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SPECULUM

A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

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THEODULF OF ORLEANS AND THE *LIBRI CAROLINI**

BY ANN FREEMAN

THE great mediaeval debate on the place of images in the Church, so crucial a controversy in the East, reverberated rather faintly in the West. In one instance, however, it brought forth a noteworthy rebuttal on the part of occidental orthodoxy. This was couched in the positive and forceful terms habitual with its great protagonist, who lent his name as well as authority to the lengthy treatise known to us as the *Libri Carolini* (=*LC*).[1] The work was occasioned by the Second Nicene Council of A. D. 787, and its restoration of images, which Charlemagne and his theologians vigorously denounced. The real issues of the iconoclastic controversy were not understood in the West, and at the Carolingian

* This article was presented, in a slightly different form, to the Department of History of Harvard University and Radcliffe College as a doctoral thesis in April 1956. The work was done under the direction of Professor Herbert Bloch, to whom it owes more than can be expressed or here acknowledged; the benefit of his insight and erudition has been incalculable. My thanks are also due to Professor Wilhelm R. W. Koehler, who contributed much advice and many profitable suggestions, especially in Section VIII; also to Dean J. P. Elder, and Professor George H. Williams. Dr Walter M. Whitehill of Harvard and the Boston Athenaeum was generous enough to open to me his private library, containing a number of volumes of Mozarabic material otherwise unavailable in America, and his large collection of microfilms and plates made from Mozarabic MSS. I also wish to express my gratitude to the officers and staff of the Harvard College Library, who were unstintingly generous of their time, and also of their financial resources, which provided the many microfilms used in this study; these MSS have now become part of the permanent film collection of the Houghton Library.

[1] *Libri Carolini sive Caroli Magni Capitulare de Imaginibus*, ed. Hubert Bastgen, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (=*MGH*), *Legum Sectio III*, *Concilia Tomi II Supplementum* (Hanover and Leipzig, 1924). Although not finally published until 1924, printing of this volume was begun in 1912. At that time the editor published a series of explanatory and descriptive articles in *Neues Archiv* (=*NA*), under the general title "Das Capitulare Karls der Grosse über die Bilder," *NA*, XXXVI (1911), 631–666; XXXVII (1912), 15–51, 455–533. A number of brief but significant studies have since appeared, the most important of which are: Giovanni Mercati, "Per la storia del codice Vaticano dei libri Carolini," *Bessarione*, XXXVII (1921), 112–119; Arthur Allgeier, "Psalmenzitate und die Frage nach der Herkunft der Libri Carolini," *Historisches Jahrbuch*, XLVI (1926), 333–353; Wolfram von den Steinen, "Entstehungsgeschichte der Libri Carolini," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* (=*QF*), XXI (1929–30), 1–93, "Karl der Grosse und die Libri Carolini," *NA*, XLIX (1930–31), 207–280; Dom Donatien De Bruyne, "La composition des Libri Carolini," *Revue Bénédictine* (=*RB*), XLIV (1932), 227–234. The most recent treatment is by Luitpold Wallach, "Charlemagne's Libri Carolini and Alcuin," *Traditio*, IX, (1953), 143–149.

court were further beclouded by mistranslations in the report of the Council's proceedings sent to Charlemagne from Rome. He and his scholars were therefore incensed by what they saw as the effrontery of an action whose historical and theological background they could not comprehend. Their somewhat parochial point of view is obvious in the *LC*'s outlook and argumentation. We find a refusal even to consider statements quoted from Greek theologians such as Gregory of Nyssa "whose life and preaching are unknown to us" (*LC* II 17; Bastgen 76, 40), and an equally summary rejection of the Greek theological term "contribulus" (as applied to the Holy Spirit) with the clear implication that if convenient to the faith, it would not be foreign to Latinity (*LC* III 5; Bastgen 116, 29). This Western inability to deal with the subtleties of Eastern argument is not entirely regrettable, however, from our point of view, for the vacuum left by lack of comprehension forced the author of the *LC* to a full and complete statement of the Western position on a multitude of topics. He attempts to vindicate Western orthodoxy by giving it an explicit definition, and his work thus becomes, in the eyes of one examiner, "probablement le document théologique le plus important de cette époque,"[2] and to another, "eine durchaus einzigartige Summa karolingisch-christlichen Denkens und Wissens."[3]

The *LC* attempt to deal as directly as possible with the individual assertions of the Nicene Council, which they take up one by one. In this immediacy of relationship to the Eastern conflict they are unique among Western treatises on images and their use in churches. The West produced iconoclasts of its own; iconodules it did not have, and it is perhaps no more than natural that it should have been the *restoration* of images in 787 which occasioned the *LC*. Western iconoclasm, moreover, as it appeared in such figures as Serenus of Marseilles and Claudius of Turin, seems to have arisen from a simple and pragmatic Puritanism, without the mystic and philosophic connotations accompanying the controversy in the East. Later treatises written in the West on the subject of images are directed, naturally enough, against this indigenous form. The *LC* remain, therefore, altogether alone among Latin treatises in their attempt to deal with the problem of images in its pure and original Eastern form.

This unique position in the literature of the time has served to intensify all those subsequent controversies which have centered on the *LC* themselves. Even when considered in its entirety, the Carolingian era affords neither prototype nor parallel to the *LC*. This circumstance gave rise, on rediscovery of the work in the sixteenth century, to grave doubts about its authenticity, and in more modern times to a continuing debate about its authorship. Contemporary sources are silent concerning the *LC*, and in fact ignore the whole problem of image worship. Later treatises on the subject, such as those by Jonas of Orléans and Agobard of Lyons, betray little or no influence by the *LC* and make no mention of them. The only reference to the work in Carolingian literature occurs in a letter, written some eighty years later by Hincmar of Rheims, in which he

[2] De Bruyne, p. 228. Echoed more recently by Arthur Kleinclausz: "le traité de théologie le plus considérable de cette époque," *Alcuin* (Paris, 1948), p. 295.

[3] Von den Steinen, *QF* (note 1 above), p. 76.

describes this "non modicum volumen, quod in palatio adolescentulus legi," and then quotes its last chapter.[4]

The *LC* were, of course, composed in Charlemagne's own name (*Opus Inlustrissimi et Excellentissimi seu Spectabilis Viri Caroli . . .*); the force of his personality lay behind the endeavor, and added great weight to the sentiments expressed on his behalf. We have evidence, furthermore, that the work was passed upon and corrected by a conclave of Carolingian theologians, although there is little doubt that its composition represents the labor of one man. Scholars whose talents can be considered equal to the task were naturally not numerous at this time. In view of the fact that continuing research has revealed to us the opinions and abilities of most members of the Carolingian court circle, it seems reasonable to assume that we should by now be able to identify among them the one on whom Charlemagne laid this weighty commission.

A definite and defensible attribution, however, to any one scholar, is a problem which presents singular difficulties. The customary procedures of determining authorship on the basis of style and content appear ineffectual here. In the case of one leading contender, Theodulf of Orléans, techniques of stylistic comparison are practically useless, since almost all of the Theodulfian material available to us is poetry, not prose. The treatise has, to be sure, certain stylistic peculiarities, such as the use of rhymed prose, but this was a common conceit of the age,[5] and other aspects, such as its theological and political presuppositions, must be presumed to have been common to the entire court circle. The lofty concept of Charlemagne's kingly prerogatives and ecclesiastical powers enunciated in the *LC* was certainly subscribed to by all the members of his scholarly entourage. So, too, its author's utterances on subjects such as the foundation of orthodoxy in adherence to Scriptures and Fathers, the primacy of Rome, the origin of heresy in arrogance, and the like, are typical of the time; it is precisely this aspect of the work, as a vehicle for the expression of common conviction, that gives it its importance as a compendium or *Summa* of Carolingian thought. Yet the identification of the redoubtable scholar primarily responsible for its preparation remains a highly significant question. The treatise is the most ambitious of its age, both in theological importance and political implication. Charlemagne appears in his full stature as spokesman for the West, defender of its faith, and protector of its orthodoxy. The theologian capable of this composition, and honored by the king with the commission, must assume an undeniable importance among Charlemagne's advisers.

I. COMPOSITION AND EARLY HISTORY

The controversial aspects of the *LC*, of which authorship is but one, have excited among scholars continuing interest and considerable heat, as a sketch of

[4] *Opusculum in causa Hincmari Laudunensis*, Migne, *Patrologia latina* (=*PL*), CXXVI, 360.

[5] The use of "Reimprosa" in the *LC* is quite remarkable; see Bastgen, *NA*, XXXVII, 504–507. Also K. Polheim, *Die lateinische Reimprosa* (Berlin, 1925), pp. 328–333 (on Alcuin and Theodulf). There is a striking instance of rhymed prose (not noted by Polheim) in Theodulf's dedicatory letter to Magnus, prefixed to his *De ordine baptismi*, *PL*, CV, 223–224.

their history will show. When the Empress Irene, in her own name and that of her son, Constantine VI, assembled a council in 787 at Nicaea for the purpose of restoring the use of images to the Church, two papal envoys were present, who in due course returned to Rome with a copy of the Acts of the Council.[6] Pope Hadrian had this document translated into Latin and sent to Charlemagne for his approval. The issue was one on which some degree of confusion was inevitable at the Carolingian court, but by the ineptitude of this translation confusion was worse confounded. Prepared by an anonymous cleric in Rome, it was so far from satisfactory that the papal librarian Anastasius felt obliged to provide an entirely new one in 873.[7] The work of the first translator is reproduced in large part in the *LC*; his haphazard choice of equivalents and word-for-word rendering of idioms produced passages from which it is difficult to extract either sense or significance, as the *LC*'s author often observes.[8]

This dubious document lent itself to the interpretation, soon espoused by all its Carolingian critics, that heresy had arisen in the East in an unconscionable form. Claiming universality as the Church's Seventh Council, the Eastern prelates and their rulers had enjoined on all Christians, under pain of anathema, what Charlemagne and his theologians took to be the worship of images. This provided them with a welcome opportunity to assert Western rights in opposition to the prerogatives of Byzantium. The consequent formulation of the Western protest in the *LC* has been reconstructed as follows by Wolfram von den Steinen.[9] The *Acta Concilii* were first scrutinized and a list drawn up of those points on which Charlemagne desired to offer a direct refutation; this list, apparently identical with the original chapter headings of the *LC*, was then sent to the Pope. Hadrian had a reply prepared in the curia which defended the Council's catholicity by adducing against each of the Frankish *capitulae* a group of patristic citations which could, with differing degrees of pertinence, be construed as favoring the Greek view. Copies of Hadrian's letter are still extant in papal collections.[10] The letter had little influence, however, on the *LC*, preparation of which had in all probability continued while reply was awaited from Rome. A few hasty amendments were made in those instances where contradiction was blatant between the *LC* stand and the papal view; where the conflict was less obvious it was ignored.[11]

A far more extensive revision of the author's work resulted from criticism offered by other theologians of the court. Amendments made at their behest are sometimes drastic, involving whole pages, while others affect only a few words;

[6] J. D. Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio*, XII and XIII (Florence, 1766 and 1767).

[7] For the translation of Anastasius, and its introductory letter, see Mansi, XII, 981; *PL*, CXXIX, 195; *MGH, Epistolae* VII, 416 ff. Also Ernst Perels, *Papst Nikolaus I und Anastasius Bibliothecarius* (Berlin, 1920), pp. 40, 47. For a discussion of the character of the earlier translator, whose work is known only through the excerpts of the *LC*, see Von den Steinen, *QF* (note 1 above), pp. 18 ff.

[8] *LC Praefatio*, Bastgen 5, 2 and 6, 10; II 20, Bastgen 79, 29; III 9, Bastgen 121, 19 and 122, 10 and 27; IV 14, Bastgen 199, 10; IV 15, Bastgen 201, 6; IV 16, Bastgen 202, 29 ff.

[9] *QF* (note 1 above), pp. 1–93.

[10] *MGH, Epistolae*, V, 3–57.

[11] *QF* (note 1 above), pp. 59 ff.

the extent of this revision is apparent in the surviving MS, Vaticanus Latinus 7207. Obviously a working copy, the Vatican MS contains hundreds of alterations and additions, all made by a contemporary hand (with the possible exception of Charlemagne's creed [*LC* III 1; Bastgen 106 ff.] which may date from the next century; the hand of this scribe is not, however, apparent elsewhere in the MS). That the majority of these corrections resulted from a reading before a round-table of Carolingian theologians is highly probable; that Charlemagne himself presided over this gathering is less so; Von den Steinen's well-known thesis,[12] based on marginal notations in the MS which in his opinion embodied the king's own comments, has recently been seriously questioned[13] as a result of a closer reading of these Tironian notes.[14]

When all necessary corrections had been carried out, a fair copy of the treatise was dispatched, as Hincmar tells us,[15] "per quosdam episcopos," to Rome. We cannot suppose that Hadrian was any more favorably disposed toward the completed work than he had been to its fragmentary *capitulae*; there is no record of further action on his part, and the MS disappeared, presumably into the depths of the papal archives. This presentation copy has since vanished completely, although Cardinal Mercati was successful in tracing it (or in any case another and more complete copy) through various Vatican catalogues of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[16] The codex presently preserved at the Vatican arrived there, by uncertain agency,[17] sometime in the course of the sixteenth century. Despite its defects (it lacks the general preface and the entire fourth book), and largely because of its character as a working copy, it affords us far more internal evidence bearing on authorship than could possibly have been found in the final and more perfect version. The missing portions may be supplied, moreover, from a copy transcribed from the Vatican codex while still complete, and now housed in the Arsenal Library in Paris. This MS (Arsenal 663) is also Carolingian, though its script is considerably less meticulous than that of its prototype. It bears the marks of hasty transcription, by a number of different scribes, and is generally assumed to have been produced for use at the Synod of Paris, which met in 825 to consider once again the question of images.[18]

Thereafter ensued some centuries of oblivion for the *LC*, until their arguments and authority were pressed into service once again by the controversialists of

[12] *NA* (note 1 above), pp. 207–280.

[13] By Heinrich Fichtenau, "Karl der Grosse und das Kaisertum," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, LXI (1953), 280–287.

[14] See Arthur Mentz, "Die Tironischen Noten," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, XVII (1942), 261–263.

[15] See above, note 4.

[16] Mercati (note 1 above), pp. 112–119.

[17] The only indication the MS gives is the enigmatic notation (in a sixteenth-century hand): "Liber heret. contra venerat. imaginum ex Germania in Italiam allatus ab Ill. CCASL"; its origin (in Germany?) is indicated only by the mark "Campi Sancte Marie" (Marienfeld?). Cardinal Mercati suspects that it passed through the hands and perhaps the library of Aleander, who may himself have added the superscription.

[18] Bastgen, *NA*, XXXVII, 87–88; Von den Steinen, *QF* (note 1), p. 85.

the Reformation. Toward the middle of the sixteenth century the Paris MS was discovered in a French cathedral by Jean du Tillet, afterwards bishop of Meaux, who published it pseudonymously in 1549.[19] Immediately the work was seized upon by Protestants as an impressive source of support for their opposition to images, most notably by Calvin, who cited it in all the Genevan editions of his *Institutes*.[20] It circulated among Protestant humanists; a copy of the rare first edition was included in the library of Justus Scaliger.[21] Through succeeding centuries its popularity continued high among the apologists of Reform; in 1370 a new and amended edition appeared in honor of the two-hundredth anniversary of the Augsburg Confession.[22]

Among Catholics rejection of the *LC* was as complete as had been their acceptance by Protestants. Almost at once the treatise was placed on the Index, first by the theologians of Louvain, then by successive Popes, and later by the Inquisitor General of Spain.[23] The anonymity of its publication by du Tillet quite naturally appeared prejudicial.[24] Its Catholic critics considered it a forgery, if not by contemporary Lutherans, then by Carolingian iconoclasts;[25] they regarded the contention that it expressed Charlemagne's own views as inadmissible. The heaviest blow against its authenticity was struck by the formidable Cardinal Bellarmine, by whom the work was intensively examined and authoritatively discredited in 1586.[26] The investigations of subsequent centuries led some Catholic historians to make considerable concessions, but the official view continued adverse and uncompromising. As late as 1860 an attempt was made to prove the Paris MS the work of a sixteenth-century forger, who had made himself a master of Carolingian minuscule.[27] This contention could not, of course, survive the rediscovery in 1865 of the Vatican MS,[28] prototype of the Paris copy. The *LC* remained on the Index, however, until the revision of 1900.

II. LATER HISTORY; QUESTION OF AUTHORSHIP

Since 1865 no one has tried to maintain that the *LC* represent fraud or fabrication. It is admitted by all that the work emanates from the intimate circle surrounding Charlemagne; that it is, in effect, a product of his "Academy." Argument has continued for more than four hundred years, however, on the score of its actual authorship—to whom should we assign the primary responsibility? Traditional opinion favors Alcuin. In 1560 George Cassander examined the treatise, and recorded his impressions of it in a letter to John of Molina (29 March

[19] Bastgen, pp. 16 ff.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 459.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 20.
[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 26–27. See note 30 below.
[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 20–21.
[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 459 ff.
[25] Severin Bini, in his *Concilia Generalia* of 1606, attributed it to the pupils of Serenus of Marseilles. *Ibid.*, p. 465.
[26] In his *Disputationes de Controversiis Christianae Fidei* (Ingolstadt, 1586–89). *Ibid.*, pp. 460–462.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 473–474.
[28] By Reifferscheid. *Ibid.*, p. 474.

1560). To this Flemish theologian, with his Protestant sympathies, its assertions appeared altogether praiseworthy, and he did not hesitate to attribute authorship to Alcuin, Prince among the Academicians.[29] Cassander mentions Alcuin's great familiarity with Charlemagne, and cites the king's special commendation of him to the Synod of Frankfort; he also adduces the skill employed by Alcuin in writings on sacred subjects, his style, which he considers congruent with that of the *LC*, and an apparent similarity between an *LC* passage and Alcuin's commentary on Saint John. He finds support for his high opinion of the treatise in the fact that a copy had been kept in the Vatican Library "where distinguished and illustrious books are preserved;" he himself had seen another copy (du Tillet's) in France, "wrapped in silk and tied with golden cords." His remarks, in a letter often afterwards copied and quoted, represent the first considered estimate of the *LC* to be made by a theologian and scholar, and most of his arguments in Alcuin's favor have remained operative down to the present day.

In 1730 the question of authorship was again examined by Christoph August Heumann, in connection with his preparation of the first amended edition.[30] To the arguments adduced by Cassander he added notices found in the English Chronicles of Hoveden and Westminster for the years 792 and 793, concerning a letter composed by Alcuin on behalf of the English Church against the actions of the Nicene Council; this item of annalistic history has continued to play an important part in the discussion of Alcuin's claims.[31] In 1734 the first volume of Fabricius' *Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis* appeared; it treats of the *LC* among the works of Charlemagne, defends their catholicity, and quotes in full Cassander's comments, including his attribution of authorship to Alcuin.[32]

[29] " . . . quod illi [Carolo Imperatori] peritiae rerum sacrarum defuit, id assidua consuetudine doctissimorum virorum supplevit, in quibus facile princeps fuit Alcuinus . . . cuius praecipue opera hos libros conscriptos, ut credam facile adducor, cum et ille rerum sacrarum peritissimus fuerit, et Carolo familiarissimus, et stylus satis congruat . . . " *Opera omnia* (Paris, 1616), 1103.

[30] *Augusta Concilii Nicaeni II censura, hoc est Caroli M. de impio imaginum cultu libri IV* (Hanover, 1731). Two earlier editions, by Goldast and Pareus, had appeared in Frankfort in 1608 and 1628; they adopted however, without change, the text of Du Tillet, as did Migne in *PL*, XCVIII. See Bastgen, *NA*, XXXVII, 24 ff.

[31] For the Chronicles of Roger of Hoveden and the so-called Matthew of Westminster, see the Rolls Series volumes: *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1868), 12–13; *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1890), 393; *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1872), I, 354. All these accounts, substantially identical, go back originally to Simeon of Durham (*Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. T. Arnold (London, 1885), II, 53–54), and ultimately to the Annals of Northumbria, where the entry for the year 792 appears in part as follows " . . . Karolus rex Francorum misit sinodalem librum ad Britanniam sibi a Constantinopoli directum. In quo libro, heu pro dolor! multa inconvenientia et verae fidei contraria reperientes maxime quod pene omnium orientalium doctorum non minus quam trecentorum vel eo amplius episcoporum unanima assertione confirmatum, imagines adorare debere, quod omnino ecclesia Dei execratur. Contra quod scripsit Albinus epistolam ex auctoritate divinarum scripturarum mirabiliter affirmatam illamque cum eodem libro et [l. *ex*] persona episcoporum ac principum nostrorum regi Francorum attulit." *Ex vetustis annalibus nordhumbranis historiae regum anglorum et dacorum insertis, MGH Scriptores*, XIII, ed. G. Waitz (Hanover, 1881), 155. For a discussion of the reliability and relevance of this item, see p. 672 below, and Von den Steinen, *QF* (note 1), pp. 12 ff.

[32] (Hamburg, 1734) I, 943 ff. Reproduced by Migne, *PL*, XCVIII, 964–965.

The researches of the nineteenth century, having first established the authenticity of the treatise, then completed its rehabilitation as an important historical source. It received careful scrutiny and full discussion by Hefele, who devoted some twenty pages of his *Conciliengeschichte* to it; he declined to enter upon the question of authorship, but listed in Alcuin's favor the evidence given by Cassander and Heumann.[33] Jaffé agreed with Cassander on the congruence of the *LC* with Alcuin's style, and included a number of extracts in his *Monumenta Alcuiniana*;[34] his opinions were accepted and approved by Dümmler.[35]

In the early years of the present century Hubert Bastgen began work on the Vatican MS of the *LC*, which he was afterwards to edit for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. His researches are reported upon in a series of articles in *Neues Archiv*,[36] one of which attempts to establish Alcuin's authorship with decision and finality. His arguments are based on a number of stylistic considerations, including the use of rhymed prose, and an exhaustive examination of those topics treated both in the *LC* and in Alcuin's acknowledged writings, in which he found similarity of diction and opinion; he puts forward in addition, as the cornerstone of his proof, the item from the Northumbrian Annals.[37] His arguments have not been successful in overriding all opposition,[38] but as the *LC*'s only modern editor his opinion has naturally carried considerable weight, especially among authors of general works on mediaeval subjects. Thus in more recent years Alcuinian authorship has been asserted by Émile Amann in *L'Époque carolingienne*,[39] and by J. de Ghellinck in his *Litterature latine au moyen âge*.[40] Other scholars have offered revisions of the same hypothesis. The annalistic evidence is apparently the basis for Ganshof's statement that Alcuin did important work in preparation for the *LC*.[41] Another assessment of Alcuin's role has been made by Luitpold Wallach, who finds in the *LC* fragments of Alcuinian diction and concludes that Alcuin edited the treatise after it had been drawn up for Charlemagne by another theologian.[42] In the textbook field, however, Alcuin has continued to hold his place as the *LC*'s prime mover. The most recent publication in this area is that of Miss Margaret Deanesly, who does not hesitate to include the treatise among the works of Alcuin, identifying it as one of the most notable services of the Anglo-Saxon scholar to his king.[43]

[33] (Freiburg, 1877), III, 697. Hefele-Leclercq, III 2 (1910), 1065.

[34] Edd. W. Wattenbach and E. Dümmler, *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, ed. Philippus Iaffé, VI (Berlin, 1873), 220.

[35] *MGH, Poetae latini*, I, 1881, 161.

[36] See above, note 1.

[37] *NA*, XXXVII, 491 ff.

[38] See Walter Delius, *Die Bilderfrage im Karolingerreich* (Halle, 1928), p. 22; Kleinclausz, *Alcuin*, pp. 297 ff.

[39] *Histoire de l'église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, edd. A. Fliche and V. Martin, VI (Paris, 1937), 125.

[40] *Bibliothèque catholique des sciences religieuses*, XXV 1 (Paris, 1939), 95.

[41] "La révision de la Bible par Alcuin," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, IX (1947), 16, note 4.

[42] *Traditio* (note 1 above), p. 147.

[43] *A History of Early Medieval Europe: 476 to 911* (London, 1956), pp. 320, 332.

It is obvious that the reputation of this "prince of scholars," in Cassander's phrase, has proved a dominant factor in the continuing debate over the *LC*'s authorship. It has failed to be decisive, however, largely because those who have known Alcuin best have been least willing to accept the attribution. In 1777 Froben Forster, the learned abbot of St Emmeran, prepared the first complete edition of Alcuin's works, and in his preface to the *Opuscula Supposita* examined in detail all the evidence then available for attributing the *LC* to Alcuin.[44] Inasmuch as little or nothing has since been added to the arguments considered by Froben, his remarks retain their pertinence and cogency. He disagreed with Cassander on the issue of style, feeling that the *LC* employed expressions and a tone clearly different from the characteristic style of Alcuin, contrasting particularly the severity of the *LC*'s censure with the "admonitiones caritate plenae" directed by Alcuin to Felix and Elipand. He examined the annalistic evidence supplied by Heumann from Roger of Hoveden and Matthew of Westminster,[45] and concluded that the letter of Alcuin which they mention could not be identified with the *LC*: the *LC* date themselves a "triennium" after Nicaea (*LC Praefatio*; Bastgen 3, 36) and thus were composed while Alcuin was absent in England; the chronicles mention an "epistola," Charlemagne's work is an "opus"; Alcuin is said to have written on behalf of the bishops and princes of England, the *LC* speak with Charlemagne's own voice; Alcuin himself states that he returned at the king's bidding, not as an emissary of the English Church, and to campaign against Adoptianism, not image-worship. Most important of all, however, in Froben's estimation, is the negative evidence furnished by Alcuin's own writings, which make no mention of image-worship, and the list of his works compiled by his contemporary biographer, which does not include the *LC*.

The same reluctance evinced by Froben to attribute the *LC* unconditionally to Alcuin marked the cautious scholarship of most nineteenth-century German historians.[46] In the fourth edition of his *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1877) Wattenbach noted (for the first time) conscious doubt of Alcuin's authorship;[47] Hampe felt that the time of the *LC*'s composition in 791 or 792 precluded participation by Alcuin then absent in England;[48] Hauck was inclined to believe them the product of the keenly critical young court theologians, excluding Alcuin on the ground that he was more merciful even to his enemies.[49]

Also noteworthy in this connection is the unwillingness of Alcuin's biographers to claim the *LC* as his work. Hamelin's essay on Alcuin, appearing in France in 1873, explicitly denied the possibility of his participation.[50] In an important

[44] *Alcuini Opera* (Ratisbon, 1777), II, 459–460. Reprinted by Migne, *PL*, CI, 1171–1172.

[45] See above, note 31.

[46] With the notable exception of Dümmler (see p. 670 above and note 35).

[47] I, 132, note 3.

[48] Karl Hampe, "Hadrians I. Vertheidigung der zweiten nicaenischen Synode," *NA*, XXI (1896), 101.

[49] Albert Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (Leipzig, 1890), II, 315. In his article on the *LC* in the *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (X [1901], 90–91), he bowed, however, to the majority of authorities by conceding that the highest probability pointed toward Alcuin.

[50] F. Hamelin, *Essai sur la vie et les ouvrages d'Alcuin* (Rennes, 1873), p. 49.

German study of Alcuin and his century, published in 1881, Karl Werner followed Froben in considering as crucial the argument from silence on the subject of images in all of Alcuin's known writings; he felt that there was insufficient ground for identifying the letter mentioned in the English annals with the *LC*, and added that although the theological methods employed in the *LC* are in keeping with Alcuin's, they are likewise typical of the time.[51] In 1904 his English biographer, C. J. B. Gaskoin, expressed the opinion that Alcuin's absence in England made it unlikely that he was the work's author, and that "the contrast between its self-confident tones and his habitual humility and complaisance makes it incredible . . . that he was editor-in-chief."[52]

These views are evidently shared by both of Alcuin's most recent biographers, Arthur Kleinclausz and Eleanor S. Duckett. Miss Duckett summarizes the discussion to date, defining the arguments on either side, but without committing herself to a definite conclusion on a question so long subject to debate.[53] Kleinclausz devotes an appendix to "Alcuin et la question des images"[54] which affords us a lucid account of the development of that debate up to and including the efforts of Bastgen to establish Alcuin's authorship. He finds Bastgen guilty of special pleading and specious argument, which he discards in favor of the views already enunciated by Froben. For Kleinclausz as well, the argument from silence is of primary significance, and the evidence of the English annals inadmissible; he regards them as the product of a much later age, at once devoid of both venerability and veracity. In this last regard he stands alone, since other authorities do not concur in his adverse judgment of the Northumbrian Annals. First established by Stubbs,[55] their antiquity and authenticity has otherwise been universally accepted. Wilhelm Levison saw no reason to question the annals' account of the action taken by the English Church on the image question, and incorporated it as fact into his history of England's foreign relations in this century. He made, however, the explicit reservation that the letter composed by Alcuin on that occasion must be considered entirely distinct from the *LC*, in whose production on the Continent Alcuin could not have participated.[56] "Alcuin had no part in composing this haughty official pronouncement against the Greek and even the papal policies on the image question. . . . Alcuin was in England at this time."[57]

Since his résumé concludes with the arguments of Bastgen, Kleinclausz does not discuss the most provocative episode to take place in the present century in the long debate over the *LC*'s authorship — a highly significant interchange between Arthur Allgeier and Dom Donatien De Bruyne. Originally engaged in research in the ancient Psalters, Allgeier had occasion to examine in this connection the citations from the Psalms occurring in the *LC*. He was struck by an apparent

[51] *Alcuin und sein Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1881), pp. 53–54.
[52] *Alcuin: his Life and his Work* (London, 1904), p. 74, note 4.
[53] *Alcuin, Friend of Charlemagne* (New York, 1951), pp. 188–189.
[54] *Alcuin*, pp. 295 ff.
[55] *Chronica . . . Houedene* (see note 30), pp. xxviii ff.
[56] *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), p. 112.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 156.

resemblance between the *LC*'s phrases and those of the Spanish or Mozarabic Psalter, and in 1926 published an article in the *Historisches Jahrbuch*[58] adducing this as evidence toward authorship of the *LC* by Theodulf, the only Spaniard at the Carolingian court. A conference with Dom De Bruyne had yielded the information that many of the *LC*'s Psalm citations might be traced to an intermediate source, the pseudo-Augustinian *Speculum* or *De divinis scripturis*,[59] a Scriptural florilegium well known and widely used in Carolingian times. Unfortunately Allgeier did not regard this communication as relevant, recording it only in a footnote. In 1932 De Bruyne replied. In a penetrating article in the *Revue Bénédictine*[60] he pointed out the numerous instances in which the *LC*'s citations of the Psalms came actually and directly from pseudo-Augustine, and noted a number of other cases in which their origin was to be found in the *Acta Concilii* of 787, where they were quoted by the Byzantine churchmen in Greek, now newly translated into Latin in Rome for the benefit of Charlemagne. Obviously any resemblance between such citations and the Mozarabic Psalter was purely coincidental, and entirely irrelevant to Allgeier's case. The scholarly Benedictine further remarked that it did not suffice, in making comparisons of this kind, to consider only the ancient prototypes (Roman, Gallican, Ambrosian, etc.) of the Psalter, but that those texts should be employed which were actually in circulation at the time in Charlemagne's realm. Lastly he noted the difficulty of discovering the more obscure of the *LC*'s sources, in many cases identified neither by the author nor his modern editor, and of establishing the original text, altered in the surviving copy by hundreds of corrections. Only an examination of the earliest redaction in its integrity would, he felt, yield indications of its true authorship.

The actual effect of Allgeier's efforts was to cast a cloud over the Theodulfian hypothesis, but his ill-fated article did at least serve to bring the name of this learned Spaniard into prominence in the argument. In the course of his own researches, Von den Steinen had also become convinced, although on other grounds, of Theodulf's authorship, but was afterwards unable to fulfill his avowed intention of publishing proof.[61] The superiority of Theodulf's claims, first suggested by Von Schubert some years before,[62] has since been asserted by Seppelt[63] and Voigt,[64] and most recently by Levison and Löwe, in their revised edition of Wattenbach's *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*.[65]

[58] See above, note 1.
[59] Ed. F. Weihrich, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (=*CSEL*), XII (Vienna, 1887).
[60] See above, note 1.
[61] *QF* (note 1 above), p. 72; *NA*, XLIX, 232.
[62] Hans von Schubert, *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche im Frühmittelalter* (Tübingen, 1917), I, 386.
[63] Franz Xaver Seppelt, *Das Papsttum im Frühmittelalter* (Leipzig, 1934), II, 179.
[64] Karl Voigt, *Staat und Kirche von Konstantin dem Grossen bis zum Ende der Karolingerzeit* (Stuttgart, 1936), p. 341.
[65] Wattenbach-Levison, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*, II, *Die Karolinger vom Anfang des 8. Jahrhunderts bis zum Tode Karls des Grossen*, edd. Wilhelm Levison and Heinz Löwe (Weimar, 1953), pp. 201, 226. Also see H. Löwe in Bruno Gebhardt, *Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte*, 8th ed., I (1954), 142 ("der Westgote Theodulf . . . wahrscheinlich der Verfasser der Libri Carolini . . . ").

III. SCRIPTURAL CITATIONS AND THEIR SOURCES

Despite the misfortunes encountered by Allgeier's hypothesis, the fact remains that the Scriptural citations of the *LC* have a significance yet to be explored in all its implications. Allgeier of course selected only those derived from the Psalms, while a much larger number are drawn from other books of the Bible. Even a cursory examination of these will reveal that a significant number of them differ markedly from the Vulgate text. The provocative character of such divergence was pointed out by De Bruyne,[66] who noted that the occurrence of variants traceable to the usage of the Septuagint often indicates that the citation, with its context, is taken from some patristic source. To the instances he listed in this connection we may add the passage embodying Romans vi, 4–5 ("Consepulti enim sumus . . . ") which, with its commentary (*LC* I 1; Bastgen 11, 4–11), is taken verbatim but without acknowledgment from Ambrosiaster (*PL* XVII, 105). Not all the *LC*'s citations, however, occur in a context which can be identified as patristic; in many cases the accompanying remarks are obviously original with the author, and here we cannot use the phraseology of the Fathers to explain the *LC*'s divergences from the Vulgate.

The text of the Vulgate was naturally subject to much variation in this age; uniformity was yet to be established, and texts varied widely from nation to nation. The Carolingian period was one of Scriptural reform, and both Alcuin and Theodulf produced Bibles which have become landmarks in the history of the Vulgate. In Theodulf's case two sumptuous exemplars of the original recension still exist,[67] inscribed with his name and strongly stamped by his personality.[68] Though never as influential as the Alcuinian text, his version of the Vulgate possessed much individuality and became parent to a well defined family of MSS. A comparison of the *LC* citations with the two great Carolingian recensions contributes little, however, toward a settlement of the rival claims to authorship of the two scholars; it is, in fact, equivocal in its results, since the *LC* follow neither the Alcuinian nor the Theodulfian version consistently enough to exclude the other. Most commonly, *LC* citations agree with neither, or else with both. Comparison with their respective texts of the Vulgate is naturally fruitless in the many cases where *LC* citations follow neither Theodulf nor Alcuin nor Carolingian tradition. A complete collation of such citations with their sources in Scripture must wait upon the work being done by the learned Benedictines of San Girolamo in Rome and the Beuron archabbey. When the Vatican Vulgate and the *Vetus Latina*, with the exhaustive apparatus being prepared for each, are more nearly complete, it will no doubt be possible to establish the type and character of the Vulgate text cited by the author of the *LC*; until then the issue must remain in doubt.

[66] *RB* (note 1 above), p. 229.

[67] Leopold Delisle, *Les Bibles de Théodulfe* (Paris, 1879); Samuel Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate* (Paris, 1893), pp. 145–184.

[68] Edward Kennard Rand, "Dom Quentin's Memoir on the text of the Vulgate," *Harvard Theological Review*, XVII (1924), 219–222, 236–237.

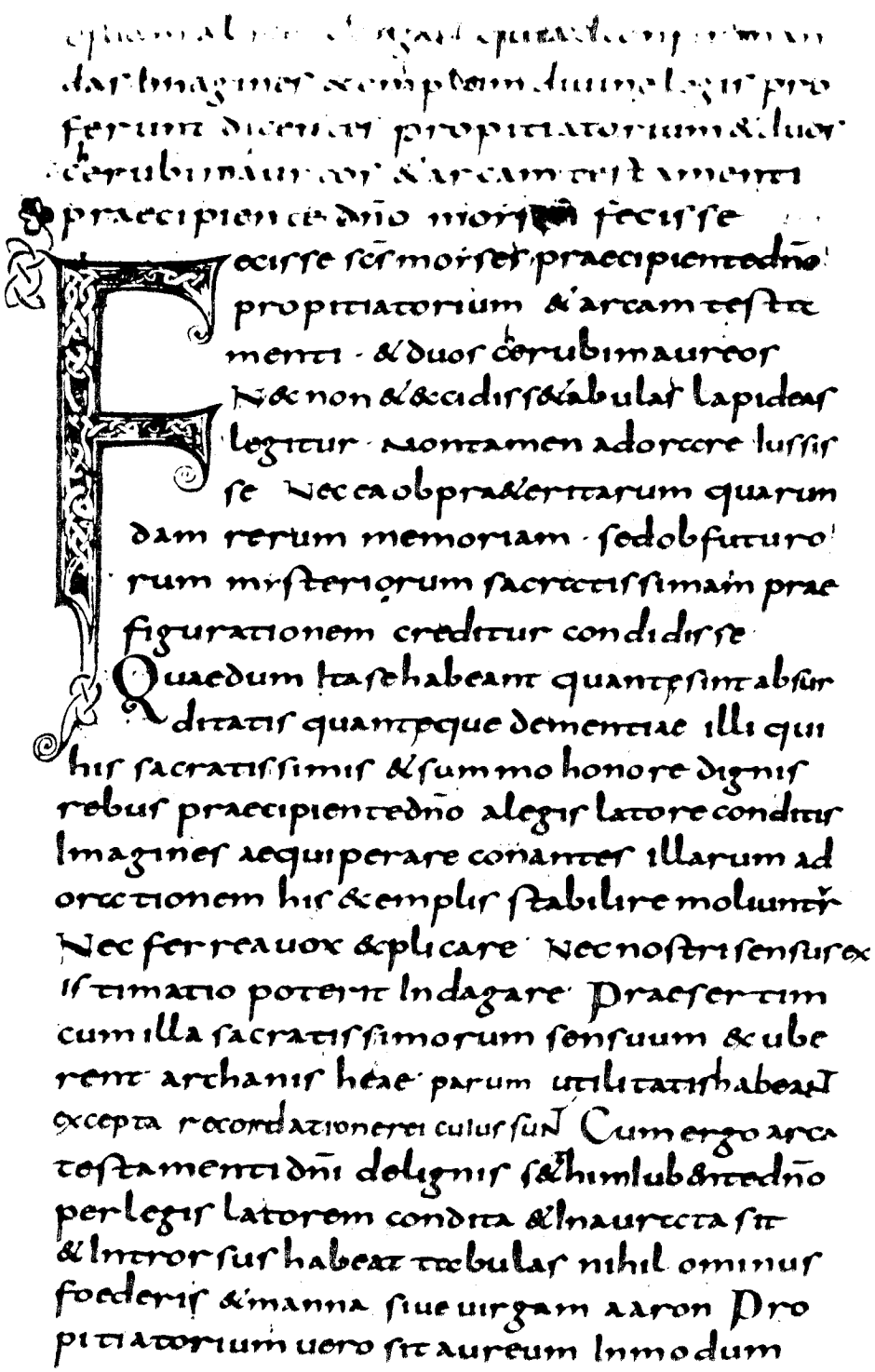

PLATE I. Vatic. Lat. 7207, fol. 34. *Libri Carolini* I, 15. Note the correction *cherubim* ex *cerubin* in l. 4 of title and l. 3 of text.

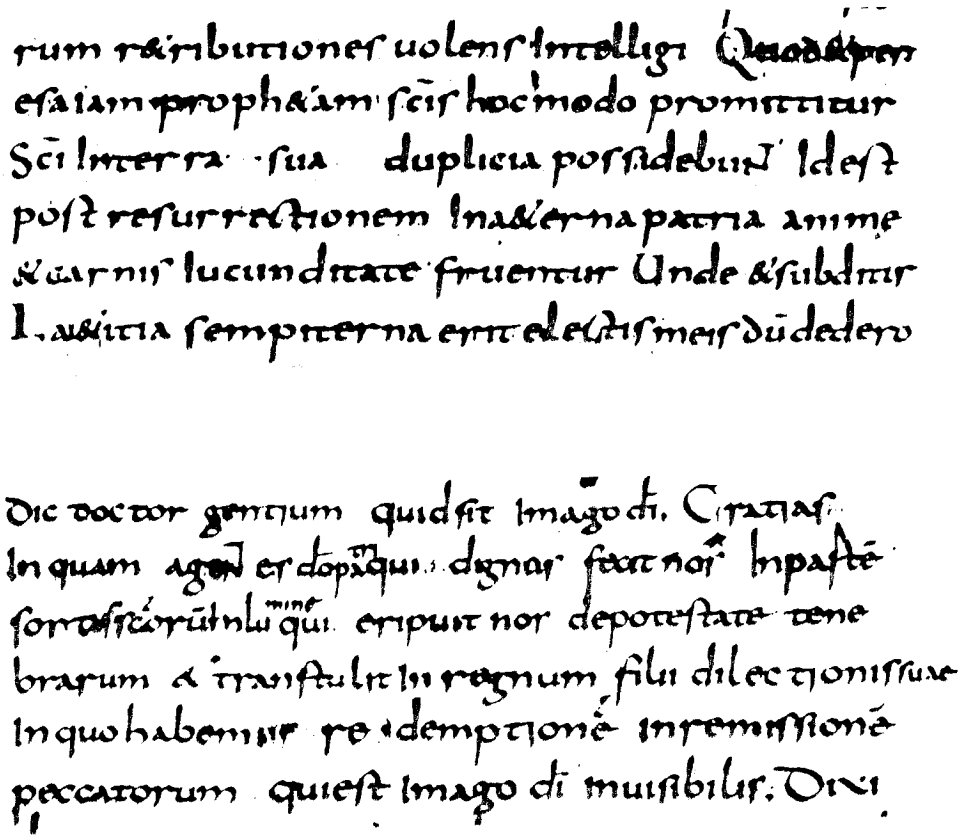

PLATE II

FIG. A. Fol. 58, *LC* I 25. Note erasures in l. 3.
FIG. B. Fol. 81v. *LC* II 16. Note corrections in l. 2 and 3.

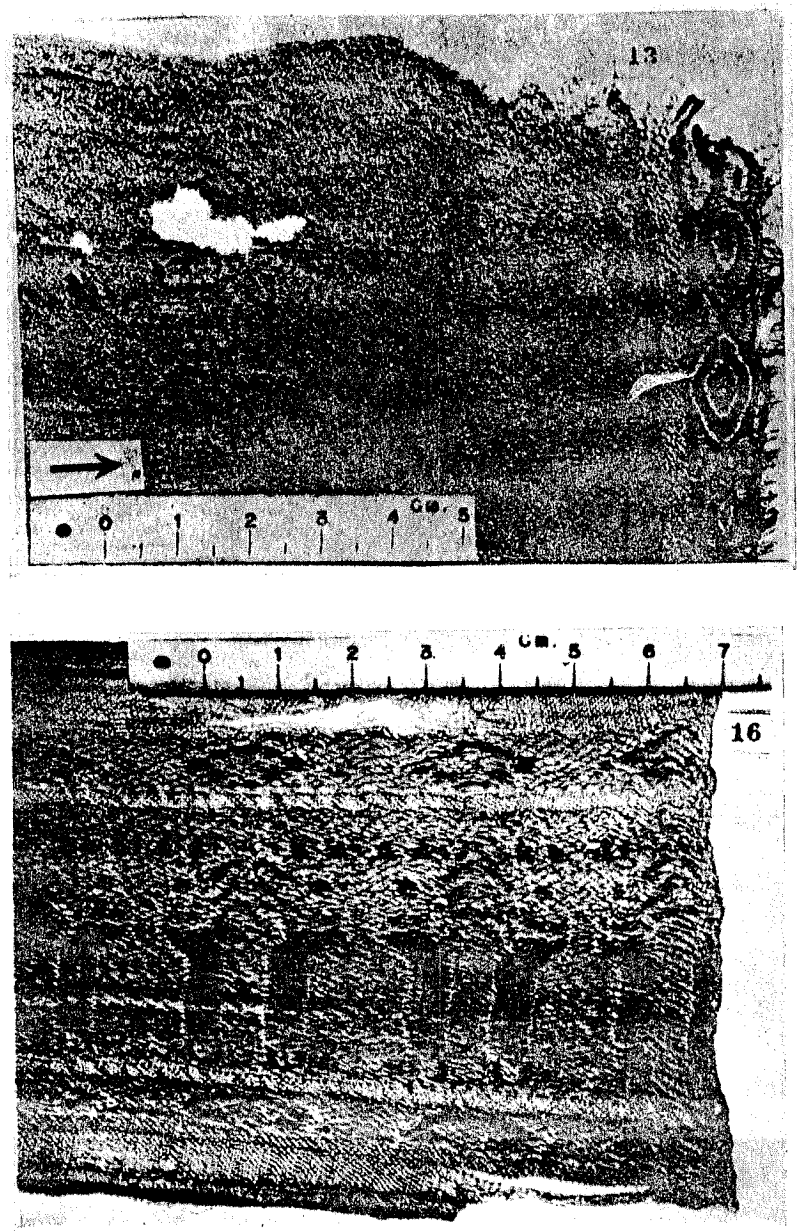

PLATE III. Fabrics from Theodulf's Bible, preserved as part of the Treasure of the Cathedral at Le Puy. (Photographs by courtesy of the Byzantine Institute.)

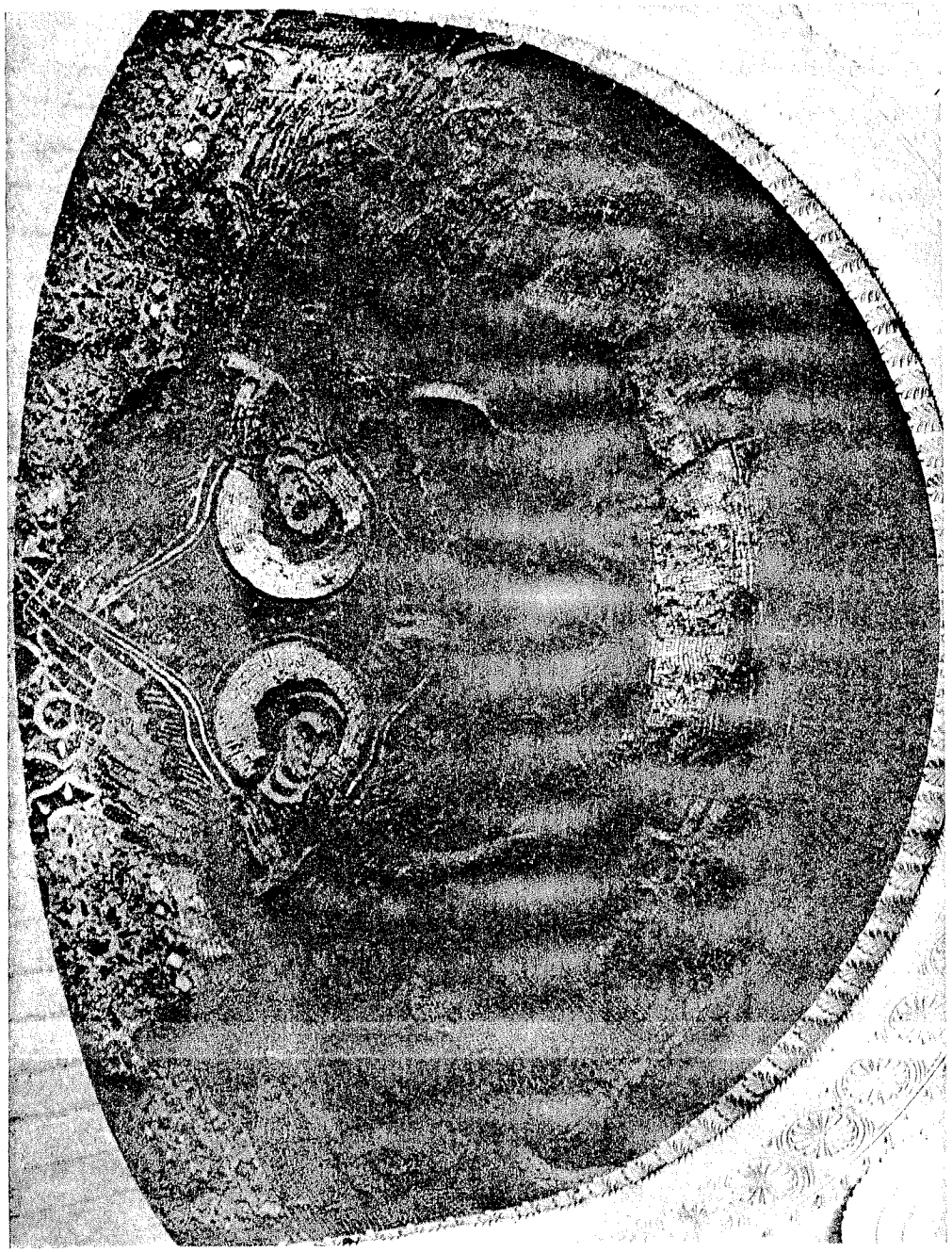

PLATE IV. Apse Mosaic, Germigny-des-Prés. The Ark of the Covenant, with Cherubim.

In the meantime, the original and unrevised Old Latin edition of Sabatier,[69] and the recently completed New Testament of Wordsworth and White,[70] are sufficient to indicate that in a number of instances we are not dealing with the Vulgate at all; the *LC*'s citations contain variants which are completely foreign to Jerome's text, and thus suggest an origin in the Old Latin versions which antedated his translation. The imprint of Old Latin usage was particularly strong in Spain, which shared with Africa a very ancient version,[71] and a highly interesting relationship appears to exist between this venerable Spanish tradition and some of the hitherto inexplicable citations of the *LC*.

LC I 9 (Bastgen 27, 7) considers the "adoration" offered by Cornelius the centurion to the Apostle Peter, who replies to him, in the Vulgate version: "Surge, et ego ipse homo sum" (Acts x, 26). But the *LC* quote Peter: "Surge, *frater*, et ego homo sum, *sicut et tu*." The addition *sicut et tu* is Old Latin; an Old Latin version of *Acts*, containing this and other interpolations, circulated in Spain and southern France into the thirteenth century;[72] fragments of the Old Latin text are preserved in the Spanish Lectionary or *Liber Comicus*, where readings from Acts were prescribed for the Easter season. The account of Peter's encounter with the centurion was read in Spanish churches on the fifth day of Easter Week, and contained the words of the Apostle in exactly the form quoted in the *LC:* "Surge, *frater*, et ego homo sum, *sicut et tu*."[73] The Spanish Lectionary is apparently the only source for the addition of *frater*,[74] while Acts x does not seem to have been included in lectionaries belonging to liturgies other than the Spanish.[75]

Such occurrences of Old Latin in the *LC*'s citations, and at the same time in sources distinctively Spanish, lend weight to the idea of authorship by the expatriate Spaniard on whom Charlemagne conferred the see of Orléans. So little real knowledge is at present available to us, however, on the descent and diffusion of Old Latin forms that isolated instances of their survival and use are not in themselves incontestably significant, although always interesting, and doubly so when the indications they offer are supported by other evidence.

There remain, moreover, an impressive number of *LC* citations whose divergence from Vulgate tradition is insufficiently explained by Old Latin influence. Not only do they contain archaic forms, but they are marked by omissions, additions, and inversions of phrase which can be accounted for neither by scribal error nor faulty memory. They can be traced neither to the Fathers nor to the florilegia; sometimes we cannot even be sure to what chapter and verse of Scrip-

[69] *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae, seu Vetus Italica* (Paris, 1751).

[70] *Nouum Testamentum Latine* (Oxford, 1889–1954).

[71] *Vetus Latina; die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel nach Petrus Sabatier neu gesammelt und herausgegeben von der Erzabtei Beuron* (Freiburg), II (1951–1954), 17* ff.

[72] Samuel Berger, "Un ancien texte latin des Actes des Apôtres," *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, XXXV (1896), 169–208.

[73] Dom Germanus Morin, ed., *Liber comicus* (Anecdota Maredsolana, I), (Maredsous, 1893), p. 214. See also the antiphon derived from this passage of Acts, p. 684 below, #2.

[74] See the edition of Wordsworth and White (note 70 above).

[75] It is not found in any of the lectionaries examined and indexed by Dom Pierre Salmon, ed., *Le lectionnaire de Luxeuil*, Collectanea Biblica Latina, VII (Rome, 1944), p. 228.

ture they ought to be assigned. Bastgen often indicates his perplexity, in such cases, by marking his Biblical references with asterisks. If, however, we accept the implications already afforded us by the Spanish Lectionary, and turn again toward Spain, we discover at once an immense repository of quasi-Scriptural material, whose character is precisely that displayed by the enigmatic and heretofore unidentifiable citations of the *LC*. This is the liturgical literature, and in particular the antiphonal texts, of the ancient Spanish Church.

Evolved in territories only slightly subject to the influence of Rome, the so-called Mozarabic liturgy acquired an individual and distinctive form;[76] like other expressions of Spanish piety, it is ornate, elaborate, and very impressive, and because of its great antiquity, strongly stamped with Old Latin. During the centuries of its greatness, preceding the Moorish invasions and its eventual suppression by the Pope, its influence extended far beyond the borders of Spain. So distinctive are its formulae, however, that they are readily discernible when they occur in other liturgies, these borrowed phrases being known as "Spanish symptoms," a term coined by Traube.[77] The influence of the Spanish liturgy was naturally strong in southern France, formerly a part of the Visigothic kingdom, especially before the liturgical reforms introduced by Charlemagne, and its kinship was close with the Gallican; they were in origin sister-liturgies, both belonging to the non-Roman branch of Western development. Thus "Spanish symptoms" may be found in many Frankish MSS, including even the Alcuinian Supplement to the Gregorian Sacramentary,[78] while the usages of the Mozarbic Psalter appear in close rapprochement, as De Bruyne pointed out,[79] with those of the Gallican. The influence of the Mozarabic liturgy in eighth- and ninth-century Gaul must not, however, be overemphasized. The *LC* themselves comment on the liturgical unity of Charlemagne's realm (I 6; Bastgen 21, 18 ff.), while the famous "Spanish symptoms" are found to be exclusively the formulae of prayers, consciously employed by liturgists like Alcuin to enrich an otherwise much more severe Roman rite.

The Mozarabic liturgy had, in addition, certain other and more indigenous aspects, not susceptible to borrowing by other liturgies, which never gained such currency outside the Spanish realm. Foremost among these is the still somewhat

[76] For a description of the distinctive character of the Spanish rite, see Dom Fernand Cabrol, *Les origines liturgiques* (Paris, 1906), p. 218. The independent development of the liturgy of the Visigothic Church is described by Dom Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London, 1947), pp. 551 ff. See also Dom Marius Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum*, Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica, v (Paris, 1904), p. xii. A necessary emphasis on the common origin of all Western rites is provided by Dom Louis Brou, "L'Antiphonaire wisigothique et l'Antiphonaire grégorien au debut du VIIIe siècle," *Anuario Musical*, v (1950), 7 ff.

[77] Edmund Bishop, " 'Spanish Symptoms'," *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918), pp. 165–202; G. Mercati, "More 'Spanish Symptoms'," *ibid.*, pp. 203–210; Leo Eizenhofer, "Nochmals 'Spanish Symptoms'," *Sacris Erudiri*, IV (1952), 27–45; L. Brou, "Encore les 'Spanish Symptoms' et leur contre-partie," *Hispania Sacra*, VII (1954), 467–485.

[78] Bishop, pp. 49–55, 167–168, 188–190; Cabrol, *Les origines liturgiques*, 217, 271–272, "Alcuin," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (=*DACL*), I, 1907, 1072–1084; Brou, *Hispania Sacra*, VII, 470–471; Gerald Ellard, *Master Alcuin, Liturgist* (Chicago, 1956), p. 139.

[79] *RB* (note 1), p. 228.

mysterious Mozarabic music. Making use of a system of notation which has yet to be deciphered,[80] it achieved an independent development of great richness and variety.[81] Due, no doubt, to its special character, the musical use of the Mozarabic Church never achieved the widespread influence exerted by its missal. Mass book and music book were in this epoch quite distinct, and the distinction must not be overlooked. Intimately involved with the actual celebration of the Spanish rite, Mozarabic music was by nature ill-adapted to transference into other liturgies. Its sphere of influence was circumscribed not only by its radically different system of notation, but also by the efforts of the Carolingian kings to reform and render uniform the musical use of all churches in their realm. The *LC* speak with approval of the attempts made by Pepin, with the assistance of Pope Stephen,[82] to reform the "ordo psallendi" of his entire kingdom (I 6; Bastgen 21, 23–34). Such success attended the liturgical reforms of Pepin and his successors that when in 870 Charles the Bald wished to hear a Mozarabic service sung, he was obliged to send to Toledo for priests able to perform one.[83]

Different in practice and performance, Mozarabic music also differed in the breadth and diversity of its Biblical sources,[84] exploiting in the service of God and His saints all the resources of Scripture. It adapted for singing, as antiphons or antiphonal responses, an impressive array of passages, not only from the Psalms, but also from the Prophets, the Wisdom literature, the Song of Songs, and other lyrical portions of the Old Testament. This extensive employment in its musical literature of Old Testament texts distinguishes the Mozarabic among mediaeval liturgies. It is symptomatic of the strong Hebraistic tradition in the Spanish Church, exemplified also in its use of the Hebraic Psalter.[85] Peter Wagner attributes this notable preference for the Old Testament to the effect of Synagogue services on the formation of the Mozarabic Mass, and to the influence of the large Jewish community in Spain, at least one of whose members actually reached the episcopacy in the Mozarabic Church.[86]

Its embodiment of Hebrew tradition is but one factor among the many which make the Mozarabic "the richest, the fullest, the most varied of all known liturgies."[87] In addition to a selection of widely diversified prayers, a wealth of anti-

[80] See the remarks and bibliography of Higini Anglès, "Mozarabic Chant," *New Oxford History of Music*, II (1954), 81–91, 408–409.

[81] Described by Peter Wagner, "Der mozarabische Kirchengesang und seine Überlieferung," *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft, Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, I (Münster, 1928), 102–141.

[82] See Theodor Klauser, "Die liturgischen Austauschbeziehungen zwischen der römischen und der fränkisch-deutschen Kirche vom achten bis elften Jahrhundert," *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft*, LIII (1933), 169–189, esp. 170, note 2, and 170–182.

[83] Henry Jenner, "Mozarabic Rite," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, X, 611.

[84] See Peter Wagner, "Untersuchungen zu den Gesangstexten der altspanischen Liturgie," *Spanische Forschungen, Gesammelte Aufsätze*, II (1930), 67–113.

[85] Which is the version generally appearing in Spanish Bibles (and accordingly in Theodulf's), Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 155.

[86] Wagner (note 84 above), p. 89.

[87] J. M. Neale, "The Mozarabic Liturgy," *Essays on Liturgiology and Church History* (London, 1867), p. 170.

phons accompany every service throughout the day and year. The service for Matins ordinarily includes a series of *missae* of antiphons, consisting of three collects, each introduced by an antiphon, and concluding with an antiphonal response.[88] These lengthy and impressive services have, unfortunately, only partially been preserved, since the ancient liturgy was suppressed by Gregory VII in the eleventh century, and Cardinal Ximenes' efforts to revive it in the sixteenth achieved only a qualified success. There is but one complete Mozarabic Antiphonary still in existence, the proud possession of the cathedral of León; it has recently been published in a facsimile edition by the *Instituto Español de Musicología*.[89] Antiphonal material occurs in other liturgical MSS, shortly to be described, but the León Antiphonary will serve as primary witness to the fact that a significant number of the *LC*'s citations, ostensibly Scriptural, are actually liturgical in origin.[90] Naturally they differ distinctly from their sources in Scripture, either because they preserve the archaic usage of Old Latin, or because their phraseology has been altered by the exigencies of music and the chant.

Apparently these antiphonal formulae are quoted unconsciously by the *LC*'s author, who is for the moment unaware that their familiar phrases do not come directly from the Bible. In *LC* I 25 (Bastgen 54, 24), for instance, in a passage on the saints and their rewards, he quotes the prophet Isaiah:

> Laetitia sempiterna erit electis meis,
> dum dedero opera eorum in veritate.

Bastgen directs us to Isaiah lxi, 7–8, but there we find these verses reading (in part) as follows, in the Vulgate version: " . . . laetitia sempiterna erit eis, quia ego Dominus diligens iudicium et odio habens rapinam in holocausto et dabo opus eorum in veritate. . . . " It is clear that the phrases quoted in the *LC* are derived from Isaiah lxi, although they are obviously not identical with it. In the León Antiphonary, however, the antiphon "Laetitia sempiterna . . . " occurs repeatedly in services honoring saints,[91] in exactly the same form quoted in the *LC* "per prophetam Esaiam."

The identification of this antiphon enables us to explain an erasure in the citation immediately preceding (Bastgen 54, 22). It is also from Isaiah lxi, the latter part of which chapter was used in Spain as one of the *Cantica de Sanctis*. The *LC* citation originally read "Sancti *in terram suam* duplicia possidebunt," which is the reading of the Spanish canticle,[92] but the Carolingian editors have had both *m*'s erased, in conformity with the Vulgate reading "*in terra sua*." (See Plate II, fig. A). This is one of the many cases where the elimination of a letter or a word by the correctors is more significant than its retention. In a number of instances, echoes of the ancient Spanish use struck strangely on the ears of the *LC*'s critics, and they did what they could to correct them, but the MS itself, much erased and amended, will often yield its original reading to a careful scrutiny.

Ordinarily, as in the case just considered, the correspondence is clear between the thought being expressed in the *LC* and the antiphon attendant upon it in the author's mind. In *LC* III 14 (Bastgen 130–131), speaking of the eternal existence of the Son, "genitus ante saecula ineffabili nativitate," quite naturally there comes to his mind the Christmas antiphon which he then quotes as proof of his point:

> Ante colles ego parturiebar.
> Adhuc terram non fecerat,
> quando parabat caelos aderam illi.
> Dum vallaret mari terminum
> et legem poneret aquis
> ego cum illo eram.

This is derived from Proverbs viii, the pertinent portion of which reads as follows (verses 25–30):

> . . . ante colles ego parturiebar; adhuc terram non fecerat et flumina et cardines orbis terrae. Quando praeparabat caelos aderam. Quando certa lege et gyro vallabat abyssos, quando circumdabat mari terminum suum et legem ponebat aquis, ne transirent fines suos, quando appendebat fundamenta terrae cum eo eram . . .

As it appears in the León Antiphonary, for Matins on Christmas Day (fol. 69v):[93]

> Ante colles ego parturiebar,
> adhuc terram non fecerat,
> quando parabat caelos aderam.
> Dum vallaret mari terminos
> et legem poneret aquis
> ego eram . . .

This train of thought brings forward another antiphon, drawn from the office *In Carnes Tollendas* (for the Sunday inaugurating Lent), and following immediately in the *LC* (Bastgen 131, 4):

> Girum caeli circuivi sola
> et in fluctibus maris ambulavi,
> in omnem gentem et in omnem populum
> primatum tenui.

The Vulgate reading is (Ecclesiasticus xxiv, 8–10): "Gyrum caeli circuivi sola et profundum abyssi penetravi, in fluctibus maris ambulavi et in omni terra steti, et in omni populo et in omni genti primatum habui." Only the first half of the antiphon is given in the León MS, but in its full form it may be found in the so-called *Breviarium Gothicum* published by Cardinal Lorenzana and reprinted by Migne (*PL*, LXXXVI, 1296):[94]

[88] A. W. S. Porter, "Studies in the Mozarabic Office, I: The Verona *Orationale* and the Leon Antiphoner," *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXXV (1934), 269. On the origin of Mozarabic *missae*, see Dom J. M. Pinell, "Las Missae, grupos de cantos y oraciones," *Archivos Leoneses*, VIII (1954), 145–185.

[89] See p. 682 below.

[90] A few selected examples, indicating the striking correspondence between the Antiphonary's formulae and the *LC*'s, and illustrative of the psychological process by which this antiphonal material enters the *LC*'s argument, will be discussed in the following pages. A more complete listing of MS evidence follows in Section IV.

[91] For the evidence of other MSS, see pp. 685–686 below, #9.

[92] See p. 685 below, #8.

[93] See p. 687 below, #15.

[94] See p. 687 below, #16.

Gyrum caeli circuivi sola
et in fluctibus maris ambulavi,
in omnem terram et in omni populo
primatum habui.

The *LC* then continue (Bastgen 131, 6) with another antiphon on the same theme, perhaps the most interesting of this series:

Ego quasi terebintus expandi ramos meos.
Ego feci ut oriretur lucifer in caelo.
Ego omnes, qui me amant, diligo.
Exitus enim mei exitus vitae sunt.

This is made up of four separate citations, three of which appear as follows in the Vulgate:

Ego quasi terebinthus extendi ramos meos. (Ecclesiasticus xxiv, 22)
Ego feci in caelis ut oriretur lumen indificiens. (Ecclesiasticus xxiv, 6)
Ego diligentes me diligo. (Proverbs viii ,17)

The final "Exitus enim mei exitus vitae sunt" is apparently not to be found in the Vulgate at all. All four phrases appear, however, in the same form and the same order, in the León Antiphonary, *In Carnes Tollendas, Ad Matutinum, Antiphona III* (fol. 107):[95]

Ego quasi terebinctus expandi ramos meos,
Ego feci ut oriretur lucifer in caelo, alleluia.
Ego omnes, qui me amant, diligo.
Exitus enim mei exitus vitae sunt.

The final two phrases have little to do with the point being pressed in the *LC;* they contribute nothing to the argument, but some psychological or perhaps poetic necessity leads the author to continue the antiphon to its end.

The last phrase "Exitus enim mei . . . , " which cannot be located in the Vulgate, is typical of that small group of Mozarabic liturgical texts which are inspired by Scripture, but clearly independent of it. An even more striking instance occurs in *LC* I 16 (Bastgen 39, 25), where the author cites, on the subject of *sapientia*, the lines:

Sapientia Dei super lapides pretiosos est,
habitatio eius in vasis aureis.

Bastgen refers us to Proverbs viii, 11, where we find

Melior est enim sapientia cunctis pretiosissimis,
et omne desiderabile ei non potest comparari.

The most diligent researches in F. P. Dutripon's *Concordantiae Bibliorum Sacrorum* fail to reveal a Vulgate source for "habitatio eius in vasis aureis." Yet in the Antiphonary, among the antiphons sung on Sundays (fol. 292v),[96] we discover

Sapientia Dei super lapides pretiosos est, alleluia,
habitatio eius in vasa aurea, alleluia.

[95] See p. 687 below, #17.
[96] See p. 685 below, #6.

In one case the Antiphonary enables us to make a typographical correction in Bastgen's printed text. *LC* I 12 (Bastgen 32, 10) contains a passage derived from I Peter ii, 24:

Peccata nostra portavit in corpore suo super lignum,
ut a malis liberati cum iustitia vivamus.
Cuius vulnere sanati sumus,
qui velut oves errabamus.

Only the words *peccata* through *lignum* are italicized as quotation by Bastgen, because the relevant passage from I Peter reads:

Qui peccata nostra ipse pertulit in corpore suo super lignum,
ut peccatis mortui iustitiae vivamus, cuius livore sanati estis,
eratis enim sicut oves errantes . . .

Here the León Antiphonary supplies us with the antiphon, sung at Matins *In Primo Dominico Post Octabas Pasche* (fol. 189v):[97]

. . . peccata nostra portavit in corpore suo super lignum,
ut a malis separati cum iustitia vivamus,
cuius vulnere sanati sumus,
qui sicut oves errabamus, alleluia, alleluia.

The Antiphonary, together with the *Orationale* and Lectionary, are examples of the earliest type of liturgical book, restricted in content to those parts of the service performed by priest, deacon, or choir, as the case might be. Despite diversities in date and origin, these books reproduce a common tradition; at least two and a half centuries separate the Verona *Orationale* and the Leon Antiphonary, but a close and complementary relationship exists between them, based on their common origin in the ancient Mozarabic rite.[98] Later liturgical MSS have a mixed character, as does the Madrid Antiphonary, and the Breviaries and Office Books of the British Museum. They remain, however, distinctly Mozarabic, with the exception of B. M. Add. 30848, which belongs almost entirely to the Roman tradition, but because of its Visigothic script and Mozarabic musical notation was erroneously classified by its English purchasers.[99] Emanating from the same scriptorium (Silos) and originating in the same century as its companion MSS in the British Museum, it demonstrates the clear demarcation between the Roman and Mozarabic rites at the time of the latter's suppression.

An even more mixed character is displayed by the Mozarabic Missal and Breviary produced in 1500 and 1502 at the order of Cardinal Ximenes. Unfortunately the editors, having a purely practical end in view, combined contemporary practice with ancient use in an indiscriminate fashion, and without warning to the reader. The liturgical texts which they prepared for employment in the churches of the revived rite thus represent an artificial fabrication, in which ancient and authentic sources are overlaid and intermingled with later, non-Mozarabic material.[100]

[97] See p. 684 below, #3.
[98] Porter, *Journal of Theological Studies*, p. 267; Brou, *Anuario Musical*, v (1950), 6.
[99] T. Ayuso Marazuela also errs in including it in his list of Mozarabic liturgical MSS; *La Vetus Latina Hispana* (Madrid, 1953), I, 446.
[100] Férotin, *Liber Ordinum*, p. xiv. Also Wagner, "Der mozarabische Kirchengesang," pp. 137 ff.

Those elements of the liturgy which suffered least in the process of resurrection, being least adaptable to alteration, were undoubtedly those which were accompanied by music. Their ancient form was in a sense preserved by the musical pattern to which they were set. In this way antiphonal material dating back to the days of King Wamba survived the perils of both suppression and restoration, retaining its original character to the time of Ximenes and beyond. The cardinal's editors introduced new offices, but embellished them with old formulae; they modernized the Scriptural passages read as lessons, in conformity with the Vulgate, but the Old Latin of the antiphons was undisturbed. The following pages will present, in synoptic form, the antiphonal formulae echoed in the *LC*, as preserved in a representative group of Mozarabic MSS, and reproduced in the Mozarabic Missal and Breviary of Cardinal Ximenes. These various MSS, none of which have ever before been considered in connection with the *LC*, together with the symbols by which they will be indicated, are as follows:

AL *Antifonario Visigotico Mozarabe de la Catedral de León*, facsimile edition, Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra, Serie Liturgica, v (Madrid, 1953). A MS of the tenth century, but believed by Férotin to reproduce a text prepared in the seventh, during the reign of the Visigothic King Wamba;[101] although occasionally ascribed to the eleventh century, recent research has quite definitely assigned it to the first half of the tenth.[102]

AM *Antiphonarius Officii et Missarum*, Academia de la Historia, Madrid, MS 30. Produced during the tenth century at the abbey of San Millán de la Cogolla. Covers the liturgical year from December to March (S. Acisclus to SS. Emeterius and Celidonius). Badly mutilated; the opening sections of many services, with the initials which must have decorated them, have been cut away; the remaining leaves have been further damaged by fire and dampness.[103]

BM 4 *Officia Toletana*, British Museum Add. 30844. Written in the tenth or eleventh century at the abbey of Santo Domingo de Silos. Incomplete, having lost several gatherings; extends from December to February (S. Maria to Cathedra S. Petri, plus the offices *In Ascensione Domini* and *De Letanias Canonicas*).[104]

BM 5 *Alia Officia Toletana*, B. M. Add. 30845. Tenth or eleventh century, from Silos; May to August (SS. Quiricus to Bartholomew).[105]

BM 6 *Breviarium Toletanum*, B. M. Add. 30846. Eleventh century, from Silos; incomplete; from Easter to Pentecost.[106]

MP *The Mozarabic Psalter*, B. M. Add. 30851. Ed. J. P. Gilson, Henry Bradshaw Society, xxx (London, 1905). Eleventh century, from Silos. Psalter with canticles, hymns, and a few offices.

OV *Oracional Visigotico*, Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare LXXXIX. Ed. D. José Vives, Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra, Serie Liturgica, I (Barcelona, 1946). The famous *Orationale* of Verona, studied by Mercati, Traube, Lindsay, Clark, Lowe, and others. Contains collects for the whole course of the year; their introductory antiphons are indicated by *incipits* added marginally. Following Férotin, Spagnuolo, Traube, García Villada, Schiaparelli, and Lowe, the present editors attribute it to the end of the seventh century or early eighth, before 711. It is thus the most ancient of all extant Mozarabic liturgical texts.[107]

DF *Diurno of the Emperor Fernando I*, Santiago de Compostela, Biblioteca de la Universidad. A sumptuous Book of Hours, dated by its scribe 1055. Contains the entire Psalter, a number of canticles, and several offices.[108]

CS *Liber Canticorum of Doña Sancha*, Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real. Written in 1059 for Doña Sancha, wife of Fernando I of Castile and León. Canticles and a number of offices for private devotion.[109]

ML *Liber Comicus*, (Mozarabic Lectionary), Paris B. N. 2171, ed. Morin.[110] *Liber Commicus*, ed. Pérez de Urbel and González y Ruiz-Zorilla, Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra, Serie Liturgica, II (Madrid, 1950). A critical edition of all five extant lectionaries: Toledo 35.4 and 35.8, León 2, Madrid Academia de la Historia 22, and Paris B. N. 2171. References are made to the more recent edition where possible, but its second volume has not yet appeared; references to the edition of Morin are so marked.

MM *Missale Mixtum secundum regulam beati Isidori, dictum Mozarabes.* Published in 1500 in Toledo by Cardinal Ximenes. Edited, with notes, by Alexander Lesley (Rome, 1755). Reprinted by Migne, *PL*, LXXXV (Paris, 1862). Based in part (for the Lenten and Easter seasons) on Toledo 35.5 and other unidentified MSS of Toledo.[111]

BG *Breviarium Gothicum secundum regulam beati Isidori.* Published in 1502 in Toledo by Cardinal Ximenes. Republished by Cardinal Lorenzana at Madrid in 1775; reprinted by Migne, *PL*, LXXXVI (Paris, 1862). Based in part (Psalter, canticles, and hymns) on Toledo 35.1 (now Madrid Biblioteca Nacional 10001).

IV. MANUSCRIPT EVIDENCE; *LC* CITATIONS AND MOZARABIC MSS

In the listing which follows of the most notable antiphonal formulae quoted by the *LC*'s author, the citations are given in the order in which they occur in the *LC*. The Antiphonary of León (AL) is in each case the primary authority; other antiphons found in the *LC* but not occurring in this Antiphonary have been omitted from the list. The exact reading of the Antiphonary has in each case been reproduced, with variants from other MSS indicated below.

Where the Verona *Orationale* (OV) is mentioned, it should be understood that only the *incipit* of the antiphon is given in the MS. Also, references to the lectionaries (ML) are naturally not to antiphonal material, but indicate a correlative use of an Old Latin or Mozarabic phrase in the lesson for the day.

All citations listed occur in passages which appear to be the author's own, and thus independent (as nearly as can be established) of any intermediate source. A partial exception must be made in the case of #18 (p. 687 below), which

[101] Férotin, *Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum et les manuscrits mozarabes*, Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica, VI (Paris, 1912), 913 ff.

[102] José Vives, "En torno a la datación del Antifonario legionense," *Hispania Sacra*, VIII (1955), 117–124. Also see the articles (discussed by Vives) by Pérez de Urbel and others in *Archivos Leoneses*, VIII (1954); the entire volume is dedicated to studies of the Leon Antiphonary on the occasion of its facsimile publication.

[103] Férotin, *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, p. 893 ff.

[104] *Ibid.*, pp. 804 ff.

[105] *Ibid.*, pp. 820 ff.

[106] *Ibid.*, pp. 842 ff.

[107] See the Introduction to Vives' edition, and E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (*CLA*), IV (1947), 32. Also Porter, note 88 above.

[108] Walter Muir Whitehill, "A Catalogue of Mozarabic Liturgical Manuscripts Containing the Psalter and Liber Canticorum," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, XIV (1934), 109 ff.

[109] *Ibid.*, pp. 116 ff.

[110] See note 73 above.

[111] Ferótin, *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, p. 738; *Liber Ordinum*, xiv. Wagner, "Der mozarabische Kirchengesang," pp. 187 ff.

continues and completes from the liturgy a citation originally derived from the pseudo-Augustinian *Speculum;* (see p. 688 below).

Because of their special character, and the difficulties this imposes, (demonstrated in the interchange Allgeier-De Bruyne), all citations from the Psalms have been omitted from consideration. The Psalter follows a tradition of its own, too tangled in this period to aid in the question of authorship. For this and other reasons, the evidence offered is exclusively from the Antiphonary, which, as we have seen, embodies the indigenous musical use of the Spanish Church. All the antiphons given are distinctively Mozarabic; that is, they do not occur in the same form or phraseology in the antiphonaries of other liturgies, nor even in Spanish antiphonaries produced after the suppression of the ancient rite (such as B. M. Add. 30848). (See SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE II, p. 705.)

#1. *LC* I 10 fol. 28 (Bastgen 29, 36)
Ecce ego adducam filium meum orientem,
quia lapis, quem dedi coram Ihesu,
septem in eo oculi sunt.
Zechariah iii,8–9: . . . ecce enim ego adducam servum meum orientem. Quia ecce lapis, quem dedi coram Iesu, super lapidem unum septem oculi sunt.
AL fol. 54 (*IIII Dominico de Adventu Domini*), BG 111
Ecce ego adducam filium meum orientem, dicit Dominus,
quia lapis, quem dedi coram Ihesu,
septem in eo oculi sunt.

#2. *LC* I 10 fol. 28v (Bastgen 30, 13)
Ihesum Nazarenum, quem uncxit Deus spiritu sancto et virtute
LC I 16 fol. 38v (Bastgen 38, 28)
Hunc Deus suscitavit post diem tertium,
et dedit illum manifestum fieri, non omni populo.
Acts x,38–41: Iesum a Nazareth, quomodo unxit eum Deus Spiritu sancto et virtute. . . . Hunc Deus suscitavit tertia die et dedit eum manifestum fieri non omni populo. . . .
AL fol. 197v (*In Diem Sancte Crucis*), BM 6 fol. 95, OV 989, ML (Morin) 215, Toledo 35.4 (Ferotin, *Lib. Moz. Sacr.* 702), BG 1122
Iseum Nazarenum, quem unxit Deus spiritu sancto et virtute
. . . hunc Deus suscitabit post diem tertium,
et dedit illum manifestum fieri non omni populo . . .
BM 6: hunxit . . . virtutem . . . non omnis sed in nobis
ML: uncxit . . . suscitavit . . . deditque

#3. *LC* I 12 fol. 30v (Bastgen 32, 10)
Peccata nostra portavit . . . (See p. 681 above)
AL fol. 189 v (*In Primo Dominico Post Octabas Pasche*), OV 988 (*In Diem Sancte Crucis*), ML 345, BG 639, 1122
ML: portabit . . . ut a peccatis nostris separati cum iustitia vibamus, qui sicut oves errabamus, cuius vulnere sanati sumus.
See also AL fol. 197, ML 326, 332

#4. *LC* I 12 fol. 31 (Bastgen 32, 13) and *LC* III 11 fol. 138v (Bastgen 124, 31)
Gaudeo in passionibus meis,
quia expleo ea quae desunt passionum Christi
in carne mea propter corpus eius, quod est ecclesia.
Colossians i,24: . . . gaudeo in passionibus pro vobis et adimpleo ea quae desunt passionum Christi in carne mea pro corpore eius, quod est ecclesia.
AL fol. 74 (S. Stephen), BM 4 fol. 73, OV 327

Gaudeo in passionibus meis,
quia expleo ea quae desunt passionum Christi
in carne mea propter corpus eius, quod est ex Ihesu.
BM 4: quod est ecclesia

#5. *LC* I 15 fol. 37 (Bastgen 37, 14)
. . . revelata facie gloriam Dei
speculantes in eiusdem imaginem
transformamur a claritate in claritatem
tamquam a Domini spiritu,
non ambulantes in astutia
neque adulterantes verbum Dei,
sed in manifestatione veritatis.
II Corinthians iii,18–iv,2: . . . revelata facie gloriam Domini speculantes in eandem imaginem transformamur a claritate in claritatem, tanquam a Domini Spiritu. Ideo habentes administrationem, iuxta quod misericordiam consecuti sumus, non deficimus, sed abdicamus occulta dedecoris non ambulantes in astutia neque adulterantes verbum Dei, sed in manifestatione veritatis . . .
AL fol. 221 (SS. Justa and Rufina), OV 1119, BG 1051 (SS. Agnes and Emerentiana)
. . . revelata facie gloriam Domini
speculantes in eiusdem imaginem
transformamur a claritate in claritate(m)
tamquam a Domini spiritu,
non ambulamus in astutia
neque adulteramus verbum Dei.
sed in manifestatione veritatis.
BG: adulteremur

#6. *LC* I 16 fol. 39v (Bastgen 39, 25)
Sapientia Dei super lapides . . . (See p. 680 above)
AL fol. 292v (*Antiphone per Unoquoque Dominico*), BG 643, 644, 645

#7. *LC* I 17 fol. 43v (Bastgen 42, 33)
Sancti per fidem vicerunt regna,
operati sunt iustitiam,
adepti sunt repromissiones,
extinxerunt impetum ignis,
convaluerunt de infirmitate,
fortes facti sunt in bello.
Hebrews xi,33–34: . . . qui per fidem vicerunt regna, operati sunt iustitiam, adepti sunt repromissiones, obturaverunt ora leonum, exstinxerunt impetum ignis, effugerunt aciem gladii, convaluerunt de infirmitate, fortes facti sunt in bello . . .
AL fol. 94v (S. Fructuosus), AM fol. 174, OV 455, 465, BG 1009, 1058, 1169, 1231
Sancti qui per fidem vicerunt regna,
operati sunt iustitiam,
adepti sunt repromissiones,
extinxerunt impetum ignis,
fugaverunt aciem gladii,
fortes facti sunt in bello.

#8. *LC* I 25 fol. 58 (Bastgen 54, 22)
Sancti in terra sua (corr. ex *in terram suam*) . . .
(See p. 678 above and Plate II, fig. A.)
AL fol. 75, 216v, 248v, BM 5 fol. 31v, DF fol. 163v, CS fol. 69, BG 868
Sancti in terram suam duplicia possidebunt.

#9. *LC* I 25 fol. 58 (Bastgen 54, 24)
Laetitia sempiterna . . . (See p. 678 above)

AL fol. 31v, 250, AM fol. 10v, 19v, BM 4 fol. 88v, BM 5 fol. 2, 33v, 39, 47v, 78v, 132, 135, 136v, MP 332, 349, BG 868, 1143
BG 1143: cum dedero opera eorum in ligno vitae

#10. *LC* I 28 fol. 61 (Bastgen 56, 36)
Vivo ego, dicit Dominus,
acuam sicut fulgur gladium meum,
et reddam ultionem inimicis meis.
Deuteronomy xxxii,40–41: . . . vivo ego in aeternum. Si acuero ut fulgur gladium meum, et arripuerit iudicium manus mea, reddam ultionem hostibus meis . . .
AL fol. 159v (4th Day of Holy Week)
Vivo ego, dicit Dominus,
aquam sicut fulgur gladium meum,
et reddam ultionem inimicis meis.

#11. *LC* II 3 fol. 70 (Bastgen 64, 38)
Non enim in occasum tibi veniet sol,
et luna tibi non deficiet in aeternum tempus.
Isaiah lx,20: Non occidet ultra sol tuus, et luna tua non minuetur.
AL fol. 85, 88v, AM fol. 151, BM 4 fol. 133v, BG 161
. . . non enim in occasu tibi veniet sol,
et luna tibi non deficiet in aeternum tempus.
AL fol. 85: in hoc casu . . . luna non deficiet
BM 4: non deficient
BG: in hoc casu . . . luna non deficient

#12. *LC* II 16 fol. 81v (Bastgen 75, 22)
Gratias agentes (*in loco raso;* corr. ex *agamus?*)
Deo Patri, (superscr.)
qui (corr. ex *quia*) dignos fecit nos in partem sortis
sanctorum in lumine, (*in lumine* superscr.)
qui (corr. ex *quia*) eripuit nos de potestate tenebrarum,
et transtulit in regnum Filii dilectionis suae,
in quo habemus redemptionem in remissionem peccatorum . . .
(See Plate II, fig. B.)
Colossians i,12–14: Gratias agentes Deo Patri, qui dignos nos fecit in partem sortis sanctorum in lumine, qui eripuit nos de potestate tenebrarum et transtulit in regnum Filii dilectionis suae, in quo habemus redemptionem per sanguinem eius, remissionem peccatorum.
AL fol. 192 (*III Dominico post Octabas Pasche*), BM 6 fol. 103v, OV 913
Gratias agamus Deo Patri,
quia dignos fecit nos in parte sortis sanctorum,
quia eripuit nos de potestate tenebrarum,
et transtulit in regnum Filii dilectionis suae,
in quo habemus redemptionem in remissione peccatorum.
BM 6: agimus
See also LC I 3 fol. 11v (Bastgen 16, 26); MM 965

#13. *LC* II 30 fol. 102 (Bastgen 93, 19)
Accepit librum Moyses
et recitavit in aures populi verba libri.
Exodus xxiv,7: Assumens volumen foederis legit, audiente populo . . .
AL fol. 160v *Sacrificium* (4th Day of Holy Week), MM 275, 285
Accepit librum Moyses ad altare Domini,
et recitabat in aures populi . . .
MM 275: Accepit librum Moyses coram altare

#14. *LC* III 13 fol. 145 (Bastgen 129, 38)
Ecce veniet vir, oriens est nomen eius.

Zechariah vi,12: . . . Ecce vir, oriens nomen eius
AL fol. 36v (*In Primo Dominico de Adventu Domini*), AM fol. 29v, BG 105
Ecce veniet vir, cuius oriens nomen eius.

#15. *LC* III 14 fol. 146 (Bastgen 131, 1)
Ante colles ego parturiebar . . . (See p. 679 above)
AL fol. 69v (*In Die Nativitatis Domini*), BM 4 fol. 61, OV 288, BG 118
BM 4: aduc . . . ballaret
OV: parturiebam
BG: caelos praeparabat

#16. *LC* III 14 fol. 146–146v (Bastgen 131, 4)
Girum caeli circuivi sola . . . (See p. 679 above)
AL fol. 105v (*In Carnes Tollendas*), BG 1296
BG: in omnem terram et in omni populo primatum habui

#17. *LC* III 14 fol. 146v (Bastgen 131, 6)
Ego quasi terebintus expandi ramos meos . . . (See p. 680 above)
AL fol. 107 (*In Carnes Tollendas*), BG 1151. See also AL fol. 101,
AM fol. 198v, MM 166: . . . ego quasi terebinctus expandi ramos meos

#18. *LC* III 14 fol. 148v (Bastgen 133, 1)
Quis similis tibi in dis (corr. ex *diis*), Domine?
Quis similis tibi, honorificus in sanctis,
mirabilis in maiestatibus, faciens prodigia?
Exodus xv,11: Quis similis tui in fortibus, Domine?
Quis similis tui, magnificus in sanctitate,
terribilis atque laudabilis, faciens mirabilia?
AL fol. 33v (S. Cecilia), BM 4 fol. 90v, MP 174, DF fol. 173, CS fol. 83v, BG 617, 875
Quis similis tibi in diis, Domine?
Quis similis tibi, gloriosus in sanctis,
mirabilis in magestatibus, faciens prodigia?
BM 4: miravilis
MP: honorificus in sanctis
DF, CS: qui(s) similis tibi, honorificus in sanctis
BG 617: faciens magnalia
AL fol. 30 (S. Acisclus), AM fol. 6, BM 4 fol. 89, BM 5 fol. 10, MP 330, BG 628, 647
Honorificus in sanctis,
mirabilis in magestatibus,
faciens prodigia . . .

#19. *LC* III 17 fol. 157 (Bastgen 140, 1)
Ego sum ostium et vita, si quis per me introierit,
salvabitur, et ingredietur et regredietur et pascua inveniet.
John x,9: Ego sum ostium. Per me, si quis introierit, salvabitur et ingredietur et pascua inveniet.
AL fol. 118, 125v (*In II Dominico Quadragesime*), 155, MM 324
Ego sum hostium, dicit Dominus, si quis per me introierit,
salvabitur, et ingredietur et regredietur et pascua inveniet.
AL 125v: Ego sum hostium, per me si quis
AL 155: Ego sum hostium, si quis per me intraberit

#20. *LC* IV 20 fol. 225v (Bastgen 211, 9)
Ego elegi vos, ut fructum plurimum afferatis
et fructus vester maneat in aeternum.
John xv,16: . . . ego elegi vos et posui vos, ut eatis et fructum adferatis, et fructus vester maneat.
AL fol. 217 (SS. Peter and Paul), BM 5 fol. 32v, BG 1141

Ego elegi vos, dicit Dominus, ut fructum plurimum afferatis, et fructus vester maneat in aeternum.

BG: om. *dicit Dominus*
See ML 308: fructus vester maneat *in aeternum*

V. CONCLUSIONS; EVIDENCE OF THEODULF'S OTHER WORK

The foregoing list of liturgical formulae, culled from among many, will show how strong is the stamp on the *LC*'s pages of ancient Spanish usage. Examination of them, and of their antiphonal prototypes, also yields evidence of the process through which they reached their present and somewhat incongruous place among the official utterances of Charlemagne. Quite obviously the author is quoting from memory. There is just enough inexactitude in quotation to indicate that he is separated by some degree of distance from the sources which he quotes. This is beyond question in the case of the citation from Deuteronomy (see p. 686, #10). These words, unmistakably liturgical, are also prophetic in tone, and being unable to recollect their Biblical source, he erroneously ascribes them to Ezechiel (Bastgen 56, 36). In another instance, he fills out from memory a citation suggested to him by another source. In concluding *LC* III 14 (Bastgen 133, 1), he draws upon the pseudo-Augustinian florilegium *De divinis scripturis* for two citations, from Exodus and the Psalms.[112] "Quis similis tibi in diis, Domine" is as much as the florilegium gives of Exodus xv, 11; this is, however, the opening phrase of an antiphon often used in Spanish services, and therefore he continues and completes it in the words of the liturgy (see p. 687, #18). In general, it appears that the antiphons of greatest prominence in the liturgy are recalled with the greatest degree of exactitude, because they made the strongest impression on his mind; the antiphon for St Stephen's Day "Gaudeo in passionibus meis" occurs to him twice in differing connections, and is quoted at two widely separated points in the *LC* (I 12 and III 11; see p. 684, #4), but precisely and identically in each case.

Almost all the antiphonal material which has in such fashion found its way out of the author's memory into the pages of the *LC* may ultimately be traced to the morning services (Matins, followed by Mass) sung in Spanish cathedrals. Services for Vespers, and the Hours of the monastic observance, yield comparatively little. The Antiphonary of León is preeminently a book for the use of secular clergy, embodying the *Ordo cathedralis*.[113] As we have seen, it offers ample witness to the many traces, in the *LC*'s text, of the great celebrations of the Mozarabic liturgical year. The author quotes antiphonal formulae for Christmas (#15), St Stephen's Day (#4), the Feast of Peter and Paul (#20). The Advent (#1, 14, 15) and Easter seasons (#3, 10, 12, 13) are particularly well represented, as is the typically Spanish service for the Sunday inaugurating Lent, *In Carnes Tollendas* (#16, 17). Other antiphons honor specifically Spanish saints, Fructuosus (#7), and Justa and Rufina (#5).

There is but one channel through which these Hispanicisms could have entered into a composition prepared at the Carolingian court. Its scholarly circle included only one Spaniard, and in the face of the evidence it is difficult to deny that the hand of Theodulf is apparent and identifiable in the *LC*. As a son of the Spanish Church, he must have been habituated from his youth in the celebration of the Mozarabic liturgy, and its sonorous phrases left their mark on his memory, much as English speech is stamped by the usage of the King James Bible. At this point it becomes obvious why Bastgen and others searched in vain for the sources of the more enigmatic of the *LC*'s citations in the works of the Fathers, for they come in fact, not from patristic or other sources, but out of the memory of a Spanish expatriate, recalling in his exile the usages of his youth. Quite naturally he quotes Isaiah or Moses, not by reference to the Vulgate, but in the familiar phrases of his native liturgy.

[112] These two citations comprise Chapter cxxii, "Quod non sit aequalis omnis sanctus Deo," *CSEL*, XII, 665.

[113] Wagner (note 84 above) pp. 109 ff.

The traces of liturgical language which the *LC* reveal are numerous enough to mark each of the four books as the work of a Spanish ecclesiastic. Significantly, they appear not only in the original text, but also in passages of correction,[114] indicating that many of the additions and alterations advised by the correctors were left in the hands of the author himself. Another indication of his responsibility for marginal corrections is the characteristically Visigothic sign $\overline{\text{SR}}$ which stands at the end of additions made in the lower margin.[115] These insertions are marked by $\text{h}\bar{\text{d}}$ in the text and introduced by $\text{h}\bar{\text{p}}$ in the margin. A proper Spanish scribe would have used $\text{d}\bar{\text{h}}$ — $\overline{\text{SR}}$; but $\text{h}\bar{\text{d}}$ and $\text{h}\bar{\text{p}}$ followed by $\overline{\text{SR}}$ is the usage of the Theodulfian Bibles.[116] Had these signs been supplied by the copyist of these passages, rather than by their author, we should expect a Visigothic script as well, or at least some traces of its peculiarities, but the script of the additions is as clearly Carolingian as is the text itself.

Most significantly, moreover, the same phenomenon of unconscious quotation from liturgy rather than Scripture is observable in Theodulf's only other prose work, the tract *De ordine baptismi* (*PL*, CV, 223–240). It quotes the Song of Songs (iv, 10) "et odor vestimentorum tuorum super omnia aromata" (*PL*, CV, 228). The Vulgate reading is *odor unguentorum*. The phrase as quoted by Theodulf in his brief treatise on baptism forms part of an antiphon sung in Spain on St Leocadia's Day " . . . et hodor vestimentorum tuorum super omnia aromata" (AL fol. 48v, MM 952; compare also OV 137).

The description of the fourth figure appearing in Nebuchadnezzar's fiery furnace, "et aspectus quarti similis filio Dei" (*PL*, CV, 233; Daniel iii, 92; Vulgate "*species* quarti") forms part of an antiphon introducing the Hymn of the Three Children, generally sung to honor saints martyred by fire, and especially associated with St Fructuosus (AL fol. 94, AM fol. 172, BM 5 fol. 129v, BG 1056).

The antiphon of Eastertide

Vos estis genus electum, regale sacerdotium,
gens sancta, populus adquisitionis

[114] The Advent antiphon "Ecce veniet vir" (p. 686, #14) occurs on a page written entirely *in loco raso*.

[115] As noted by E. A. Lowe, *CLA*, I, 16. See also Lowe, "The oldest omission signs in Latin manuscripts," *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, VI, (Rome, 1946), 60–75.

[116] Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 167. Lowe, *CLA*, V, 18.

(*PL*, cv, 235; I Peter ii, 9; Vulgate Vos *autem* genus, om. *estis*) appears in Mozarabic liturgical MSS on Palm Sunday and again during Easter week; it was also used to welcome the Visigothic king on his triumphal entrance into a city after a tour through its environs (AL fol. 152, 177v, 273v, BM 6 fol. 13).

"Gaudens gaudebo in Domino" (*PL*, cv, 233) and "Egredietur virga de radice Jesse" (*PL*, cv, 236) are the opening phrases of two canticles, taken from Isaiah (lxi, 10 and xi, 1).

"An ignoratis, *fratres*, quia quicunque baptizati sumus in Christo . . . " (Romans vi, 3) is part of a lesson read on Good Friday; the addition of *fratres* (omitted in the Vulgate text) is a feature both of the Mozarabic Lectionary (ML 344) and of Theodulf's citation in *De ordine baptismi* (*PL*, cv, 224).

Because of its brevity, the interpolations of liturgical formulae into the short tract on baptism are relatively few. Those of the *LC* are much more numerous, and they did not altogether escape the attention of the work's scholarly critics. De Bruyne commented on the many cases where they altered an unfamiliar formulation to agree with the Vulgate text.[117] Neither he, however, nor any other previous critic has been in a position to discover and disclose the most notable cause for such editorial emendation — the presence in the original text of Hispanicisms which offended its Frankish correctors. Reference has already been made[118] to the correction of *in terram suam* (Isaiah lxi, 7) illustrated in Plate II, Fig. A. Fig. B illustrates another instance of the same practice. In *LC* II 16 (Bastgen 75, 22), they altered an unfamiliar Mozarabic formula to agree with the usual Vulgate phrase by changing *Gratias agamus* to *Gratias agentes* and adding *in lumine; quia*, which occurs twice in the antiphon, has in each case been altered to *qui* (see p. 686, #12). In *LC* I 10 (Bastgen 29, 31), encountering another antiphon, "Ecce pono in fundamentis Sion lapidem . . . , " they changed its conclusion to read " . . . et qui crediderit in *eum* non confundetur." *Eum* is the Vulgate reading, but the *LC*'s original *in eo* is the customary Spanish form (AL fol. 41v, ML 6, BG 94; see also Priscillian, *CSEL*, XVIII, 66).

VI. EVIDENCE OF ORTHOGRAPHY IN VATICAN MS

Liturgical traces are not the only Hispanicisms which the manuscript text of the *LC* reveals. The contemporary correctors made a scrupulous and thoroughgoing revision of its original spelling, and the painstaking process to which the text was thus subjected has disguised its true character. Printed editions have followed the corrected version; even the edition published by Bastgen in 1924 gives no indication of the original orthography. As a result, we must return to the MS itself to discover that the prototext must have been thoroughly Spanish in character. The characteristic Visigothic preference for *qu* to *c*, the spurious use of *ae* for *e*, the typical confusion of *b* and *v*, and *g* and *c*, together with a persistent misuse of the aspirate, are apparent throughout. *Quur* for *cur* is general, except for passages copied from patristic sources; other instances of this feature

[117] *RB*, (note 1), P. 233.

[118] See p. 678 above.

are *alicantulum*, *comodo*, *secens*, *licoris*, *quoarctor*, *quoaeterna*, *quoaequandum*, *quoquere*, *quomedenti*, all of which have been corrected to conventional form. The cases are innumerable in which the corrector has erased the *a* of the diphthong *ae*, which was originally used not only in the classic manner (*haereses*, *haereditatis*), but also in *Haebraicus*, *quaeo* (repeatedly), *expraessus*, *praesbiter*, and notably as an adverb ending, *rectae*, *sanae*, *propriae*, *sobriae*, *adolatoriae*. An original *v* is altered to *b* in *evullit* and *devitam*, and in those cases where the original orthography had substituted the perfect for the future tense: *liberavit* and *salvavimur* have been changed to *liberabit* and *salvabimur*. *Besubius*, however, remains uncorrected. *G* replaces *c* in *docmata*, *acmina*, *aucmentum*, *necligenter* (repeatedly). As for the aspirate, *heae* for *eae* often occurs; the corrector has misunderstood the author's intention and altered it in each case to *hae*. Initial *h* was originally omitted or added in *umor*, *orrisonis*, *abena*, *onestas*, *ebes*, *hauctor*, *himus*, *himbre*, *himitatores*, *herubescit*, *homittens*, *higitur*. *H* was originally inserted into (and afterwards erased from) *nihilhominus*, *abhominetur*, *exhitiabilis*, *exhuberans;* it has been omitted (and inserted by the corrector) in *scema*, *patriarca*, *arcana*, *epod*, *sopistica*, *propeta*, *etnicorum*, *anatema*, *anelo*, *vei*, *iniant*, *exortatio*, *aborret*. The process of dropping an initial *i* or *hi* which made Srahel of Israel is exemplified in *storialiter* for *historialiter* and *perbolice* for *hyperbolice*.

A careful scrutiny of the manuscript text of the *LC* will reveal that almost all the peculiarities of Spanish spelling listed by C. U. Clark and others[119] are to be found in one place or another in it, (with the exception of *mici* and *nicil*, which are correctly spelled). The evidence of orthography is especially valuable in establishing the original character of the text because it is observable throughout. Instances of Spanish liturgical usage are naturally most numerous in the first two books, where it is the arguments from Scripture on the question of images which are being examined, and where the author answers Eastern allegations by Scriptural quotations of his own. Evidences of Spanish orthography, on the other hand, are liberally scattered through the first three books, and appear even in the fourth, supplied from the Paris MS, which was copied from the original *after* its correction. (They are infrequent, however, in passages copied directly from patristic sources, where the author shows remarkable scrupulosity in transcribing his texts.)

Clark takes special note of the spelling *volumtas* for *voluntas;* the word occurs several times in the Vatican MS, each time with the final stroke of the *m* erased. Perhaps the most interesting single orthographic instance is, however, the Biblical term *cherubim*. The old Spanish spelling was *cerubin*, which is the form found invariably in liturgical MSS and occasionally in Theodulf's Bibles. The word occurs repeatedly in the *LC*, because the likening of images to the cherubim of

[119] Charles Upson Clark, *Collectanea Hispanica*, Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, XXIV (1920), 100 ff. In addition to the references given by Clark, see the "Index philologique" appended by Férotin to his *Liber Ordinum*, and the lists compiled by Rodney Potter Robinson, *Manuscripts 27 (S. 29) and 107 (S. 129) of the Municipal Library of Autun*, Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, XVI (1939), 15, 29, and T. Ayuso Marazuela, "La Biblia visigótica de la Cava dei Tirreni," *Estudios Biblicos*, XIV (1955), 150–164.

Solomon's Temple was a leading feature of Eastern argument. In each case an *h* has been inserted, and an extra stroke added to the *n*. (See Plate I, where the correction occurs in a chapter heading and stands out with special clarity, since the ink of the title is red, the correction in black.) We find the word elsewhere, however, and in a form not susceptible to correction, in the inscription Theodulf placed in the apse of the church which he built and dedicated in 806 at Germigny-des-Prés. The vault of the apse, above the altar, is decorated in mosaic, and this mosaic, with its inscription, is the only original feature still surviving; the church has been several times destroyed and rebuilt. The inscription is formed in cubes of silver and reads

ORACLVM SCM ET CERVBIN HIC ASPICE SPECTANS
ET TESTAMENTI EN MICAT ARCA DEI HAEC CERNENS
PRECIBVSQVE STVDENS PVLSARE TONANTEM
THEODVLFVM VOTIS IVNGITO QVOESO TVIS[120]

(As his words suggest, Theodulf's mosaic does indeed depict Ark and Cherubim; see Plate IV. For a discussion of this motif and its significance, see p. 699 below.)

VII. RELATIONSHIP TO BIBLICAL SCHOLARSHIP AND PATRISTIC LEARNING

The evidence thus far considered is of a nature which must be traced to the early years and native environment of Theodulf — the liturgical vocabulary and orthographic habits acquired in his youth. The tastes and proclivities of his mature years also left an imprint on the *LC* which, if a little less concrete, is equally provocative. Theodulf is famous for his Biblical researches; he maintained a life-long interest in the text of the Bible and his unremitting labors in this regard produced the most scholarly of the Carolingian recensions. The ancient Spanish tradition, from which his text descends, preserved the same Hebraistic stamp already observed in its liturgy.[121] Theodulf's Bibles are unique in their epoch for their fidelity to Hebrew tradition.[122] He employs an ancient Hebraic division of the books of the Bible, "ordo legis, ordo propheticus, ordo agiograforum," etc.; those books peculiar to the Christian canon are gathered together at the end of the Old Testament, "ordo eorum librorum qui in Hebraeorum canone non habentur." Following Hebrew custom, he includes Daniel among the books of hagiography rather than prophecy. Those portions of Scripture properly poetic (Psalms, Proverbs, Job, etc.) are written in verse form, respecting the principle of parallelism. Jerome's Hebrew Psalter is adopted, (although this final version was least popular of the three), in accordance with Spanish tradition.[123]

This Hebraistic leaning gives rise in the *LC* to a somewhat surprising preference for the Old Testament as an authority over the New. Theodulf's appeal is from the "Latinorum bibliotheca" to "Hebraica veritas," "cui potissimum fides adhibenda est" (I 13; Bastgen 32–33). If the Eastern prelates cite from Hebrews

[120] See Plate IV. Also Marguerite van Berchem and Étienne Clouzot, *Mosaïques chrétiennes du IVme au Xme siècle* (Geneva, 1924), p. 225.

[121] See p. 677 above.

[122] Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. xiv.

[123] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

the veneration by Jacob of Joseph's staff, he insists that the argument return to the passage in Genesis from which Hebrews is derived. This characteristically Theodulfian predilection did not fail to engage the attention of the theologians who served as his critics. In a succeeding chapter (I 15), he describes the two Testaments, on good Augustinian grounds, as *opus Dei* and *opus hominis* respectively, the Old being written *digito Dei*, the New *ab homine*. The lower margin of the facing page (fol. 37, Bastgen, 374) is filled with an editorial addition, to the effect that *both* Testaments were written by the finger of God, that is, by the grace of the Holy Spirit.

That continual preoccupation with the text of the Scriptures, which led Berger to describe the Theodulfian version as "un véritable exemple d'alterations continuelles"[124] produced in the end a text amply provided with variant readings from several sources, each indicated by a letter: *a* apparently for "Alcuin," *s* "Spanicus?" for some Spanish source, a sign similar to the numeral II for readings found in both *a* and *s*, and *al* "aliter" or "alibi" for other sources.[125] These marginal features led Rand to remark " . . . there is nowhere in the Middle Ages, or in the early Renaissance, a closer approach than this to the modern method of constructing a critical text."[126] Theodulf's scrupulosity with regard to textual tradition accounts in large part, of course, for his preference for the Hebrew; it appears evident also in the *LC*'s remarks on the badness of the Scriptural text being used in the East. The whole course of sacred law, they say, has been so mutilated and mistranslated that now an entirely new version is necessary, patterned after Theodotion, Symmachus, Aquilas, and Jerome (I 13, Bastgen 33, 22). The continuing protest, expressed throughout the *LC*, against the misuse and misinterpretation of the Scriptures bespeaks the profound respect accorded by all Carolingian scholars to the authority of Scripture and, in particular, Theodulf's own and most individual preoccupation with the purity of its text.

His researches in the Bible were accompanied by readings in the Fathers which, for the age, were extraordinary in their extent. The *LC*'s sources, although not yet fully investigated or adequately identified, bear witness to the breadth of his acquaintance with the works of obscure as well as eminent Fathers. Naturally enough, and also most significantly, we find the same sources employed in Theodulf's other theological works. *LC* III 3 (Bastgen 113, 37)[127] cites in support of his view on the procession of the Holy Spirit the same patristic sources which are excerpted in his *De Spiritu sancto* (*PL*, CV, 259–276). The chapter includes a long list of "testimonia" (III 3 fol. 123–124; Bastgen 111, 9–112, 2) from Vigilius of Tapsus (*PL*, LXII, 176–178), who is also represented in *De Spiritu sancto* (*PL*, CV, 273); (Bastgen does not identify this long quotation). The discussion continues with a cento of citations from Isidore and Augustine, whose words are interwoven

[124] *Ibid.*, p. 143.

[125] These are the readings suggested by Dom Quentin, and cited by E. K. Rand, *Harvard Theological Review*, XVII (1924), 228.

[126] *Ibid.*, p. 228.

[127] This important chapter has been intensively examined by Wallach, *Traditio* (note 1), pp. 145–147, who finds in it traces of Alcuinian diction; he does not, however, discuss its patristic sources.

with the *LC*'s argument; identically the same selections from their writings appear as follows in *De Spiritu sancto:*

Isidore *Etymologiae*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911), VII, iii, 16–21	*LC* III 3 (Bastgen 112, 13–22) Theodulf *De Spiritu sancto* (*PL*, CV, 271) (quotes opening only of chapter cited in *LC*)
Augustine *De Trinitate*, XV, 26 (*PL*, XLII, 1095)	*LC* III 3 (Bastgen 112, 35–37) Theodulf *De Spiritu sancto* (*PL*, CV, 262) (note erasure in *LC* text: ab omnium *fidelium* sensibus . . . *"fidelium" in loco raso*. Theodulf and Augustine read: ab omnium *sanorum* sensibus)
Augustine *De Trinitate*, XV, 26 (*PL*, XLII, 1092–1093)	*LC* III 3 (Bastgen 112, 37–113, 4) Theodulf *De Spiritu sancto* (*PL*, CV, 261)
Isidore *Libri Differentiarum*, II, 3 (*PL*, LXXXIII, 71)	*LC* III 3 (Bastgen 113, 5–18) Theodulf *De Spiritu sancto* (*PL*, CV, 271–272)

The *LC*'s citation of Jerome as the author of a work on the Holy Spirit (III 3; Bastgen 113, 38) undoubtedly refers to the *De Spiritu sancto* of Didymus of Alexandria, translated by Jerome; the same treatise contributes six citations to Theodulf's *De Spiritu sancto* (*PL*, CV, 253–256), under the title *Hieronymus in libro Didymi*.[128]

For the readers of his Bibles, Theodulf provided, as appendices, appropriate pieces of patristic explication: the *Chronographia* of Isidore, the treatise *De nominibus Hebraicis* of Eucherius, the *Clavis Melitonis*, and the pseudo-Augustinian *Speculum* or *De divinis scripturis*. His versions of the *Speculum*, in abbreviated form, are notable enough to be edited *in extenso* by Weihrich in the Vienna Corpus (*CSEL*, XII). This patristic florilegium is, of course, one of the *LC*'s principal sources for Scriptural citations; their repeated and extensive use of it has been amply demonstrated by Dom De Bruyne,[129] while Theodulf's high regard for it is attested by its presence in his two most sumptuous Bibles, the MS of the Bibliothèque Nationale and its sister-volume at Le Puy.[130]

A similar relationship has been discerned between the *LC* and another of the appended tracts, the *Clavis Melitonis*, by Wolfram von den Steinen,[131] who finds that this mystical dictionary supplies a large part of the *LC*'s plentiful allegory. In treating of the stone set up by Jacob (Genesis xxviii) as a type of Christ, *LC* I 10 (Bastgen 29, 26) quotes a series of nine Scriptural passages, all but the last of which (I Peter ii, 2–4) occur in the fifty-fourth chapter of the *Clavis*, which is devoted to the definition of *Christus* as *petra*.[132] The use of the *Clavis* may be

[128] As noted by Von den Steinen, *QF*, (note 1), p. 63, note 1.

[129] See p. 673 above.

[130] Delisle, *Les Bibles de Théodulfe*, p. 46.

[131] I am indebted to Professor von den Steinen for a cordial letter (of November 1954), in which he pointed out this hitherto unrecognized relationship.

[132] *Clavis Melitonis*, ed. J. B. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense* (Paris, 1855), II, 326–329. See B. Altaner, *Patrologie*, 2nd ed. (Freiburg, 1950), pp. 101 ff., and W. S. Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, 6th ed. (Leipzig, 1913), III, 348.

suspected again in *LC* I 16 (Bastgen 38–39), where Christ is defined as *lumen* and *ignis*, *aurum* and *argentum*, and in I 29 (Bastgen 57 ff.), which contains a long description, entirely allegorical, of the decoration and furniture of the Church.

As for the work of Eucherius on the meaning of Hebrew names, *De nominibus Hebraicis*,[133] this is in fact a reworking of the passages *De nominibus* of the *Clavis*, which portion in its original Theodulf omits, giving it instead in the version of Eucherius. When Hebrew names with their mystical meanings occur in the *LC*, Bastgen usually refers us to Jerome's *De nominibus Hebraicis;* he does not mention the work of Eucherius. Jerome is clearly not the source, however, for the discussion in *LC* I 11 (Bastgen 30, 18 ff.) of the definition of Israel as "mens videns Deum." The *LC* flatly reject this interpretation, proposed by an Eastern priest, as unheard of ("hoc dictum . . . in nominis interpretatione . . . paene inusitatum"), although it is precisely the definition given by Jerome: "Israel est videre Deum, sive vir, aut mens videns Deum" (*PL*, XXIII, 832). According to the *LC*, "quidam id nomen interpretentur 'Vir videns Deum', quidam vero 'Fortis cum Deo', nonnulli etiam veracius 'Princeps cum Deo'." This last and preferred meaning is contributed by Eucherius: "Israhel vir videns Deum, sed melium Princeps cum Deo" (*CSEL*, XXXI, 14).

Apparently Theodulf has appended to his Bibles the very works of patristic explication on which the Scriptural interpretations of the *LC* principally depend.

VIII. RELATIONSHIP TO ART AND ICONOGRAPHY

Perhaps most provocative among the parallels to be drawn between Theodulf's other interests and the argumentation of the *LC* are those which involve their reflections on art and the artist, and their references to actual works of art. Theodulf's character as a connoisseur and lover of art is well known, while the *LC*'s importance as a source for the history of art in this period has long been acknowledged. A direct connection between the two has, however, seldom been suspected, largely because historians of art and iconography have been slow to question the Alcuinian authorship accepted by the greater number of their colleagues in the field of history.

That the *LC* should treat of art and the artist's function is a natural outgrowth of the argument. Statues and portraits of saints have, of course, an aesthetic as well as an ecclesiastical function, although this is ordinarily not touched upon in mediaeval treatises on the image question. Their disregard for the artistic aspect of images is one of the charges brought by the *LC* against the Eastern clerics; it may with equal justice be leveled against Theodulf's successors in the West, whose later efforts with regard to the question of images attain neither the depth nor the acuity of the remarks made in the *LC*. So sophisticated are the *LC*'s views that one recent critic finds in them a well-developed doctrine of Art for Art's sake; being without any suspicion of Theodulf's part in the venture, he attributes this entirely to the influence of antiquity at that time operative in the court circle.[134] Among its members, Theodulf was a most enthusiastic admirer of

[133] *S. Eucherii Lugdunensis Opera Omnia*, ed. C. Wotke, *CSEL*, XXXI (Vienna, 1894), 140 ff.

[134] Werner Weisbach: "In diesen Sätzen ist die Kunst vom Standpunkt der Kunst und des Künstlers

the classic ages and their art;[135] the character of his verse would establish this fact, even without the many references to objects of art scattered through his works, the painstaking poetic descriptions of allegorical figures,[136] and the impressive catalogue of beautiful things brought to him as intended bribes during his travels as a *missus dominicus* through southern Gaul, and described most meticulously in the *Ad Iudices*.[137]

Brief but telling comments occur frequently in the *LC* on the artist's scope and function, and in these sometimes casual but always cogent remarks a view is discernible which is quite different from the typically mediaeval attitude toward art. The argument repeatedly returns to the fact that images are artifacts, *opificia*, the material products of a mundane art; this point is made with particular force in I 16 (Bastgen 38, 44). This is, of course, a logical consequence of the *LC*'s stand on images in general. If they are to be considered devoid of mystic function, then any supernatural agency in their production must rigorously be denied. The *LC*'s emphasis on the worldly nature of the artist's craft thus provides a natural and necessary support for their condemnation of image-worship, but it undermines entirely the religio-mystical view of art evolved by the later Middle Ages. Here no angels guide the artist's hand. The *LC* are explicit in their contention that the artist is a craftsman like any other; he must seek out good models and good masters in order to advance in his craft (III 15; Bastgen 133, 13 ff.). Art has no intrinsic piety, and the artist, in common with the practitioners of all other worldly crafts, may attain piety in his person, but not in the products of his art. Thus, as the *LC* argue, if we consider some pictures pious because they depict the deeds of good men, we must call other impious because they portray the ravages of war or the depredations of wild beasts. Painting is as undeserving of reproach for impiety as it is unworthy of praise as the pious exercise of a pious art.

The *LC* are emphatic in their exclusion of inspiration, in its supernatural sense. There is no operation of the Holy Spirit in the production of a work of art, which must be created by human agency alone (I 10; Bastgen 29, 7; II 5; Bastgen 67, 12). Their most common and most constantly reiterated criticism of the Eastern view is, in fact, that all those things which are rightly to be adored are instituted of God and inspired by the Holy Spirit, while images are no more than the mundane products of an artisan's skill. In building the Ark of the Covenant (a highly important motif in the *LC*'s argument), Moses was inspired of God and instructed by the Holy Spirit, and the Ark thus acquired mystical and miraculous

aus beurteilt und ihr autonomer Wert anerkannt — was dadurch nicht beeinträchtigt wird, dass der für die Formulierung der Schrift verantwortliche Verfasserkreis am Hofe des Kaisers stark unter dem Einfluss antiker Anschauungen stand." *Religiöse Reform und mittelalterliche Kunst* (Einsiedeln and Zürich, 1945), p. 5.

[135] See the remarks on this subject of Jean Adhémar, *Influences antiques dans l'art du moyen âge français* (London, 1939), pp. 10–11, 148–149.

[136] "De septem liberalibus artibus in quadam pictura depictis" and "Alia pictura, in qua erat imago Terrae in modum orbis comprehensa," *MGH, Poetae latini*, I, 544–548.

[137] *Ibid.*, 498–499. The *Ad Iudices* is also available in a revised edition by Hermann Hagen in the Bern Universität Rektoratsprogramm (Bern, 1882).

properties; the artist must work without this inspiration, and the images he creates therefore remain insensate and inefficacious things (II 26; Bastgen 85, 29). Not inspiration but experience is the artist's teacher (I 19; Bastgen 44, 28; IV 21; Bastgen 214, 10); the success of his ventures varies with the extent of his genius, and the skill he attains with the instruments of his craft (I 16; Bastgen 39, 41; II 27; Bastgen 88, 44; III 24; Bastgen 154, 14).

It follows as a necessary conclusion, cornerstone of the Western stand, that an image can exercise no mystic function. Contrary to the Eastern allegation, its value is not due to the virtue of the saint it depicts (I 17; Bastgen 41, 20); no sanctity resides in the common clay, wax, or wood out of which an image is made (I 2; Bastgen 14, 13). Images acquire value if their materials are costly, and we may thus compare them "precious, more precious, most precious," but not "holy, holier, holiest," for when it comes to holiness, this quality is not present even in the positive degree (I 2; Bastgen 14, 10). How then, the *LC* ask, is one image to be preferred over another? Some gleam with newness, while others are dim with age; if the greatest honor goes to the most precious, then clearly it is the quality of the material that gives rise to veneration, not the fervor of the beholder's faith (III 16; Bastgen 137, 36). The implication is obvious, from this and other arguments, that in the author's opinion the value of an image is determined by the success of the artist in fulfilling his intention, and by the adaptability and intrinsic worth of the materials he has used, with perhaps the added consideration, in the case of a figure bequeathed by antiquity, of how well it has withstood the ravages of time. This is not the attitude of a simple believer toward the reverent depiction of some saint, but of a connoisseur, examining objectively the merits of a work of art.

In common with other connoisseurs, and with all admirers of antique art, Theodulf is only too well aware of the toll exacted of objects of art by the passage of time. Unlike the works of God, to which the Easterners mistakenly compare them, images are subject to all sorts of misadventures. They are destroyed by fire, and fall prey to dampness and decay (II 27; Bastgen 89, 1; III 24; Bastgen 155, 13); sculptured pieces are cast down from their places of honor, and their superscriptions destroyed, so that it is impossible to tell what deities they represent. Theodulf makes some telling comments in this connection. It is commonly assumed, he says, that a beautiful woman with an infant in her arms represents Virgin and Child, but how is even an artist to be sure that the two were not originally intended as Venus and Aeneas? (IV 21; Bastgen 213, 24). As he remarks elsewhere (IV 16; Bastgen 204, 27), it is quite possible for figures of the Virgin and of Venus to be identical in everything but their inscriptions, and if these are lacking, or if the images have been pulled down from their proper places and allowed to remain in a fallen state, how is anyone to determine which one should be set up again and venerated as the Mother of God?

This reference to the difficulties of identifying the subjects of antique art brings to mind the famous passage in the *Ad Iudices* in which Theodulf describes the great silver vase offered him by a provincial official; the figures ornamenting it in relief had been so abraded by use that they might only with difficulty be

identified as Hercules with Nessus, Antaeus, and Deianira.[138] Such silver vases, beautified by engraving, and consecrated for sacramental use, are prominent also in the argument of the *LC* (II 29; Bastgen 91, 18 ff.).

Considered in their entirety, the *LC* reveal an acquaintance with the world of art which distinguishes their author as unique among his Carolingian contemporaries. When Julius von Schlosser compiled his exhaustive collection of literary references made in this period to classic art,[139] he found the first generation of Carolingian writers represented in only two sources, the *LC* and the poems of Theodulf. Since he subscribed to Alcuinian authorship of the *LC*[140] he was unaware of any relationship between the two, and the coincidence appears all the more striking.

The *LC*'s allusions to actual works of art, catalogued so carefully by Von Schlosser, are impressive in their number and variety. When writers of the next generation consider "images" in churches, it is almost exclusively to tablets and wall-paintings that they refer. The *LC* enumerate, in addition to painted images, figures formed from wax, stucco,[141] stone, and wood, in the round and in relief, fashioned from precious metals, engraved upon gems and drinking vessels, and embroidered on fabrics of silk (I 2; Bastgen 13, 41; II 29; Bastgen 91, 39; IV 19; Bastgen 209, 21). The references to textiles (for which see also IV 9; Bastgen 189, 4 and IV 21; Bastgen 213, 39) are worthy of note, in an age dependent for the most part on fabrics of far less delicacy than those the *LC* describe. These figured and embroidered silks were available at the time only in the Orient. That Theodulf was an admirer and in fact a collector of oriental textiles is more than a matter of conjecture; he interleaved his Bibles with a variety of fine and delicate fabrics, some patterned in the Persian fashion, in order to protect from abrasion those pages which were written in letters of silver and gold.[142] (See Plate III.) These fragments of fabric, still preserved as part of the treasure of the cathedral at Le Puy, are equalled in antiquity and delicacy (and in their excellent state of preservation) only by the silken *pallia* sometimes entombed with the relics of saints.[143] Recent research has confirmed the opinion of earlier authorities that these fabrics, of many types and colors, are Persian in origin, while one

[138] *MGH, Poetae latini*, I, 498–499. See also Adhémar, Appendice I, pp. 309–310.

[139] *Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der Karolingischen Kunst* (Vienna, 1892).

[140] *Ibid.*, p. 425, note 1.

[141] For a group of stucco saints still in existence, dating perhaps from the time of Theodulf, who ornamented with stucco his own church at Germigny-des-Prés, see Carlo Cecchelli, "Il 'Tempietto Longobardo' di Cividale del Friuli," *Dedalo*, III (1923), 735 ff. The ornamentation in stucco of Germigny is described by H. Leclercq in *DACL*, VI (1924), 1226-1228.

[142] R. Pfister, "Les tissus orientaux de la Bible de Théodulf," *Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute*, II: *Coptic Studies in honor of Walter Ewing Crum* (Boston, 1950), pp. 501–530. Also older studies by P. Hedde, "Notice sur le manuscrit de Théodulfe," *Annales de la Société d'agriculture, sciences, arts et commerce du Puy*, 1837–1838 (Le Puy, 1839), 168 ff.; F. X. Michel (Francisque-Michel), *Recherches sur les étoffes de soie, d'or et d'argent pendant le moyen âge*, I (Paris, 1852), 69–71.

[143] Such as those found in the graves of St Richarda (daughter-in-law of Charlemagne) at Andlau, and St Caesarius of Arles. Pfister, pp. 508–509.

group of them, because of special composition and weave, can be attributed with some precision to the province of Khurasan.[144]

It is not without significance, in this connection, that oriental fabrics are also catalogued among the offerings of the *Ad Iudices*, and there described by Theodulf in phrases reminiscent of the *LC*'s:

Ad Iudices (*MGH Poetae latini* I, 499, 211):

> Mihi sunt *varie fucata colore*
> *Pallia* . . .

LC IV 8 (Bastgen 189, 4):

> *pallia* . . . quibusdam decorata
> *variisque coloribus fucata*

The *LC* make mention, moreover, not only of a variety of objects of art, but of the various procedures used in their production; Theodulf shows himself familiar with the techniques of the painter, the sculptor, the engraver, the worker in bas-relief, and the maker of mosaics (III 30; Bastgen 167, 3; IV 19; Bastgen 209, 24). As far as mosaics are concerned, we have concrete testimony to Theodulf's interest in this art-form in his church at Germigny-des-Prés.[145] The mosaic of its eastern apse is one of the most ancient in France, and the only feature of the original decoration which has survived the fires, bombardments, and successive restorations suffered by the church. It depicts the Ark of the Covenant, over which are bending two small and two much larger angelic figures. (See Plate IV.) This use of the motif is unique in mosaic; where the Ark appears elsewhere (as in the mosaic frieze of S. Maria Maggiore), it is borne by Levites in a procession and forms part of a narrative sequence; nowhere in the iconography of Western churches is the Ark depicted in this place of prominence directly over the altar,[146] where we would expect a Virgin enthroned, or a Christ in Majesty. Here the Ark is not present as part of a narrative; it makes instead some sort of dogmatic statement which, in the light of the *LC*'s arguments, becomes immediately intellegible.[147] Not only does it avoid the portrayal of divine persons which might otherwise evoke a superstitious veneration from the untutored, but it replaces them with a motif of great importance in the *LC*'s argument.

The Ark and its significance are not the only problems posed by Germigny —

[144] *Ibid.*, p. 527.

[145] André Grabar, "Les mosaïques de Germigny-des-Prés," *Cahiers archéologiques*, VII (1954), 171–183; H. E. Del Medico, "La mosaïque de l'abside orientale à Germigny-des-Prés," *Monuments Piot*, XXXIX (1943), 81–102; Van Berchem and Clouzot, *Mosaïques chrétiennes*, pp. 223–225; *DACL*, VI, 1219–1232.

[146] See Grabar, pp. 176–178, and Del Medico, p. 88.

[147] See the rather cautious remark of Grabar (p. 175): "Les tendances non pas iconoclastes, mais iconophobes (partiellement inspirées par un antagonisme politique à l'égard de Byzance qui, autour de 800, se faisait champion de la cause des images chrétiennes et de leur culte) de Charlemagne et de son entourage ont pu contribuer au choix du thème et de l'iconographie des mosaïques de Germigny." Also see Del Medico, pp. 87–88.

its angelic figures are even more puzzling. The inscription below identifies them as cherubim, but the mosaic presents us with four figures, while Scripture calls only for two.[148] Consequently when historians of art discuss the mosaic, they usually assume that only two are actually cherubim, and the others angels, or archangels, some choosing the smaller pair (presumably because of their proximity to the Ark), some the larger (because of their impressive appearance and obvious preponderance in the design). Two of its critics go so far as to suggest that the multiplication of figures is due to poverty of imagination on the part of the artist, who had a pattern for one angel and out of it, for lack of other inspiration, made four.[149]

Here again the arguments of the *LC* are directly pertinent to the problem. Two important chapters are devoted to Ark and Cherubim, and their significance in the tabernacle of Moses and the Temple of Solomon (*LC* I 15; Bastgen 34, 31 ff. and I 20; Bastgen 45, 29 ff.). In the *LC*'s discussion those of Exodus, erected by Moses on either end of the mercy-seat, are described (Exodus xxv 20; *LC* I 15; Bastgen 35, 6–8): "hinc atque inde alterutrum adtendentes, ita ut vultus eorum in propitiatorium essent et pinnis suis obumbrarent propitiatorium," the Biblical description being borne out by the stance and attitude of the smaller pair of angels, while the larger conform in every detail to the description of the cherubim of Solomon's Temple (I Kings vi 23–28, II Chronicles iii 10–13; *LC* I 20; Bastgen 46–48). Here stand the splendid angels "de quorum medio loquebatur Deus, obumbrantes propitiatorium." Their great wings overshadow the Ark, while between them appears a divine hand extended from Heaven; a symbol often used, in the iconography of the time, to indicate the voice of God.[150] In the course of the *LC*'s analysis of their symbolic significance an even more precise description is given (I 20; Bastgen 47–48): "Alas enim ad invicem super arcam extendunt . . . alteras alas ad oraculi parietes extendunt. . . . Duos autem aeque parietes suis tangunt alis. . . . Stabant etenim erectis pedibus cherubim. . . . Facies eorum erant versae ad exteriorum domum. . . . Alae igitur cherubim interiores super arcam se invicem contingebant . . . item alis exterioribus iste unum parietem, ille alterum contingebat. . . . " Evidently it is something more than the dimensions and curve of the apse at Germigny which determines that the inner wings of these great angels should touch one another, and their outer wings the walls.

Moreover, as the *LC* make clear, these large cherubim of Solomon are not regarded as transformations or enlargements of those of Moses. On the contrary, according to Theodulf, the two cherubim of the tabernacle are increased in the Temple to four, their augmented number being symbolic of the extension of salvation to Gentiles as well as Jews. In the words of the *LC* (I 20; Bastgen 46, 26–30): "Primo quaerendum est, quur Moyses, cum tabernaculum faceret, duos cherubim aureos fecerit et in propitiatorio, quod erat super arcam, posuerit,

[148] Exodus xxv, 18–20; I Kings vi, 23–28; II Chronicles iii, 10–13.

[149] Van Berchem and Clouzot, p. 225.

[150] Otto Homburger, "Eine unveröffentlichte Evangelienhandschrift aus der Zeit Karls des Grossen (Codex Bernensis 348)," *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archaeologie und Kunstgeschichte*, v (1943), 153 ff.

Salomon vero alios duos multo maiores addiderit, quibus in templo positis sub eorum alis arcam in medio conlocaverit cum propitiatorio et cherubim prioribus. . . . " Exactly the scene depicted at Germigny-des-Prés!

It is most significant, in this regard, that the same connection between the iconography of Germigny and the argument of the *LC* has recently and independently been discovered by an historian of art, although his starting-point was with the mosaic and not with the *LC*.[151] Homburger puts forward his suggestion in tentative terms, realizing that the greater weight of opinion still favors the authorship of Alcuin, but there now seems little doubt that his impression was entirely valid, and that the correspondence between Theodulf's mosaic and his discussion of its motif in the *LC* is borne out to a much greater degree than has hitherto been suspected.

Although Biblical imagery is predominant in their argument, and images of saints remain their primary concern, the *LC* do not confine themselves to Christian subjects. Classical figures also come within their purview, and their reflections in this connection are remarkable. A long chapter, of great interest to iconologists, discusses the personification of abstract things, such as the earth, abyss, heavenly bodies, seasons, and winds (III 25; Bastgen 151, 9–24). It continues with a catalogue of mythological creatures familiar to readers of Ovid and Isidore (Bastgen 151, 31–152, 1), and concludes with a list of fabulous exploits by Perseus, Prometheus, etc., elaborated from Fulgentius (Bastgen, 152, 2–33). This lengthy passage has been variously interpreted. Its intention is to refute the contention of the Eastern clerics that pictorial representations do not contradict, but rather illustrate the Scriptures. The *LC* cite allegorical and mythological figures as examples of those subjects, frequently represented pictorially, which receive no mention in Scripture and enjoy no existence in reality. An uncritical reading of the passage will give rise to the impression that the author opposes the representation of all such fabulous and fantastic creatures.[152] His position more properly is, however, that the art of the painter has nothing to do with the Scriptures, whose often purely verbal precepts and injunctions are not, in fact, adaptable to pictorial representation. The argument progresses from the shifting sands of mythology to the rock-bound stability of Scripture, but without implying, against allegorical figures, any stricture more severe than their inability to illustrate Holy Writ.[153]

An interesting emendation in the *LC*'s text occurs at just this point. Quite in the classic spirit, the author has described mythological subjects as useful chiefly to poets and painters: "et poetis ad cantandum suavia et pictoribus ad formandum familiaria." This formulation fails to take into account, however, the usefulness of such motifs, mystically interpreted, to mediaeval philosophy, and this final, philosophical justification is supplied in the form of an addition: *sive*

[151] *Ibid.*, pp. 162–163. Also see Del Medico, pp. 87–88.

[152] This is the conclusion of Roger Hinks, *Carolingian Art* (London, 1935), p. 154, and F. F. Leitschuh, *Geschichte der Karolingischen Malerei* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 82 ff.

[153] As pointed out by George M. A. Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1951), I, 204–205. He further remarks, in a footnote, that Theodulf was one Carolingian figure who had no prejudice against allegorical representations; II, 95, note 414.

philosophis ad tractandum mistica (III 23; Bastgen 152, 35). (The words are superscribed and not written *in loco raso* as Bastgen's apparatus indicates; they are in a contemporary hand.) Theodulf offered an identical defense for "fabulae poetarum" in one of his most famous poems, entitled "De libris quos legere solebam et qualiter fabulae poetarum *a philosophis mystice pertractentur.*"[154]

Especially noteworthy, in this chapter, is the discussion of personifications. This section (Bastgen 151, 9–24) is the author's own, independent of Isidore, Ovid, or Fulgentius,[155] and there is every indication that he is drawing for its subject matter on his own experience. In his detailed descriptions of the seasons ("quattuor tempora anni singula diversis figuris depingunt," Bastgen 151, 19–20), it is quite clear that he has in mind the diverse figures of an actual work of art; in the case of Winter, several figures are involved, engaged in various occupations, and derived perhaps from a panorama of the months.[156]

Notable too is the personification of Earth, "tellus in figura humana" (Bastgen 151, 11), accompanied by flowing rivers (151, 13), and the twelve winds, each in his own form (151, 16). Just such a cosmographical image, depicting Terra surrounded by her produce, her rivers, and her winds, ornamented Theodulf's refectory at Fleury, or perhaps at Orleans, apparently carved into the wooden surface of a table:[157]

> Totius orbis adest breviter depicta figura,
> Rem magnam in parvo corpore nosse dabit.
> Hic Amphitrite terrarum margine longo
> Brachia protendit flumina cuncta vorans.
> Inflatis buccis discordes undique fratres,
> Insistunt orbi, sunt sua cuique loca.[158]

The figure, as Theodulf describes it in the long poem whose closing lines are quoted, is extremely fanciful. Its complicated conception is based on Isidorian allegory, in some aspects so far-fetched that one critic[159] hesitates to admit that it ever existed (except as a figment of poetic imagination), obviously discounting Theodulf's own and quite unequivocal words: "Hoc opus ut fieret Theodulfus episcopus egi." There still exists, moreover, in the Vatican collection, a MS from Ripoll (Vat. Regin. 123) containing a circular map of a type well known to us

[154] *MGH, Poetae latini*, I, 543–544. See the remarks of Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods* (New York, 1953), p. 90.

[155] Bastgen refers us to Isidore in connection with the winds (151, note 2), but the passage in the *Etymologies*, naming the winds, has nothing to do with the *LC*'s discussion. Many of Bastgen's references to the encyclopedic works of Bede and Isidore are similarly superfluous.

[156] Hanfmann, I, 272. Also see Henri Stern, "Poésies et représentations carolingiennes et byzantines des mois," *Revue archéologique*, XLV (1955), 166; Stern suggests that ideas expressed in the *LC* were influential in the development of the new iconography of the months, in which previously pagan figures received their typically mediaeval forms.

[157] This description is generally taken to refer to a wall painting, but certain phrases of the poem suggest that the figure decorated a surface used for rather more plebeian purposes. See also Homburger, p. 162.

[158] *MGH, Poetae latini*, I, 548.

[159] Hinks, pp. 152–153.

through Einhard's description of Charlemagne's famous silver table.[160] The Ripoll map is ornamented with a small figure of Terra, bordered by the twelve winds, and inscribed with sixteen lines taken from Theodulf's poem, including the one just quoted, which contains his name. The monastery at Ripoll enjoyed cordial relations with Fleury during the eleventh century, which produced this MS, and it seems reasonably certain that an authentic Theodulfian tradition is exemplified in the Ripoll map.[161]

Thus the arguments for Theodulfian authorship of the *LC* are supported not only by literary and orthographic indications, but also by the evidence of still-existing monuments of art. The Ripoll map and the Germigny mosaic both bear present witness to Theodulf's own artistic activities, while the *LC* and his poetry give ample testimony to a wide acquaintance with many and multiform objects of art, now, unfortunately, long since lost from view.

IX. NEED FOR A NEW EDITION OF THE VATICAN MS

Theodulf's extensive knowledge of patristic sources, and his penetrating researches into the textual tradition of the Bible, indicate the scope of his redoubtable scholarship, while his poetry, with its evidence of his enthusiasm for antiquity and his interest in art, illustrates the sublety and sophistication of his mind. Both these aspects of his character are amply reflected in the content and argument of the *LC*. A full appreciation of his part in their preparation cannot, however, be achieved on the basis of the present printed text. It is obvious, on examination of the Vatican MS, that a good many of the author's original opinions have been suppressed by his colleagues and correctors. It is one of the flaws of Bastgen's edition that passages of correction are imperfectly indicated and inadequately examined; apparently he did not recognize their significance, nor was it possible for him to employ at the time the measures which now appear necessary in the case of this MS, that is, the use of those techniques now applied to palimpsests.

Through such an examination a good part of the original text appears recoverable. Ultra-violet light may well yield precious indications, not only of the original readings, but of the reasons for their obliteration. Obviously the *LC*'s emendations are far more meaningful than the usual improvements made in a MS by its scribal corrector. Here many of the alterations represent the imprint on the treatise of the official view, and a revelation of those points which aroused official objection would tell us a good deal about the orthodoxy of the age. Apparently Adoptianism was not the only issue being argued in this period between Spaniards and Franks.

Perhaps equally promising are the indications the original text might give of the ecclesio-political thought underlying the *LC*. Wallach finds its synodal

[160] See F. N. Estey, "Charlemagne's Silver Celestial Table," SPECULUM, XVIII (1943), 112–117.

[161] M. A. Vidier, "La mappemonde de Théodulfe et la mappemonde de Ripoll," *Bulletin de Géographie historique et descriptive*, 1911, 285–313; Adhémar, pp. 148–149; A. Wilmart, "La composition de la petite chronique de Marseille jusqu'au début du XIIIe siècle (Regin. Lat. 123)," *RB*, XLV (1933), 144.

theory typical of Alcuin's thinking,[162] but the passage which he quotes is from the fourth book, supplied from the Paris MS, which, as we know, was copied from the original after its correction. Synodal theory is discussed in the same terms in a prior passage (I 11; Bastgen 30, 36–40), but it is written entirely over erasure. We cannot conclude that the *LC*'s *original* sentiments on this subject were identical with those of Alcuin, and it would be interesting to know in what respect they differed.

In attention to matters of erasure and correction, and inadequate identification of patristic sources are not, unfortunately, the only faults of Bastgen's edition. Although published in the present century, and in a scholarly corpus of great repute, his text is often unreliable, and bears all the marks of hasty and inaccurate transcription; he reads *ordo* for *ardor* (Bastgen 21, 26), *restitit* for *resistit* (30, 31), *obtinentem* for *obnitentem* (139, 14), *amplificamur* for *adplicamur* (203, 34), *regionem* for *religionem* (214, 33), etc. The merit of Bastgen's text lies in the fact that it depends on the Vatican original, while all earlier editions were made from the Paris copy. It is difficult to understand, however, why he did not compare his own transcription with the earlier editions, at least for those chapters which also depended on the Paris MS. This procedure would have prevented the several instances where, by reason of homoioteleuton, he omits whole sentences of *LC* argument. Since it does not make these omissions, the old edition in the *Patrologia Latina*, reprinted by Migne from Goldast, is, in this respect at least, more reliable than Bastgen's much more recent edition for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.

With the progress of studies in the Carolingian period, and a consequent increase of interest in the *LC* as our principal source for its intellectual history in the early years of Charlemagne's reign, it becomes increasingly imperative that we should have an edition juxtaposing, as far as possible, the first with the final recension, and thus truly adequate to the needs of modern scholarship. There have been several appeals, some quite recent,[163] for such an intensive scrutiny of the MS, but the most eloquent plea remains that made in 1932 by Dom De Bruyne:[164]

> L'édition de Bastgen est un progrès, elle n'est pas la perfection. Un jour nous aurons, je l'espère, une édition qui juxtaposera, autant que possible, les deux rédactions. . . . Un ouvrage qui était destiné au pape, qui était mis sous le nom du grand roi, qui a été redigé avec un soin tout particulier par quelque théologien de l'entourage royal, qui a été enfin revisé dans une réunion de docteurs . . . un tel ouvrage mérite cet honneur.

It may be expected that a closer reading of the MS will reveal more of the liturgical and orthographic evidence which already indicates so strongly its composition by a Spaniard, while ultra-violet light may well disclose a larger share of his highly individual opinions. If Theodulf is to be acknowledged as the *LC*'s author, we shall accordingly be forced to a readjustment of our opinions on the relative importance of Charlemagne's various advisers. Theodulf has always been regarded as one of the finest intellects of the court circle, and certainly its best poet, but his competence and influence in other fields are not always recognized.[165] If the *LC* are indeed his work, we must make a new estimate of his abilities, and a new acknowledgement of his significance in the circle surrounding Charlemagne.

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[162] *Traditio* (note 1 above), pp. 147–149.

[163] See Heinrich Fichtenau (note 13 above), p. 285; Wallach (note 1 above), p. 147.

[164] *RB* (note 1 above) pp. 233–234.

[165] In one brief sentence Bastgen dismissed him (together with Einhard and Angilbert) from consideration as a candidate for the *LC*'s authorship, because his ability lay in other spheres: "Einhard, Angilbert, Theodulf von Orleans scheiden sofort aus; ihre Stärke beruht auf ganz anderem Gebiet." *NA*, xxxvii, 507.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

(I) to Section IX, pp. 703–705.

After a thorough study in the Vatican Library of the MS itself, made during the months since this article went to press, I find myself obliged to report that the expectation, so often expressed (see above, notes 163 and 164), of restoring the original text of the *LC* through the use of modern techniques is, in fact, founded upon an illusion. The erasures in this MS are so deep that there is not a single instance in which ultra-violet equipment (used with the expert assistance of Professor Augusto Campana, to whom I here express my thanks) is able to restore what has been destroyed — sometimes with such force as to leave holes in the page. Since these passages obliterated by early correctors are irretrievably lost, the most notable incentive toward the preparation of a new edition of the MS no longer exists. The MGH edition, with its many defects in regard to identification of sources, and reliable reproduction of text, stands much in need of future improvement. For the present, in order to diminish, at least in part, one of its several deficiencies, I shall hope to publish in a subsequent issue of Speculum a list of its more important errors of transcription.

(II) to Section IV, pp. 683–688.

In May of this year I enjoyed the privilege of discussing the liturgical aspects of this study with Dom Louis Brou of Quarr Abbey, whose special province the Mozarabic liturgy has long been. (See note 76, p. 676.) Father Brou was kind enough to read the paper in its entirety, and afterwards stated (in a letter of 8 June): "Les citations apparemment scripturaires, mais si spéciales, des LC, sont bien empruntées aux chants de l'ancienne liturgie espagnole, *à l'exclusion de toute autre*, car il n'existe aucune autre liturgie latine qui possède des textes de chant aussi spéciaux et aussi caractéristiques." It is most gratifying to have the authority of Father Brou in establishing the distinctively and uniquely Spanish character of the antiphonal formulae quoted in the *LC*. As we have seen, their presence alone effectively excludes, from consideration as author, Alcuin and all other non-Spaniards at the Carolingian court.