to the memory of

William Bullough
BA (Hons. German), Manchester 1921

Michael Wallace-Hadrill
Professor of Medieval History
University of Manchester, 1955–61

who taught by word and example

Carolingian renewal:

sources and heritage

D. A. Bullough

Professor of Medieval History
University of St Andrews

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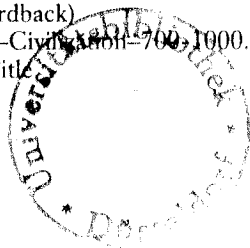
Introduction

Horst Fuhrmann
President, Monumenta Germanica Historica

It was a happy idea to gather together Donald Bullough's fundamental articles on the so-called Carolingian Renaissance from their widely-scattered places of first publication and publish them under the more appropriate title of 'Carolingian renewal'. Bullough's writings are unmistakably individual and of the highest quality. His intimate knowledge of Carolingian manuscripts and texts allows him an unusual precision in detail; he is at home in scriptoria as well as in liturgical and legal texts, not to mention historical works, and he belongs to the small number of scholars who work on the Carolingian renewal who have concerned themselves with the vernacular as a medium for religious and liturgical expression as well as with the evidence from archaeology and art history. Bullough writes freshly and at first-hand. Not for him the proverb: 'Wo Könige bauen, haben die Karrner zu tun.' He does not build up elaborate and elegant syntheses from the materials produced by the spadework of others, but is himself capable both of synthesis and spadework.

There is hardly a more precise analysis of the spirit of the epoch, an epoch which Bullough extends up to the period of reform in England in the tenth century, than his articles. Already in the 1970s Marcel Pacaut wrote of an 'analyse très classique' when reviewing the first of the articles reprinted here ('Roman books and Carolingian *renovatio*'), and it is for this reason that the reprint is especially welcome. The standard definition of a classic in German is that it is a work which all praise and few read. This is not to be feared for the present collection of articles, which complement one another fully, for only those who read with attention and concentration will appreciate fully the richness and originality of Bullough's observations.

[transl. T. P. Reuter]

Preface and acknowledgements

The publication of lectures has been described more than once as 'a form of literary suicide'. The re-publication of lectures which have appeared in print over a period of twenty years, with minimum revision, may be felt to compound the offence: but it is more than a *topos* to say that I am responding to invitations to do so both from colleagues in several countries and from the publishers, whose staff have subsequently laboured mightily to produce a coherent and stylish volume!

The original place of publication has been noted at the end of each chapter. I here express my thanks to the first publisher and/or the holders of copyright who have given their permission for re-publication.

I am grateful to Professor Horst Fuhrmann, during whose Presidency of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Munich) I had the honour of being elected a 'Corresponding Member', for his generous Introduction.

Two earlier debts are acknowledged in the Dedication. I am equally indebted for the unstinting advice and help I have received over many years from Professors Bernhard Bischoff and Florentine Mütherich, both of Munich. Alice Harting-Corrêa (Ph.D. St Andrews, 1991) has latterly given help and support well beyond what a supervisor can fairly expect from a graduate student. She has also prepared the indexes.

I am especially grateful to the Committee on Research in Arts and Divinity in the University of St Andrews who have assisted the publication of this volume by their generous grant towards the costs of the illustrations.

Abbreviations

BCS W. de G. Birch, Cartularium Saxonicum, 3 vols. (London, 1885–93)

Bischoff, Mitt. Studien *al.* Mittelalterliche Studien B. Bischoff, Mittelalterliche Studien, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1966, 1967, 1981)

Bishop, English Caroline T. A. M. Bishop, English Caroline Minuscule (Oxford Palaeographical Handbooks; Oxford, 1971)

Bosworth-Toller An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary by J. Bosworth and T. N. Toller (Oxford 1882–1921)

CC Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout)

CLA Codices Latini Antiquiores, ed. E. A. Lowe, 12 vols. (Oxford, 1934–72)

CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna, 1866–)

DA Deutsches Archiv (Weimar, 1936–)

DMLBS Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources (British Academy; Oxford, 1975–)

DOP Dumbarton Oaks Papers (Washington, D.C., 1947–)

EETS os. Early English Text Society, original series (London 1864 et seq.)

FMSt Frühmittelalterliche Studien (Berlin, 1967–)

Karl der Grosse *al.* K d G W. braunfels (ed.), Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk u. Nachleben, 4 vols. (Düsseldorf, 1965–67)

Ker N. R. Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon (Oxford, 1957); re-issue with Supplement, 1990)

MGH *al.* Mon. Germ. (Hist.) Monumenta Germaniae Historica
    AA Auctores Antiquissimi (Berlin, 1877–1919)
    Capit. Capitularia Regum Francorum, Legum Sectio ii (1883–1897)
    Conc. Concilia, Legum Sectio iii (1893–)
    Epist., E pp Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi (1892–)
    Form. Formulae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi, Leges Sectio v (1886)
    Leges Legum Sectio I (Hanover, 1888–)
    Poet. Poetae Latini Karolini Aevi (1881–)
    SRL Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum (Hanover, 1878)
    SRM Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum (Hanover, 1884–1951)
    SS Scriptores Hanover-Leipzig, 1826–)

NA Neues Archiv (Hanover, 1876–1935)

PL Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1841–64)

RS Rolls Series (London 1858–96)

Sawyer P. H. Sawyer, Anglo Saxon Charters: an annotated hand-list and bibliography (London 1968)

SC Sources Chrétiennes (Paris, 1942–)

Spoleto Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull' Alto Medioevo (Spoleto, 1954–)

Whitelock, EHD[2] English Historical Documents, i: c. 500-1042, ed. D. Whitelock (2nd edn, London 1979)

I

Roman books and Carolingian *renovatio*[1]

Jean Mabillon's incidental treatment in his *De re diplomatica* of the lead *bulla* of an emperor Charles with the reverse legend *Renovatio Roman. Imp.* gives no inkling of the reputation it was to acquire in later historiography of the Carolingian empire. Mabillon himself favoured an attribution to Charles the Fat, although between the publication of the first and supplementary volumes of his epoch-making work it had been correctly attributed to the first Charles by the numismatist François Le Blanc. Without these early publications, modern discussion of early Carolingian imperial and renaissance ideology might have been deprived of one of its key texts: for the bull was already in a much damaged condition in the late nineteenth century and both sides are now almost completely illegible.[2] Its uniqueness, and the great rarity of the 'imperial bust' coins which are iconographically linked with it, invite us to consider whether the slogans and images of a 'renewed Roman empire' were known to more than a privileged few in Charlemagne's lifetime: even so, if the *Annales Mettenses*, completed in 805, have been rightly interpreted, someone in the court circle had felt the need to appease critics by emphasising the strictly Frankish roots of his imperial authority at about the same time as the dies of the new coins were being prepared.[3]

Rome, however, had been presented to the Franks as an exemplar and a means of renewal of their *religio Christiana* long before learned discussion focused on the nature of their ruler's authority: and the reiteration of the notion that it was the source of what was right and good in the liturgy reached a far wider circle of educated Franks than were ever familiar with the concept of *renovatio imperii*. Eighth- and early ninth-century sacramentaries of the type conveniently described as 'Gelasian' have an introductory colophon which, with minor variations, reads: *In nomine Dei summi incipit liber sacramentorum Romanae ecclesiae*

ordinis per circulum anni (or *ordinis anni circuli*). Ninth-century and some later 'Gregorian' sacramentaries have the colophon: *In nomine Domini hic sacramentorum de circulo anno exposito a sancto Gregorio papa romano editum*; to which a select few manuscripts add the words *ex authentico libro bibliothecae cubiculi scriptum.*[4]

The belief that proper liturgical practice in all the churches of the Latin west derived from the church of Rome – but also the contrary belief that local *consuetudo* had its own inherent virtue and was not lightly to be abandoned – goes back at least to the early fifth century. Answering a number of queries from bishop Decentius of Gubbio in 416, pope Innocent I declared that:

> If the priests of the Lord really wished to preserve ecclesiastical uses intact, as received from the Holy Apostles, no diversity and no variation would be found in the [eucharistic] rite and [other] ceremonial . . .; it is incumbent on [all western churches] to follow what the Roman Church observes, from which they doubtless took their own beginning, lest by favouring adventitious opinions, they overlook the real source of their own institutions.

The decretal letter of which these firm words are the prologue found a place in nearly every canon-law collection from the expanded *Dionysiana* and the *Quesnelliana* onwards. It does not follow from this, however, that copies were already numerous or that it was read widely in the pre-Carolingian centuries.[5]

The attitude of *sanctus Gregorius papa Romanus* himself was very different. When the notoriously-uneasy Augustine raised with the pope the question of liturgical divergences between the Roman church and churches in Gaul and what practices he should adopt for the newly-converted English, the answer given was:

> You know the usage of the Roman Church in which you were brought up: hold it very much in affection. But as far as I am concerned, if you have found something more pleasing to Almighty God, either in the Roman or the Frankish or any other Church, make a careful choice and institute in the Church of the English – which as yet is new to the Faith – the best usages which you have gathered together from many churches . . . Choose . . . what is godly, religious and sound; and gathering all together as it were into a dish, place it on the table of the English for their customary diet.

Paul Meyvaert has shown that language and thought are characteristic of Gregory and the answer to Augustine's query a typical expression of the pope's concept of 'diversity within unity'. The same scholar's fine studies of the manuscript tradition of the *Libellus Responsionum* have also established that it was widely disseminated – primarily, apparently, from Lombard north Italy (Pavia?) – in three formally distinct versions before Bede included a variant-text of the 'question-and-answer' version in his *Ecclesiastical History*: it was a common feature of pre-Carolingian and early Carolingian canonical collections originating and circulating in Gaul and England.[6] There is nothing to suggest that Bede's personal experience of the liturgy and attitude to it linked him and his community with Innocent rather than Gregory; and there is indeed evidence to the contrary. The elimination of the *archicantor* John from the bibliography and history of the Roman *ordines* (magisterially edited by M. Andrieu) does not necessarily mean that his period as 'visiting professor of liturgy' in northern England was of no significance for its forms and practice of worship: but his responsibilities in Rome related to the singing of the office in the monastery of St Martin's and in St Peter's basilica, not the stational or other mass-liturgy. Apart from the office-hymns quoted in the early *De arte metrica*, surprisingly few liturgical citations or resonant echoes have been identified in Bede's writings. He quotes the 'three quite perfect petitions' introduced by Gregory into the *Hanc igitur* prayer of the canon of the mass: but this extended version (with minor syntactical variations) was universal in the eighth century. He does, however, put into the mouth of Augustine and his fellow-missionaries entering Canterbury for the first time the antiphon (with *Alleluia*) *Deprecamur te* from the rogation litany, which only reached Rome from Gaul in the time of pope Leo III; and Cuthbert's account of Bede's last day reveals the community taking part in the ascensiontide rogations: northern English monastic observance in the early eighth century, therefore, included at least one specifically Gallican, non-Roman, liturgical ceremony.[7]

Bede's monastery, and doubtless some others which had no chronicler, could claim an alternative affiliation with Rome and its unbroken heritage – even specifically with the unique resources of the papal court – through the search for 'books to furnish a room'. Probably no texts of early medieval cultural history are better known than the passages in the *Lives of the Holy Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*

describing the book-collecting zeal of Benedict Biscop; and Rome is explicitly or implicitly the place where he, like Wilfrid in the same decades, made the bulk of his acquisitions. From his fourth voyage to Rome Benedict 'brought back a large number of books on sacred literature, which he had either bought at a price or received as gifts from his friends', from his fifth 'a large quantity of books of all kinds'; 'many sacred books' were among the items that he brought back from his sixth visit: and when he was near death 'he commanded 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'.[8]

Where so few non-biblical manuscripts have survived that can be shown unequivocally to have been in a northern English library, it is a hopeless task to try to define the common or particular characteristics of those that Benedict took away from Rome. We must be content to recall that the *Codex Amiatinus* is a massive but no longer the only piece of evidence that among them were books – less probably, recent Roman copies of books – that had once been in the library of Cassiodorus's *Vivarium* and then for a time (as it seems) in the library of the Lateran.[9] The very different emphasis in the Wearmouth-Jarrow collection, which it can hardly be doubted was much the most extensive north of the Alps *c.* 700, the deliberately chosen (but also in part probably unavoidable) limitations are, however, apparent if we look at the list of books and authors known to have been consulted by Bede in the first third of the eighth century. It is not merely that most of the books are either patristic (exegetic) or in some sense computistic: there is a conspicuous lack even of the modest minimum of non-Christian authors with whom almost all his successors of comparable learning and interest will show familiarity. In fact, apart from the late grammarians,[10] Bede's first-hand reading in the pagan Latin authors seems to have been limited to a part only of Pliny's *Encyclopedia* – the early books, with possibly excerpts from some others.[11] Even Virgil, it has recently been argued, was not available to or at least not known by Bede except through quotations in the writings of others; and if, as seems possible, Cassiodorus's *Institutions* was not among the books imported by Benedict, Bede was deprived of access to a work that could have led him to a few more of the major pagan writers.[12]

These conspicuous gaps in the library resources of northern

England began to be filled in the four decades after Bede's death, when Egbert and Ælberht acquired a whole range of pagan and Christian Latin authors, including, besides Virgil, Cicero's *De Inventione*, Statius, Vitruvius and something of Boethius; other centres may have acquired a collection of Ovid extracts as well as Virgil.[13] With them came representative examples of the distant inheritors of the antique literary tradition, tired perhaps but not dead or entirely despicable: calendar verses and Roman funerary epitaphs.[14] In the same generation, the self-styled *discipuli* of pope Gregory and his mouthpiece Augustine – now described as the *didasculus* and *paedagogus* or *praedicatores* of the English – turned their backs (probably not always for the same reason) on the pragmatism and reasonableness of their mentors and appealed instead to their supposed authoritative pronouncements. A council held at *Clofesho* for the entire southern province decreed that baptism was to be performed and the mass celebrated according to the forms received in writing from the Roman church; the *natalitia* of saints were to be commemorated in accordance with the martyrology of the same church; the canonical hours in monasteries were to include only 'what the custom of the Roman church permits'; the Roman *Laetania major* on 25 April was to be added to the customary rogations; and the *ieiuniorum tempora* (later ember-days) of the fourth, seventh and tenth months were to be observed as at Rome. There do not seem to have been any corresponding decrees in the *acta* of the Frankish synod recently communicated to the archbishop of Canterbury by its president Boniface and one of the inspirations of the *Clofesho* decrees.[15] It was left to the author or authors of the sixteenth and last *interrogatio et responsio* in Egbert of York's *succinctus dialogus ecclesiasticae institutionis*, which I regard as post-747 and not certainly part of the original text (although the opposite case is arguable), to go one stage further and equate Roman and therefore English practice with that which Gregory had had written down.[16]

The question was whether the *ieiunia quatuor temporum* – here apparently referred to collectively by that name for the first time: one of the reasons for supposing that the *Clofesho* decrees are earlier in date – were to be celebrated at the beginning of the month or otherwise, and why they existed. The answer is far more elaborate than to any other of the *interrogationes*, beginning with a disquisition on the significance of the number four which has its closest parallels in Irish exegesis.[17] The

most important point in the present context is the responder's defence of the English practice of observing the first of the *ieiuniorum tempora*:

> *indifferenter de primae epdomadae computatione, in prima epdomada quadragesimae;*

and the second:

> *in plena epdomada post Pentecosten.*

Both were prescribed *in antiphonario et missali libro* which Gregory sent to England with Augustine. For the second, however:

> *non solum nostra testantur antiphonaria sed et ipsa quae cum missalibus suis conspeximus apud apostolorum Petri et Pauli limina.*

These statements raise a whole series of problems that have hardly been considered by those who have used them to support one or other theory of the early history of the 'Gregorian Sacramentary'. The language of the *Dialogus*, including the sixteenth *interrogatio*, shows unequivocally that the responder is the (arch-) bishop. Egbert is not known ever to have journeyed to Rome – his pallium was sent to him in 735. A Roman visit by his successor Ælberht, some years before his consecration in 767, is however recorded in two separate poems by Alcuin, who accompanied the future archbishop.[18] It can be accepted that in Rome in the eighth century, and probably long before this time, the 'ember-days of the first month' were in fact observed in the week after Quadragesima Sunday (the original 'first week of Lent') and the 'ember-days of the fourth month' in the first week after Pentecost.[19] Unlike the Leonine sacramentary and the various Gelasian sacramentaries, which have rubrics relating to the fasts of the fourth, seventh and tenth months at the appropriate places, neither the early Gregorian sacramentary, in any of the forms in which it has come down to us, nor the eighth/ninth-century *Antiphonaria missarum* refer directly to the *ieiunii tempora*: the days on which they were observed have to be interred from the position of the *sabbata in xii lectiones*. It is possible that the visiting York cleric – whose sacramentary hitherto had been, I am sure, some variety of the Gelasian – had done just this, or had been shown liturgical books with notable differences from those on which modern reconstructions of the eighth-century papal liturgy are based. In either case it must remain uncertain whether he had any textual authority for connecting the books he saw with pope Gregory.[20]

The earliest monastic communities in the British Isles to adapt their liturgical practice to changing Roman norms were not necessarily those of Northumbria; and Mercian and Northumbrian liturgical cis-montanism or Gregorianism did not win immediate or wholehearted acceptance in the Frankish Church. A long-neglected passage in what (in the light of a forthcoming critical edition) I gladly accept as 'the First Life of St Brigid', to be dated to the second half of the seventh century, reports the saint as saying that she had heard of changes in the celebration of mass at Rome and was therefore asking for the dispatch of an *ordo* and *regula* to enable her community to celebrate properly.[21] Other saints were, liturgically speaking, more reluctant brides. The type of sacramentary used by Boniface and his circle in eastern Francia has not been finally determined, but however much the experts differ among themselves they seem to be in agreement that it was a book on which the non-Roman imprint was strong.[22] The 'difficult and doubtful treatise' (Levison's phrase) known as the *Ratio de cursus qui fuerunt eius auctores* asserts boldly that several forms of liturgical celebration that differ from those of Rome are equally legitimate because of their very ancient origins. It seems to have been composed in an Italian monastery with a strongly Irish element only a generation or two before the unique surviving copy, which keeps company with some equally bizarre texts, was made in an unidentified north(-east) Italian *scriptorium* during the years either side of 800.[23] The list of Lenten and Easter stations in Chrodegang's Metz assumes that, as in Rome, the first ember-days will be in the first week of Lent; but by the end of Charlemagne's reign the rule in the Frankish church was that the first two of the *quattuor tempora* were to be observed in the first week of March and the second week of June.[24]

Was the author of book I ch. 6 of the *Libri Carolini* (which on any theory of that work's composition was not the Northumbrian Alcuin) deluding himself or simply trying to deceive others when he sought to bolster the claim that the Roman church has to be consulted on all issues involving matters of faith with a 'Little Arthur's History' of the liturgy in the Frankish dominions? Gaul, he declared, from the time of its original conversion

> had always maintained a unity of holy religion with [the Roman church] and differed from it but little – not as touching the faith, that is, merely in

the celebration of services: now, thanks to the care and energy of the most illustrious and excellent man (our father of blessed memory) king Pippin and in consequence of the coming to Gaul of the most reverend and most holy Stephen, bishop of Rome, it is entirely at one with it in the order of chanting.

He adds, ostensibly to clinch his argument, that God having more recently given king Charles the kingdom of Italy, he,

eager to increase the prestige of the Roman Church and glad to follow the salutary promptings of the most reverend Hadrian, has brought it about that many localities of that region which formerly rejected the apostolic see's teaching of chant (*traditionem in psallendo*) now are embracing it with all zeal and with him to whom they already conformed in the burden of faith are now conforming in the order of chant.[25]

Claims made with an eye on Constantinpole as well as Rome may be as revealing for what they omit as for what they include; and even the latter can easily be misunderstood. *Ordo psallendi*, like *cantilena*, in the usage of the day embraces words as well as music, structure as well as content (much like our 'a good paper'). The most influential and effective instruments of even an incomplete Romanisation were, on the one hand, those who had received a musical education in a Roman *schola* and, on the other, *ordines* rather than sacramentaries. The Roman liturgical *ordo* was sometimes a quite short and strictly descriptive text, sometimes quite long and with digressions of widely-varying character but in any case designed to show how particular services and ceremonies were currently performed in the papal city or should ideally be conducted. The partial shift of focus in the ceremonial of the seventh and early-eighth-century Roman church from the altar and chancel to streets and *atria*, simultaneously with the expansion of the festal calendar – the two principal aspects of what has been called (somewhat misleadingly) the 'Byzantinisation' of the Roman liturgy – had stimulated their composition: and incidentally provided future historians with evidence of the level of Latin culture in the city at this period which they have been surprisingly slow to exploit. From mid-century copies of the *ordines Romani* were crossing the Alps; and if, as has been suggested, Rome's 'Byzantinised' liturgy made a great impression on the young Charles, it may well be that the reception of the *ordines* in Francia and the responses to them of men like Chrodegang of Metz had played their

part in this some years before the king was met at the first mile-stone of the Via Cassia *sicut exarchus aut patricius* in 774.[26]

Of more immediate and measurable importance is the fact that *ordines* lent themselves to conscious propagandising in a way in which sacramentaries and other liturgical books did not. This is most clearly apparent in the shape and content of the collections of *ordines* put together and circulated in Francia in the second half of the eighth century such as (notably) the so-called 'Collection of St Amand' and the 'Collection of St Gallen'. The second of these, the work of an anonymous monk probably in the sixties or early seventies and certainly widely disseminated in the succeeding decade, has as its core four *ordines* in their original Roman form and a list of the 'canonical' books of the old and new testaments as a guide to liturgical reading, set, as it were, in an appropriate frame – namely, Innocent's letter to Decentius of Gubbio (changed into Capua) as the prefatory text, and an apparently original composition of the compiler as its epilogue. The latter exhorts all the faithful to adopt the practices of the Roman church as indicated in the preceding *ordines*, to identify themselves thereby with its uninterrupted liturgical tradition and save themselves from falling away from the true faith. The Latinity of this propaganda leaflet compares very unfavourably with what has gone before: it has a limited vocabulary, an uncertain orthography, a lack of concern for some of the most elementary rules of grammar. The adapted *ordines* that make up the 'Collection of St Amand' show similar deficiencies. The osmotic effect of liturgical Latin – which, as M. Andrieu remarked, 'is good Latin' – had yet to be felt in Francia in the third quarter of the eighth century by many of those who were most widely read in it. The eventual universal acceptance, if not necessarily universal application, of a 'correct' orthography and syntax had to await the wider dissemination of Christian epigraphic, patristic and pagan Latin texts and an awareness of the norms they presupposed. In the process, the language of the liturgy and of much else became fully accessible only to an educated élite.[27]

Papal Rome, however, had more to offer the Franks than liturgical texts and practices, old-fashioned Latin and a new-style kingship. Already in the seventh century the pilgrim returning home could take with him simple guides or itineraries to the Holy City. Such texts might be combined with separately-originating collections of inscriptions to make a volume like that forming the fourth part of the manuscript

Einsiedeln 326; and an earlier (eighth-century) version of this collection may have included a circular map of the city.[28] Their users' interest was primarily in the martyrs and other saints associated with the named extra-mural and intra-mural Christian monuments. But the relics of saints were themselves a transportable and exportable commodity, and the Franco-papal alliance introduced a new factor. The *Liber Pontificalis* records in some detail the ceremonial transfer of the body of Petronilla (St Peter's reputed daughter) from the cemetery of Domatilla to an originally secular mausoleum at the south-west corner of St Peter's basilica by pope Paul I (756–67), in furtherance of a plan formulated by his brother and predecessor Stephen. It does not suggest any Carolingian involvement. A letter in the *Codex Carolinus*, however – written, it seems, in the early months of 758 – informs Pippin that the baptismal napkin of his daughter Gisla, through whose baptism king and pope are now joined *in vinculo spiritalis foederis*, has been joyfully received into 'the chapel of St Petronilla, your helper, which commemorates your name with eternal praise'. The oldest list of relics in Aachen cathedral includes the name of Petronilla: and while the claim that the list as a whole goes back to the time of Charlemagne must be treated with some scepticism, the presence of relics of hers in association with those of St Martin and St Peter in a dependent rural church of the royal abbey of Lorsch in ?793 argues that they arrived at the palace chapel or its predecessor at an early date.[29]

Other saints made the same or similar journeys across the Alps in the same period, to enhance not only the churches and monasteries of the Carolingian dynasty and of its leading courtiers but also the *gens Francorum*. As the prologue to a new edition of *Lex Salica* expressed it in 763/4:

> This is a people strong through firmness because it was brave. They fought and threw off from their shoulders the heavy yoke of the Romans, and after the knowledge given them by baptism they clothed in gold and precious stones the [rediscovered] bodies of the holy martyrs whom the Romans had put to death by fire, sword and wild beasts.[30]

When Fulrad of St Denis, some years before 775, began a new abbey-church that would be a more fitting setting for the relics of Roman martyrs as well as of its patronal saint and adopted – although not in every detail – the T-shaped (transeptal) basilican plan hitherto peculiar to the two Roman churches of St Peter's and St Paul's, Frankish *imitatio* of papal Rome was almost complete. The final stage in the process was the building of churches in which chapels and altars proliferated, churches otherwise as different as St Riquier, Aachen, etc., which were *perhaps* thought of as the realisation on a single site of the 'stational-church' pattern of the Holy City.[31]

This archaeological approach to the liturgy of the present – the constantly-renewed link between Christian past and future, between things temporal and things eternal – may throw light on some otherwise puzzling features of the manuscripts forming what used to be known as the 'Ada-group' and now universally recognised as products of the Carolingian court both before and after it acquired a stable residence at Aachen.[32] Their distinctive juxtaposition and mingling of elements drawn from Insular and different Mediterranean traditions first occur in the 'Godescalc Evangelistary', dated on internal evidence between April 781 and mid-783, which set new standards for decorated-book production in Francia. In the context of our present theme, it is tempting but unnecessary to labour the symbolism of a book avowedly inspired by the baptism of Charles's son Pippin, 'born again in the fount' (*fonte renascentem*) and raised from the consecrated waters by pope Hadrian. Textually, it provided the royal chapel with a strictly Roman gospel-lectionary. The novel image of 'the Fountain of Life', which immediately precedes the first lection, fuses a traditional motif of Mediterranean book-art with a summary representation of the Lateran baptistery where the ceremony took place, an image repeated in more developed form in the later 'Soissons gospels'. The poem in which Godescalc explains the manuscript's commemorative significance uses a number of short epigraphic formulae but also incorporates two lines from the epitaph of pope Felix IV and a half-line from that of pope Boniface III: the poet may have copied them from the originals or found them in a *silloge*.[33] Two later manuscripts in the group, the Harley and the Soissons gospels possibly of the last years of the eighth-century and of *c.* 800 respectively, have some extraordinary canon-tables in which the vertical dividers are not the usual straight columns but curly figured ones (figure 1). Their identification as representations of the columns which until the early sixteenth century formed a screen in front of the *confessio* of St Peter, had to await the rediscovery of the actual columns (which Bramante had *not* destroyed) and the reconstruction of their

original disposition: although it is almost certain that the exemplar of the Carolingian artist was an earlier, Roman, Gospel-book and not the screen-columns *in situ*.[34] The physical preparation, make-up and other codicological features of these court manuscripts place them unmistakeably in the insular tradition. Lowe (like Julian Brown more recently) supposes a connection with Alcuin's move from York to the Frankish court, but this is difficult to accept on chronological and perhaps other grounds.[35] Godescalc himself, meaning by this the man who wrote the extremely skilled Caroline minuscule on the concluding pages of the book, including the poem which tells us his name, manifestly came from the 'Austrasian' region of the *regnum Francorum*; but the minuscule hand in the Soissons Gospels betrays some insular influence.[36] Was the guiding spirit, the organiser of the artists and writers responsible for the liturgical and biblical manuscripts produces at Charlemagne's court, after all an anonymous Englishman? Whoever he was, he must surely be credited with the introduction into Carolingian book-art of novel and Rome-inspired themes, which provided it with the most original if ultimately least influential of its several strands.

Godescalc's script, which intermittently betrays its native cursive ancestry by particular letter-forms and ligatures, is regarded by many palaeographers as the first fully-perfected Caroline minuscule. Others believe that that distinction more properly belongs to a minuscule created at Corbie in the time of abbot Maurdramnus (772–80/1) – by an individual, I am sure, and not by a committee – to be the fitting script for a new and unexpectedly critical edition of the Old Testament and doubtless, in intention, for other Christian books also.[37] Godescalc and his putative collaborators, like the scribes of the Harley and Soissons Gospels, employed minuscule only for the supplementary or subordinate parts of their books; it was promoted to being the main text-script, written throughout in gold, in the psalter written by Dagulf and an assistant *c.* 793–5, for presentation to pope Hadrian, who unfortunately never saw it.[38] The early Carolingian 'court minuscule', its close relatives and descendants were to be of unique significance in the history of European culture. But in the present context the other scripts used by this select group of scribes are of even greater interest and importance.

The text of the Evangelistary is written in a stiff, slightly stylised uncial, a script with a long but by no means uninterrupted history as a vehicle of Christian writings; the display pages and some titles are in carefully-seriffed 'square' capitals; rustic capitals are used for an entry in the paschal table which is just possibly a later addition.[39] *Rustica* is also used for some page-endings in the Harley Gospels (figure 2) and for a a single display-page in the Dagulf psalter (fol. 67): the calligraphic weakness of this page is the more conspicuous in comparison with the other display-pages which use an exceptionally fine capital with decorated serifs, characterised by the late Stanley Morison as 'Damasine', although the proportions of the letters are (to use his terminology again) 'Gregorian'.[40] In the Vienna Coronation Gospels, with which an entirely new antiquising art-style reaches the court, very delicate rustic capitals are used for the prefatory material and for the running titles; in later manuscripts of the same group (the so-called 'Palace school'), the titles are in an even more accomplished *rustica*. The capitals in the Lorsch Gospels, with which the Court school closes, probably well on in Louis the Pious's reign, are recognisable descendants of those in the Godescalc manuscript but their proportions are squarer and the distinction between thick and thin strokes more marked.[41]

The notion of a hierarchy of scripts, employing for titles, colophons etc. one or more varieties of capital whose earlier associations were essentially pagan, which was to reach its most perfect development in the mid-ninth-century Tours scriptorium, is adumbrated already in the Wearmouth-Jarrow *Codex Amiatinus*, to go back no further. Here, for example, a somewhat mannered and not very consistent *rustica* is used for titles and *arguments*; and the captions of the latterly much-discussed illustration of the Temple may accurately represent the capital-script used in Cassiodorus's *Vivarium*.[42] Capitals are used for display-pages and occasionally for titles in a number of continental scriptoria during the last decades of the eighth century. The Court and Palace manuscripts are distinguished from all other examples by the overall quality and internal consistency of the alphabets and the evidence of the scripts themselves that, as new models arrived at the court, the scribes acquired a growing understanding of their structure and the kind of penmanship required to produce them.

A very different kind of capital, monoline (that is, with a constant thickness of stroke) and with very slight serifs, was used for the epitaph

of pope Hadrian sent from Aachen to Rome in 796 or shortly afterwards. It is hardly possible that the creator of the alphabet was not familiar with imperial Roman epigraphic capitals which the mason has so closely imitated. The implications of such a gesture may not have escaped pope Leo III, whose predecessor had been guided to the 'correct' doctrine of images by the Carolingian court and who had recently received a letter from Charles giving his view (or Alcuin's) of the proper relationship between king and pope.[43] The danger of assuming that all such examples of *imitatio* were deliberate political statements is, however, indicated by the almost exactly contemporary funerary epitaph of bishop David of Benevento (d. 796), now walled upside down in the cathedral façade and unpublished, which copies the lettering of the arch on Trajan in that city: and this for a man whose documented literary activity is a sermon *in laude gloriose sancte virginis Dei genitricis Marie*.[44] The writer or writers of the capitals in the Godescalc Evangelistary could conceivably have been influenced in the choice of letter-forms by the markedly classicising lettering of the fifth-century epistyle of the Lateran baptistery, although the proportions of the latter are squarer. Nor would I exclude an occasional influence from coins, on which seriffed capitals are normal long before the 'imperial bust' coins.[45] In general, however, scribes must be assumed to have sought and found their models in scripts, particularly when they reveal a grasp of their ductus and line-balance.

When Charlemagne was in Rome at Easter 774, he was presented by the pope with a copy of a revised text of Dionysius Exiguus's canon-law collection, the so-called 'Dionysio-Hadriana'. The presentation copy is lost but a considerable number of its descendants are known.[46] Bischoff's brilliant assembling and evaluation of the evidence for Charlemagne's court library gives proper weight to two pieces of evidence which suggest that probably in 780 the king had sent out a 'round robin' asking that manuscripts of ancient and more recent learning should be sent to the court. An early response was a text of the *ars grammatica* of Diomedes from which quotations of archaic Latin writers had first been eliminated. A later one was Wigbod (of ? Trier) on the Octateuch, a substantial piece of 'scissors-and-paste' exegesis (the best printed text of which masquerades in Migne under the name of Bede), which was to have a surprisingly long and complicated history of copying and adaptation: its mediocre verse-prologue acclaims the large

number of books already assembled at the court, *sanctorum renovans patrum conscripta priorum* – apparently the earliest occurrence of *renovare* in such a context.[47] Another text acquired by the Frankish court in 780/1 was Verecundus of Iunca's *abbreviatium Calcedonensis concilii*, accompanying the *pseudopittatium a Paulino pro Theodosio quondam imperatore dato*, which aroused pope Hadrian's strong disapproval when it was sent on to him.[48] The first two works will hardly have provided models for capital scripts, although the Verecundus and other unnamed patristic texts and the Dionysio-Hadriana manuscript could conceivably have done so. We might be able to see the models used by the later court scribes (although not presumably by the writers of the Evangelistary) and particularly for their *rustica* if the actual manuscripts survived from the astonishing collection of pagan Latin writers, including Cicero, Statius, Martial and Tibullus, of which a probably partial list was made *c.* 790 and which after decades of uncertainty can be regarded as securely located at the court, in the period when it was still itinerant. Unhappily they do not, only some of their copies.[49]

We have to fall back on speculating whether the *Vergilius augusteus* (in square capitals) and the *Vergilius romanus* (in rustic) may not also have been in the court library and, if so, at what date; and whether the 'Calendar of 354', which was almost certainly available at Louis the Pious's court in the original or in a Carolingian copy, may not already have been there in his father's time. Three purely paleographical points can, indeed, be cited in support of the latter supposition. The curling, elongated serifs of the Filocalian or Damasine letter appear from time to time in late-antique manuscript titlings but never with such consistency or elaboration as in the Dagulf Psalter. Already in the Harley Gospels as in the Lorsch Gospels later the proportions of the capital letters are more square and the letter-strokes more shaded. Most telling, Filocalus had introduced the practice of putting a reduced-sized letter inside a preceding curved letter: the Hadrian-epitaph's most notable departure from imperial epigraphic practice is a V inside a C or Q and an I in the angle of an L; the Harley Gospels have a few examples of this practice; and on some pages of the Lorsch Gospels it becomes an irritating mannerism, extended to several other letters. If the source is not the calendar, someone had supplied the court scribes with good copies of Damasine inscriptions, most of which were in Rome's underground cemeteries.[50]

Although the manuscripts it lists are frustratingly invisible, it is worth remaining a little longer with the 'court library catalogue'. It reveals that within a very few years of the arrival there of a text of Diomedes' *Ars grammatica* – which some of the court circle later read only in a much-abbreviated version (figure 3)–[51] full copies were available of a surprising number of the pagan Latin works cited in it together with others that were not: as a result, major works of Latin antiquity which might otherwise have been lost to posterity became available to interested scholars and to the trained scribes who provided them and later generations with reliable copies. Yet they played a surprisingly modest part in the intellectual preparation for the imperial coronation of 800. One of the reasons why it took scholars so long to 'place' the book-list is that most of the works named in it left no recognisable mark on the literature known to have been produced at Charlemagne's court and not much more in the works of court-trained scholars who subsequently pursued an active writing-career in bishopric or monastery. The real impact of the collection was felt one or two generations later: and some texts – the poems of Tibullus, for example – remained unread for centuries.[52] Someone not among the known court scholars, whom Bischoff has recently identified as an Italian associated with Charlemagne's grammar-teacher, Peter of Pisa,[53] was however sufficiently interested to make the list. Since he apparently returned to Italy shortly afterwards with the book in which he had written it, he regarded it, I suggest, as a kind of working bibliography – a list of the texts, pagan with some Christian poets, which he as a grammarian would recommend or hope to acquire for the community in which he taught: although if so he was almost certainly doomed to disappointment. Collection and list have their place in the early Carolingian search for the acceptance of norms, which Rome (in different senses of the word) was uniquely able to supply.[54]

The previously-quoted colophon of the ninth-century Gregorian sacramentaries puts this point far more forcibly. There can be no real doubt that the scribe's *bibliotheca* is that of the popes and not that of Charles's court, where none the less the *authenticum* became available to Frankish copyists in the late 780s. Apart from the other arguments in favour of the first interpretation, it seems to be demanded by the discovery of the 'sacramentary of Trent', whose basic content is a Roman Gregorian independent of the Hadrian-Aachen-Cambrai copy,

with an identical colophon – unless (which is unfortunately perfectly possible) this has been introduced by the early-ninth-century editor or copyist.[55] Subsequent copies of the colophon, very few and perhaps none of which can have been taken directly from the palace exemplar, make sense – of a sort – if *authenticum* had acquired a generally-accepted new meaning. In origin it was a strictly legal term for 'original, autograph' and not merely 'unfalsified, genuine'. Caesarius of Arles so used it when he placed the *authenticum* of the conciliar acts of 529 in his cathedral archive; and there are isolated examples of its use both in this sense and apparently also as 'norm' (for example, by Aldhelm) in the next two centuries. When, however, Louis the Pious commanded the archbishop of Bordeaux to see to it that all the bishops in his jurisdiction acquired a text of the Aachen decrees of 816, the *authentica* they were to follow was an 'authorised copy'.[56] It could well be that the court had derived both the term and the concept from the *Dionysio-Hadriana* given to Charles in 774 or from the sacramentary sent to him ten or fifteen years later. Three, but seemingly only three, copies of the former bear the inscription:

> *iste codex est scriptus de illo authentico quem domnus Adrianus apostolicus dedit gloriosissimo Carolo regi Francorum et Langobardorum ac patricio Romano quando fuit Romae.*

None of them is early; more important, none of them is among the manuscripts (admittedly not very numerous) which include the dedicatory verses from Hadrian I – verses which show incidentally that Rome's poetic Latinity at this time was not up to its liturgical Latin. A full study of the textual tradition of the collection may well prove me wrong but I incline to the view that in this case the *authenticus*-colophon was added north of the Alps to a manuscript that headed one branch of the later tradition, as part of the concern for authoritativeness that developed at the Frankish court in the years either side of 790.[57] One other aspect of this, which proclaims a link with the idea of 'renewal', is the comprehensive transcription of forty-five years' papal letters to the Carolingians, undertaken in 790/1, when court scribes were also engaged on the book that was to tell the pope the correct doctrine of images. The colophon of what we are accustomed to call the *Codex Carolinus* (known only from a mid-ninth-century copy) declares that because letters had already been lost or become illegible, the king *summo*

cum certamine renovare ac rescribere decrevit: so that *nullum penitus testimonium* (a powerful word as any writer of legal documents or *vitae sanctorum* knew) *sanctae ecclaesiae profuturum* should be lacking to his successors.[58]

The papal response to the Frankish king's assertion of a new kind of authority was: firstly, the commissioning of *imagines regis* for Roman buildings to state another view of the hierarchy of powers;[59] secondly, although only after prolonged exchanges with representatives of the Frankish court, the crowning and acclamation of Charles as emperor in St Peter's during the third mass of Christmas. Rome and its liturgy were thus used to provide legitimation or authentication of a political and not merely a cultural renewal: and this is equally true whether the view is taken (with Schramm but with few other scholars) that the ceremony was one of recognition of a *translatio* of imperial authority that had already taken place or that it was a constitutive ceremony, the moment at which the Frankish king first acquired imperial pre-rogatives.[60] (In parenthesis, I note that a document that seemed to give additional and weighty support to Schramm's thesis has recently been shown to be a forgery by arguments that would have appealed to Mabillon.)[61] The use of *laudes* incorporating the predicate *augustus* gave the emperor-making ceremony and the new emperor a tenuous link with pre-Christian antiquity. But Kantorowicz's elaborate study of the way in which *laudes regiae* were composed and used in the early Carolingian period brings out the extraordinary, perhaps one can fairly say unique, character of what took place in St Peter's: this was certainly a ceremony without a written *ordo* and perhaps without any written text.[62] It immediately gave back appropriateness, however, to existing prayers in mass-books which interceded *pro imperatore* and demanded the restoration of these words where *pro rege* had latterly been substituted for them. A good example is the Holy Week prayer (not exactly in the same place in all books) which reads, in the 'Old Gallican Missal' (MS Pal. lat. 493) *pro christianissimis regibus*, in the Vatican Gelasian *pro christianissimo imperatore vel rege nostro.* The latter wording could well have been that of the Hadrianum sent to the Frankish court: but in the Cambrai copy and in almost all ninth- and early tenth-century Gregorian sacramentaries the petition is *pro christianissimo imperatore nostro.*[63]

Frankish churchmen and scholars to whom Rome had given liturgy and scripts, the relics of Christian martyrs and the works of pagan authors or who had been present at the emperor-making ceremony in St Peter's would probably have found it even more difficult than we do say whether the *renovatio* proclaimed by the *bulla* was 'a new beginning', 'the enhancement of the recent past' or 'the recovery of a more ancient past – true or false'. The next generation of Carolingian scholars saw no contradiction in seeking out, often at the same time and from the same place, Christian and pagan texts and copying or studying them in close association. Yet the most characteristic product of their communities and scriptoria was a very different reflection of the insistence on norms and the raising of standards: it was a manuscript containing a miscellany of texts new and old, often quite short, thought essential for the proper practice of *religio Christiana* – expositions and paraphrases of the Lord's prayer or the creed, expositions of the mass and short *ordines*, basic computistic texts, or collections of extracts from various sources on a single theme such as baptism. Surviving examples are doubtless for the most part *authentica*, from which inevitably inferior working copies were made and have long since disappeared; but their strictly practical character is shown by the inclusion in some of them of related texts in the vernacular.[64]

When the English church was faced with its own problem of renewal in the tenth century, Rome had nothing to offer; and when its leaders turned to Francia for help it was that one side of the Carolingian achievement, together with its script, which seemed particularly to meet their needs. The result is a manuscript like Royal 8.C.III, written at St Augustine's Canterbury at the very end of the tenth century: pseudo-Jerome on the musical instruments of the Bible; two *expositiones* of the mass, one certainly and one possibly incorporating material from Alcuin; Theodulf of Orleans on baptism and a text of uncertain authorship commenting on the words of the baptismal office; a confession of faith, partly from Gennadius; questions and answers on various aspects of church order and worship.[65] The major works of pagan Latin literature made a very uncertain return to England. A few lesser works entered in disguise, like the poem of Ausonius on the months which concludes a group of six calendar poems, appearing in this form for the first time, in the later-tenth-century Glastonbury additions to the 'Leofric missal'.[66] Norman and more recent critics have given the Old English church too little credit for its development of the vernacular as a medium for the expression of the Christian faith.[67] But in so far as they

felt that no church could continue to serve God or man well which ignored a great part of his intellectual and literary heritage, I am sure they were right.

NOTES

1 Originally published in *Studies in Church History*, 14 (Oxford 1977): an annotated version of a lecture to the Fifteenth Summer Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society, University of Exeter, July 1976; an earlier version read to the University College, Dublin, Medieval Studies Seminar, March 1975; I am grateful to members of the audience in both places for their comments and criticisms, of which I tried to take account. Errors in the text have been corrected but no changes of substance introduced; revision of the references is limited largely to new editions and to providing cross-references to the other papers included in the present volume.

2 J. Mabillon, *De re Diplomatica* (Paris 1681) p 142, and Suppl (Paris 1704) p 48 with plate; F. Le Blanc, *Dissertation historique sur quelques monnoyes de Charlemagne frappées dans Rome* (Paris 1689, 1690) title-page and p 24. The most accessible reproductions are now P. E. Schramm, *K[aiser] Könige [und] P[äpste]* I (Stuttgart 1968) p 370; a bibliography of other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century references is in Schramm *KKP* 2 (1968) p 21 n 23 whose pp 21–5 are the most extended recent discussion of the *bulla*; but compare my comments below, chapter II pp 60 f. Mabillon tells us that his design was provided by *iam laudatus Fauvellus abbas e suo cimelio*. The abbé Fauvel does not figure in any French biographical dictionary and Mr Robert Shackleton (Bodley's Librarian) and other students of the period whom I asked were unable to discover any account of him elsewhere: he is presumably the collector of curios, two pamphlets by whom are listed in the *Catalogue Général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 50 (Paris 1929) col 41.

3 I. Haselbach, *Aufstieg und Herrschaft der Karlinger in der Darstellung der sogenannten Annales Mettenses priores*, *Historische Studien* 412 (Lübeck/Hamburg 1970) esp pp 184 *seq*. For the 'Imperial bust' coins (now generally dated *post* Easter 812 rather than *c*. 806–8) see below, chapter II, pp 64 f., and the literature cited there.

4 For the colophons of the 'Gelasians' see most conveniently B. Moreton, *The Eighth-Century Gelasian Sacramentary* (Oxford 1976) pp 176 *seq*, where also the history of the term is comprehensively reviewed on pp 2–14 (without, however, taking account of the inconographic evidence of, for example, Berlin MS Theol lat fol 192, inserted leaf; Göttingen Land-und Univ Bibl MS Theol 231, fol 1^V; and Bamberg Staatsbibl MS A II 52 fol 12'). For the colophons of 'Gregorians' see

the splendid edition of Dom J. Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien* (Fribourg-en-Suisse 1971) p 85, which limits its apparatus to ninth-century examples: and note that according to E. Bourque, *Etude sur les Sacramentaires romains*, 2.ii (Vatican City 1958) p 37, Mainz Seminarbibl MS 1 (Deshusses's *F*) does have *editum ex authentico libro bibliothecae cubiculi*. The only listing of later examples of this phrase – which seems not to figure in any English manuscript – is L. Traube, *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti*, *Abh. Bayerisch. Akad. Wiss.*, III Cl, 21 iii (1898) pp 675–6.

5 R. Cabié, *La lettre du pape Innocent I à Decentius de Gubbio (19 mars 416)* (Bibl. de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, 98; Louvain 1973). See also H. Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich* (Berlin–New York 1975), pp 424–9 (an independent edition of the first part of the letter in one – widely-disseminated – branch of the tradition). For the *Dionysiana* tradition see, in addition to Cabié, H. Wurm, *Studien und Texte zur Decretalsammlung des Dionysius Exiguus* (Rome 1939), pp 124–8; for manuscripts of the *Quesnelliana*, which include the two pre- or *c*. 800 ?Lorsch mss. Vienna ÖNB 2141 and 2147 (hardly as early as *c*. 780 if they are rightly connected with abbot Richbod of Lorsch: cf. Mordek, p 239 and R. McKitterick in *JTS*., 36 (1985), 116 with B. Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch im Spiegel ihrer Handschriften* (ed. 2, Lorsch 1989) pp. 36, 134) and the related north-east French or north-west Austrasian mss., Arras Bib. mun. 644 and Einsiedeln Stiftsbibl. 191 (at the Court *c*. 800) see Mordek, pp 238–40. Cabié's edition fully confirms abbot B. Capelle's view that the version of Innocent's ruling in c.[5] of the letter transmitted by these and most later mss. was an incorrect, 'Gallicanised', one (*De nominibus vero recitandis antequam precem* [recte pacem] *sacerdos faciat*) 'Innocent Ier et le canon de la messe', *Rech. Théol. anc. et med.*, 19 (1952), 5–16 = *Travaux Liturgiques*, 2 (Louvain 1962), 236–47.

6 *MGH Epp* 2, ed P. Ewald L. M. Hartmann (1899 repr 1957) pp 332 *seq*, Bede, *HE* I, 27; P. Meyvaert, 'Diversity within Unity, a Gregorian theme', *The Heythrop Journal*, 4 (London 1963) esp pp 144 *seq*; Meyvaert 'Bede's text of the *Libellus Responsionum* of Gregory the Great to Augustine of Canterbury', *England before the Conquest: studies . . . presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (Cambridge 1971) pp 15–33, both reprinted in Meyvaert, *Benedict, Gregory, Bede and Others* (London 1977). The dissemination from north Italy is observed but not developed by Meyvaert in 'Bede's text', p 29 n 4. A plausible context is the Rome-directed missionary activity which completed the conversion of the Lombards in the concluding decades of the seventh century, magisterially described by G. P. Bognetti in his 'Sta. Maria *foris portas* di Castelseprio e la storia religiosa dei Longobardi' (1948) and in a series of papers subsequently, all reprinted as *L'Età Longobarda*, 4 vols (Milan 1966–9), even though not all his arguments and interpretations are now acceptable. The plausibility of the view that the *Libellus* was used as a convenient

handbook by those working among the Lombards in this missionary period is strengthened by the fact that the (interpolated) answer permitting marriage within the fourth degree is related to rulings on marriage in the period 723–50 and a query of the bishop of Pavia to pope Zacharias: on the former see Bognetti, *L'Èta Longobarda*, 2 pp 214–17, on the latter my remarks in *Atti del 4° Congr int di studi sull'Alto medioevo, Pavia, 1967* (Spoleto 1969) p 323.

7 M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du Haut Moyen Age* 5 vols (Louvain 1931–61): for John, *Ordines*, 3, pp. 6–15, 20–21 with *Hist abb anon*, cap 10 (Plummer p 391), *Hist abb Bedae*, cap 6 (Plummer p 369) and *HE* IV, 18; for his monastery see G. Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries* (Vatican City 1957) pp 230 *seq.* with a discussion of the evidence of the *ordines* for the monastic observance of the Vatican basilical monasteries at pp 392–9. For the hymns quoted in *De Arte metrica* see H. Gneuss, *Hymnar and Hymnen in Englischen Mittelalter* (Tübingen 1968) pp 33–6 with the table on pp 24–5, and the new edition by C. B. Kendall, *CC* 123A (1975). The addition to the canon is recorded in *HE* II 1 (which it is not correct to say 'is borrowed from the *Liber Pontificalis*', as Colgave in the edition of Br. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford 1969) p 130 n 4, since the *Liber* does not quote the added petitions in full); for its presence in other eighth-century sacramentaries see the apparatus of B. Botte, *Le Canon de la Messe romaine: édition critique* (Louvain 1935) p 36. For the antiphon compare *HE* I 25 with the additions to the Compiègne and Senlis texts of the Roman *Antiphonale Missarum*, R-J. Hesbert, *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* (Rome 1935) 202a, p. 207; for the Rogations see the *Epistola de obitu Bedae*, ed Colgrave and Mynors, pp 582–4 and L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship, its origin and evolution* (5 Engl ed, London 1927) pp 288–9.

8 *Hist abb Bedae*, caps 4, 6, 9, 11 (Plummer, pp 367*seq*).

9 P. Courcelle, *Les Lettres grecques en Occident de Macrobe à Cassidore* (2 ed, Paris 1948) pp 374–6 (but compare below n 12); R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, 'The Art of the Codex Amiatinus', *J[ournal of the] B[ritish] A[rcheological] A[ssociation]*, 32 (London 1969) pp 1 *seq*, but for the text of the *Amiatinus* as an edition based on exemplars from various sources, not exclusively Cassiodoran, see B. Fischer 'Codex Amiatinus u. Cassiodor' [1962], 'Bibelausgaben des frühen Mittelalters' [1963], *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im frühen Mittelalter* (Freiburg 1985), pp 9–34, 66–9.

10 For a very reductive approach to the grammatical works known to Bede (*contra* C. W. Jones, intro. to *De Orthographia* [ed], *CC*. CXXIIIA [1975], px, and elsewhere) see C. Dionisotti, 'On Bede, grammars and Greek', *Rev. Ben.* 92 (1982), pp 111–29, esp p 121. Vivien Law, *The Insular Latin Grammarians* (Woodbridge 1982), p 16 would add Pompeius to her list of 'at most seven', although she offers no positive evidence. The text of Pompeius in Sankt Paul im Lavantthal cod. 2/1 pt.i was almost certainly

written in northern England (*CLA* no.1451; Bischoff, *Studien*, 3, p 218) and a copy was at York by the 770s (Alcuin 'The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York' ['the York poem'], ed. P. Godman [Oxford 1982], line 1557).

11 K. Welzhofer, 'Beda's Citate aus der Naturalis historia des Plinius', *Wilhelm v. Christ . . . dargebrachten Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Klass.-Altertumswissenschaft* (Munich 1891) pp 25–41 thought that Bede's citations were exclusively from bks II–VI, which nicely coincides with the scope of the northern English manuscript Leiden Voss Lat F.4 (*CLA* nr 1578) and with the range of the extracts in a Leiden and a Paris manuscript published by K. Rück in *Sitzungsberichte Akad. München* (1898) 1 pp 257–87. M. L. W. Laistner, 'The library of the Venerable Bede', *Bede, his Life, Times and Writings*, ed A. H. Thompson (Oxford 1935) pp 243–4 found evidence, however, that he also knew bks XII, XIII, XVI and XXXVII but evidently not XVIII. The whole question has been re-examined in the light of the manuscript evidence and the so-called *excerpta Eboracensia* of Books II and XVIII convincingly removed from a Northumbrian context by V. H. King's regrettably-unpublished 1969 Oxford B. Litt. thesis *An investigation of some astronomical excerpts from Pilny's Natural History found in Manuscripts of the earlier Middle Ages*; see the concise statement by L. D. Reynolds in *Texts and Transmission: a Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed Reynolds (Oxford 1983), pp 309–11.

12 Mr Peter Hunter Blair's contention that Bede knew Virgil only through quotations in grammarians, however, has been effectively disposed on by Neil Wright, 'Bede and Vergil', *Romanobarbarica*, 6 (1981–2), 361–79. Laistner, p 245 supposed that Bede used Cassiodorus's *Historia Tripartita* but W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford 1946) p 141 note, disproved this. Laistner could, on the other hand, find no trace of the *Institutiones* in Bede's writings. Courcelle, *Lettres grecques* p 375 argues that Bede used *Inst* I. i 1–4 (ed Mynors, pp 11–12) for the dedicatory letter to his *In Genesim* (*Hexameron*), ed C. W. Jones, *CC* 118A, p. 1. The general similarity is certainly very close but exact verbal parallels are almost entirely lacking and some other explanation than direct dependence on *Inst.* I should probably be sought. Alcuin, too, shows no certain knowledge of *Inst.* I although he used *Inst.* II.

13 Alcuin's 'York Poem', ed Godman, lines 1536–7 (pp 122–6), with the editor's notes and Introduction, pp lxix–lxxiv. For the possibility of a York Vitruvius ms. see B. Bischoff, 'Die Überlieferung der technischen Literatur' [1971], *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3 (1981), p 281. For the transmission of the *de Inventione* between the late-eighth and the late-eleventh centuries see L. Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne* (Ithaca 1959) pp 36–7 and *EHR* 75 (1960) pp 490–1.

14 For the latter see Wallach, pp 193–7, 263–4; but additional examples can be found both in the 'York Poem' and elsewhere in Alcuin's writings. (The epithet *iustitiae cultor* was used as late as 1236 for the epitaph of a

bishop of Kotor (Yugoslavia), where it is walled into the cathedral!) The presence of calendar verses in York is a little more speculative: it can be assumed from the presence of the verses beginning *Prima dies Phoebi sacrato nomine fulget* (Riese, *Anthologia Latina* 1.ii p 43, nr 488) on fol 107 of London, BL Cott MS Vesp. B VI, that is, in the portion that appears to be at least in part a Mercian copy of late-eighth century York material, which may originally also have included a copy of Riese, 1 ii p 155, nr 680, beginning *Bis sena mensum vertigine volvitur annus* (so A. Wilmart in *RB* 46 (1934) p 49 n2, although his reasons are not very clear). For the later history of these verses in England see below, n 66.

15 A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* (Oxford 1869–78) 3, pp 362–75, caps 13, 15, 16, 18; *Die Briefe Bonifatius und Lullus*, ed M. Tangl (Berlin 1916) nr 78. The supposed difficulty presented by the latter's reference to a letter from pope Zacharias was resolved long ago by Tangl, who saw that this was his nr 77 (Jaffé nr 2278) of 5 January 747 and not his number 80 (Jaffé nr 2286) – clearly excluding, therefore, an ante-dating of *Clofesho* to 746, as still by Sir Frank Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (ed 3, Oxford 1971) p. 237.

16 Haddan and Stubbs, 3, pp 410–13, the *Dialogue* as a whole on pp 403–13, from the unique complete copy in BL Cott MS Vitellius A XII: but *interrogationes* i, ii, xii, dealing with secular legal points, are in the Wulfstan MS, Corpus Christi College Cambridge 265, p 99, which argues that a text survived at York until the eleventh century. For the question of authorship compare p 6.

17 For example, pseudo-Hieronymus, *Expositio IV evangeliorum, PL* 11 (1845) cols 549 *seq* (531 *seq*), on which see Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinische Exegese im Frühmittelalter', *Studien*, 1 (1966) pp 240 *seq*.

18 *Continuatio Bedae, sa* 735, ed Colgrave and Mynors, p 572 and other references conveniently assembled by Levison, *England and the Continent*, p 243; *MGH.Poet.* 1, p 206; Alcuin's 'York poem', ed Godman, lines 1458 ff., compare 1466 ff. (showing clearly that the customary dating of Alcuin's first continental journey to 767 is several years too late).

19 L. Fischer, *Die Kirchlichen Quatember* (Munich 1914) is the most comprehensive account of 'Ember Days' but this is superseded for the period with which we are concerned here by G. G. Willis, *Essays in Early Roman Liturgy*, Alcuin Club 46 (London 1964) pp 49–98; for later Old English practice (interestingly conservative) see K. Sisam ' "Seasons of Fasting" ', *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford 1953) pp 45–60 and esp pp 48–50. For the fast 'of the first month' and its early Roman observance see esp Willis, pp 59 *seq*, although his use of the Egbert *Dialogue* to support a Gregorian origin for observance in the 'first week of Lent' obviously does not appeal to me: and note that the addition of *primi* in the *Liber Diurnus's* text of a much-quoted letter of Gelasius I

relating to ordinations (*form* VI: ed. H. Foerster (Bern 1958) p 81) – which Willis p 61 dates, very debatably, '*c.* 560' – would have created a tautology after the identification of 'the first month' with 'the first week in Lent', since *ingresso quadragesimali* is separately mentioned. (In fact Gelasius himself and Symmachus ordained in February, Gregory I *in Quadragesima*, but no subsequent pope in either until Sergius I ordained in March: *Lib Pont* 1, pp 255, 263, 312, 376). Gregory's introduction of the practice into England is categorically asserted in a short text that figures among the supplementary material of the 'Leofric Missal' added at Glastonbury *c.* 970 (ed F. E. Warren (Oxford 1883) p 53; another text from an (?) eleventh-century continental manuscript in Haddan and Stubbs, 3, pp 52–3) and may in fact be not very much older than this (similarly Sisam, p 49 and n 1).

20 For the rubrics in the Vatican Gelasian sacramentary see bk I, lxxxii, lxxxiii, ed Wilson pp 124, 125, ed Mohlberg, nos 652–60; bk II, lx, lxxxv, ed Wilson p 200, ed Mohlberg, nos. 1037–52, cf. II lxxxv, ed Wilson p 220 ed Mohlberg, nos 1157–77. I am convinced that the type of massbook in most common use in the major Northumbrian centres in the early part of the eighth century was one very close to but not identical with 'the Vatican Gelasian' which in some version or versions must have included masses for south Italian as well as central Italian saints (compare C. Hohler in *Tenth-Century Studies*, ed D. Parsons (London/Chichester 1975) pp 61–2 and H. Mayr-Harting *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (London 1972) pp 175–7, 273–4) as well as already commemorating saint Mark on 18 May, for which the fragmentary (Northumbrian) calendar at Munich published by R. Bauerreiss in *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens* 51 (1933) pp 178–9 provides evidence earlier than any cited by Hohler, p 227 n 79. (For a fuller statement of the evidence for the use of the 'old Gelasian' in England see below, chapter V p 211 f. n.27.) The rubrics *Sabbato in xii lectiones* are Deshusses pp 139, 232, 277, 299 and Hesbert nrs 7a, 46a, III, 192. The Monza gradual and Compiègne antiphoner have almost identical prologues (Hesbert pp 2–3, nr 00) which declare that *Gregorius praesul . . . renovans* (Compiègne – *avit) monumenta patrum [que] priorum tum conposuit hunc libellum musicae artis scolae cantorum* (Compiègne adds *per anni circulum*) which has sometimes been attributed to pope Hadrian I. But the supposed eighth-century date of the Monza gradual is rejected by Bischoff – 'nicht vor dem zweiten Drittel des 9. Jhs.' – K[arl] d[er] G(rosse), ed W. Braunfels, 2 (Düsseldorf 1965) p 250 n 132; and both *renovare monumenta* (at the very least unexpected in the 770s and 780s) and the textual link with John the Deacon's *Antiphonarium centonem cantorum studiosissimus nimis utiliter compilauit; scholam quoque cantorum . . . constituit* (*Vita Gregorii* II 6, *PL* 75 (1864) col 90) – which has no counterpart in earlier lives – raise doubts whether it is really so early: it was, however, already in circulation in the late 830s when Agobard of

Lyons challenged its validity as evidence in his *Liber de correctione anti-phonarii* cap 15, *PL* 104 (1864) col 366. (But see Ch. VI p 270 (n 69)) The earliest extant 'Roman' *capitularia evangeliorum* have a rubric *mense primo* – Th. Klauser *Das Römische Capitulare Evangeliorum, L[iturgiegeschichte] Q[uellen und] F]orschungen]* (Münster 1935) pp 19, 65, 107 – which in the court-school manuscript BL Harl 2788 (a text of Klauser's type Σ) is emphasised by the use of capitals (fol 201).

21 *Vita Prima* XV cap 89, *Acta Sanctorum* Febr I (1657/1863) p 131. For authorship and manuscript evidence see meanwhile S. Connolly in *Manuscripta* 16 (St Louis, Miss., 1972) pp 67–82.

22 Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp 97, 283–4; H. Frank in *Sankt Bonifatius Gedenkgabe* (Fulda 1954) pp 58–88, Hohler, *ibid* pp 89–93; Mayr-Harting pp 274–5. See also below, Chapter V p 212 (n 27).

23 *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum* 1, ed K. Hallinger (Siegburg 1963) pp 82–91, [text], 79–82 [intro]. The manuscript, BL Cott Nero A II fols 14–45 (*CLA* 186), is the earliest source for the sermon published by Levison (*England and the Continent*, pp 302–14) as 'Venus a Man' and claimed by him as Merovingian, although a neglected early-ninth-century manuscript from Reichenau, Karlsruhe Aug CXVI (details in *TRHS*, 5 ser, 24 (1974) p 106 n 19) with a text that is in some respects fuller, strengthens the case for an origin in or near the Alpine regions.

24 Klauser, 'Ein Metzer Stationsliste des 8. Jh' [1930], *Gesammelte Arbeiten zur Liturgiegeschichte . . .*, *JAC*, Erg-Bd 3 (1974) p 28; council of Mainz, an 813, cap 34, *MGH Leg* sectio III, concilia ii, ed A. Werminghoff (Hannover/Leipzig 1906) p 269.

25 *Libri Carolini*, I 6, ed Bastgen, *MGH Conc. ii suppl.* (Berlin 1924) pp 21–2.

26 E. Jammers 'Die Musik in Byzanz, im päpstlichen Rom und in Frankenreich', *Abh der Heidelberger Akademie* 1962/1, esp pp 196 *seq*; P. Llewellyn *Rome in the Dark Ages* (London 1970) cap 4, esp pp 123–6; *Lib Pont* 1, p. 497.

27 Andrieu, *Ordines* 2, pp xlvi *seq*, 137 *seq*; 3, pp 3 *seq*, neatly summarised in C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: an Introduction to the Sources*, transl. and rev. W. G. Storey and N. K. Rasmussen (Washington, DC 1986), pp 152–4. Idem., pp 155–97 and the corresponding notes, provide an invaluable account of the individual *ordines* edited by Andrieu, taking subsequent scholarship into consideration.

28 G. Meier *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui in bibliotheca monasterii Einsidlensis servantur* 1 (Einsiedeln/Leipzig 1899) pp 297 *seq* (with refs to earlier literature); C. Huelsen 'La pianta di Roma dell'Anonimo Einsidlense', *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, 2 ser, 9 (1907) pp 3 *seq*; R. Valentini, G. Zucchetti *Codice topografico della Città di Roma* 2 (Rome 1942) pp 170–207, compare pp 60 *seq*.

29 *Lib Pont* 1, p 464, compare p 455; *MGH Epp* 3, ed W. Gundlach (1892

repr 1957) p 511; H. Schiffers *Der Reliquienschatz Karls des Grossen und die Anfänge der Aachenfahrt* (Aachen 1951) pp 81–3; *Codex Laureshamensis*, ed K. Glöckner, 3 (Darmstadt 1936) nr 2966, pp 244–5. For the cemetery-church from which the relics were taken see R. Krautheimer *Corpus Basilicarum Romanarum* 3 (Vatican City 1967) pp 128–34; for the one-time imperial mausoleum see H. Koethe in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abt* 46 (Rome 1931) pp 9–26. F. Prinz 'Stadtrömisch-italische Märtyrerreliquien und Fränkischer Reichsadel im Maas-Moselraum', *Historische Jahrbuch* 87 (1967) pp 1–25 puts the Petronilla-translation and its political implications in a wider context.

30 K. A. Eckhardt, *Lex Salica: 100 Titel-Text*, Germanenrechte NF (Weimar 1953) pp 88–90.

31 R. Krautheimer's epoch-making 'The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture' *Art Bulletin* 24 (Providence 1942) repr with corrections in Krautheimer, *Studies [in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art]* (New York London 1969 1971) pp 203–54 supposed (cautiously) that the history of the single-apsed, continuous-transepted basilican church north of the Alps began with Fulrad's St.-Denis. The discovery in re-excavation of evidence for an arcade segregating the transept wings from its centre bay deprives St Denis of its priority as a 'copy' of St Peter's, which now therefore belongs to Fulda a generation later (Krautheimer, *Studies*, p 255 and private communication of 20 April 1965): but Fulrad's church still seems to me Rome-inspired. See further S. Mck. Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis from its Beginnings to the Death of Suger, 475–1151*, ed P. Z. Blum (New Haven and London 1987), with the reviewer K. Morrison's comments in *Antiquaries Journal*, 68 (1988), 357 f. Major Frankish churches as 'Romes' is the notion of A. A. Häussling, *Mönchskonvent und Eucharistiefeier*, *LQF* 58 (1973) esp pp 88 *seq*, 180 *seq*.

32 Paris BN MS n.a. lat. 1203: *CLA* nr 681; W. Koehler, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen, 2: Die Hofschule Karls des Grossen* (Berlin 1958) pp 22 *seq*, pls 1–12; D. A. Bullough *The Age of Charlemagne*² (London 1973) pp 99 *seq*.

33 W. H. Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy*, 2: *The Roman Gospel-Lectionary*, Alcuin Club (Oxford 1934) pp 215–16. P. Underwood 'The Fountain of Life in manuscripts of the Gospels', *DOP* 5 (1950) pp 43–138, esp 44–67, whose interpretation of the Evangelistary and Soissons Gospels (below) picture is in my view not overthrown by Klauser's 'demonstration' (*Gesammelte Arbeiten* pp 314–27, esp 326–7) that the image is that of a ciborium over a *puteus; MGH Poet* 1, pp 94—5, with Wallach, p 196.

34 BL Harleian MS 2788 fol 11', Paris BN MS lat 8850 fol 7', Koehler *Hofschule* pls 52, 70; J. B. Ward Perkins 'The shrine of St. Peter and its twelve spiral columns', *JRS* 42 (1952) pp 21–33; E. Rosenbaum 'The vine columns of Old St Peter's in Carolingian Canon Tables', *Journal of*

the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 18 (London 1955) pp 1–15.

35 E. A. Lowe, *CLA* 6 (Oxford 1953) p xxvii; T. J. Brown in *La paléographie Hébraique Médiévale*, Colloques internationaux du CRNS nr 547 (Paris nd [?1975]) p 132.

36 Bischoff [1965], id. [1976], in *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3, pp 158 f., 176 f.

37 *C.I.A.* nr 707; B. Fischer [1965] in Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften* (above, n 9) pp 152 f. Manuscripts written subsequently (but pre-800) in Maurdramnus minuscule are listed by Lowe *CLA* 6, p xxiv; for the identification of the grammatical texts in Amiens MS 426 fols 1–29 (*CLA* nr 712) see C. Jeudy in *Viator* 5 (Berkeley 1974) pp 78–9 and Law, *Insular Latin Grammarians*, pp 49, 67 ff. and passim.

38 Vienna Nat bibl MS lat 1861: Koehler, *Hofschule* pp 42–6, pls 31–2, but better (actual-size colour) reproductions are R. Beer, *Monumenta palaeographica Vindobonensia* 1 (1910) pls 17–26. A dating *c.* 793–5 is supported by the psalter's supplementary collection of creeds: see below, Chapter II pp 58 f., 90 (n. 89), Chapter V p 192.

39 A marginal entry on fol 125 relating to the year 781 reads: *In isto anno fuit Dominus rex Karolus ad Scm Petrum et baptizatus est Filius eius Pippinus a Domino apostolico* (F. Piper, *Karls des Grossen Kalendarium und Ostertafeln* [Berlin 1858] p 33). Doubts whether this can be a contemporary statement are raised by the *ad Scm Petrum*. The easter eve baptisms took place, of course, at the Lateran (see, in addition to the other evidence, Andrieu *Ordines*, 3, pp 471 *seq – ordo* XXXB, from the 'Collection of St. Amand'); and the easter day station at this period was at S. Maria Maggiore (not clear in the sacramentaries, compare Deshusses p 191, but see the gospel-lectionaries, Klauser, *Capitulare Evangeliorum*, pp 24, 70, 111 and BL Harl Ms 2788 fol 202, and *Lib Pont* 1, p. 498). I was able to examine the ms. in April 1980 (thanks to the generous help of M. P. Gasnault) and I was satisfied that the calendar entry (which is in gold) is original: *ad sanctum Petrum* seems therefore to be a hitherto-ignored reference to the Frankish Court's residence there, as previously at Easter 774 (*Lib. Pont.* 1, pp 497–8).

40 S. Morison *Politics and Script* (Oxford 1972) pp 138, 140, compare 93 *seq*, 126. For reproductions of all the display-pages see above, n 35.

41 Koehler, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen*, 3 pt 1 [*Die gruppe des Wiener Krönungs Evangeliars*], *passim* but esp pls 1, 2–17, 28 *seq*; *Das Lorscher Evangeliar* intro by W. Braunfels (Munich 1965); Koehler, *Hofschule* pls 99, 105, 109 etc.

42 Pages with capitals are conveniently reproduced in E. A. Lowe, *English Uncial* (Oxford 1960) pl IXA (fol 989ᵛ), Lowe, [*Palaeographical*] *Studies* (Oxford 1972) 2, pl 97 (fol 1007ᵛ). Excellent reproductions of the Temple picture are in *JBAA*, 3 ser, 32 (1969) after p 8 and pl VII (Bruce-Mitford). For the use of Rustic capitals in eighth-century Wearmouth-Jarrow

copies of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* see Lowe, *Studies* 2, pp 450 *seq* and esp p 455.

43 P. E. Schramm, F. Mütherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser* (Munich 1962) nr 12; Morison pp 143, 170–2; *MGH Epp* 4, ed E. Duemmler (1895) pp 136–8, nr 93.

44 There is a photograph but no text of the David-epitaph in A. Silvagni, *Monumenta epigraphica Christiana saeculo XIII antiquiora* (Rome 1943) 4 ii, pl 2; the inscriptions on the arch of Trajan are illustrated in, for example, A. Meomartini, *Benevento, Italia Artistica*, 44 (Bergamo 1909): the letters of the epitaph have more emphatic serifs but only the M diverges significantly from the Trajanic exemplar. For the Marian sermon in Vatican MS lat 4222 see H. Barré, 'La Fête mariale du 18 Décembre à Bénévent au VIIIᵉ siècle,' *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 6 (Madrid 1956) pp 451–61.

45 Convenient illustrations of sections of the Lateran baptistery epistyle are in *DOP* 5 fig 24, after p 70. For the lettering of Charles's pre-imperial coinage see the plates in H. H. Völckers *Karolingische Münzfunde der Fruhzeit*, *AAWG* PhK, 3 ser, 61 (1965).

46 F Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts* (Graz 1870) pp 441 *seq*; R. Kottje, 'Einheit u. Vielfalt des kirchlichen Lebens in der Karolingerzeit', *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, 76 (1965), 323–42, here 336 ff., Mordek (as n. 5), pp 241–6. The (Corbie) '*a-b* script' ms. Rheims Bib. mun. 2102 (fols 1–8) + Paris B.N. lat. 8921 (fols 1–40), *CLA.* 574 is generally regarded as the oldest copy: but for its scribes and date see now T. A. M. Bishop in *Charlemagne's Heir*, ed P. Godman and R. Collins (Oxford 1990), pp 525–30. See further below, p 17 and n 57.

47 Bischoff [1965] in *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3, pp 154 f., citing *MGH Poet* 1 pp 93–4 (from Paris BN MS lat 7494 fol 123) and pp 95–7. The latter is taken from Martène and Durand's edition of the Genesis section of Wigbod's commentary, repr *PL* 96 (1862) cols 1103–68, from a lost St. Maximin, Trier manuscript. There is, however, another text of the poem, without the *Carolus . . . scribere iussit* inscription, in Brussels Bib roy MSS 3222 (seventeenth century: post-1617) where it precedes a full text of the commentary. Hervagius had previously published the whole commentary without the prefatory poem (repr *PL* 93, cols 232–430) from an unidentified manuscript in which it was apparently preceded by the (? early Carolingian) *De sex dierum creatione* (*PL* 96 cols 207–34, from Hervagius). A similar but not identical manuscript is Oxford Bodleian Laud misc 159 (Lorsch, s. IX¹/IX mid) where the text of the Wigbod commentary on fols 29–135 (now defective because of the loss of qu. 'VI'; with a title on fol 29 corresponding to that of the Martène and Durand text, not that of Hervagius) is preceded on fols 1–16ᵛ by the *De sex dierum creatione* and on fols 16ᵛ–29 by the *Exameron Bedae*, that is, Bede's *comm. in Genesem* versio

prima, bk I. The complicated ms. history of Wigbod's Commentary and its sources have now been admirably described by M. M. Gorman, 'The Encyclopedic Commentary on Genesis prepared for Charlemagne by Wigbod', *Recherches Augustiniennes*, 17 (1982), 173–201.

48 *MGH Epp* 3, p 600, *Cod Car* nr 70: for the identification of Charles's *missus* as bishop Peter II of Pavia and for the date of the letter see *Atti 4 1967* (1969) p 324, also chapter IV, p 153, n 29. Verecundus's *adbreviatum al excerptiones* was published by J. B. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, 4 i (Paris 1858) pp 166–79 from five manuscripts all of which he describes as twelfth-century. But see below, chapter IV, p. 155, n 34. The identification of the *pseudopittatium* is more difficult. I am indebted to Dr J. F. Matthews for the suggestion that it is (however unexpectedly) the lost appreciation or obituary of Theodosius the Great by Paulinus of Nola which the latter is known to have sent to Jerome, who seemingly did not think much of it.

49 Berlin MS Diez B.66 pp 218–19, ed Bischoff [1965] in *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3, p 165 f., and in his introduction to the complete facsimile *Sammelhandschrift Diez B. Sant. 66 = Codices Selecti*, 42 (Graz 1973) pp 38–9. For the identifiable copies of court-collection manuscripts see esp Bischoff [1965] in *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3, p 166 f. For the Cicero Holkhamicus (ex-Cluniacensis, nr 498 in the twelfth-century catalogue), now BL Add MS 47678 see further T. S. Pattie in *The British Library Journal* 1 (London 1975) pp 15–21, with the corrections and amplifications demanded by the leaf at Geneva (Bibl publ et univ MS Lat 169), which was incompletely published by G. Vaucher in *Bulletin du Musée de Genève 1931*, pp 120–4. See also the remarkable assemblage and synthesising of relevant material in *Texts and Transmission* ed Reynolds (as n. 11) and esp citations in the 'Index of Manuscripts' at p 448 (Berlin [West]).

50 The fullest account of the 'Calendar [or Chronograph] of 354', known only from sixteenth-century copies of a lost Carolingian copy, is H. Stern *Le Calendrier de 354. Etude sur son texte et ses illustrations*, Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth (Paris 1953): but for its availability at the Frankish court see Bischoff [1976] in *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3, p 181 n 61. Specimens of its capital scripts are Stern, pls 1, 4 *seq*, where, however, there are no examples of the 'embraced letter' which may therefore be proper to the inscriptions. A. Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana* (Vatican City 1942), pp 121, 137, 147 are good examples of these. Court-manuscript examples of the 'embraced letter' are BL Harl MS 2788 fols 68ᵛ, 72, 109; Bucharest National Library, 'Codex Aureus' p 36 (probably the most frequently reproduced page of the Lorsch Gospels); and Brussels Bib royale MS II 2572 fol 1 (repr. *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3, pl. V), accepting this as a careful post-800 copy of a pre-800 manuscript.

51 That is, that in Brussels Bib roy MS II 2572 fols 120–5.

52 Bischoff, 'Hadoard und die Klassikerhandschriften aus Corbie', *MStn*, 1 (1966) pp 49–63; B. L. Ullman, 'A list of Classical manuscripts . . .', *Scriptorium* 8 (Antwerp 1954) pp 24 *seq*, here esp p 31. But for knowledge of Tibullus in eleventh-century Monte Cassino and twelfth-century Orléans (?) see F. Newton in *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 93 (New York 1962) pp 253–86, esp pp 259 *seq* (Venice Bibl Marciana MS Z.L. 497) and R. H. and M. A. Rouse in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford 1976), pp 84–5 and id. in *Texts and Transmission*, pp 421–3.

53 Intro to the Facsimile *Sammelhandschrift* pp 21–31, compare pp 27–30.

54 For the use of *norma* in early Carolingian and pre-Carolingian texts, compare Bischoff's sharp critique in *ZKG* 66 (1955) pp 176–80 of J. Fleckenstein, *Die Bildungsreform Karls des Grossen als Verwirklichung der norma rectitudinis* (Freiburg i. Br. 1953).

55 Bischoff in *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3, p 151 and n 15; Deshusses pp 71–2; K. Gamber 'Der Codex Tridentinus', *Scriptorium* 24 (1970) pp 293–304: the colophon, Gamber p 295, compare Deshusses p 85. See also below, Chapter V, p 204 and the references given in n 157.

56 *Concilia Galliae* 511–695, ed C. de Clercq, *CC* 148A (1963) p 64; *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed R. Ehwald, *MGH AA* 15, p 566 s.v.; compare *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch* 1/9 (Munich 1966) s.v. *authenticus* col 1282; *MGH Conc* 2, ed A. Werminghoff, 2 parts (1906/8) p 460 cap 1.

57 The text of the colophon in Traube, *Abh Bay Akad Wiss*, III Cl, 21 iii p 675 (copied by H. Lietzmann, *Das Sacramentarium Gregorianum* (Münster 1921) p xvi and others) omits *Carolo:* but its presence in at least one of the three manuscript sources, namely Würzburg MS M.p. th. F.72 (second third of the ninth century) is established by B. Bischoff, J. Hofmann, *Libri sancti Kyliani* (Würzburg 1952) p 119. The task of defining groups and sub-groups within the ms. tradition of *D.H.* has hardly begun (compare Wurm, *Studien* (as n. 5), pp 33–5, 41–5, with Mordek, *Kirchenrecht u. Reform*, pp 241 ff.) The earliest ms. with the dedicatory poem is Paris B.N. lat. 11710 of 805 ('zweifellos Burgundisch' according to Prof. Bischoff); for some others see *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, 85 (1970), p 96 n.1.

58 *MGH Epp* 3, p 476.

59 Below, Chapter II, pp 59 f. and nn; P. Classen 'Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz', *KdG* 1, pp 569–94 (also separately, with revisions, Düsseldorf 1968); compare Schramm, 'Die Anerkennung Karls des Grossen als Kaiser' [1951], *KKP* 1, pp 215–63, and below, n 61.

60 Schramm, 'Die Anerkennung', last note.

61 *Codex diplomaticus Amiatinus* 1, ed W. Kurze (Rome 1974) nr 49, ostensibly of April 800.

62 E. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae* (Berkeley/Los Angeles 1946) esp pp 13 *seq*, 76 *seq*, 101 *seq*. Kantorowicz's thesis that the acclamations were 'constitutive' and the notion of the crowning as a 'signal' to *schola* and congregation (Classen, pp 583–4) are both challenged by K. J. Benz '*Cum ab oratione surgeret*. Überlegungen zur Kaiserkrönung Karls des Grossen', *DA* 31 (1975) pp 337–69: Benz's arguments for placing the moment of crowning in the introduction to the mass at an earlier stage than the acclamations are ingenious and serious, without entirely convincing me. Classen, p 583 is rightly critical both of B. Opfermann's edition of the pre-800 *Liturgischen Herrscherakklamationen* (Weimar 1953) p 101 (Montpellier, Bibl de l'École de Méd MS 409), pp 102–3 (Paris BN MS lat 13159) and of Kantorowicz's dating of the first of these to 783–7. A particularly egregious error is (Opfermann p 102) *exercitui Romanorum* where the manuscript reading (BN lat 13159 fol 163ᵛ) is *exercitui Francorum*. The petition for *Rotruda* in Montpellier 409 fol 344v, with which a second, shorter, litany concludes is even less relevant to the dating of the preceding *laudes* (on fols 343v–344) than Classen and others – mostly following Lauer's unsatisfactory description – have supposed: this is manifestly a subsequent addition, in a distinct hand, to the second of two quires which replaced the original leaves probably between 788 and 794 (the year of Fastrada's death). For further details and references see below, Chapter V pp 213 f. This dating of *laudes* etc. incorporating the 'Byzantine' titulature *a Deo coronatus, magnus, pacificus* offers the possibility of a connection with the Frankish court's challenge to the emperor in the east in the *Libri Carolini*.

63 Sacr. Gel. I xli (651), ed Wilson p 76; G. Tellenbach 'Römischer und christlicher Reichsgedanke in der Liturgie des frühen Mittelalters', *Sitzungsberichte Akad Heidelberg*, Ph-Hist. Kl (1934/35) 1, p 52; Deshusses nr 344 and app.

64 Characteristic examples are: Berlin Phillips MS 1831 (Rose nr 128) Verona; s. IX) where fols 126–7ᵛ bring together (for the first time?) seven computistic or calendar poems of late-antique and more recent origin including *Prima dies Phoebi sacrato* (above n 14) and Ausonius's *Primus Romanas ordiris, Iane, Kalendas* with the non-Ausonian last line *Imbrifer ast mensis tumque December adest* (compare below, n 66); Munich Staatsbibl MSS clm 14468 (St. Emmeram, Regensburg; an. 821); clm 14510 fols 76–186 (Bavarian; s. IX¹), combined at an early date with the St. Emmeram collection of *ordines*, fols 1–75; Merseburg Domstiftsbibl MS 136 fols 1–21 (? Fulda; *c.* 820/40; Vatican MS Pal lat 485 (Lorsch; IX², *ante* 875): for the vernacular texts in all but the first of these see now Bischoff 'Paläographische Fragen deutscher Denkmäler der Karolingerzeit' [1971], *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3, pp 73–111, esp pp 85 ff.

65 The contents of BL Roy MS 8 C.III are adequately indicated in G. F. Warner, J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the old Royal and King's Collections* 1 (1921) p 229. For item 1, pseudo-Jerome, *de diversis generibus musicorum*, which exists in over 60 manuscripts from the early-ninth century onwards, see R. Hammerstein '*Instrumenta Hieronymi*', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 16 (Hildesheim 1959) pp 117–34, H. Avenary, 'Hieronymus' Epistel über die Musikinstrumente und ihre altöstlichen Quellen', *Anuario Musical* 16 (Barcelona 1961) pp 55–80 (inclining to a fourth-century date) and below, Ch. VI, pp 243, 260 f.. Item 2 is the *expositio missae* printed by D. Giorgi, *De liturgia Romani pontificis* 3 (Rome 1744) pp 371–92 from Vatican MS Pal lat 485 (as n 64) and by A. Staerk *Les manuscrits latins du Iᵉʳ au XIIIᵉ siècle conservés à la bibliothèque imperiale de Saint-Pétersbourg 1* (St. Petersburg 1910) pp 181–90 from Leningrad MS Q.v.I. 34, fols 23ᵛ–33ᵛ (s.IX *ex* from Corbie). Item 3 is Theodulf *de ordine baptismi*, to be added to the manuscripts of this work listed in E. Dahlhaus-Berg, *Nova Antiquitas et Antiqua Novitas*, Kölner Hist Abh 23 (Cologne/Vienna 1975) pp 109–11 and to the apparatus of the prefatory letter in *MGH Epp* 4, pp 533–4. Items 4, 8 and 11 are Texts 43, 39 and 40 in Susan A. Keefe, 'Carolingian Baptismal Expositions', *Carolingian Essays* ed U.-R. Blumenthal (Washington DC 1983), pp 169–237. Item 13 (fol 61) is the initial passage (only!) of Alcuin's letter to Oduin discussed below, Chapter V p 190, while item 14 begins with the opening sections of Amalarius's *Ordo missae*, ed J. M. Hanssens, *Amalarii Episcopi Opera Liturgica omnia*, (Vatican City 1950) pp 297 ff. The manuscript deserves a comprehensive study.

66 Oxford Bodl MS Bodley 569 fols 53ᵛ–54: ed F. E. Warren, *The Leofric Missal* (Oxford 1883) pp 51–2; and identically in the prefatory material of Rouen bibl publ MS 274 ('the Missal of Robert of Jumièges'): ed H. A. Wilson, *HBS* 11 (1896) at pp 35–6, Ausonius's poem is as in Berlin Phillips MS 1831 (above n 64). The same version is found in Exeter Cath Libr MS 3507 (s.x.²; ?S.W. England) fol 59ᵛ, where it occurs as the third of a group of eight calendar poems on fols 58–60ᵛ, following Hrabanus *De computo* and preceding *De septem miraculis mundi manu factis* (a copy – or a twin? – of this section is Avranches Bibl publ MS 114 of the twelfth century, the poems on fols 133–4ᵛ); and as such it forms part of a notably different Carolingian and post-Carolingian tradition, six of the eight poems occurring in the group of seven in the Berlin manuscript. Note, however, that it is also the version used for the verses which terminate each monthly section of the 'metrical calendar' (ed P. McGurk, 'The metrical calendar of Hampson', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 104 [1986], 79–125) in B.L. ms. Cott. Galba A.XVIII fols 3–14, which carries the history of this adapted Ausonian poem in England at least to the early years of the tenth century: see J. Hennig, '*Versus de Mensibus*', *Traditio*, 11 (1955), 65–90, where however the Berlin–Exeter group of poems is ignored.

67 See Chapter VIII and the references to Gneuss, Gretsch etc. at pp. 330 ff.
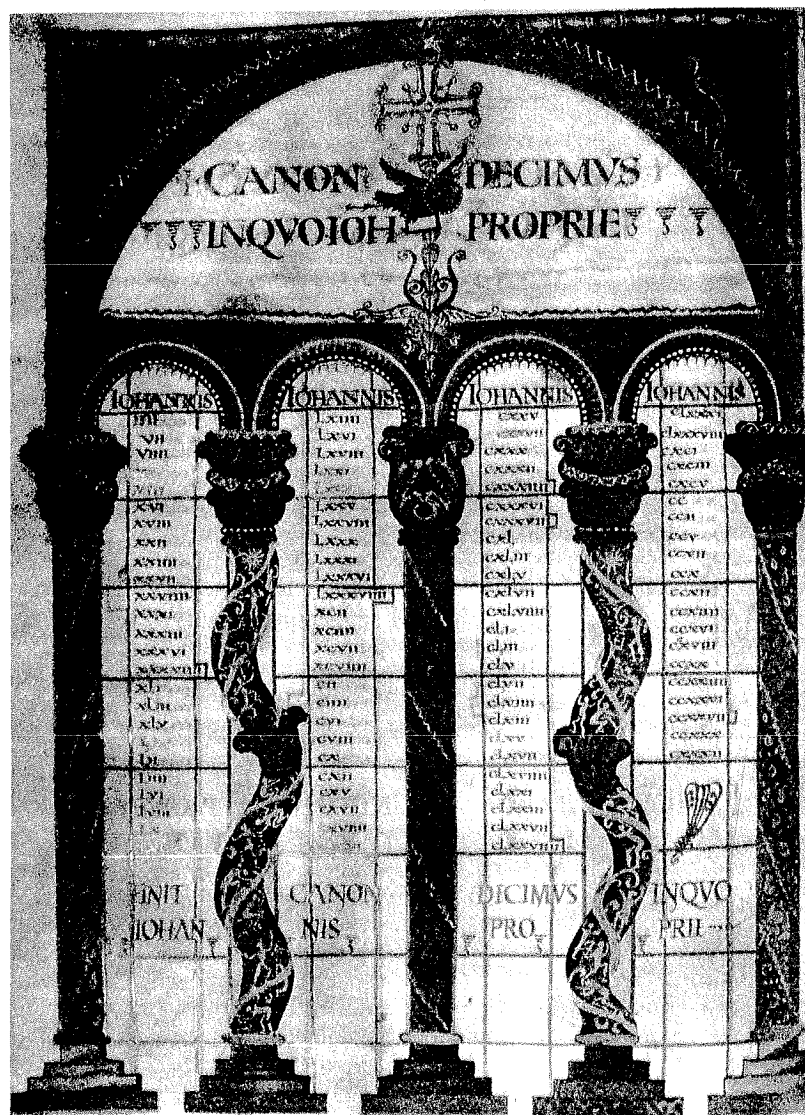
1

Canon-tables from the Harley Gospels, showing curly figured columns
(BL MS Harley 2788, fo. 11ᵛ)
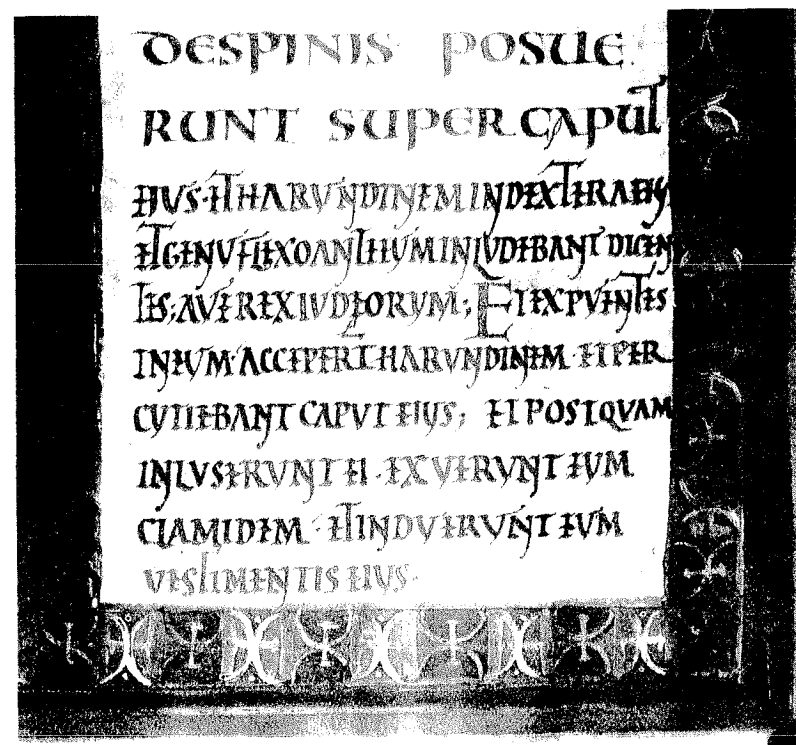
2

The use of *rustica* in a page-ending of the Harley Gospels
(BL MS Harley 2788, fo. 65ᵛ)