N S C A S T I S S I M A M V N D O
 T A L I S E N I M M E R V I T R E G E M Q V E P A R I R E D E V M V E
 Q V I P I E S V B V E R T I T F R E G I T E T F E R R E A N O S T R I
 I V R A M A L I O V E R E F E L I C I T E R H I N C P R I O R I B A T
 L E G E S I B I P L A C I T A P R A V O R V M F E R R E T V T I R A S
 I A M D E V S A D L I G N V M S E R V I L I N O M I N E P E N D E N S
 P O R R O S V I M I S E R V M S O L V E N S O P E S O L I V S A D A M
 E X P I R A V I T I T A E T C E L E R A T D E F E R R E S E R E R E N A M
 D E S V M M I S L V C E M S V N T H A E C V E X I L L A R E V E R S A
 R E G N I Q V A E P R I D E M C L A V S E R V N T L I M I N A D E I N
 I P S E V I R E T M V L I E R A R B O R V I T A E Q V E R E L A T O R
 P R O C E R V M O S E R P E N S V L T O R V E N A T V S I L I D R V M
 P R O M V N T H I C V I T A M D E L I G N I V E C T E R E D E M T A M
 H I C N A M D V M S E R V V S D O M I N V M S E P A R E T H A B E R I
 M O R T I S E V M I V S T E S E V N O S T V N C V L T I O S V M S I T
 S E D V E R V S D O M I N V S S E S E R V I V E S T I T A M I C T V M
 E T R E P A R A T M V N D V M R E X O P T I M V S I L L E P I O R V M
 I N L I C I T I S A S T E V A C I B I S O S C O N T V L I T A V D A X
 S E D M O R T E M R A P I D O C O N T A C T V D E T V L I T O R B I S
 I N D E M A R I A V I R I E X T E I V R A D E C I D I S H A B E N D A
 H I N C G E N E T R I X V E R A E T V S V M I S S E M I N A V I T A E

Appendix II: Alcuin's Epistle 135

Alcuin, Epistola 135, (ed.) E. Dümmler *MGH Epistolae IV*, II, pp. 203-4 (Berlin, 1895).

As contained in the following manuscripts:

Monacens. 14727 (S. Emmerammi), 9th century, fol. 154-155

Parisinus 1337 (S. Germani 1291), 9th century, fol. 95-6

There are three classes of vision: one by means of the body (*corporale*), one by means of the spirit (*spiritale*), a third by means of the intellect (*intellectuale*). The corporeal vision is that which is seen by means of the eyes of the body. The spiritual is when, being distinct from the vision of the body, we discern a certain imagined thing in the spirit only, just as when we observe something unknown to the eyes, immediately an image of the thing is formed in the spirit, but that imagination of the spirit does not appear earlier than a bodily vision is conveyed. The intellectual vision is when we consider only by the vivacity of the mind, such as when we read what has been written: "Love your neighbor as you love yourself". However, letters are read by means of the corporeal vision and the "neighbor" (*proximus*) is called to mind by the imagination of the spirit, and "love" (*dilectio*) alone by the intelligence of the mind. However the first kind of vision is the most noticeable to everyone. And in the same manner, the second kind is customary to all. And the third is ignored by many people, because they cannot discern between what is spiritual and what is intellectual. About which two, the apostle distinguished in one very brief sentence excellently, saying "I will pray with my spirit, and I will pray with my mind; I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with understanding." He named "spirit" the hidden meaning that is in Holy Scripture; and he called mind their plain meaning. For he wanted to pray with an understanding of those things which we were talking about. And when he says in another location: "If I pray in language, my spirit prays, but my mind is without reward." However this language outlines the obscure and mystical signs, which although only are accustomed to being discerned by the spirit, if we have no understanding, our mind remains without fruit. Also these two kinds of vision are distinguished remarkably with regards to the Pharaoh and Joseph. For those future things were made clear in the spirit, the revelation

of these things however was made in the mind. The spirit of that man was informed, as is seen; the mind of this one was illuminated so that he understood (*intellegeret*). And similarly, the excellence of Daniel was tempted and tested, and he understood the dreams of the future, which the king saw by means of the spirit, and Daniel revealed his interpretation to the king. For that reason moreover he was a prophet who learned mentally what the king had perceived by means of the spirit. But also these three kinds of vision were shown in that writing, which was depicted on the wall publicly before King Balthasar. For the king perceived on the wall the letters which had been written by means of his corporeal vision, but as his spirit was not informed, although he could see them (and) was able to read them, his illuminated mind could not understand them. However the prophet approached and who both read the obscure writing by means of the spirit and understood the most obscure meanings of it via the vivacity of his mind. This I say to you, dearest son Fridguisus, having cited this sermon, lest you are unaware of this tripartite division of reason (*rationalis*), which is useful to all, but understood by few.

Tria sunt genera visionum: unum corporale, aliud spiritale, tertium intellectuale. Corporale est quod corporeis oculis videtur. Spiritale est quod, remota corporali visione, in spiritu solo per imaginationem quandam cernimus, sicut forte dum quilibet ignoti oculis perspicimus, statim eius rei imago formatur in spiritu, sed prius non apparet illa spiritalis imaginatio, quam corporalis adlata sit intuitio. Intellectuale est quod sola mentis vivacitate consideramus, veluti dum scriptum legimus: "Diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum". Litterae autem corporali visione leguntur, et proximus spiritali imaginatione rememoratur, et dilectio sola mentis intelligentia. Primum autem genus visionis omnibus notissimum est. Secundum aequae cunctis consuetum. Tertium a plerisque ignoratum, quia discernere nequeunt, quid sit spiritale, quid intellectuale, quae duo apostolus una sententia et hac brevissima optime discrevit inquit: "Orabo spiritu, orabo et mente; psallam spiritu, psallam et mente". Spiritum occultas significationes, quae sunt in scripturis sanctis, nominavit; et mentem manifestas harum intelligentias appellavit. Voluit enim nos cum intelligentia eorum, quae dicimus, vel orare vel psallere. Unde et in alio loco dicit: "Si oravero lingua, spiritus meus orat, mens mea sine fructu est". Hic autem lingua obscuras et mysticas significationes, quae solent tantummodo spiritu cerni, designavit, quarum si intelligentiam ignoramus, mens nostra infructuosa remanet. Haec quoque duo genera visionum in Pharaone et Ioseph mirabiliter distinguuntur. Illi enim in spiritu futura ostendebantur; isti in mente horum revelatio facta. Illius spiritus informatus est, ut videret; istius mens

inluminata est, ut intellegeret. Similiter et Danihelis excellentia temptata est et probata, qui et somnium futurorum, quod rex videbat spiritu, intellexit, eiusque interpretationem regi ostendit. Ideo magis ille fuit propheta, qui mente intellexit, quam rex, qui spiritu cernebat. Sed haec tria quoque genera visionum in illa scriptura, quae coram rege Baltasar in pariete depicta est, ostenduntur. Nam corporali visione rex cernebat in pariete litteras perscriptas, cuius nec spiritus informatus fuit, ut eas, licet videret, legere potuisset, nec mens inluminata intellegere eas. Accessit autem et propheta qui utrumque et in spiritu obscuritatem scripturae perlegebat, et obscurissimas eius significationes mentis vivacitate intellexit. Haec tibi, karissime fili Fridugise, citato sermone dictavi, ne ignarus huius tripartitae rationis esses, quae omnibus usitata est, sed a paucis intellecta.

Appendix III: The Le Puy Bible and the Mesmianus Codex

Le Puy Bible

Fol. 1^v: Verse Preface: “Quidquid ab hebraeo...”, written in gold uncial on purple parchment

Fol. 3^r: Prose Preface: “Vetus Testamentum ideo dicitur”; written in gold uncial on purple parchment arranged in the shape of a cross

Fol. 3^v: Title enclosed in a large arcade, written in large gold letters and small silver uncial

BREVES ORDINUM OMNIUM LIBRO
RUM VETERIS ET NOVI TESTAMENTI
QUI AB ECCLESIA RECIPUNTUR ET IN
HOC CORPORE GENERALITER
CONTINENTUR.

PRIMUS ORDO LEGIS IN QUO SUNT
LIBRI....

SECUNDUS ORDO PROPHETARUM IN
QUO SUNT LIBRI...

TERTIUS ORDO AGIOGRAFORUM IN
QUO SUNT LIBRI...

QUARTUS ORDO EORUM LIBRORUM
QUI IN EBRAEORUM CANONE NON
HABENTUR...

ORDO EVANGELICUS IN QUO SUNT
LIBRI...

ORDO APOSTOLICUS IN QUO SUNT
LIBRI...

LEGE FELIX

Fol 4.: Jerome’s Prologue to Genesis:
“Incipit prologus Hieronimi presbiteri.

Mesmianus Codex

(Paris, BN, lat. 9380)

Fol. 1^v: Verse Preface: “Quidquid ab hebraeo...”, written in gold uncial on purple parchment

Fol. 3^r: Prose Preface: “Vetus Testamentum ideo dicitur”; written in gold uncial on purple parchment arranged in the shape of a cross

Fol. 3^v: Title enclosed in a large arcade, written in large gold letters and small silver uncial

ORDO LIBRORUM
VETERIS AC NOVI TESTAMENTI
QUI AB ECCLESIA RECIPIUNTUR ET
IN HOC
CORPORE GENERALITER
CONTINENTUR

PRIMUS ORDO LEGIS IN QUO SUNT
LIBRI...

SECUNDUS ORDO PROPHETARUM IN
QUO SUNT LIBRI...

TERTIUS ORDO AGIOGRAFORUM IN
QUO SUNT LIBRI...

QUARTUS ORDO EORUM LIBRORUM
QUI IN HEBRAEORUM CONANE NON
HABETUR...

ORDO EVANGELICUS IN QUO SUNT
LIBRI...

ORDO APOSTOLICUS IN QUO SUNT
LIBRI..

LEGE FELIX

Fol 4.: Jerome’s Prologue to Genesis:
“Incipit prologus Hieronimi presbiteri.

Desiderii mei desideratas...”

“Incipiunt breves libri Genesis”

Fol. 4^v: Incipit liber Bresith id est Genesis

Fol. 15: Incipiunt breves de libro Exodi

Fol. 15^v: Incipit liber Helesmoth qui et Exodus

Fol. 24^v: Incipiunt tituli de Libro Levitici

Fol. 25^r: Incipit liber Vaiecra qui et Leviticus

Fol. 31: Incipiunt tituli Numeri

Fol. 31^v: Incipit liber Vaidabber qui et Numeri

Fol. 39^v: Incipiunt breves libri Deuteronomii

Fol. 40: Incipit liber Helladdabarim qui et Deuteronomium

Fol. 48: Explicit primus ordo legis. Incipit secundus ordo propheticus”

Incipit praefatio de libro Josue. Tandem finite...

Incipiunt capitula libri Josue”

Fol. 48^v: Incipit liber Josue Bennun

Fol. 53^v: “Incipiunt tituli libri Judicum”

“Incipit liber Sophitum qui et Judicum”

Fol. 59: Incipit Liber Ruth

Fol. 59^v: Incipit Regum Samuhel. Praefatio

Desiderii mei desideratas...”

Incipiunt breves libri Genesis

Fol. 4^v: Incipit liber Bresith qui grece Genesis dicitur

Fol. 15^v: Incipiunt capitula libri Exodi – Incipit Ellesmoth qui grece Exodus dicitur.

Fol 24: Incipiunt tituli libri Levitici id est Vaiecra – Incipit Vaiecra qui grece Leviticus dicitur

Fol. 30: Incipiunt tituli libri Numeri id est Bandaber. – Incipit Vaiedaber qui grece Numerus dicitur

Fol. 38^v: Incipiunt tituli libri Deuteronomii.

Fol. 39: Incipit Helleaddabarim qui grece Deuteronomium dicitur.

Fol. 46^v: Finit primus ordo legis. Incipit secundus ordo propheticus

Incipit praefacio Hieronimi in libro Josue Bennun. Tandem finita...

Explicit prologus. Jesus filius Nave in typum Domini...

Incipiunt capitula ejusdem libri

Fol. 47: Incipit textus.

Fol. 52^v: Incipiunt capitula libri Judicum...

Incipit liber Judicum

Fol. 58: Incipit liber Ruth

Fol. 59: Praefacio Hieronimi praesbiteri

Hieronimi de omnibus libris veteris Testamenti. Viginti et duas litteras...”

Fol. 60: Incipiunt capitula libri primi Samuhel...

Incipiunt capitula libri II Samuhel...

Expliciunt capitula libri primi vel secundi. Incipit textus...

Fol. 67: Explicit liber primus Samuhelis. Incipit liber secundus...

Fol. 73: Incipiunt tituli libri Malachim

Fol. 73^v: Incipiunt capitula libri secundi

Fol. 74: Incipit textus libri Malachim

Fol. 81: Incipit liber secundus Malachim

Fol. 87^v: Incipit praefatio Hieronimi in Isaia propheta. Nemo quum prophetas...

Incipit liber Isaiae in prophetae

Fol. 98: Incipit praefatio Hieronimi in Hieremia propheta. Hieremias propheta cui prologus hic..

Fol. 98^v: Incipit liber Hieremiae prophetae

Fol. 112: Exemplum epistolae quam misit Hieremias ad abductos captivos in Babiloniam...

Fol. 112^v: Incipit ejusdem lamentation...

Fol. 114: Incipit Hiezechihel propheta. Incipit praefatio de libro Hierzechihelis prophetae. Hiezechiel propheta cum

de omnibus libris veteris Testamenti. Viginti et duas litteras...

Incipiunt capitula ejusdem libri (the book of Kings)

Fol. 59^v: Incipiunt capitula libri secundi

Expliciunt capitula. Incipit liber Samuhelis primus

Fol. 67: Explicit liber primus Samuhelis. Incipit liber secundus Samuhelis.

Fol. 73: Incipiunt capitula libri primi Malachim

Fol. 73^v: Incipiunt capitula libri secundi

Fol. 74: Incipit liber Malachim primus

Fol. 81: Incipit liber secundus Malachim

Fol. 87^v: Incipit praefatio Hieronimi presbiteri in libro Isaiae prophetae. Nemo quum prophetas...

Incipit textus.

Fol. 98: Incipit praefatio Hieronimi presbiteri in libro Hieremiae prophetae. Hieremias propheta cui prologus hic...

Incipit liber Hieremiae prophetae

Fol. 112^v: Incipit exemplar epistolae ejusdem

Fol. 113: Incipit ejusdem lamentatio quod est in titulo Chinoth, cum absolute litterarum hebraicarum.

Fol. 114: Incipit Hiezechiel propheta. Incipit praefatio de libro Hierzechielis prophetae. Hiezechiel propheta cum

Joachim...

Incipit textus

Fol. 126: Incipit Osee. Incipit praefatio Osee prophetae. Non idem ordo...

Incipit liber Osee prophetae

Fol. 127^v: Prologus Hieronimi in Johel propheta. Sanctus Johel apud Hebraeos...

Fol. 128: Item alia praefatio. Johel filius Fatuel...

Item alia. Johel qui interpretatur...

Item alia. Johel de tribu...

Incipit textus.

Fol. 128^v: Incipit Amos. Incipit praefatio Amos prophetae...

Ozias rex...

Incipit textus

Fol. 130: Incipit Abdias. Incipit praefatio Abdia propheta.

Jacob patriarcha...

Incipit alia praefatio. Abdias qui interpretatur...

Incipit textus...

Incipit Abdia. Incipit praefatio Abdia

Joachim...

Incipit textus.

Fol. 126: Incipit Osee. Incipit praefatio Osee prophetae. Non idem ordo...

Item alia praefatio. Duplex est apud Hebraeos...

Incipit textus.

Fol. 127^v: Incipit Johel. Prologus Hieronimi in Johel propheta. Johel filius Fatuel...

Item alia praefatio. Johel qui interpretaetur...

Item alia. Johel de tribu...

Item alia praefatio. Sanctus Johel apud Hebraeos...

Incipit textus.

Fol. 128: Incipit Amos. Incipit praefatio Amos prophetae. Ozias rex quum...

Item alia.

Fol. 128^v: Amos pastor et rusticus...

Incipit textus.

propheta. Jonam sanctum Hebraei...

Incipit alia. Jonas interpaetatur...

Incipit textus

Fol. 130^v: Incipit Micha. Prologus Michae prophetae. Temporibus Joatam...

Item alia Micheas...

Incipit textus.

Fol. 131^v: Incipit Naum. Prologus in Naum propheta.

Naum propheta...

Item alia. Naum consolator...

Incipit textus.

Fol. 132: Incipit Ambacuc. Praefatio Ambacuc propheta.

Ambacum amplexans...

Item alia praefatio. Ambacuc luctator...

Incipit textus.

Fol. 132^v: Oratio Ambacuc prophetae...

Incipit Sofonias. Prologus in Sophonia propheta. Tradunt Hebraei...

Item alia Soffonias speculator...

Fol. 133: Incipit liber Sofoniae prophetae

Incipit Aggeus. Praefatio in Aggeo propheta. Hieremias propheta ob causam...

Fol. 133^v: Item alia. Aggeus festivus

Incipit liber Aggei prophetae

Incipit Zaccharias. Praefatio in Zaccharia

Fol. 130: Incipit Jonas. Incipit prologus in Jona propheta. Jonam sanctum Hebraei...

Item alia praefatio. Jonas interpretaetur columba...

Incipit textus.

Fol. 130^v: Incipit Naum. Incipit prologus in Naum propheta. Naum propheta ante adventum...

Item alia Naum consolator...

Incipit textus...

Fol. 132: Incipit Ambacuc. Incipit praefatio Ambacuc prophetae. Ambacuc amplexans...

Item alia praefatio Ambacuc luctator...

Incipit textus

Fol. 132^v: Oratio Ambacuc prophetae pro ignorationibus

Incipit Sofonias Incipit prologus in Sophonia propheta. Tradunt Hebraei...

Item prologus in Sophonia propheta. Sofonias speculator...

Incipit textus.

Fol. 133: Incipit Aggeus propheta . Incipit praefatio in Aggeo propheta. Hieremias propheta ob causam perjurii...

Fol. 133^v: Item alia praefatio Aggeus festivus et laetus...

Incipit textus.

propheta. Secundo anno Darii...

Fol. 134: Item alia praefatio. Zacharias memor...

Incipit liber Zacchariae prophetae

Fol. 135^v: Incipit Malachi. Praefatio in Malachia propheta...

Item alia praefatio. Malchias latine...

Incipit liber Malachiae prophetae.

Fol. 136^v: Finit secundus ordo prophetarum

Explicit secundus ordo prophetarum. Incipit tertius ordo agiograforum.

Incipit praefatio in Job. Cogor per singulos...

Item alia praefatio. Si aut fiscellam...

Item alia. Job exemplar...

Incipiunt capitula libri Job

Fol. 137: Incipit textus libri Job

Fol. 145^v: Incipit liber qui hebraice Nabia, grece Psalterium, latine organum dicitur.

Incipit Zacharias. Incipit praefatio in Zacharia propheta. Secundo anno Dari...

Fol. 134: Item alia praefatio in Zacharia. Zacharias memor Domini...

Incipit textus.

Fol. 135^v: Incipit Malachi propheta. Praefatio in Malachi propheta. Deus per Moysen...

Fol. 136: Item alia praefatio in Malachia. Malachias latine...

Incipit textus.

Fol. 136^v: Explicit secundus ordo propeticus Incipit tertius ordo agiograforum.

Incipit praefatio in Job. Cogor per singulos...

Item alia praefatio. Sit aut fiscellam...

Item alia praefatio. Job exemplar patientiae...

Incipiunt captiula in Job

Fol. 137: Incipit liber Job.

Fol. 146: Incipit Psalterium. Prefatio Hieronimi presbiteri de libro psalmodum

Fol. 146^v: Psalterium (written on purple parchment in silver letters with the titles and initials of the verses in gold)

Fol. 170: Prefatio Hieronimi in libro Salomonis de translatione graeca. Tres libros Salomonis...

Hieronimus Chromatio et Heliodoro episcopis de editione ad liquidum et hebrae translatum. Jungat epistola...

Item alia praefatio Hieronimi. Tribus nominibus...

Parabola Salomonis filii David regis Israhel

Fol. 178: Incipit Cohelet, qui grece Ecclesiastes, latine Concionator dicitur, qui coetum id est ecclesiam congregat et loquatur ad populum id est non specialiter ad unum sed generaliter ad universos

Fol. 180^v: Incipit liber Sirasirim qui et Cantica canticorum

Fol. 182: Incipit praefatio Hieronimi praesbyteri in Danihele propheta. Danihelem prophetam iuxta...

Incipit liber Danihelis prophetae

Fol. 182^v: Item alia praefatio. Danihel interpretatur...

Fol. 146: Incipit praefatio Hieronimi presbiteri in libro psalmodum.

Fol. 146^v: Liber psalmodum. (written on purple parchment in silver letters with the titles and initials of the verses in gold)

Fol. 170: Incipit praefatio Hieronimi presbiteri in libro Salomonis. Tribus nominibus vocatum...

Item alia praefatio Hieronimi in libro Salomonis de translatione graeca. Tres libro Salomonis...

Hieronimus Chromatio et Heliodoro episcopis de editione ad liquidum ex hebraeo translata. Jungat epistola...

Incipiunt capitula ejusdem libri Salomonis.

Fol. 170^v: Parabola Salomonis filii David regis Israhel.

Fol. 178: Incipiunt capitula libri Ecclesiastes qui hebraeice Coeeth dicitur...

Verba Ecclesiastes filii David regis Israhel.

Fol. 181: Incipit liber qui hebraice Sirasserim praenotatur, latine Cantica canticorum

Fol. 182: Incipit praefatio Hieronimi presbiteri in libro Danihelis prophetae. Danihelem prophetam iuxta...

Item alia praefatio. Danihel interpretaetur iudicium Dei...

Incipit liber Danihelis.

Fol. 187^v: Praefatio Hieronimi in libro qui hebraice Dabreiaomim, grece Paralpomenon, latine Verba direum dicitur. Si septuaginta...

Fol. 188: Item alia praefatio. Eusebius Hieronimus Domnioni...

Incipiunt tituli ejusdem libri...

Expliciunt capitula libri secundi Dabrehamim.

Fol. 188^v: Incipit liber Dabrehaioimin

Fol. 184^v: Explicit liber primus. Liber secundus.

Fol. 202^v: Incipit praefatio Hieronimi in libro Hesdrae. Utrum difficilius sit...

Fol. 203: Incipiunt capitula ejusdem libri...

Incipit liber Hesdrae. In anno primo Cyri...

Fol. 205: Verba naemiae filii Echliae

Fol. 206^v: Huc usque refertur quid in commentario scribturn fuerit, exin Neemiae historia textitur. Nonnulli autem de principibus...

Fol. 208^v: ...et in primitivis memento mei Deus meus in bonum. Explicit liber Hesdrae.

Incipit praefatio Hieronimi presbiteri in libro Hester. Librum Hester variis...

Fol. 187: Incipit praefatio Hieronimi praesbyteri in libro qui hebraice Dabreaiomim, graece Paralpomenon, latine Verba dierum dicitur. Si septuaginta interpretum...

Fol. 187^v: Item alia praefatio Eusebius Hieronimus Domnioni...

Incipiunt capitula libri primi...

Incipiunt capitula libri secundi.

Fol. 188: Incipit textus in Dabreaiomim.

Fol. 193^v: Explicit liber primus. Incipit liber secundus.

Fol. 201^v: Incipit praefatio in libro Hesdrae Utrum difficilius sit...

Fol. 202: Incipiunt capitula...

Incipit liber Ezdrae prophetae. In anno primo Cyri...

Fol. 204: Huc usque refertur quid in commentario scriptum fuerit; exin Neemiae historia textitur. Nonnulli autem de principibus...

Fol. 207: ...et in primitivis memento mei Deus meus in bonum. Explicit liber Hesdrae.

Fol. 208: Incipit praefatio Hieronimi praesbyteri in libro Hester. Librum Hester variis...

Liber Hester

Fol. 211^v: Explicit tertius ordo
agiograforum. Incipit quartus ordo eorum
librorum qui in hebraeorum canone non
abentur.

Incipit praefatio in libro Sapientiae. Liber
Sapientiae apud Hebraeos...

Incipiunt capitula ejusdem libri...

Liber Sapientiae

Fol. 216^v: Incipit praefatio Hieronimi in
libro Ecclesiasticum. Multorum nobis...

Incipiunt capitula ejusdem libri...

Incipit textus

Fol. 231: Incipit praefatio Hieronimi in libro
Tobi. Chromatio et Heliodoro episcopis...

Incipit liber Tobi.

Fol. 233: Incipit praefatio Hieronimi in libro
Judith. Apud Hebraeos liber Judith...

Incipiunt capitula...

Fol. 235^v: Incipiunt capitula libri primi
Machabeorum

Fol. 208^v: Incipit liber Hester.

Fol. 210: Explicit tertius ordo
agiograforum. Incipit quartus ordo eorum
librorum qui in hebraeorum canone non
habentur.

Incipit praefatio libri Sapientiae. Liber
Sapientiae apud Hebraeos...

Incipiunt capitula...

Fol. 210^v: Incipit textus

Fol. 215: Incipit praefatio in libro Hiesu
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Heliodoro episcopis..

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Judith vidua filia..

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Hebraeos liber Judith...

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Incipit liber prius Machabeorum

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Deinde novum incipit ab ordine evangelico.

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Novum opus...

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Plures fuisse...

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evangeliorum. Lege felix. (This page is
purple with silver letters)

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evangelium Matthei

Incipiunt breves ejusdem evangelii

Incipit evangelium secundum Mattheum

(folios from 256-285, which contain the text
of the evangelists are written in silver on
purple pages)

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Fol. 264^v: Explicit capitulatio Parabolarum

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Plures fuisse...

Fol. 247^v: Explicit prologus quatuor
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Pauli apostoli. Jam dudum Saulus...

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Incipit kanon primus

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Incipiunt breves ejusdem evangelii...

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Fol. 279^v: Incipiunt breves ejusdem
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Fol. 286^v: Explicit ordo evangelicus.
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Saulus...

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Argumenta autem earundem epistolarum haec sunt...

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Argumenta autem earundem epistolarum haec sunt...

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Quos sanctorum commemorat apostolus in epistola ad Corinthios I...

Incipit argumentum ad Corinthios...

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Quos sanctorum commemoret apostolus Paulus in epistola sua ad Galatas.

Argumentum ad Galatas.

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Incipiunt testimonia a veteri Testamento

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Incipit epistola ad Philippenses

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Incipit capitulatio ad Colosenses

Fol. 296^v: Incipit capitulatio ad Galatas...

Haec testimonia de veteri Testamento conpraehensa sunt in epistola ad Galatas...

Quos sanctorum commemoret apostolus Paulus in epistola sua ad Galatas...

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Item aliud argumentum.

Incipit capitulatio ad Philipenses.

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Fol. 301: Argumentum at Titum

Item aliud argumentum

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Fol 301^v: Argumentum ad Philimonem

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Thessalonicenses

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secunda

Fol. 301: Incipit argumentum ad
Timotheum.

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Incipit capitulatio ad Timotheum.

Incipit epistola ad Timotheum.

Fol. 301^v: Argumentum ad Timotheum.

Item aliud argumentum.

Incipit capitulatio ad Timotheum II.

Item epistola secunda ad Timotheum.

Fol. 302: Incipit argumentum ad Titum.

Item aliud argumentum.

Incipit capitulatio ad Titum.

Incipit epistola ad Titum.

Fol. 302^v: Argumentum ad Philimonem.

Item aliud argumentum (the copyist did not transcribe the first words of the text here “Nihil magis est in hac epistola adten...”Accordingly a blank space had been left)

Epistola ad Philimonem

Incipit capitulatio ad Hebraeos (a blank line precedes this, reserved for the argument to the letter to the Hebrews)

Fol. 302: Epistola ad Hebraeos

Fol. 304: (There are 16 blank lines here)

Incipit argumentum epistolarum canonicarum. Qui integrae sapient fidem...

Incipiunt capitula Jacobi apostoli (following this, there are 21 blank lines, the beginning of each features a letter “D” in vermillion)

Incipit epistola Jacobi apostoli

Fol. 304^v: Explicit epistola Jacobi ad duodecim tribus

Incipit capitulatio Petri apostolic prima (20 blank lines follow this)

Fol. 305: Incipit epistola beati Petri prima

Fol. 305^v: Incipit capitulatio ejusdem secunda

Incipit epistola ejusdem secunda

Fol. 306: Incipiunt capitula de epistola Johannis prima

Incipit epistola Johannis prima

Fol. 307: Incipiunt tituli ejusdem secunda

Item aliud argumentum (The copyist here did not transcribe the first words: “Nihil magis est in hac epistola” A blank space of 6 lines have been left)

Incipit epistola ad Philimonem.

Incipit capitulatio ad Hebraeos (a blank five lines have been left, reserved for the letter to the Hebrews)

Incipit epistola ad Hebraeos.

Fol. 305: Incipit argumentum epistolarum canonicarum. Qui integre sapiunt... (a blank 17 lines precede the argument)

Incipiunt capitula Jacobi apostoli (There are 20 lines reserved, the beginning of each features the trace of a “D” in vermillion)

Fol. 306: Incipit epistola beati Petri secunda.

Incipit ejusdem secunda

Fol. 307: Incipiunt capitula epistolae primae Johannis apostoli

Fol. 307^v: Incipit epistola beati Johannis apostoli

Epistola ejusdem secunda

Incipiunt tituli ejusdem III

Epistola ejusdem tertiae

Incipiunt tituli Judae apostolic

Incipit epistola Judae apostoli

Fol. 307^v: Incipit praefatio in Actibus
Apostolorum. Lucas natione Syrus...

Incipiunt tituli

Finiunt capitula

Incipit praefatio.

Actuum Apostolorum nudam...

Fol. 308: Incipiunt Actus Apostolorum...

Fol. 315: Incipit praefatio in Apocalypsi.
Beatus Johannes apostolus post
passionem...

Item alia praefatio. Johannes apostolus
evangelista...

Incipit Apocalypsis Johannis apostoli.

Fol. 319: Incipit chronographia beati Isidori.
Primus ex nostris Julianus...

Fol. 321^v: De nominibus hebraicis. Adonai
in latinum dicitur Dominus...

Fol. 322^v: De variis vocabulis. Alleluia in
latinum sonat...

De expositione diversarum rerum.

Incipiunt capitula epistolae secundae
Johannis apostoli.

Item ejusdem secunda.

Incipiunt capitula epistolae tertiae
Johannis apostoli.

Incipit ejusdem tertia.

Fol. 308: Incipiunt capitula epistolae
Judae apostoli

Item epistola Judae apostoli.

Fol. 308^v: Incipit praefatio in Actibus
Apostolorum. Lucas natione Syrus...

Incipiunt tituli.

Incipit praefatio. Actuum Apostolorum
nudam...

Fol. 309: Incipit Actus Apostolorum.

Fol. 316: Incipit praefatio in libro
Apocalypsis. Beatus Johannes apostolus
post passionem...

Item alia praefatio. Johannes apostolus et
evangelista...

Incipit Apocalypsis Johannis apostoli.

Fol. 319^v: Breves temporum per
generationes et regna. Primus ex nostris
Julianus...

Fol. 321^v: Quoniam fili carissime
superiore libro propositionibus tuis..

De nominibus hebraeicis. Adonai in
latinum dicitur Dominus...

Fol. 323: De variis vocabulis. Alleluia in
latinum sonat...

De expositione diversarum rerum.

Mandragora in Genesi genus pomo...

Fol. 323: De gentibus sive civitatibus.
Gomer in Genesi Galatae id est calli...

Fol. 325: De sollempnitatibus. Annus
jubileus...

De idolis. Idola simulacra...

De vitibus. Ephod vestis...

De avibus volantibus. Pelcanus, avis
parva...

De bestiis vel serpentibus. Rinocero fera
terribilis...

De ponderis. Talentum est pondo...

Fol. 325^v: De mensuris. Corus modii XXX...

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Fol. 326: The *Clavis Melitonis* unrubricated,
“Caput Domini ipsa divinitas...”

Fol. 337^v: ...Pix inquinamentum et nigredo
deliciarum in Salomone: qui tangit picem
inquinabitur ab eo”

Mandragora in Genesi genus pomi...

Fol. 323^v: De gentibus sive civitatibus vel
provinciis. Gomer in Genesi Galatae id
est calli...

Fol. 325: De sollempnitatibus. Annus
jubileus...

De idolis. Idola simulacra...

De vestibus. Ephod vestis...

Fol. 325^v: De avibus volantibus.
Pelecanus avis...

De bestiis vel serpentibus. Rinoceron fera
terribilis...

De ponderis. Talentum est pondo..

De mensuris. Corus modii XXX...

De grecis nominibus. Theos Deus...

The *Clavis Melitonis* (unrubricated),
“Caput Domini ipsa divinitas...”

Fol. 337: ...Pix inquinamentum et nigredo
delictorum in Salomone: Qui tangit picem
inquinabitur ab ea.

Fol. 338: The pseudo-Augustine *Speculum* unrubricated. “I. De uno Deo. In exodo cap. VIII. Audi Israhel...”

Fol. 344: ...VII. Si quis sitis veniat et bibat. In Psalmo XXV: inebriabunter ab uberibus domus tuae. Explicit.”

Fol. 347^v: Versus Theodulfi. Codicis hujus opus... (In gold uncial writing on purple parchment)

Fol. 348: Final titles, in gold capitals on purple parchment:

Vive Deo felix per plurima tempora lector,
Theodulfi nec sis inmemor oro tui.

Explicit liber.

Finis adest opera. His quibus est
peragentibus actum

Sit pax, vita, salus, et tibi lector ave.

Fol. 338: Incipiunt capitula in Speculum domni Augustini

Fol. 339: I. De Uno Deo. In Deuteronomio cap. V. Audi Israhel...

Fol. 346: ...Si quis sitit usque hoc autem dixit de spiritu quem accepturi erant credentes in eum. In psalmo XXXV: Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tuae usque et in lumine tuo videbimus lumen.”

Fol. 348^v: Theodulfi versus. Codicis hujus opus... (In gold uncial writing on purple parchment)

Fol. 347: Final titles, in gold capitals on purple parchment:

Vive Deo felix per plurima tempora lector,
Theodulfi nec sis inmemor oro tui.

Explicit liber.

Finis adest opera. His quibus est
peragentibus actum

Sit pax, vita, salus, et tibi lector ave.

Adapted from Leopold Delisle’s “Les Bibles de Theodulfe”, *Bibliothèque de l’école des Chartes* 40 (1879), pp. 5-47.

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Manuscript Sources

This is an index to the discussions of the various manuscripts mentioned in the course of this study. Manuscripts are organized according to location and library. Those I have examined in person are marked with an asterisk. Those I have studied via digital resources, fascimiles, or microfilms are indicated with a double asterisk.

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