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Ex Patre Filioque: Saint-Riquier in the Carolingian Age

Susan A. Rabe
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EX PATRE FILIOQUE:
SAINT-RIQUIER
IN THE CAROLINGIAN AGE

by

Susan A. Rabe

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate
School of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
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1985

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VITA

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AASS, OSB Acta Sanctorum, Ordinis Sancti Benedicti
Jean Mabillon, editor.
- CCM Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum, Volume I:
Initia Consuetudinis Benedictae
Kassius Hallinger, editor.
- DACL Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de
Liturgie.
- DHGE Dictionnaire d'Histoire Ecclésiastique et de
Géographie.
- Mansi Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima
Collectio.
- MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica.
- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| <u>MGH Epp</u> | <u>Epistolarum</u> |
| <u>MGH LL I, Leg. Nat.</u> | <u>Legum, sectio 1, Leges Nationum</u> |
| <u>Germ.</u> | <u>Germanicarum</u> |
| <u>MGH LL II, Capitularia</u> | <u>Legum, sectio 2, Capitularia</u> |
| <u>MGH LL II, Concilia</u> | <u>Legum, sectio 2, Concilia Aevi</u> |
| <u>Aevi Carolini</u> | <u>Carolini</u> |
| <u>MGH LL III, CC</u> | <u>Legum, sectio 3, Conciliarum</u> |
| <u>MGH PL</u> | <u>Poetae Latini</u> |
| <u>MGH SS</u> | <u>Scriptorum</u> |
| <u>MGH SSRM</u> | <u>Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum</u> |
- PL Patrologia cursus completus, Series Latina
Jean-Paul Migne, editor.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE PROBLEM OF SAINT-RIQUIER

The extraordinary fact about the previous scholarship which has been done on the monastery of Centula, or Saint-Riquier, is its isolationism. Historians, monastic scholars, art historians, and liturgists have long acknowledged the importance of this foundation in the Carolingian world, and have written methodologically classic studies. But they have rarely consulted each other's work. The studies have been disparate and largely confined within disciplinary boundaries.

The essential problem for Saint-Riquier is one which applies to monastic studies in general: the traditional failure of historians to integrate the spiritual programs of individual monasteries with the broader external concerns which shaped each of them. In the case of Saint-Riquier, the extant evidence is so rich, given the period, that it provides a unique opportunity for such a study. The very variety of material which has attracted scholars from different fields alone makes Saint-Riquier worthy of study.

For this very reason Saint-Riquier is important for the broader historiography of the Carolingian period as well. Its abbot, Angilbert, was a prominent member of court, the intimate of Charlemagne and of such

scholars as Alcuin, Theodulf of Orléans, Paulinus of Aquileia, and Paul the Deacon. He was a much admired poet whose work is still extant. He was first minister of Charlemagne's son, Pepin of Italy. He served as the negotiator between Charlemagne and the Pope on critical theological issues throughout the 790s. And at the same time, he built an unusual monastic complex at Saint-Riquier and wrote its ordo with Charlemagne's patronage and encouragement. Architecturally innovative, the abbey was to have great influence on subsequent Carolingian and Romanesque church structures.

Here we can see a culture in formation. Here, through the eyes of a pivotal figure, we can see with unusual clarity the interpenetration of politics, religion, and art in the age of Charlemagne. This study will argue that the spirituality of Saint-Riquier, as expressed in its monastic life, grew out of the dominant political, theological, and aesthetic concerns of the Carolingian court of the 790s.

Let us first consider what other scholars have seen in Saint-Riquier. The first modern students of the abbey, those of the nineteenth century, studied the monastery out of local antiquarian interest. They published their findings as members of Picard historical societies, local groups which had grown up after, and as a result of, the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars. Their aim was to preserve what documentary historical evidence remained after the destructions of the Revolution, and to collect the sources of their national past. They also responded to Romantic interests in observing and exploring the ancient treasures of the local French countryside.

Thus, the first study of Saint-Riquier, by Antoine-Pierre-Marie Gilbert, was a local history. His Déscription historique de l'église de l'ancienne abbaye royale de Saint-Riquier, published at Amiens in 1836, described the still extant thirteenth century church which stood on the site of the original abbey, and which had been the focal point of a Benedictine cloister dissolved during the Revolution. Gilbert included a historical chronicle of Saint-Riquier, which was largely a summary of the eleventh century Chronicon Centulense of Hariulf, a monk of the abbey. He provided a chronology of the cloister since its foundation in the seventh century, a list of its abbots, and an artistic and architectural description of the Gothic church. He saw nothing special in the Carolingian phase of the abbey; his discussion of the work of Angilbert was intended merely to fill out the reader's historical knowledge of the present landmark.

But his title implied more: Saint-Riquier was a "former royal abbey." For a man writing in the wake of revolution (the 1830 upheaval in France had replaced the old Bourbon line with the liberal Orléans scion Louis Philippe), Saint-Riquier was a fixed point which evoked the stable, legitimate past. From its beginning, Saint-Riquier had been patronized by kings, and had in turn tutored them in Christian virtue. Thus, the monastery represented all that was great in France. It was not insignificant that Gilbert's account ended with the dissolution of the abbey by the radical Constituent Assembly in 1790.¹

¹ Déscription historique, p. 58.

The next study, published fifty years later, arose out of the same local historical interest, but also reflected intensified nationalist sentiments called up by the Franco-Prussian War. Abbé Jules Hénocque's Histoire de l'abbaye et de la ville de Saint-Riquier was a detailed history of the monastery from its founding through the French Revolution. It became the classic historical study of Saint-Riquier.²

Hénocque was writing within the context of the study of history as a new academic discipline. Liberalism and nationalism had inspired scholars to search for the sources of their national past. Germany first, with Ranke and Waitz in the 1850s and 1860s, and then France began to produce historians interested in collecting and critically analyzing archival documents. The Rankean Quellenkritik and emphasis on describing the past "as it was" inspired the publication of the great series of medieval sources, the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, and stimulated historical investigation as a scientific discipline. French scholars such as Hénocque began to apply the same methods to their work as well.

Unlike Gilbert, who was a compiler, Hénocque was a more critical scholar very much affected by the rise of source criticism, and his study was the first to assess systematically the historical sources available for the abbey. Thus he was the first to appreciate Angilbert and the Carolingian phase of Saint-Riquier, since this was a period for which contemporary sources were extant. While the great German editions of Carolingian sources in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica were not yet

² Histoire de l'abbaye et de la ville de Saint-Riquier, les saints, les abbés, le monastère et l'église, la ville, et la commune. Volume I, Book III: L'Abbé Angilbert, (Amiens, n. pub., 1880).

available to him (Waitz edited Angilbert's writings on Saint-Riquier in 1887, Dümmler the poetry and letters in 1880 and 1895 respectively), Hénocque used Mabillon's edition of sources on Angilbert in the Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti.³

Hénocque's interest in Angilbert had first developed when he did a translation of a twelfth-century Vita Angilberti from Mabillon's edition. Hénocque was a cleric formed within the nineteenth century's systematic religious mentality. He was offended by certain claims in the Vita, most notably that the abbot had married Charlemagne's daughter and that he had fathered two sons, Nithard and Hartnid, by her. Though determined by the assumptions of his own age, his skepticism toward the sources brought the historical documentation under scrutiny for the first time. "I make war," he said, "on interpolated legends, so that the traditions which have been dishonored through passion or by partisanship may better triumph."⁴ He determined that materials on Angilbert in a number of sources were twelfth-century interpolations by the abbot Anscher, who had undertaken a campaign to have Angilbert canonized. Hénocque assumed that Anscher wanted to enhance his cause and Angilbert's reputation by associating Angilbert with Charlemagne.

³ See AASS, OSB, Saeculum IV, Pars I, Volume 5 (Paris: V. Palmé, 1677). For the MGH, see SS XV, pp. 173-197, PL I, pp. 355-381, and Epp IV, passim.

⁴ "Notice sur Saint Angilbert, Abbé de Saint-Riquier: Mariage de Saint Angilbert avec la Princesse Berthe," Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie 9, number 2 (1866): 252. "Je fais la guerre aux légendes interpolées, pour mieux triompher les traditions qu'on a deshonoré par passion ou par esprit de parti."

Hénocque published his findings in a series of articles in the Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie.⁵ These served as preparatory studies for the massive work on the abbey published in the 1880s, the Histoire.

In the Histoire, Hénocque described the work of Angilbert at Saint-Riquier as a brillante période de l'histoire nationale. For Frenchmen bitter over the disgrace of France in the Franco-Prussian War, Angilbert became a sort of national hero and Saint-Riquier an example of national greatness and cultural superiority.

But Saint-Riquier was so because it was a church. The priest Hénocque was convinced that "the faith" was the source of all civilization, and here again Saint-Riquier stood out. The eleventh century history of the abbey, Hariulf's Chronicon, included a text of Angilbert describing the monastery as a foundation dedicated to the worship of the Trinity. The chronicle also contained a drawing of the monastery which depicted three churches in a triangular cloister. Hénocque described this physical arrangement as a grande acte de foi, the expression before all else of faith in God.

It contains before all the confession of the mystery of the Holy Trinity. The ternary number resides everywhere, in the churches, in the oratories, in the cloister and the exterior buildings. For the monk of Centula initiated in the faith of its founder, the triangular form of the monastery was no longer an abstract geometric figure; it was a material representation of the holy and indivisible Trinity.⁶

⁵ Cf. four studies published in 1865, 1866, 1870, and 1873. In 1869 another Picard curate/historian, the Abbé Carlet, engaged Hénocque in debate about his conclusions, asserting that the testimony of the sources must be taken at face value. Hénocque's articles of 1870 and 1873 were addressed to Carlet's criticisms.

⁶ Histoire Book III, chapter IV, p. 145. Unless otherwise indicated,

According to Hénocque, Angilbert represented not only the Trinity in his monastery; he included the entire range of beliefs and devotions important to the Church (at least as the nineteenth century Catholic saw it). One of the churches was dedicated to the Holy Savior. This Hénocque defined as the expression of the "mystery of redemption." Another chapel was dedicated to Mary, Mother of God. This expressed "the devotion of the pious architect toward the Mother of God," which was "so great that he consecrated a special church to her."⁷ The third, the chapel of Saint Benedict and the Holy Abbots, was dedicated to the religious life and its saints.

Thus, for Hénocque, Angilbert's Saint-Riquier represented the true greatness of France: religious faith expressed in a brilliant culture. This was the essence of the monastery's spirituality. But Saint-Riquier was merely the greatest among many monasteries: in Hénocque's view, all Carolingian abbeys made the same great confession of the trinitarian faith, though in different ways.

Hénocque's assessment of Angilbert's program had relied upon, and reproduced, Mabillon's engraved copy of the drawing of Saint-Riquier contained in Hariulf's chronicle. This picture was an unusual and very precious resource, since it apparently presented a view of Angilbert's monastery which had been razed in the twelfth century.⁸ Mabillon had accepted it as a view of Angilbert's complex. But that attribution was

all translations are mine.

⁷ Histoire Book III, chapter IV, p. 146.

⁸ Another engraved copy had been made earlier by Paul Petau. See below, Chapter VII, p. 281 and note 4.

called into question at the very time that Hénocque was writing, and this opened a debate between French and German scholars which was settled only in 1912. Again, the controversy reflected, implicitly or explicitly, the national sentiments which had grown out of the 1870 war.

The question of authenticity was first raised by German historians of architecture interested in the development of the Romanesque style. For them, the Romanesque was the greatest architectural expression of the Middle Ages; it was also the architectural style of the medieval German Empire. The drawing in Hariulf's chronicle portrayed a church with two key Romanesque features: a cruciform basilica, and a monumental western end (Plate I). If it authentically represented Angilbert's church, it would be the earliest known evidence of a monumental treatment for the west end of a church. The drawing was, however, schematic; and although an inscription clearly stated that this was the monastery of Angilbert, these historians thought it more clearly representative of eleventh-century, rather than eighth-century architecture. Hugo Graf called it ein ziemlich modernes Phantasiegemälde, a purely subjective rendering by Hariulf. Heinrich Holtzinger concurred in the judgment. These scholars looked to the ancient basilicas of the Frankish Merovingian kings or to the Swiss (German) abbey church of Saint Gall for Romanesque roots.⁹ They described the unusual western end of the basilica of Angilbert's abbey as a double choir on the model of Saint Gall.

⁹ Hugo Graf, Opus francigenum (Stuttgart: K. Wittwer, 1878), p. 104. Heinrich Holtzinger, Über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Doppelchore, (1891), pp. 7 ff. Neither of these studies has been available to me; I have relied on the summaries provided in Wilhelm Effmann, Centula-Saint-Riquier (Münster in Westfalen: Verlag Aschendorff, 1912), passim.

Saint Gall's western choir was a large tower. Therefore they imputed such a tower to the west end of Saint-Riquier. Hariulf's drawing, which portrayed a western transept rather than a smaller, narrower tower as at Saint Gall, did not, in their view, accurately represent Angilbert's structure.¹⁰

At the same time, one German study of the Romanesque, by Dehio and von Bezold, accepted the drawing as a valid representation of the appearance of Angilbert's abbey, acknowledging that the schematic character of Hariulf's picture was typical of eleventh century drawing.¹¹ They described the western end of Saint-Riquier's basilica as a western transept, the first example of the double transept in western architecture. But it was not from this example that the later western monumental facade of the Romanesque church developed. They felt that the creative influences came instead from Carolingian Germany, from Hesse and the Rhineland after 800.

French source critics responded in defense of the drawing as an authentic representation of Angilbert's abbey. Jules Quicherat, Director of the Ecole des Chartes, the French governmental institute for the collection and edition of the sources of national history, so judged it in his description of the sources of early medieval archeology published in 1885.¹² His thesis was supported by Robert de Lasteyrie and by

¹⁰ See Graf, p. 109, and Holtzinger, p. 8, as cited in Effmann, pp. 68 ff. Cf. Effmann, pp. 163-164, and below, Chapter VII, p. 287.

¹¹ Georg Dehio and Gustav von Bezold, Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes Volume I (Stuttgart: Alfred Kroner Verlags, 1892), p. 175.

¹² Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1885), p. 116. Quicherat ascribed Hariulf's drawing to the tenth century.

Camille Enlart.¹³ In 1894 Ferdinand Lot published a critical edition of the Chronicon Centulense in which he described the drawing as a view of the eighth century abbey, and postulated that Hariulf himself had copied the drawing from an eighth or ninth century original.¹⁴

In 1898 Georges Durand, a French medievalist, took up the defense of Hariulf's drawing, and of Angilbert's Saint-Riquier as a major influence on the development of Romanesque architecture.¹⁵ While Durand's treatment of Saint-Riquier was part of a larger study on the history and monuments of Picardie which recalled the earlier work of Gilbert and Henocque, he responded directly to the German critique.

Durand rejected the German theses. These were, he said, error-ridden because they ignored sources (specifically Hariulf), because they placed far too great a weight on the importance of Saint Gall, and because German authors were completely ignorant of local topography. (The last reason was particularly poignant in a France which had been deprived of the border territories of Alsace and Lorraine after the Franco-Prussian War; Picardie was itself another border territory.) While acknowledging the difficulty of reconstructing the appearance of Angilbert's abbey exactly, Durand described it as "one of the first

¹³ Cf. Lasteyrie in his notes to Quicherat's book, which was published posthumously, p. 414, note 1. He, however, ascribed it to the twelfth century. Camille Enlart, Manuel d'Archéologie Française, Volume I (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1902), p. 156, ascribed it to the ninth century.

¹⁴ See Hariulf Chronicon Centulense, editor Ferdinand Lot, Collection de Textes pour servir à l'Etude et l'Enseignement de l'Histoire, Volume 17 (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1894), p. lxvi, and note 2.

¹⁵ La Picardie Historique et Monumentale, Volume IV, part 2: Saint-Riquier (Amiens: Yvert et Tellier, 1898).

attempts at the innovations from which Romanesque architecture developed."¹⁶

Durand relied for his information almost entirely upon the Chronicon Centulense, including the texts of Angilbert which Hariulf copied, and the drawing. He offered a detailed reconstruction of the basilica, according to Angilbert's description. And he concurred with the judgment of Dehio and von Bezold that the monumental western end of the basilica was a second transept. It was, he said, the first example of the double transept in western architecture, the mirror image of the eastern transept in size and structure.¹⁷ But as the first such structure, it was more influential than Dehio and von Bezold had claimed.

The controversy was resolved by a final detailed study published in Germany in 1912, independently of Durand's, which came to similar conclusions from a far more detailed examination. A model of balanced and careful analysis, Wilhelm Effmann's Centula-Saint-Riquier became the definitive architectural study of Saint-Riquier until 1965, when excavations of the site shed new light on Angilbert's structure.¹⁸

Effmann agreed with Lot's claim that the manuscript drawing was by Hariulf himself, and copied Angilbert's abbey from an eighth- or ninth-century original.¹⁹ Effmann's reconstruction of the abbey churches was

¹⁶ Saint-Riquier, pp. 136, 140 ff.

¹⁷ Saint-Riquier, p. 148.

¹⁸ See above, note 9. Effmann, who consulted many French sources, became aware of Durand's work only after his own book was in press. He included a summary of Durand's findings in an appendix. Cf. Centula-Saint-Riquier, pp. 173-175.

¹⁹ Effmann, pp. 10-15.

based on the evidence of the drawing, Angilbert's text in Lot's edition, and detailed comparison with other contemporary monastic churches.

While he discussed Angilbert's entire three-church complex, he was primarily interested in the western end of the main basilica. This he described as a westwork (Westwerk), far more important a structure than Graf's western choir or Dehio's western transept. The westwork was an independent liturgical complex which often functioned as a separate church, according to Angilbert's texts. Thus, it contained a transept, but was more than a transept. The basilica at Saint-Riquier was the first example of such a structure, and was, in Effmann's view, seminal in the later development of the Romanesque western facade.²⁰

Angilbert's basilica was part of a monastic complex. But Effmann saw it as the main parish church of the town (Hauptpfarrkirche), open to the populus at various times. Angilbert often referred to the participation of omnis populus, and in addition, the basilica contained a baptismal font.²¹ In Effmann's view it was more as well. Westworks contained niches. He thought that these were meant to hold the bishop's throne when he came to the town to render judgment on local cases. Thus, besides its liturgical functions, the westwork of Saint-Riquier also symbolized ecclesiastical jurisdiction.²²

²⁰ Effmann, pp. 154-167. A monumental western end at Fulda, built in 764, was, according to Effmann, the first example of a western choir.

²¹ Effmann, p. 149: Ebenso hätte Centula seinen Taufstein; aus den Gottesdienstordnung geht hervor, dass die angehörigen der umliegenden Gemeinden dort die Osterkommunion empfangen und sich am Gottesdienste in der Klosterkirche beteiligten, die Klosterkirche war also zugleich die Hauptpfarrkirche.

²² Cf. Effmann's Die karolingisch-ottonischen Bauten zu Werden, Volume I (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1899), pp. 176-183, unavailable to me, as

Effmann's interpretation became the basis of all subsequent studies of Saint-Riquier for fifty years. These scholars accepted Effmann's judgment that Saint-Riquier was important for its westwork and basilica; they paid little attention to the other churches in the complex. More serious was their assumption that Saint-Riquier was to be judged by its relationship to Romanesque art. There was little awareness as yet of Carolingian architecture in itself, or of the reasons for which Angilbert would have built this unique and complex structure. For Effmann and his followers Saint-Riquier was important as the first example of a type, the westwork church.

Carolingian architectural history underwent a shift in focus during the 1920s. In 1929 Alois Fuchs published a study entitled Die karolingischen Westwerke, which refined and built upon Effmann's work.²³ As the title indicated, Fuchs accepted Effmann's definition of the unusual west ends of Carolingian churches such as Saint-Riquier. They were westworks, and essentially western liturgical complexes meant to serve as separate or independent churches. But Fuchs went beyond Effmann's thesis by claiming the entire western structure from atrium through

cited in Herwin Schaefer, "The Origin of the Two-tower facade in Romanesque Architecture," Art Bulletin 27 (1945): 105.

²³ Die karolingischen Westwerke und andere Fragen der Karolingischen Baukunst (Paderborn: n.pub., 1929). This work has been unavailable to me, and I have cited it according to the following reviews and summaries: Wolfgang Lotz, "Zum Problem des Karolingischen Westwerke," Kunstchronik 5 (1952): 65-71, Alois Fuchs, "Zum Problem der Westwerke," Karolingische und Ottonische Kunst 3 (1957): 109-117, and D. Grossmann, "Zum Stand der Westwerkforschung," Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch 19 (1957): 253-264.

western transept as a separate, often independent, church including baptismal functions. In addition, Fuchs made a significant new claim for the second story chapels of the westworks. Instead of bishops' courts, Fuchs judged these areas to be galleries where the king's or local lord's throne would be placed when he visited the monastery. Thus the westwork took on a special political connotation within the liturgical complex.²⁴

Fuchs' study, like the other technical studies of Saint-Riquier, considered only the main basilica of Angilbert's cloister. Hénocque's identification of the three-church triangular complex as a trinitarian symbol had had little effect on architectural historians. Similarly, their use of Angilbert's liturgical text served purely formal ends. It proved that a choir sang in the western chapel, and aided in the reconstruction of certain details such as the towers or the interior decoration of the church. But there was little synthesis of architectural and liturgical function or interpretation of forms. These studies determined the appearance and function of Angilbert's basilica by comparing it not with Angilbert's writings, but with other Carolingian and Romanesque churches.

However, Richard Krautheimer at this time began a study of one of the smaller churches at Saint-Riquier, the Mary chapel.²⁵ Krautheimer's

²⁴ Fuchs said on page 45: "Ihrer Idee nach sind die Vollwestwerke auf das Atrium als Erdgeschoss aufgesetzte Baptisterien, die zugleich dem Pfarrgottesdienst dienen sollen und für den Besuch des Herrschers mit Emporen versehen sind." Quoted by Grossman, p. 253.

²⁵ Krautheimer's study of round and polygonal Mary churches was ongoing. He summarized his findings in a paper presented to the Meeting for the Study of the Early Middle Ages at Pavia in 1950, and published in its Acts. The paper was reprinted as "Santa Maria Rotunda" in Studies

study was important for three reasons. First, it drew much-needed attention to aspects of Angilbert's program other than the basilica. Second, it sought technical antecedents for Angilbert's Mary church. Third, it essayed a symbolic or iconographical explanation for the church.

Krautheimer saw the Mary chapel at Saint-Riquier as one of many round or polygonal churches dedicated to the Virgin in the Carolingian period.²⁶ These, he said, were modeled on the Roman Pantheon, which had been rededicated in honor of Sancta Maria ad Martyres in 609 or 610. A characteristic of all of these churches was their dedication in some way to Mary leading the Church or the heavenly host to the Savior. The Pantheon referred to Mary and the Martyrs; at Saint-Riquier the vocable was Mary and the Apostles; at Aachen, the Palatine Chapel was dedicated to Mary and the Savior. This phenomenon Krautheimer attributed to the Byzantine theology and devotion of Mary as Queen of Heaven and Intercessor. He identified as the formal structural prototype of all such churches the round tomb of the Virgin in Jerusalem. From here, it was believed, Mary was assumed into the celestial realm as Queen of Heaven. Thus, the subsequent iconography of round Mary churches symbolized this heavenly assumption of the Virgin.

in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art (New York: New York University Press, 1969), pp. 203-256, from which I have drawn my information.

²⁶ Cf. Mary chapels at Würzburg on the Marienburg from 780, at Altötting near Munich from 877, and at Ludwigstadt, from the ninth century. Krautheimer, "Santa Maria Rotunda," pp. 107 ff.

This type of iconographical analysis was groundbreaking. But it had little immediate effect upon Carolingian architectural history in general. Kenneth Conant returned to the traditional technical analysis of Saint-Riquier's churches, although he stated that it was precisely the eclecticism of the entire complex at Saint-Riquier which was architecturally important. In a series of lectures delivered at Johns Hopkins University in 1939 (in which he cited Krautheimer's study), Conant argued that Saint-Riquier was a pivotal structure, "a station from which we may look backward to the age of spired basilicas, as well as forward into medieval times."²⁷ Analyzing the basilica as "technically composite", he found the rationale for its form in the two smaller churches of Mary and Saint Benedict. They identified the sources of its composite elements.

The Mary church, Conant said, was a spire church drawing both upon the Pantheon and upon Norse wooden churches. The Benedict chapel, on the other hand, was a small shed church of traditional northern character. The basilica comprised both spire church (staged towers and stair turrets), and shed church (the sanctuary and the two transepts). The western end of the basilica Conant identified structurally as a complete and independent spire church which served either as a western choir or a parochial church (as Effmann and Fuchs had said).

²⁷ These lectures were published as A Brief Commentary on Early Medieval Church Architecture (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1942). See p. 22. Conant's thesis remained essentially unchanged in a later study. See Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, 800-1200 (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1959), pp. 11-14.

This mixing of forms was what made Saint-Riquier seminal in Conant's view. It was this, he said, which was bequeathed to the Romanesque. It combined elements previously isolated, and in doing so created for the basilica a western facade of unusual strength, energy, and monumentality never before achieved in church facades.²⁸

Conant's view was still a backward look from the age of the Romanesque. Krautheimer, in another article, tried to place Saint-Riquier in a fully Carolingian context.²⁹ Krautheimer, like Conant, defined Saint-Riquier as a "fusion-type" structure, "the conception of a building (the main basilica) as a group composed of structural masses of diverse shape, size, and height."³⁰ He thought that the "fused" elements had originated in Near Eastern Christian and indigenous early Western architecture (specifically the Northumbrian western tower). The fusion-type was a unique development in Carolingian architecture.

Again like Conant, Krautheimer saw Saint-Riquier as a critical transitional structure. Of Angilbert's basilica he said,

A new style develops which transforms the pre-Carolingian inspirations into something quite different and which, on the other hand, has little to do with the contemporary revival of the Early Christian basilica in Rome and in the Frankish kingdom...This new style becomes increasingly important throughout the Carolingian Empire during the ninth century...It is this (Centula) style with its counterbalancing masses at either end of the basilican nave which

²⁸ Brief Commentary, pp. 23-24: "In the imperial German region the scheme of the Centula church dominated large ecclesiastical projects, both monastic and cathedral, for several centuries...Before the end of the eleventh century gigantic buildings were rising, bold, sober, and austere in their main bulk, like Centula, and similarly animated in silhouette."

²⁹ "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture," Art Bulletin 24 (1942): 1-38, reprinted in Studies, pp. 203-256.

³⁰ "Carolingian Revival," p. 226.

forms the basis of post-Carolingian and Romanesque architecture in Burgundy, in the Rhineland, and in England.³¹

Thus Saint-Riquier's basilica became the truly creative influence in Carolingian architecture, echoing Effman's old claim.

At about the same time, 1941-42, Krautheimer made an explicit call for a new field of architectural history: the iconography of medieval architecture.³² He renewed his argument that the symbolism of architectural forms was a critical element in understanding medieval architecture. He was not the only architectural historian to see the need for such symbolic interpretation now; at the same time, independently, André Grabar and Günter Bandmann were preparing similar works.³³ But Krautheimer first clearly enunciated the problem:

Evidently the design of an edifice or for that matter the construction were not within the realm of theoretical discussion (in medieval architectural treatises). On the other hand, the religious implications of a building were uppermost in the minds of its contemporaries...The "content" of architecture seems to have been among the more important problems of medieval architectural theory; perhaps it was indeed its most important problem.³⁴

³¹ "Carolingian Revival," p. 227.

³² The paper was initially read at the meeting of the College Art Association in January, 1941, and was then published in the Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 5 (1942): 1-33. It has been reprinted in Studies, pp. 115-150.

³³ Cf. Grabar's Martyrium (Paris: College de France, 1946), and Bandmann's Mittelalterliche Architektur als Bedeutungsträger (Berlin: G. Mann, 1951). Krautheimer acknowledged the tendency of early nineteenth century architecture historians to look for the symbolic meanings of church structures, as well as the works of J. Sauer, Symbolik des Kirchengebaudes, and F.J. Doelger, Antike und Christentum in the 1920s, which carried on this tradition. But these studies were isolated examples of this work; by far the predominant tendency, which we have already seen, was to look at the function and formal structure of buildings. Cf. "Iconography," pp. 115 and 141, note 2.

³⁴ "Iconography," p. 115.

In this context, Krautheimer discussed the symbolic imitation of particular sacred buildings. He cited three frequently used types of architectural symbolism: the imitation of a formal element, such as a geometric shape, an ambulatory, or a gallery; the repeated use of a number or its multiples, including their numerological meanings (for example twelve columns symbolizing at once the Holy Sepulchre and the twelve Apostles); and the dedicatory name of a church. These types of symbols signified not the exact imitation of a particular structure or object, but its evocation. The single symbol stood for the whole, which became visible to the mind's eye.

This recognition was a critically important step in architectural history. It acknowledged the sensibilities of the period itself, a new willingness to see the Middle Ages through the medieval aesthetic sense. It understood that the interests of medieval architects were not necessarily those of the twentieth century. And, most important, it saw for the first time the importance of symbols in medieval aesthetics.³⁵ In particular, the awareness of an iconography of shape and of number would come to be important for Saint-Riquier's triangular cloister and repetition of the "ternary number."

This interest in architectural iconography was critical to methodology as well. For it demanded the integration of textual evidence, both literary and liturgical texts, with visual evidence. No longer was a building to be analyzed merely by its technical relationship to other

³⁵ Compare the many iconographical studies of Erwin Panofsky, and in particular, his lectures on the relationship between Scholasticism and Gothic architecture. See Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism (Latrobe: Archabbey Press, 1951), and Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1960).

buildings before and after it; now specific contemporary textual sources would provide insight. The methodology would eventually be of inestimable value in the understanding of Saint-Riquier, for which Angilbert's texts and Hariulf's drawing were available.

None of these scholars made any reference to the World War being fought in Europe while they were writing. But even as they were elaborating a more comprehensive methodology and calling for a new sensitivity to symbol, scholars in other fields, stimulated by the war, were beginning to pursue the same issues. All too painfully aware of the use and abuse of religio-political symbols and of the creation of a mystical ideology of the State by the Nazi regime, historians discovered similar ideological developments in the Carolingian world. Louis Halphen, F.L. Ganshof, and Heinrich Fichtenau began to interpret Carolingian political institutions within an ideological context. In particular they examined the use of Christianity as a unifying imperial ideology.³⁶

³⁶ These works were written in the late thirties and early forties, but not published until after the war. Cf. Heinrich Fichtenau, Das Karolingische Imperium (Zurich: Fretz und Wasmuth Verlag, 1947), Louis Halphen Charlemagne et l'Empire Carolingienne (Paris: Albin Michel, 1949), François-Louis Ganshof, various articles published between 1947 and 1965 as collected and translated by Janet Sondheimer in The Carolingians and the Frankish Monarchy, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971). In 1902 Arthur Kleinclausz had made similar claims, but his perceptions had not until now borne fruit. See L'Empire Carolingien, ses Origines et ses Transformations (Paris: Hachette, 1902). Cf. a 1934 study which includes a chapter on the Carolingians by Henri-Xavier Arquilliere, L'Augustinisme Politique (Paris: J. Vrin, 1934). For two more recent views, see Karl Morrison, The Two Kingdoms: Ecclesiology in Carolingian Political Thought (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), and Walter Ullmann, The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship (London: Methuen, 1969).

Ernst Kantorowicz, who, like Krautheimer, had been dismissed from his academic post by the Nazis and had escaped to America, published a seminal study of Carolingian liturgical acclamations, the Laudes Regiae, which identified the Carolingian kings with Christ. They had appeared in Francia during the reign of Pepin III.³⁷ The Laudes revealed the increasing exaltation of the Frankish kings. Percy Ernst Schramm published a three-volume study of medieval politico-liturgical symbolism for the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, entitled Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik, "Signs of Rulership and Symbols of State."³⁸ Schramm traced the development of the liturgical symbolism of crowns, thrones, sceptres, and other royal accoutrements which vested the ruler with a quasi-sacramental status.

The new critique bore directly upon the study of Saint-Riquier. For the first time since Henocque, scholars began to look at the relationship between Angilbert and Charlemagne, and at Angilbert's political activities. His foundation at Saint-Riquier, heavily patronized by the king, now came to be seen as a political symbol, even a tool.

Alois Fuchs reassessed his early judgement on westworks in a new study published in 1950.³⁹ In 1929 Fuchs had accepted Effmann's description of the westwork of Saint-Riquier as a liturgical structure, and had added briefly that the king sat in the gallery when he visited the

³⁷ Laudes Regiae, A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946).

³⁸ Monumenta Germaniae Historica Schriften XIII, parts 1-3 (Stuttgart: Hiersmann Verlag, 1934-56).

³⁹ "Entstehung und Zweckbestimmung der Westwerke," Westfälische Zeitschrift 100 (1950): 227-291, as cited in Lotz, pp. 65-71 and Grossman, p. 253.

abbey.⁴⁰ The entire western structure, Fuchs had agreed, was a second choir on the model of Saint Gall, or a Pfarrkirche or "parish church" for special liturgies. Now Fuchs came to see the westwork as a dominating political symbol. As Schramm would speak of thrones and orbs as royal accoutrements which added religious significance to political power and vested the king with special grace, so Fuchs called the westwork a Kaiserkirche or a Hofkapelle.

Its formal models were the Palatine Chapel at Aachen and Justinian's San Vitale in Ravenna, and it was closely related to the westwork at Corvey. Fuchs suggested that the royal liturgical acclamations celebrated at Corvey were related to the function of the westwork. Thus, royal symbolism became the entire purpose of the westwork. No longer was the structure merely for the occasional use of the king when he came to church at the abbey. The whole west end (Vollwestwerk) became a statement of political presence, the upper room of the westwork a gallery meant to display the royal throne in its niche.

Wolfgang Lotz extended Fuch's thesis by relating the westwork directly to the celebration of the laudes regiae. Influenced by Kantorowicz's preliminary studies on the laudes, he spoke of a Westwerkliturgie, of an imperial arcade, and of an altar iconography (Altarikonographie) at Saint-Riquier.⁴¹ In a variation on this theme, Adolf Schmidt found in the westwork a symbol of the unity of Church and State, the sacerdotium-regnum of Carolingian theocratic kingship.⁴² Schmidt turned

⁴⁰ See above, pp. 13 ff.

⁴¹ "Zum Problem," p. 68.

⁴² Westwerke und Doppelchore, Ph.D Dissertation, Göttingen, 1950, pp.

to Charlemagne's roles as defensor ecclesiae and rex et sacerdos to explain the westwork, and envisioned a visual and symbolic arrangement of power: The emperor was enthroned on high over the people not as the representative of the power of a higher office, but as a consecrated bearer of power, eye to eye with the King of Heaven.⁴³ Like Lotz, Schmidt was much influenced by Kantorowicz's discovery of the Christ cult of the Carolingian kings.

Schmidt saw Saint-Riquier as the greatest example of this iconographic theocratic unity, because the monastic liturgy complemented and enhanced the architectural unity of the east and west transepts. Three choirs, one in the east, one in the west, and one in the main body of the basilica chanted the office together.

Edmund Stengel offered a different political interpretation. He noticed a correspondence between the dates of specific westworks and the Viking invasion of the territories. For him the westworks were burgartige, "fortress-like." They made of churches Wehrkirchen or castelli. This fortress character was not symbolic, but ganz konkret. Of necessity churches became protective defenses.⁴⁴

195-197, as cited by Grossmann, pp. 259-262. Cf. Effmann's description of the westwork as a "bishop's court", as noted above, p. 15, and note 22.

⁴³ Cited in Grossman, p. 259: "Über das Volk erhöht thront der Kaiser nicht als Vertreter eines höheren Standes, sondern als geweihter Träger der Macht, Auge in Auge mit dem König des Himmels..."

⁴⁴ "Über Ursprung, Zweck und Bedeutung der karolingischen Westwerke," Festschrift Adolf Hofmeister, 1956, pp. 285-311, as cited in Grossmann, pp. 253-256.

Thus these art historians, while newly aware that the architectural innovations of Saint-Riquier's westwork bore a symbolic significance, continued in the old "Romanesque" tradition to consider only part of the cloister and part of the liturgy. The work of Krautheimer on the Mary church and the claims of Henocque and Conant for the importance of the entire cloister went unheeded by the Germans and (with one exception) the French. So, too, did Krautheimer's methodological change. These scholars continued to look at the comparative technical development of westworks. Stengel added a historical perspective in noting the correspondence between invasion and the building of westworks. But there was no real consideration of texts.

One study, however, this by the great French archeologist and architectural historian Jean Hubert, attempted an integrated iconographical interpretation of Saint-Riquier which drew substantially from the texts. In a paper delivered at Spoleto in 1957, Hubert argued for a new methodology of study for Saint-Riquier. He called for the consideration of all available evidence for Angilbert's monastic program. His was the first work to discuss Angilbert's program from Angilbert's point of view.⁴⁵

Hubert's methodology was truly interdisciplinary. He combined the perspectives of history, architectural history, liturgy, and archeology in an attempt to understand the forces which shaped Saint-Riquier's

⁴⁵ "Saint-Riquier et le monachisme en Gaule à l'époque carolingienne," Il Monachesimo nell'alto Medioevo e la Formazione della Civiltà occidentale. Settimane de Studio del Centro italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo IV (Spoleto, 1957): 293-309. Hubert repeated his thesis in The Carolingian Renaissance (New York: George Braziller, 1970), pp. 1-4.

spirituality. But he assumed that Saint-Riquier was a Benedictine monastery, and this requires some explanation, as we will see below. Let us first consider Hubert's findings.

Hubert, like so many others, saw Saint-Riquier as a pivotal institution and described it as the herald of the future. But his reasons were very different. When he examined Angilbert's ordo he found a minutely detailed and highly controlled set of liturgical prescriptions which organized the liturgical lives not only of the monks, but of the entire local populace. He described the monastery as the nucleus of a "holy city" organized on a feudal basis. His evidence was Hariulf's (false) claim that Angilbert was the Count of Ponthieu and therefore responsible for the military support and political control of the entire province on Charlemagne's behalf. Hence, Saint-Riquier still represented imperial concerns.

Hubert also noticed important numerical symbolism in Angilbert's liturgy, involving most notably the numbers three and seven. He was particularly interested in the sevens as the key to Saint-Riquier's spirituality. He cited the seven towers of the monastery complex and a peculiar Rogations liturgy in which the monks and townspeople marched in ranks of seven to the seven neighboring towns in the area. This was, he said, an evocation of the seven regions of the city of Rome; therefore the ultimate source of custom at Saint-Riquier and of its spirituality was Rome.

For Hubert, as for the other architectural scholars writing in the fifties, Saint-Riquier was essentially a political entity whose importance lay in the carrying out of imperial policy. But Hubert's was also

a thesis about Carolingian monasticism. In his view, Benedictinism was the key to subsequent local political and social stability. Saint-Riquier, as the center of a holy city and, by extension, of a holy province which radiated from it, provided the order, the organization, and the discipline which underpinned local Carolingian life. Benedictinism as lived at Saint-Riquier became the local foundation of feudalism in its highly organized social, political, and economic, and even liturgical order.

Hubert's perspective drew Saint-Riquier into the realm of monastic historiography. He rightly understood that this monastery could not properly be understood without a consideration of its relationship to Carolingian monastic policy as a whole. Angilbert's relationship to Charlemagne, his prominence at court, and Charlemagne's patronage of the abbey argued for an integral connection between the abbot's program at Saint-Riquier and official Carolingian interests. But Hubert was the first to examine Saint-Riquier in this way. Indeed, until the 1950s, monastic historiography had suffered from the same isolationism that characterized architectural history. Scholars approached Carolingian monasticism from two different perspectives which had little to do with each other, and little to do with Saint-Riquier.

These interpretations had been elaborated in the early years of the twentieth century. Two appeared at about the same time, 1910 and 1911 respectively. Both viewed early medieval monasticism as Benedictine, assuming that the Benedictine Rule was the basis of the monastic life in all houses. But they approached Benedictinism from very different points, creating a long-standing dichotomy in monastic studies.

These might be defined as an external or political approach and an internal or spiritual approach.

Political interpretations of the monasteries focused upon their external relationships and legal status, lay interference in individual houses, and especially the manipulation of monasteries as tools of royal policy.⁴⁶ The spiritual interpretation focused strictly upon the internal life of the monasteries and their role in the religious civilization of Europe.⁴⁷ But both the internal/spiritual and the external/political historians drew from the same sources: charters and royal decrees, chronicles, and the Benedictine Rule. Thus, even the "internalists" relied on information external to the monasteries themselves. Neither group made any attempt to examine the ordines and spiritualities of individual houses. That is, they read the Benedictine Rule as if it applied everywhere. Neither group used the insights of the other.

In 1910 Emile Lesne began a multi-volume study which would examine Saint-Riquier, among other houses, from the point of view of its property. Lesne's Histoire de la Propriété Ecclésiastique en France examined the establishment of church properties and the legal rights of the

⁴⁶ Hauck had first elaborated this interpretation, inspired by Rankean methods, in his great Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, reprint (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1958). Fustel de Coulanges in France had oriented it toward the examination of Church institutions, as we shall see below.

⁴⁷ This tradition went back to Montalembert, who viewed monastic life through the eyes of the Romantic, and Harnack, who was interested in religious experience. They considered religious sensibility and asceticism, as well as the aesthetic and intellectual contributions of monasteries, and saw the monastic lifestyle as the expression of the true freedom and fullest aspiration of the human soul. Cf. Montalembert's Les Moines d'occident depuis Saint Benoît jusqu'à Saint Bernard (Paris: n. pub., 1860-1877), and Harnack, Monasticism: Its Ideals and History, trans. Charles R. Gillett (New York: Christian Literature, 1895).

church as a corporate person, the development of ecclesiastical schools and libraries, and the economic and social impact of churches and monasteries. Most important, it examined the constitutional status of churches and monasteries and the history of governmental manipulation of ecclesiastical interests and properties from the fifth through the eleventh centuries.⁴⁸

Lesne was working directly within the tradition of institutional history established by Fustel de Coulanges after the Franco-Prussian War. And, like Fustel, Lesne was motivated not only by the effects of France's defeat, but also by the constitutional reforms of the Third Republic. Fustel had responded to both the national and constitutional issues of modern France by examining their origins in medieval institutions. He sought to prove that they had developed entirely out of Roman and not Germanic institutional sources.

Lesne examined the constitutional origins of the Church specifically in response to the anti-clerical reforms of the Third Republic. (He did, however, ascribe the "proper" attitudes toward the Church to the Christian Roman Empire, and the degradation of the Church to the German Merovingian and Carolingian kingdoms.) Himself a cleric (a monsignor and rector of the Université Catholique de Lille), he was profoundly upset by the Republic's dismantling of Catholic control of education, by the disbanding of the Jesuits and severe restriction of religious congregations, and especially by the decrees of 1905 which brought about the complete separation of church and state, sequestered

⁴⁸ Histoire de la Propriété Ecclésiastique en France, Volumes I-VI (Lille: Facultés Catholiques, 1910-1943). Saint-Riquier was mentioned throughout.

church properties, and handed over church revenues to public charitable organizations.⁴⁹

Lesne's work became, therefore, an indictment of secular interference in the Church, and it was in this context that he assessed Saint-Riquier as well as many other monasteries. For Lesne, the early Carolingian period was the turning point in the relationship of Church and State. Churches and monasteries had suffered greatly in the civil wars of the later Merovingians who had seized and used church properties at will. Despite a fiction of restitution and reform, the Carolingians actually legitimized this despoliation, according to Lesne, by the legal pretext of the verbum regis. The verbum regis claimed that properties being held by churches actually belonged to the king, who could dispose of them at will. Lands and revenues could be confiscated and given to a fidelis regis without reversion to the church at any time.⁵⁰

Within this context, the abbacy of Angilbert was also a turning point for Saint-Riquier. For Lesne cited Angilbert as the last ecclesiastical abbot of the monastery; after Angilbert's death lay abbots were appointed.⁵¹ Despite the imposition of the lay abbacy, Angilbert had

⁴⁹ For the reforms of the Third Republic, see John Mc Manners, Church and State in France, 1870-1914 (London: S.P.C.K., 1972). Of them, Lesne said: "Ainsi est définitivement fondé, en ce Ve siècle qui pour les Gaules est la fin des temps romains, le statue du temporel ecclésiastique. Le concept qu'une eglise est un établissement permanent et une personne morale a été legué par l'époque romaine au moyen âge. Il a subsisté sous l'alliage moderne des doctrines regaliennes et n'a été proscrit par elles en France qu'à la suite d'événements contemporains." Propriété Ecclésiastique I, p. 6.

⁵⁰ Propriété Ecclésiastique II, p. 197 ff.

⁵¹ Angilbert's clerical status was by no means certain. See Chapter V, pp. 187, 207 ff., and 212, note 39.

already laid the foundations of Saint-Riquier's greatness: the school, the library, and the economic organization which made of the abbey a great social benefactor.

Thus, Lesne fit Saint-Riquier squarely into a framework which examined the monastery only from an external point of view, its property and political relationships. He in no way considered the internal monastic life of the abbey, but assumed it was one of the Benedictine foundations which had civilized Europe. Angilbert's Saint-Riquier was distinctive not for its unusual spiritual program, but because it both exemplified and justified ecclesiastical temporal power.⁵²

On the other hand, the Benedictine scholar Ursmer Berlière delivered a series of lectures at Brussels which examined the internal development of Western monasticism from its founding under Saint Benedict through Saint Bernard. Published in 1912 as L'Ordre Monastique des Origines au XIIe siècle, the lectures set out a view of early monasticism which persisted without substantial change until the mid-1950s.⁵³

Berlière's title was significant. It spoke of the "Monastic Order", as though of a single coherent object. Indeed, for Berlière it was a single object: Benedictinism. Berlière thought of an order in

⁵² Although Lesne never discussed Angilbert's ordo, it seems clear that he saw all Western monasticism as Benedictine monasticism, and saw all peculiar practices as departures from the Benedictine norm. He described the work of Benedict of Aniane, Louis the Pious' great monastic reformer, as a restitution of the Benedictine Rule after lax monasteries had fallen away from the true observance during the eighth century. Propriété Ecclésiastique II, pp. 135 ff.

⁵³ L'Ordre Monastique des Origines au XIIe siècle (Maredsous: Abbaye de Maredsous, 1912). Cf. Hubert Workman, The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1913), for the same thesis in more detail.

the modern sense, as a juridical entity with a specific canonical status, and following the observances and prescriptions of the Benedictine Rule.

For Berlière, Benedictinism was virtually the source of European civilization. (Here Lesne, listing monastic schools and libraries, would heartily agree.) Various groups of ascetics had cropped up in the West during the fourth and early fifth centuries. Benedict's genius was his ability to harness those dedicated and disparate ascetics under a single, flexible, and stable Rule of life, and to put them at the use of the Church. Western civilization had been conquered by the barbarians in the fifth century; through the Benedictines, the barbarians would be conquered by Western civilization.⁵⁴

Berlière described the monasticism founded by Benedict as a small State which could serve as the model of the new society...a State which had religion as its base, for sustenance work which was returned to its place of honor, and for its crowning glory a new intellectual and artistic culture.⁵⁵

It was an order set squarely on two pillars: Ora et Labora, "Pray and Work." These supported the life of community.

Such was the excellence of this Rule of life that Pope Gregory, himself a monk, chose Benedictine monks to convert the Anglo-Saxons and establish the Christian Church in England. This was the key point in

⁵⁴ L'Ordre Monastique, pp. 29-31: "Saint Benoît ne crée pas le monachisme; il l'adapte aux besoins de l'Occident latin. Le cachet de sa Règle, c'est la discrétion; tout est temperé parce que tout y est pondéré. Avec lui le monachisme survit à la chute de l'Empire; l'Eglise peut maintenant le prendre à son service et le lancer à la conquête du monde barbare."

⁵⁵ L'Ordre Monastique, p. 38. Workman spoke of the significance of Benedictinism as "the glorification and systematization of toil."

the spread of Benedictinism. From here, it spread--or rather, overflowed "through the richness of its virtues"-- to the Continent, where it conquered for Christianity vast pagan territories in Germany and Frisia through the work of Saint Boniface, and reconquered lax Christianity in Gaul.⁵⁶ The monks were helped in this task by the Carolingian kings who supported their work; the monks in return provided the educational tools for Charlemagne's great Renaissance at the Palatine Court, and for the establishment of schools throughout the realm.⁵⁷

Under Louis the Pious and his Benedictine counsellor Benedict of Aniane, a reform took place which "changed the spirit of Benedictinism." The second Benedict established a rigid standard by which all houses were to "follow the Benedictine Rule to the letter", that is, to take monks out of all worldly activity and devote them entirely to the life of prayer. Where the first Benedict had conceived of manual labor on a par with the liturgical office of prayer, the second Benedict made the office the whole of the Benedictine life, ora without labora. For Berlière this was a disaster. It destroyed the equilibrium of Benedictinism and paved the way for the abuses of the monastic life represented later by Cluny, where monks did no manual labor but spent the days "multiplying offices" and living luxuriously because they had nothing else to do.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ L'Ordre Monastique, pp. 51-52.

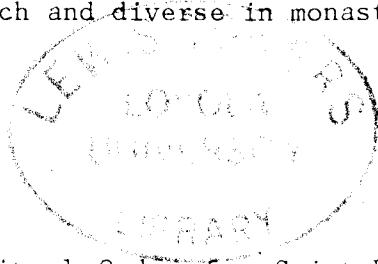
⁵⁷ L'Ordre Monastique, pp. 112-114.

⁵⁸ L'Ordre Monastique, pp. 114-115. Workman saw the "fatal error" of Benedict of Aniane not in the renunciation of work, but in the rigidity of practice. Benedict set up an impossible standardization, and "within a century matters were worse than ever." See p. 227.

Berlière said nothing of the spiritualities of individual houses. Both Lesne and Berlière ignored the claims of Hénocque for the trinitarian spirituality of Saint-Riquier. It is true that Hénocque's vision saw this as Benedictine "trinitarianism", as it were. That is, it was Benedictine monastic life which was dedicated to the true God. He himself had not distinguished between Saint-Riquier and other monasteries in this. But he had at least based his comments on Angilbert's ordo.

Several years later, another scholar also read Angilbert's ordo, and published it as an interesting source of early Medieval liturgy. Edmund Bishop was primarily interested in Angilbert's ordo as a source of early medieval liturgy. He provided little analysis of its content.⁵⁹

Bishop also took stock of Benedict of Aniane, and provided a new interpretation of his work. In assessing his influence upon the Benedictine liturgy, Bishop said that the second Benedict had added "devotional accretions" to the original monastic observance of the Rule by including the daily recitation of the office of the dead as a "supplement" to the regular Office of Psalms.⁶⁰ Thus, Benedict of Aniane did more than simply reform existing Benedictine practice. To Bishop, examining both Angilbert's and Benedict's work, the Carolingian period appeared increasingly to have been rich and diverse in monastic liturgy.



⁵⁹ Edmund Bishop, "Angilbert's Ritual Order for Saint-Riquier," Liturgica Historica (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918), pp. 321-329. Cf. Downside Review 14 (1895): 84-98.

⁶⁰ "On the Origin of the Prymer," Liturgica Historica, pp. 211-237.

Bishop's work stimulated yet another historiographical question which would influence scholarly approaches to Angilbert and Saint-Riquier. Through his liturgical studies, scholars became increasingly aware of the importance of the Carolingian period in monastic history. But when they looked at the Carolingian period, they looked only at the work of Benedict of Aniane. He came to be seen as the pivotal figure in Carolingian monasticism; everything else was discussed in the general categories of "before" or "after" Benedict. The liturgical variety which struck Bishop was ignored by those who followed him.

Bishop's view that the second Benedict added to the Rule of the first was immediately taken up by Dom Cuthbert Butler, whose Benedictine Monachism, published in 1919, cited the liturgist's findings in his discussion of Benedict of Aniane.⁶¹ Butler's study referred to the work of Benedict of Aniane as "accretions" to the Rule. Philibert Schmitz, in a study of the Benedictine liturgy published in 1927, took this thesis a step further, and said that Benedict of Aniane was responsible for ceremonializing Benedictinism by making the liturgy the entire focus of the monastic life.⁶² In his later Histoire de l'Ordre de Saint Benoît, Schmitz defined the Carolingian reforms as a "ritualizing movement" in monasticism.⁶³

⁶¹ Benedictine Monachism (Cambridge: Speculum Historiale, 1919), pp. 295 ff.

⁶² "Livres d'Heures et usages bénédictins," Revue Littéraire et Monumentale 13 (1927-1928): 309-321, unavailable to me, as cited in Philibert Schmitz, "Benoît d'Aniane," Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique, Volume 8 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1935), p. 184.

⁶³ (Maredsous: Abbaye de Maredsous, 1949), pp. 220 ff.

This focus on Benedict of Aniane as the significant figure in Carolingian monasticism was dictated by the sources. From Lesne and Berlière onward, historians of monasticism drew from two sources. The political school drew from political sources, as we have seen. Since Benedict of Aniane's reforms had been promulgated by Louis the Pious and had been determined in royal councils, they were the natural object of interest. The spiritual school drew primarily from the Benedictine Rule, and was interested in the way the Rule had been promulgated for all monasteries in Carolingian legislation. It made no difference to Schmitz or the others that Angilbert of Saint-Riquier was the direct contemporary of Benedict of Aniane, and that his ordo, significantly different from Benedict's, received the wholehearted support of Charlemagne.⁶⁴ Nor did they notice that Angilbert's writings said nothing of Benedictinism. Such anomalies were simply eliminated from their categories; "true" Carolingian monasticism was the Rule supported by the decrees of Louis the Pious and the abbot of Aniane.

However, as a result of this initial work, scholars began to focus much needed attention upon pre-Anianian monastic custom. In the late twenties and the thirties a new question arose within the spiritual school: whether pre-Carolingian and Carolingian monasticism were as monolithically Benedictine as Berlière had thought.

⁶⁴ Schmitz still focused on Benedict's ritualizing program in a paper delivered with Hubert's at Spoleto in 1957. See "L'Influence de Saint Benoît d'Aniane dans l'Histoire de l'Ordre de Saint Benoît," Settimane IV, pp. 401-415.

Stephan Hilpisch's Geschichte des Benediktinischen Mönchtums first raised the issue. Hilpisch described the spread of Benedictinism in two forms. In some areas, such as pagan England and Germany, Benedictinism was established through evangelizing missions concomitantly with Christianity itself. Benedictine monks built the first cloisters and established the Rule in its "pure form", free of control by bishops of interfering laymen. But in other areas where Christianity was already established, Benedictinism competed with other varied monastic forms. In these areas, even after the arrival of Benedictinism, no one rule predominated. Rather, Benedictinism spread by being mixed with other rules, creating until the time of Benedict of Aniane the "era of the mixed rule." The work of the second Benedict was to make the Benedictine Rule the sole law in the monasteries by weeding out other practices and clarifying the "proper" tradition on the basis of observance at Montecassino.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Stephan Hilpisch, Geschichte des Benediktinischen Mönchtums (Freiburg: Herder, 1929), pp. 72, 110-123. As Hilpisch said, "Benedikt von Aniane hat nicht so sehr reformiert, als eine neue Einstellung zur Regula und dem Erzvater von Montecassino gebracht...Denn abgesehen von den Klöstern, die in Laienhände geraten oder zum kanonischen Leben übergegangen waren, gab es nicht viel zu reformieren. Benedikt wollte, dass in den Klöstern, die sich zur Regel Benedikts bekannten, diese Regel das einige Gesetz sei, die alle in allem verpflichtete...Damit war allen Mönchen gesagt: Ihr seid Benediktiner, und deshalb habt ihr die Regel zu halten. Die Regel ist nicht zu deuten, auszulagen, sie ist einfach zu beobachten."

This assessment would later be repeated in stronger terms by Dom J. Winandy, who said, "There were hardly any Benedictines in the eighth century. The entire work of Benedict of Aniane consisted in bringing back the monasteries to the traditional observances, taking for a foundation the Rule of Saint Benedict. "L'Oeuvre Monastique de Saint Benoît d'Aniane," Mélanges Bénédictins publiés à l'occasion du XIV^e centenaire de la mort de Saint Benoît (Saint Wandrille: Editions de Fontenelle, 1947), pp. 235-258. This quote comes from p. 249.

Research conducted for a new edition of the Benedictine Rule between 1933 and 1937 brought to light another issue which challenged the priority of the Benedictine Rule before Benedict of Aniane. Dom Augustin Genestout, commissioned by his order to produce the new edition, assigned a new influence to a related rule, the Regula Magistri. Traditionally thought to post-date and depend heavily upon the Rule of Benedict, this text, according to Genestout's close analysis, was found rather to be the source of the Rule. This thesis had two results. It challenged the preeminence and originality of Saint Benedict. And, since the Regula Magistri was anonymous, it set scholars off on a search for the author, and caused them to examine much more closely the pre-Benedictine monastic rules of life.⁶⁶

Thus, through new examinations of Benedict of Aniane, the Mixed Rule, and the Regula Magistri, the way was opened for students of the internal life of the monasteries to consider for the first time the particular character of Carolingian monasticism. While this new perception only slowly gained ground, it heralded a major shift in attitudes toward Carolingian sources. As with students of Carolingian liturgy, so now with monastic historians there would be a much greater appreciation of the diversity of monastic observances in the pre-Carolingian world. Schmitz's attention to Benedict of Aniane and the ongoing inquiry on the Regula Magistri stimulated questions about the nature of pre-Carolingian monasticism. The result would be the rejection of the traditional view that by the Carolingian period Benedictinism was the unique form of

⁶⁶ For a complete summary of the research on the Regula Magistri, see Bernd Jaspert, Die Regula Benedicti-Regula Magistri Kontroverse (Hildesheim: Verlag Gustenberg, 1977).

Western monastic life.

In 1952 S.G. Luff published a systematic study of early Gallican monasteries which examined cloister by cloister the rules and observances followed.⁶⁷ Luff found a wide diversity of observances through 700, including Irish Columbanian, Eastern, mixed, and Benedictine practices. What characterized and supported this "composite, synthetic, and syncretistic" monastic life was its spontaneity. This the "imperious control" of Benedict of Aniane destroyed when it "imposed on the monastic church a regimentation almost fundamentally opposed to its true spirit."⁶⁸

Kassius Hallinger's study, Gorze-Kluny, while treating the post-Carolingian period, had yielded results profoundly significant for the earlier age, and for Saint-Riquier specifically.⁶⁹ Hallinger's work had claimed that the tenth century reform traditionally ascribed to Benedictine Cluny had actually emanated from several monasteries with rival, even hostile, programs. The discovery that there were multiple centers of monastic and ecclesiastical reform which had nothing to do with Cluny led Hallinger to question the pre-Cluniac period. By examining abbey by abbey the details of the monastic life, Hallinger became convinced of the wide variety of Carolingian monastic customs.

⁶⁷ "A Survey of Primitive Monasticism in Central Gaul," Downside Review 70 (1952): 180-203.

⁶⁸ Luff, "Survey," p. 203.

⁶⁹ Gorze-Kluny, 2 volumes (Rome: Herder, 1950).

As a result he undertook the systematic study and publication of monastic texts, beginning in 1955 the project of the Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum (hereafter CCM). His aim was to produce new critical editions of monastic customaries between the eighth and fourteenth centuries.⁷⁰ Among these texts would be Angilbert's ordo at Saint-Riquier.⁷¹

In a 1957 article, Hallinger examined the precise meaning of the term "Rule", Regula, in the writings of Gregory the Great. Gregory had always been cited as the key promoter of the Benedictine Rule, since he had sent Benedictine missionaries to evangelize England and since his works had often mentioned his interest in the Regula. But Hallinger found that Gregory meant by the term any regulated religious life. Gregory was promoting God's Rule, not Benedict's.⁷²

A study of early Roman monasteries by Guy Ferrari similarly found that the terminology about the "Rule" in Roman houses was very imprecise. The traditional thesis had claimed that Roman monasteries had been Benedictine since Gregory the Great. In fact, they were highly eclectic, borrowing from and using as many rules as possible.⁷³

⁷⁰ The documents in the early volumes of the CCM had been published previously, largely by Dom Bruno Albers in Consuetudines monasticae, Volumes II-V (Monte Cassino: Abbazia di Montecassino, 1905-1912. Cf. Ursmer Berliere, "Les Coutumiers monastiques des VIIIe et IXe siecles," Revue Benedictine 25 (1908): 95-107. But the CCM provided a critical apparatus previously unparalleled.

⁷¹ CCM Volume I: Initia Consuetudinis Benedictae (Siegburg: Francis Schmitt, 1963), pp. 283-303.

⁷² "Papst Gregor der Grosse und der heilige Benedikt," Studia Anselmiana 42 (1957): 231-319.

⁷³ Guy Ferrari, Early Roman Monasteries (Rome: Pontificio Istituto, 1957), pp. 379-407.

Carl Gindele, a musicologist steeped in pre-Benedictine liturgy, discovered a diversity of liturgical custom in monastic prayer which related not only to the Benedictine Ordo Officii, but to the liturgical life of Saint-Riquier. Gindele traced the history of the laus perennis or "perpetual prayer." Here he found a liturgical practice independent of any Rule, which had been integrated with the ordines of given houses, including Saint-Riquier. This independent practice led Gindele to wonder whether one could even speak of the "Rule" as a coherent entity. What seemed truer was that Carolingian monasteries were following "practices."⁷⁴

Gindele traced three forms of the laus perennis. The first was the simple practice, the laus perennis per normas, which was found in the sixth century at Agaune, and was related to the practice at Lerins. The second, related to monasteries following the Rule of Columban, therefore Celtic practice, was called laus perennis per turmas. The third, found in particular at Angilbert's Saint-Riquier, was the laus perennis per duas partes. This meant that two choirs sang the Psalms antiphonally or alternately. The liturgy described in Angilbert's ordo was Gindele's primary evidence for this type. Because Saint-Riquier's cloister included the chapel dedicated to Saint Benedict, Gindele assumed that the monastery followed the Benedictine Rule and that, therefore, this particular type of perpetual prayer was found in Benedictine houses.

⁷⁴ "Die Gallikanischen 'Laus Perennis'-Kloster und Ihr 'Ordo Officii'," Revue Bénédictine 69 (1959): 33-48. For Saint-Riquier, see pp. 44 ff.

More and more it seemed apparent that Benedict of Aniane was actually the "founder" of the "Benedictine Rule" in the ninth century. For it was only at that point that monastic scholars could identify a specific and uniform set of practices to be imposed by the reform decrees of Louis the Pious. Clemente Molas even spoke of Benedict of Aniane as the "compiler" of the Rule, and of Louis the Pious as having chosen Benedict to "codify" the practices.⁷⁵

Hallinger's publication of the first volume of the Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum in 1963 was both the culmination of these studies and the resource for further study. The volume presented the earliest sources for Carolingian monasteries, including Angilbert's ordo for Saint-Riquier. It had last been published by Bishop in 1918. Now it was provided with a scholarly apparatus and the critical analysis of its manuscript sources. It was included with texts from the "Aniane Era", as Hallinger called the period from the late eighth through the mid-ninth century. Thus, Angilbert's liturgical program was juxtaposed directly with that of Benedict of Aniane as characteristic of Carolingian monasticism. The diversity of monastic liturgical customs which Bishop had long ago suggested for the Carolingian period appeared again in Hallinger's conceptualization.

Even with the publication of the CCM, monastic historiography has continued in large measure to follow the traditional lines of external and internal analyses of Carolingian monasticism. With the stimulus of Hallinger's new editions, scholars have increasingly examined individual

⁷⁵ "A Proposito del 'Ordo Diurnus' de San Benito de Aniano," Studia Monastica 2 (1960): 205-221.

houses; but they have done so either from a political or a "spiritual" perspective. They have continued to read the modern dichotomy between political and religious interests back into the Carolingian period.

Foremost among the political interpretations has been the work of Josef Semmler, himself the editor of the Carolingian customaries, the Aachen legislation of 816 and 817, and the texts of Benedict of Aniane for the CCM. His work has continued to focus primarily on Benedict.⁷⁶ He has called the abbot of Aniane the "founder" of Benedictinism, and has said that he established the Benedictine Rule through the legislation of Louis the Pious in 817 against great opposition. Until 817 the Mixed Rule prevailed in Western monasteries.

Moreover, Semmler distinguished sharply between the monastic interests of Charlemagne and those of Louis the Pious. Whereas Louis was interested in the internal order and Benedictine spiritual programs of the monasteries, Charlemagne supported particular houses for strictly political purposes. He patronized many houses; but all were on the fringes of the Empire. To Semmler this indicated that Charlemagne viewed monasteries as arms of the state, and wanted them to be active in education and mission work. The program of Benedict of Aniane, which withdrew the monasteries from the world and focused on the life of

⁷⁶ In addition to his introductions and notes to the CCM texts, see "Zur Überlieferung der Monastischen Gesetzgebung Ludwig des Frommen," Deutsches Archiv 16 (1960): 309-388, "Die Beschlüsse des Aachener Konzils im Jahre 816," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 74 (1963): 15-82, "Episcopi Potestas," in Arno Borst, editor, Mönchtum, Episkopat und Adel zur Gründungszeit des Klosters Reichenau (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke Verlag, 1974), pp. 379 ff., and "Benedictus II--Una Regula--Una Consuetudo," Benedictine Culture 750-1050, Medievalia Lovaniensia, Series I, Volume XI (Louvain: Louvain University Press, 1983), pp. 1-49.

prayer, was inimical to Charlemagne's interests.⁷⁷ Eric John has described the work of Benedict of Aniane as entirely political in intent. His reforms to standardize monastic custom under the Benedictine Rule and to close the monasteries off from the world in the life of prayer were meant to remove the abbeys from lay control.⁷⁸

A variant on these interpretations is the socio-political thesis of Friedrich Prinz. His Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich describes the development of particular monastic forms in terms of their appeal to powerful social groups. Certain monasteries of the Rhone valley provided the resources of power and social status for northern aristocratic families whose traditional power base was threatened by the invasions of the fifth and sixth centuries. Iro-Frankish houses in the areas of the Merovingian royal estates were supported by the Merovingian kings and provided the administrative talent for seventh-century Gaul. The territories of the north and east, which had been evangelized by Anglo-Saxon missionaries, were the Carolingian homeland. In the eighth century the Anglo-Saxon monasteries located here flourished, and spread pure Benedictinism through territories which had formerly followed the Mixed Rule.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ "Karl der Grosse und das Frankische Mönchtum," Karl der Grosse, Lebenswerk und Nachleben, editor Wolfgang Braunsfels, Volume II (Düsseldorf: Verlag L. Schwann, 1965), pp. 255-289. Cf. "Pepin III und der Frankische Kloster," Francia 3 (1975): 88-146.

⁷⁸ See "'Secularium Prioratus' and the Rule of Saint Benedict," Revue Bénédictine 75 (1965): 212-239.

⁷⁹ Friedrich Prinz, Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich: Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1965).

There have been several sociological studies of Carolingian abbeys by German scholars.⁸⁰ The most important of these is Karl Schmid's Die Klostersgemeinschaft von Fulda im Frühen Mittelalter. Published as part of an ongoing sociological analysis of all of the extant documentation for the monastery, called the Fulda-Projekt, the study examines, among other things, necrologies, registers, and the philology of names. It is the most exhaustive study to date of the social structure and influence of Carolingian monasticism.

Schmid presented a detailed study of one monastery from the perspective of German sociological analysis. Another study, this American, and from the standpoint of art history, has examined the monastery of Saint Gall essentially from the internal point of view.⁸¹ On the basis of the famous plan of Saint Gall, the mid-ninth century design of the abbey church and buildings, Walter Horn has attempted to reconstruct the life and appearance of the planned abbey as a paradigmatic Carolingian monastery. The study, in three volumes, is interdisciplinary. It considers the perspectives of history, architecture history, liturgy, and economics in order to illuminate as fully as possible the details of the life and sustenance of the monastery. The program which it evokes recalls Workman's appraisal of Benedictinism as a colony of worker-monks, and "the glorification and systematization of toil."⁸²

⁸⁰ See, for example, Die Klostersgemeinschaft von Fulda im Frühen Mittelalter, Karl Schmid, editor, 3 volumes (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1978), and Otto Gerhard Oexle, Forschungen zu Monastischen und Geistlichen Gemeinschaften im Westfränkischen Bereich (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1978).

⁸¹ Walter Horn and Ernest Born, The Plan of Saint Gall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

Thus, the old problems persist. The work of the fifties and the publication of the CCM suggest that monasteries were founded, patronized, or popular for different and distinct reasons, and that each had a spiritual program or a role to fulfill within broader Carolingian concerns. Corvey, a daughter house of Adalhard's Corbie seems to have been related to mission work. Tours, which had a thriving scriptorium in the Carolingian period, may have been important for education and manuscript production. Adalhard's Corbie was closely related to Angilbert's Saint-Riquier, and seems to have had many similarities. But little integrative study has been done. There have been few studies such as Hubert's which have considered spiritual programs. Nor have scholars taken up the study of ideology in relation to the monasteries. While historians have long recognized the Christian content in the Carolingian royal and imperial program, they have not examined the monasteries in this light.⁸³

Saint-Riquier has fared somewhat better. Three major studies of the monastery have been undertaken in the last twenty years which have shed much light on Angilbert's monastery. Theodore Evergates has reexamined the sources available for the ninth century monastery, and in particular has reassessed the Chronicon Centulense of Hariulf.⁸⁴ Evergates looked at the extant sources out of a political and social interest,

⁸² See above, p. 31, note 55.

⁸³ In a study of Carolingian lay abbacies--a political topic--Franz Felten has acknowledged that in the Carolingian world the categorizations of "secular" and "sacred" did not apply. Franz Felten, "Laienäbte in der Karolingerzeit," Mönchtum, Episkopat und Adel, pp. 397-431.

⁸⁴ "Historiography and Sociology in Early Feudal Society: The Case of Hariulf and the Milites of Saint-Riquier," Viator 6 (1975): 35-49.

motivated by the sociological studies of Duby on the rise of the miles in medieval society and the claim of Hariulf that milites lived in Angilbert's town in the ninth century. If Hariulf's claim were true, Evergates said, the milites of Saint-Riquier would be the earliest evidence of the social group yet found. But by examining the documentary sources of Hariulf's chronicle in Lot's critical edition, Evergates found that Hariulf consistently inflated his accounts, misattributed charters, and misrepresented the character of the monastery. The dichotomy between Angilbert's own texts as reproduced in other sources, and the accounts of Hariulf, were striking.

As a result, Evergates said, the information provided by Hariulf for the ninth century apart from Angilbert's texts must be considered untrustworthy.⁸⁵ In his view, this also meant that the traditional historiographical view of the importance of this monastery must also be reassessed. If the bourg of Saint-Riquier was not so important as Hariulf claimed, then, by extension, the monastery was not as important and influential either.

Two other scholars, both architectural historians, have done extensive work on the monastery in the last twenty years. Honore Bernard, a Belgian archeologist, has conducted excavations in various areas of the site of Angilbert's abbey, including the Mary church and the main basilica, and has uncovered long-needed and critically important information on the appearance of Angilbert's structures.⁸⁶ Bernard's findings

⁸⁵ This caveat must be noted for the analyses of Hubert, who relies heavily on Hariulf's chronicle, as Evergates pointed out.

⁸⁶ See "Les Fouilles de l'Eglise de Notre-Dame à Saint-Riquier," and "D'Hariulph à Effmann, à la Lumière des Récentes Fouilles de Saint-Ri-

will be discussed in detail in Chapter VII.

Carol Heitz has done two studies of Carolingian architectural iconography which have focused in part on Saint-Riquier. The first, Recherches sur les Rapports entre Architecture et Liturgie à l'Epoque Carolingienne, was published in 1963, too early to benefit either from the edition of Angilbert's ordo in the CCM or from the archeological excavations. Heitz was motivated by Hubert's study to examine Saint-Riquier, and like Hubert, he was interested in the spirituality of this abbey and of related westwork churches. Thus, Heitz incorporated with textual and liturgical analysis the traditional interest in comparative technical study.

Heitz found parallels between the Easter liturgy at Saint-Riquier, its setting in the westwork and Mary church of Angilbert's complex, and the processional liturgy and buildings of Jerusalem. He thus returned to the nineteenth and early twentieth century view that westworks were essentially liturgical complexes.⁸⁷ That is, they were meant for the frequent liturgical use of the monks, and were not reserved as religious-political symbols. But he was also influenced by Kantorowicz. He

quier," Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, Nouvelle série, numbers 1 and 2 (1965-1966): 25-47 and 219-235, "Premières Fouilles de Saint-Riquier," Karl der Grosse III, pp. 369-373, "Un Site Prestigieux du Monde Carolingien: Saint-Riquier," Cahiers Archéologiques de Picardie 5 (1978): 241-254, and "L'Abbaye de Saint-Riquier: Evolution des Bâtiments Monastiques du IXe au XVIIIe siècle," Sous la Règle de Saint Benoît, pp. 499-526.

⁸⁷ Here he concurred with Ernst Gall, who alone among the architectural historians of the fifties that churches in monasteries must be considered as cult centers for monks, not as political symbols. See "Westwerkfragen," Kunstchronik 7 (1954): 274 ff. Recherches sur les Rapports entre Architecture et Liturgie à l'Epoque Carolingienne (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1963), p. 27.

theorized that westworks functioned as autonomous churches dedicated to Christ. These westworks, he said, were built as part of the growing cult of the Savior. The origins of that cult lay in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Resurrection liturgy of Jerusalem. Widespread contact with the Holy Land, especially through pilgrimage, transmitted an interest in that cult to the West, where it was taken up by and identified with the Carolingian kings. Thus, Angilbert's relationship with Charlemagne and the sumptuous liturgy of Saint-Riquier were dedicated to this cult and in turn reinforced Carolingian authority. The basilica of Saint-Riquier was a Western copy of the Holy Sepulchre, in Heitz's view, and the Easter liturgy an imitation of that of Jerusalem.

While Heitz's study was argued in minute detail, it missed the larger point that Angilbert himself made about his monastery. As Hénocque had discovered long ago, Angilbert said that he had built his monastery in honor not of Christ, but of the Trinity.⁸⁸ Moreover, though the Easter liturgy was of great importance at Saint-Riquier, the daily ordo was more important, and, as we shall see, its imagery was not merely christological, but also trinitarian.⁸⁹

In a second study published in 1980, Heitz reassessed his thesis. Now he recognized the trinitarian significance of the daily liturgy and the layout of Angilbert's cloister. But he still found the primary iconographical meaning of the abbey in the Easter liturgy, which he saw as closely related to the Easter liturgy of Jerusalem. He compared the

⁸⁸ Cf. Hénocque, Histoire III.iv, p. 145, and Angilbert, De perfectione I (MGH SS XV, p. 174).

⁸⁹ See Chapter V, pp. 226 ff., and VII, passim.

westwork churches to churches in manuscript illuminations, and discovered a close correspondence with drawings of Jerusalem in manuscripts of the Apocalypse. Thus, he now argued that Saint-Riquier and the other westwork churches, and especially the large central towers of those westworks, were symbols of the Celestial Jerusalem of the Apocalypse.⁹⁰

While Heitz cited a proliferation of manuscripts of the Apocalypse in the Carolingian period, he was unable to offer any explanation for this interest. He continued to seek the sources of Carolingian iconography and liturgy in the East. He placed great weight on the processional liturgy of Easter as the key to westwork iconography; yet processions were indigenous to the West, as Terence Bailey has shown.⁹¹ And, although he combed the manuscript and textual resources, he still limited himself to a history of the visual forms. He gave no broader consideration to the historical circumstances and the political, aesthetic, and theological concerns of the Carolingian court.

These broader concerns are the subject of this study. As we shall see, Angilbert of Saint-Riquier was directly involved in the refutation of trinitarian heresy during the very years in which he was building

⁹⁰ See Architecture et Liturgie à l'Époque Carolingienne, (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1980). Heitz said of Saint-Riquier, "Quel sanctuaire pouvait mieux convenir à l'apologie des martyrs que celui destiné à la célébration triomphale de la Résurrection, présage du réveil à la fin des temps et de l'avènement de la Jérusalem nouvelle?" Cf. Heitz's "De Chrodegang à Cluny II, Cadre de Vie, Organisation monastique, Splendeur liturgique," Sous la Règle de Saint Benoît, pp. 491-497.

⁹¹ The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1971).

Saint-Riquier. These theological concerns obsessed the Carolingian court during the 790s, and they explain the unusual iconographical program at Saint-Riquier. Indeed, I will argue that Saint-Riquier was one aspect of what we might call Carolingian "trinitarianism." By trinitarianism I mean an ideology which linked both the Carolingian kings and the Frankish people to the Trinity and to the defense of the faith.

Trinitarianism had a salvific dimension. That is to say, right belief was the criterion for the individual Christian's eternal salvation. But for the Carolingians it was also a mimetic strategy that penetrated life here and now, both for the individual and for the Carolingian realm collectively. By a mimetic strategy I mean that within the Augustinian intellectual framework in which the Carolingians were working, there was a direct correspondance between that which a person knew and believed, and that which he did. The object of a person's knowledge and love determined what he was. Therefore, to insist upon right knowledge of and belief in the Trinity as the end of all knowledge and behavior was to enable believers--and the society which they comprised--to become holy.

It is this which explains Angilbert's spiritual program at Saint-Riquier. I will argue that Angilbert built Saint-Riquier as a signum (to use his own word) of the Trinity, the expression in stone and prayer of the Carolingian theology of the Trinity.

My methodology has been interdisciplinary, and my focus synthetic. I have drawn upon art and architectural history, theology, and Angilbert's own poetry and texts, as well as on chronicles and the letters exchanged between members of the Carolingian court. Saint-Riquier was

the creation of Angilbert, and we must piece together its meaning from the rest of Angilbert's activities, from his work at court, and from his intellectual background. The most important evidence is that which has always been ignored: Angilbert's poetry. He was the "Homer" of the Palatine Court, and his poems reveal both his own understanding of trinitarianism and the aesthetic theory which underpinned his program at Saint-Riquier.

Let us now establish the contours of this thesis. Chapters II, III, and IV will set the trinitarian context for Angilbert's work. Chapter II will discuss the sources of trinitarian thought and dogma for the Carolingians, and the tradition of associating Carolingian kingship with the Trinity. As we shall see, Pepin's usurpation of the throne from the moribund Merovingian line was quickly sanctioned in part by the Frankish Church and in part by papal appeals to him as defender of the faith. Letters from Popes eager to solicit Frankish military support against Lombard attacks called Pepin the New David, and encouraged the Franks as the New Chosen People. From the beginning of Carolingian royal power, then, there was a political program, an ideology, which defined defense of the true faith as the legitimate role of Pepin and his people.

Charlemagne was the heir of this political charge. But under him, defense of the faith increasingly comprehended theological issues as well. These issues are the subjects of Chapters III and IV. Chapter III shows how, in the 780s, two dogmatic formulae came into conflict with traditional teaching. Spanish prelates began to propagate a christology of Adoptionism, which directly threatened not only the Carolin-

gian understanding of the person of Christ, but the entire theology of salvation which depended upon the union of God and man in Christ. The Adoptionists claimed that Christ was the true Son of God according to his divine nature, and the adopted Son of God through grace according to his humanity. In other words, the man Jesus was not the Son of God except by honorific title. This ran counter to the traditional teaching upheld by the Carolingians, the theology of hypostatic union which stated that Christ was the Son of God in both of his natures.

At around the same time, the decrees of the Second Council of Nicaea of 787 arrived at the court of Charlemagne from Byzantium. The Council had been held to refute Iconoclasm, which had defined the veneration of icons, a central devotion of the Eastern Church, as idolatry. However, a Latin mistranslation of the Byzantine position made it appear that the Greeks were now worshipping icons as idols by affirming their worth as vessels of grace. In addition, the statements of faith published by the Council did not include a formula traditional in and integral to the Western Creeds, the simultaneous procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son.⁹² To Carolingian eyes this omission signalled profound heresy among the Greeks, indicating that the Byzantine Church worshipped idols because it did not understand the Trinity.

Charlemagne and his theologians developed the Carolingian reply to both of these heresies. To the Byzantines they responded with the Libri Carolini, a massive treatise on the role of art in worship of the Trinity. The core of the exposition was a dogmatic statement on the Trinity

⁹² For the term "simultaneous procession" to describe the procession of the Holy Spirit ex patre filioque, see Jaroslav Pelikan II, pp. 183-198, as cited in Chapter II, note 27.

itself. Art and images were defined as symbols which encoded the truths of the faith both in subject matter and in technical execution. Angilbert of Saint-Riquier was intimately involved in the development of this treatise, appointed by Charlemagne to carry to Rome and debate with the Pope both the initial outline of the arguments and the completed text.

The Carolingians replied to the Adoptionist threat with the examination and condemnation of its most prominent leader, Felix of Urgel. He was condemned in 792 at the Synod of Regensburg, and Angilbert was again commissioned to go to Rome to argue the Carolingian case and oversee Felix's recantation before the Pope. When Felix again began to teach Adoptionism, he was examined before the Council of Frankfurt and again condemned. Angilbert again took him to Rome for the recantation. Despite this second recantation Felix fled to Spain and continued to teach Adoptionist christology. The teaching flourished throughout the Carolingian kingdom of Aquitaine, and was only finally suppressed in 799 when Felix was put under house arrest.

Thus, trinitarian and christological heresy was a predominant concern of the Carolingian court throughout the 790s. Chapter III considers the development of the dogmatic disputes through the Council of Frankfurt in 794, and Angilbert's involvement in them. Chapter IV discusses the controversies from 794 until their final resolution in 800, the year in which Saint-Riquier was dedicated.

I have discussed the theological issues in detail for three reasons. First, Adoptionism and the problem of the simultaneous procession have never been considered together and in strict chronological order,

as the Carolingians themselves would have perceived them.⁹³ In fact, after 794 the two issues were directly linked by Charlemagne's theologians, the simultaneous procession being seen as the only way of guaranteeing the divinity and true sonship of Jesus disputed by the Adoptionists.

Second, a detailed examination sheds light on the interpenetration of the two issues. In part, the issues have never been discussed together because one, Adoptionism, is christological, and the other, the procession of the Holy Spirit, is trinitarian. These categories are, however, modern, and do not fully express the nature of the dogmatic problem for the Carolingians. As we will see, the christological defense against Adoptionism related Christ to the Trinity. The Biblical texts which Carolingian theologians cited in support of their position were specifically trinitarian texts. The Augustinian theological presuppositions from which they worked emphasized the unity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. And for this reason, the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son became one of the most important proofs of the divine status of the Son.

Third, Angilbert incorporated these theological issues directly into his monastic program at Saint-Riquier. He undertook the rebuilding of the abbey during the very years in which he was serving as negotiator with the Pope. And he himself tells us that he rebuilt the monastery as

⁹³ Even the most recent, excellent study by Jaroslav Pelikan views Adoptionism and the simultaneous procession as separate issues arising from different areas for different reasons, and sees no link between them. But if originally they came from different sources, subsequently they were seen as related by the Carolingians. See The Christian Tradition II, pp. 183-198, and III, pp. 52-58. For full references, see below, Chapter II, p. 75, note 27, III, p. 106, note 16.

he did so that all of the faithful would truly believe and truly worship the Trinity.⁹⁴ The doctrinal positions which Charlemagne was concerned to forward were encoded at Saint-Riquier, presented in the aesthetic, symbolic terms also set forth in the Libri Carolini.

Chapter V looks at Angilbert, his life and writings. An examination of his poems reveals that from the beginning that he was concerned with the propagation of the faith, and with liturgy as the transmitter of that faith. In 777 he wrote a laudatory poem on Charlemagne's conquest of the Saxons, which he entitled, significantly, De Conversione Saxonum, "On the Conversion of the Saxons." Both the content and the structure of the poem reveal an interest in aesthetic symbolism. The poem is built upon numerical symbols of the Trinity. And it focuses upon the critical role of Charlemagne as defender and propagator of the trinitarian truth.

Sometime around 796, in the midst of the theological controversies and the rebuilding of Saint-Riquier, Angilbert wrote another poem, this in dedication of a manuscript of Augustine's De Doctrina Christiana to the young Louis the Pious. Here all of the threads of Angilbert's concern were woven together. He cited as the importance of Augustine's treatise its understanding that the Trinity is revealed through earthly signs, through Creation ordered by God in "number, measure, and weight." Hence the repetition of Angilbert's interest in aesthetic symbolism as a source of faith.

⁹⁴ See below, Chapter V, p. 231.

He also developed his conviction of the importance of kingship in the propagation of the true faith. He dedicated his book to Louis because the first function and the justification of kingship was to understand the faith rightly and thereby to pray properly and effectively for his own wellbeing and that of his realm. Right worship was the key to both earthly prosperity and eternal bliss.

How Angilbert actually understood his trinitarian signa at Saint-Riquier to function is the subject of Chapter VI. Four sources give us information on Angilbert's aesthetic theory. The first, as we have seen, is the Libri Carolini, the trinitarian aesthetic treatise which he carried to Rome. This text affirmed the importance of art, and especially of liturgy as the transmitter of the "mystery of the Trinity." To express this mystery through liturgical symbolism was the function of the Church. In this we can see the source of Angilbert's decision to embody his trinitarian symbol in a monastery. This "ecclesiological" medium, as it were, was extremely important, because churches were the place where liturgy and prayer took place.

The second was Augustine's De Doctrina Christiana. Here Angilbert came to understand the role of signs as the most important and effective means of teaching dogmatic truths. He found a description of the internal moral development that a believer underwent through a desire to come closer to the source of those signified truths. And he found that the result of that development was the vision of the Trinity, God himself. Peculiar to Angilbert's own understanding of Augustine was his conviction that number was the key symbol through which the believer could intuit the Trinity.

Third was a series of letters which Alcuin wrote to Arn of Salzburg in the heat of the Adoptionist controversy. While we do not know whether Angilbert read these letters himself, they reveal a great deal about the climate of thought at the Carolingian court on liturgical symbolism. Alcuin discussed the symbolism of baptism and the meaning of triple immersion, and he opposed this practice directly to the single immersion of Adoptionist baptism. Alcuin linked the outward sign with the internal effect, revealing a direct correspondence between the liturgical sign and the condition of the soul.

The fourth source was the great De Trinitate of Augustine, a text which was in Angilbert's library. In the De Trinitate, Angilbert found the claim that the Trinity was implicit in Creation. The beauties of this world were themselves trinitities which enabled the observer to intuit the Trinity at their source. Most important among these was the tripartite mind of man, the intellect, the memory, and the will. These corresponded to the three persons of the Trinity. Intellect, memory, and will operated simultaneously. The observer loved what he knew, and desired to become like it. Therefore, he was adequated to what he knew. Recognition or intuition of the Trinity from the partial clues in the world stimulated love for the Trinity, and adequation to it. Thus, a trinitarian signum at Saint-Riquier in which threes were visible everywhere, and in which the specific christological doctrines were made concrete, would bring about this belief, love, and action.

Chapter VII considers in detail the architectural and liturgical program at Saint-Riquier. Symbolism based on the number three was everywhere present: in the number of churches, in the number of monks, in

the arrangement of the relics and the liturgical furniture, in the structural proportions of the buildings. Angilbert's new innovation, the westwork, was a church within a church, the site of festival liturgies as well as the daily office. The direct correspondance between the liturgical setting and the liturgy itself, both here and in the Mary chapel, underscored the particular doctrines at issue in the 790s. It created a christological, as well as a trinitarian, content in Angilbert's program. The abbot chose eclectically from past usages and innovated in others in order to put across his point.

Thus, Saint-Riquier expressed in gesture and in sacred space the concerns of Carolingian trinitarianism. Let us now begin with a consideration of what the Carolingians knew about the Trinity.

CHAPTER II

DE CULMINE FONTE

THE SOURCES OF CAROLINGIAN TRINITARIANISM

Let us begin our consideration of Carolingian trinitarianism with the tradition of belief which the Carolingians received.¹ Three sources transmitted that tradition to them: Creed, Scripture, and patristic tradition. As the Creed was the tool which the Carolingians themselves used to teach and summarize the faith, we may begin our discussion there.

Three Creeds were circulating in the West by the late eighth century.² The first, used primarily in the liturgy, was the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed formulated in 325 and expanded in 381. For the Carolingians it carried the weight of greatest authority to "embrace the 318 blessed, catholic, and holy men and Fathers" who at Nicaea had discerned "the faith which Peter and Paul teach, which the world sings together,

¹ The title of this chapter is taken from Paulinus of Aquileia's Regula Fidei Metrico, l. 131 (MGH PL I, p. 129). The context was a discussion of the establishment of the true faith of the Church at the Council of Nicaea in 325, in which the sources of belief were drawn from the deepest wells, de culmine fonte. By extension, Paulinus was paralleling Carolingian defense of the faith de culmine fonte. See Appendix B.

² For Charlemagne the Creed was a matter of state policy, and capitulary after capitulary, beginning immediately after his accession in 769, demanded that both the clergy and laity have thorough knowledge of and be able to recite and teach the symbolum fidei. See, for example, MGH Capit I, pp. 45, 52 ff., 109 ff., 234, 235, and 241.

and which the ancient prophets proclaimed plainly enough."³ It was this Creed which was to be sung at Mass throughout the Frankish realm and in the Palatine Chapel, and which, because of the fullness and balance of its exposition, was accepted as the best and most thorough means of combatting heresy. It was at the same time a concise summary of doctrine on the Trinity, as is evident from the text:

We believe in one God, the Father, almighty, maker of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible;

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten from the Father before all ages, light from light, true God from true God, begotten not made, of one substance with the Father, through Whom all things came into existence, Who because of us men and because of our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary and became man, and was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, and suffered and was buried, and rose again on the third day according to the Scriptures and ascended to heaven, and sits on the right hand of the Father, and will come again with glory to judge living and dead, of Whose kingdom there will be no end;

And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and life-giver, Who proceeds from the Father and the Son, Who with the Father and the Son is together worshiped and glorified, Who spoke through the prophets; in one holy catholic and apostolic Church. We confess one baptism to the remission of sins; we look forward to the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come. Amen.⁴

³ Paulinus of Aquileia Regula Fidei Metrico Stili Mucrone (MGH Poetae Latini I, pp. 119-120). For a complete discussion of the theological factors influencing the formulation of the Creed at Nicaea and its refinement at Constantinople, see the thorough and fluent treatment of Jaroslav Pelikan, The Christian Tradition I: The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), chapter 4, and also J.N.D. Kelly, Early Christian Creeds, Third edition (London: Longmans, 1972), pp. 297-298. For a complete discussion of all of the issues, see I. Ortiz de Urbana, Histoire des Conciles Oecuméniques, Volume I: Nicée et Constantinople (Paris: Editions de l'Orante, 1963). The historical background is discussed by J.W.C. Wand, A History of the Early Church to 500, Fourth edition (London: Methuen and Company, 1965), and Karl F. Morrison, Tradition and Authority in the Western Church (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969). For the primary source documents see Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta, Centro di Documentazione, Istituto per le Scienze Religiose (Freiburg: Herder, 1962), pp. 1-15.

⁴ Although not contained in the original version of the Creed promul-

The second, the symbolum apostolicum or Apostle's Creed, was the simplest and most ancient statement of the faith. Its beauty and straightforwardness made it ideal for baptismal rites. Two of Charlemagne's most influential churchmen, Theodulf of Orléans and Jesse of Amiens, prescribed it in their writings on baptism because it lent itself to good retention and understanding. One of Charlemagne's capitularies specifically required that all ecclesiastics teach it to the laity.⁵ It stated without elaboration the trinitarian formulation.

I believe in God the Father almighty, creator of heaven and earth;
 And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord, Who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born from the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried, descended to hell, on the third day rose again from the dead, ascended into heaven, sits at the right hand of God the Father almighty, thence he will come to judge the living and the dead;
 I believe in the Holy Spirit, the holy catholic Church, the communion of saints, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh, and eternal life. Amen.

The third Creed, however, provided the fullest knowledge of the trinitarian faith received by the Carolingians. Called the Athanasian Creed, it was the foremost tool for teaching the faith, and had been prescribed as such since the Council of Autun in 670. Its origins are obscure, but it seems to have arisen in southern Gaul during the fifth or early sixth century. Although it had no relation to the Father whose name it bore, it had his attribution and thereby his prestige, and it

gated in the fourth century, I have added the phrase "and the Son" to the statement on the procession of the Holy Spirit in the third paragraph. This phrase had been interpolated into the Creed in the West before the eighth century (the Latin reading qui ex patre filioque procedit), and became a major theological issue in the 790s. See below, Chapter III, pp. 124 ff.

⁵ Kelly, Creed, pp. 420 ff., Theodulf of Orléans De ordine baptismi ad magnum Senonensem liber (PL CV. 226), and Jesse Ambianensis Epistola de Baptismo (PL CV. 794). For the capitulary see MGH Capit I, p. 235.

spread throughout the West as a concise summary of Catholic doctrine for instructing clergy and laity alike.⁶ As the Carolingians themselves saw it as the best statement of their trinitarian belief, it warrants quoting in full.

Whoever desires to be saved must above all things hold the Catholic faith. Unless a man keeps it in its entirety inviolate, he will surely perish eternally.

Now this is the Catholic faith, that we worship one God in Trinity and Trinity in unity, without either confusing the persons or dividing the substance. For the Father's person is one, the Son's another, the Holy Spirit's another; but the Godhead of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one, their glory is equal, their majesty coeternal.

Such as the Father is, such is the Son, such also the Holy Spirit. The Father is increate, the Son increate, the Holy Spirit increate. The Father is infinite, the Son infinite, the Holy Spirit infinite. The Father is eternal, the Son eternal, the Holy Spirit eternal. Yet there are not three eternals, but one eternal; just as there are not three increates or three infinites, but one increate and one infinite. In the same way the Father is almighty, the Son almighty, the Holy Spirit almighty; yet there are not three almighties, but one almighty.

Thus the Father is God, the Son God, the Holy Spirit God; and yet there are not three Gods, but there is one God. Thus the Father is Lord, the Son Lord, the Holy Spirit Lord; and yet there are not three Lords, but there is one Lord. Because just as we are obliged by Christian truth to acknowledge each person separately both God and Lord, so we are forbidden by the Catholic religion to speak of three Gods or Lords.

The Father is from none, not made not created nor begotten. The Son is from the Father alone, not made nor created but begotten. The Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son, not made nor created nor begotten but proceeding. So there is one Father, not three Fathers; one Son, not three Sons; one Holy Spirit, not three Holy Spirits. And in this Trinity there is nothing before or after, nothing greater or less, but all three persons are coeternal with each other and coequal. Thus in all things, as has been stated above, both Trinity in unity and unity in Trinity must be worshipped. So he who desires to be saved should think thus of the Trinity.

⁶ It appeared all over Spain, Gaul, and the Frankish realms in individual theologies, professions of faith, and the decrees of Spanish and Gallican councils. For the most comprehensive recent survey of the Creed see J.N.D. Kelly, The Athanasian Creed (New York: Harper and Row, 1964).

It is necessary, however, to eternal salvation that he should also faithfully believe in the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. Now the right faith is that we should believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is equally both God and man.

He is God from the Father's substance, begotten before time; and he is man from his mother's substance, born in time. Perfect God, perfect man composed of a rational soul and human flesh, equal to the Father in respect of his divinity, less than the Father in respect of his humanity.

Who, although he is God and man, is nevertheless not two but one Christ. He is one, however, not by the transformation of his divinity into flesh, but by the taking up of his humanity into God; one certainly not by confusion of substance, but by oneness of person. For just as rational soul and flesh are a single man, so God and man are a single Christ.

Who suffered for our salvation, descended to hell, rose from the dead, sat down at the Father's right hand, whence he will come to judge living and dead; at whose coming all men will rise again with their bodies, and will render an account of their deeds; and those who have behaved well will go to eternal life, those who have behaved badly to eternal fire.

This is the Catholic faith. Unless a man believes it faithfully and steadfastly, he will not be able to be saved.⁷

The foundation of this Creed was the assumption that what was predicated of the Father in essence must be predicated of the Son and Holy Spirit as well. This emphasis on the unity of the three persons of the Trinity was the hallmark of Western trinitarian dogma.⁸

⁷ I have used the translation of Kelly, Athanasian Creed, pp. 17-20. For the Latin text of the Creed see Appendix A.

⁸ This is in contradistinction to mainstream Eastern theology, which always tended to use as its starting point the three persons of the Trinity. This is in part due to intellectual and cultural heritage, and in part to the fact that Eastern heterodoxy has always tended to exaggerate the unity of the Godhead, to the loss of the distinction between the three persons. Western heterodoxy, on the other hand, has tended to make of its Trinity three gods. For a complete discussion of the philosophical and theological differences between East and West see P. Sherrard, The Greek East and the Latin West (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), and John Meyendorff, Byzantine Theology (New York: Fordham University Press, 1974), and Christ in Eastern Christian Thought (Washington: Corpus Books, 1969).

According to the Creed, that divine unity of the Trinity was rooted in the understanding of the person of Christ, because he was the fullness of revelation. The Creed emphasized that the union of God and man in the person of Christ was integral to any proper understanding of God and his relationship to man. That God became man was the justification of man, a kind of ontological and moral blood transfusion that saved his life, or rather revived him into eternal life. To use the dynamic imagery of the Creed itself, men were "lifted up" into eternal life, into union with God by the perfect union of God and man in the historical Jesus.

Critical here was the complete integrity of the two natures of Christ, which were joined in what the Fathers called the "hypostatic union."⁹ Jesus was wholly God, preexistent, eternal, present and instrumental at Creation; and wholly man with temporality, passion, body, and experience. By his perfect conformity as a man to the will of God, he once again joined man to God and restored the unity of Creation lost with Adam's primal sin. The Athanasian Creed insisted upon this integrity in the strongest possible terms, its declaration on Christ comprising fully half the Creed.

These, then, were the two essential assumptions about the "true faith": that the Trinity was one, and that Jesus was fully God and fully man, two natures integrally and completely joined, but not mixed or confused or in any way diminished.

⁹ This was the term chosen by the Fathers at Constantinople in 381 to explain the mystery of God and man in Christ. "Hypostasis" meant "nature"; therefore one could speak of the human hypostasis and the divine hypostasis of Christ. Cf. Pelikan, Christian Tradition I, pp. 247-251, 265-266, and Ortiz de Urbana, passim.

The Carolingians found support for this belief in certain key passages of Scripture which they repeatedly cited in their Biblical exegesis as the second source of their trinitarian understanding.¹⁰ Of greatest importance were seven great events from the life of Jesus cited in the Gospels. Carolingian theologians cited them for two reasons. First, they proved that Jesus, the Redeemer, was true God and true man, the divine Word coequal, coeternal, and cooperative with the Father, made flesh in the man Jesus. Second, they emphasized the unity of the Trinity by proving that the work of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit was inseparable. In other words, these texts showed that the entire Trinity operated in the works of each Person. Most notably, the entire Trinity was present in these events of the life of Christ.

First was the Annunciation, described in Luke 1:26-38.

In the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent by God to a town in Galilee called Nazareth, to a virgin betrothed to a man named Joseph, of the House of David; and the virgin's name was Mary. He went in and said to her, "Rejoice so highly favored: the Lord is with you." She was deeply disturbed by these words and asked herself what this greeting could mean, but the angel said to her, "Mary, do not be afraid; you have won God's favor. Listen: you are to conceive and bear a son, and you must name him Jesus. He will be great and will be called Son of the Most High. The Lord God will give him the throne of his ancestor David; he will rule over the House of Jacob forever and his reign will have no end." Mary said to the angel, "But how can this come about, since I am a virgin?" "The Holy Spirit will come upon you," the angel answered, "and the power of the Most High will cover you with its shadow. And so the child will be holy and will be called Son of God. Know this too: Your kinswoman Elizabeth has, in her old age, herself conceived a son, and she whom people called barren is now in her sixth

¹⁰ The central importance of Scripture as the authoritative source of divine revelation as well as of interpretation for current events and mores is well known. Beryl Smalley's classic Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952) is the standard work. Smalley details not only the Carolingian attitude toward the Bible, but also the four means of interpretation (the literal, moral or tropological, mystical or allegorical, and anagogical).

month, for nothing is impossible to God." "I am the handmaid of the Lord," said Mary. "Let what you have said be done to me." And the angel left her.¹¹

The text described the moment of Incarnation of the second Person of the Trinity. He was integrally and fully God and man from the moment of conception, receiving his divine nature from the Holy Spirit ("The Holy Spirit will come upon you, and the power of the Most High will cover you with its shadow"), and his humanity from his mother Mary.¹²

In support of this text the Carolingians frequently cited John 1:14: Verbum caro factum est, "The Word became flesh." Saint Paul's Letter to the Galatians 4:4-5 was also to the point: "But when the appointed time came, God sent his Son, born of a woman, born a subject of the Law, to redeem the subjects of the Law and to enable us to be adopted as sons."¹³ Here Saint Paul provided the explanation, as it were, of Luke's text. He emphasized that the Son of Man was born of a woman (factum ex muliere in the Carolingian version), and born under the Law (factum sub lege) for the sake of redeeming humans who were under

¹¹ The texts are quoted from the Jerusalem Bible.

¹² Cf. Paulinus of Aquileia Regula Ridei Metrico Promulgata Stili Mucrone (MGH Poetae Latini I, pp. 127-128), Libellus Sacrosyllabus (MGH LL III, CC II, p. 133), Contra Felicem Urgellitanum I. xxxix (PL LXXXXIX 394), and Alcuin Liber Adversus Haeresin Felicis II. ii (PL CI, 147-148).

¹³ Paulinus of Aquileia Libellus Sacrosyllabus (MGH LL III, CC II, p. 137): Cum ergo venit plenitudo temporis, misit Deus Filium suum factum ex muliere, factum sub lege, ut eos qui sub lege erant, redimeret, ut adoptionem filiorum reciperemus per ipsum. Cf. Regula Fidei Metrico, ll. 80-83 (MGH PL I, p.128), where the text is placed squarely within the context of the true faith, from which any deviation is heresy according to Galatians 1:8-9: "Let me warn you that if anyone preaches a version of the Good News different from the one we have already preached to you, whether it be ourselves or an angel from heaven, he is to be condemned." See also Alcuin Liber Adversus Haeresin Felicis XV (PL CI 93).

the Law, lost through the sin of Adam. The Incarnation of the Word through the womb of Mary, then, was what enabled the redemption of lost men to take place. The Annunciation and divine motherhood of Mary set the entire order of salvation. And it was effected in the Son through the Holy Spirit as the will of the Father.

The second event was the Baptism of Jesus described in Matthew 3:13-17, the moment of revelation of Jesus' messianic status at the beginning of his public ministry.

Then Jesus appeared: he came from Galilee to the Jordan to be baptized by John. John tried to dissuade him. "It is I who need baptism from you," he said, "and yet you come to me^o" But Jesus replied, "Leave it like this for the time being; it is fitting that we should, in this way, do all that righteousness demands." At this, John gave in to him.

As soon as Jesus was baptized he came up from the water, and suddenly the heavens opened and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove and coming down on him. And a voice spoke from heaven, "This is my Son, the Beloved; my favor rests on him."¹⁴

Here the voice of the Father, saying "This is my beloved Son," identified the man Jesus as the Christ while the Holy Spirit descended from Heaven in the form of a dove. Again, the entire Trinity was manifested in this work of the second Person.

The Transfiguration, the third event, described in Matthew 17:1-5, was a moment of special revelation. Jesus, on a mountain with Peter and two other disciples, suddenly began to glow with a white light, and in the company of Moses and Elijah. Again, the voice of the Father identified Jesus as his beloved Son.

¹⁴ Cf. Paulinus of Aquileia Libellus Sacrosyllabus (MGH LL III, CC II, p. 134), and Regula Fidei Metrico ll. 30-35 (MGH PL I, p. 127). Alcuin Liber Adversus Haeresin Felicis I. iii (PL CI 88). In fact, Alcuin's treatise was entirely a patristic exposition on the meaning of this text: "what (the Fathers) understood by this paternal witness."

He (Peter) was still speaking when suddenly a bright cloud covered them with shadow, and from the cloud there came a voice which said, "This is my Son, the Beloved; he enjoys my favor. Listen to him."

Matthew 16:16-18 recounted the Confession of Peter, in which Peter himself called Jesus "the Christ, Son of the living God," and hence, the Messiah. This was the fourth event. This Confession of faith was the germ of the Church as the fundamental truth upon which Christianity rested.

The Crucifixion was the fifth event, which "made all especially clear."¹⁵ For the words, "It is accomplished," Consummatum est, of John 19:30, acknowledged the fulfillment of the Prophetic witness of the Old Testament and the accomplishment of redemption. With these words, Jesus inaugurated in his own body and his own suffering the Church, which was the Body of Christ and the witness of the faith.

The sixth event, the meeting of Jesus with Mary Magdalene in the Garden on Easter morning as recounted in John 20:17, was one of several texts which delineated Christ as "the first fruits of redemption."

Jesus said to her, "Do not cling to me, because I have not yet ascended to the Father. But go and find the brothers, and tell them: I am ascending to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God."

This text underscored Jesus' unity with the Father while clearly separating him even in his humanity from the rest of sinful mankind. What seemed especially important here was the distinction between "my Father and your Father." The fact that Jesus would specify "my" and "your" in this way, as one Carolingian said, was proof that Jesus was not "mere

¹⁵ Epistola Hadriani I Papae ad Episcopos Hispaniae Directa (MGH LL III, CC II, p. 127).

man," but was of unique and perfect status as Redeemer of mere men.¹⁶

The seventh event, the Ascension, as described in John 20:17, clarified the same point.¹⁷ This text said, "I am ascending to my Father and your Father," (Ascendo ad patrem meum et patrem vestrum). For the Carolingians this delineation expressed the character of salvation: the Father was "mine" for Jesus according to nature, and "yours" for the disciples and the rest of humankind according to grace. The texts of John 5:17, "My Father goes on working and so do I," and John 17:1, "Father, the hour has come: glorify your Son so that your Son may glorify you," were used in the same way.

Three passages proved the unity of the Father and the Son. John 10:29 said, "The Father who gave them to me is greater than anyone, and no one can steal from the Father. The Father and I are one." John 14:9-10 said, "To have seen me is to have seen the Father, so how can you say 'Let us see the Father'? Do you not believe that I am in the Father and the Father is in me?" Similarly, in John 17:6 Jesus said, "I have manifested my Father's name." The Gospel of John clearly provided the most important scriptural testimony on the mystery of the Trinity and the consubstantiality, coequality, and coeternity of the three Persons.

Two other texts described the relationship of the Son to the Holy Spirit. Carolingian theologians used them primarily to affirm the equality of the Son with the Father and the unity of the Trinity as a

¹⁶ See Epistola Hadriani I Papae ad Episcopos Hispaniae Directa (MGH LL III, CC II, p. 123).

¹⁷ Epistola Hadriani I Papae ad Episcopos Hispaniae Directa (MGH LL III, CC II, p. 123).

whole.¹⁸ John 20:21-22 said, "'As the Father sent me, so I am sending you.' After saying this he breathed on them and said, 'Receive the Holy Spirit.'" Similarly, I John 3:24 said, "Whoever keeps his commandments lives in God and God lives in him. We know that he lives in us by the Spirit that he has given us."

One final text above all described both the unity and the redemptive activity of the Trinity: Matthew 28:18-19.

Jesus came up and spoke to them. He said, "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Go, therefore, make disciples of all the nations; baptize them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teach them to observe all the commands I gave you.

Here the oneness of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit was expressed in the redemptive work of the Trinity, baptism in the name of the Trinity. Thus, Scripture underscored (indeed was the basis for) the faith expressed in the Creeds.

What is striking here was the identification of Christology with trinitarian theology in Carolingian scriptural usage. The character and meaning of the person of Christ were located in his relationship to the Father and the Holy Spirit. This relationship was emphasized in the third source of Carolingian trinitarianism, patristic tradition. The Carolingians cited the authority of the Fathers very much in conjunction with and as support for the Biblical texts mentioned above. They looked to certain patristic texts as authoritative in proving the truth about the Trinity and Christ.

¹⁸ See below, Chapter IV, pp. 159 ff.

Most frequently cited were the De Doctrina Christiana and the biblical commentaries of Augustine, (especially the Quaestiones in Heptateuchen, Ennarationes in Psalmos, and Tractates in Johannem), the commentaries of Jerome and Ambrose, Ambrose's De Trinitate and the De Trinitate of Hilary of Poitiers, the Moralia in Job of Gregory the Great, and the Etymologiae and Sententiae of Isidore of Seville.

Of overwhelming importance was one great text, the De Trinitate of Augustine, in which they found the fullest development of their trinitarian beliefs.¹⁹ The De Trinitate was used as the primary text for theological education throughout the West, and it was Augustine who had developed the essential thrust of Western trinitarian speculation. When Charlemagne commissioned Alcuin to write a formal treatise on the Trinity in 802, the Anglo-Saxon simply summarized the first seven books of the De Trinitate, citing in his Preface "the principles which Father Augustinus in his book on the Holy Trinity thought to be indispensable."²⁰ Other Carolingian trinitarian treatises cited Augustine's text extensively. Let us consider the dogmatic position elaborated there.

Augustine emphasized above all the oneness of the Trinity. His argument began with an analysis of the Scriptural passages which we have noted above relating to the unity and equality of the Persons according to their divine essence and their work in the world. The analysis culminated in the principle that all three Persons are often comprehended in one Person. This position later served as the single most important

¹⁹ In fact, the Athanasian Creed was really a compendium of Augustinian trinitarian doctrine.

²⁰ Alcuin De Trinitate Praefatio (PL CI 12).

concept for Carolingian trinitarian argumentation.

This unity had two necessary dogmatic implications. First, because Augustine affirmed the absolute equality of the Father and the Son, he described both Father and Son as the cause and origin of the Holy Spirit. Here was the theological basis for the assertion found in the Carolingian Creeds (both the Nicene-Constantinopolitan and the Athanasian) that the Spirit proceeds "from the Father and the Son," ex patre filioque in the wording of the Nicene Creed. As this phrase became a major source of contention with the East, a conflict in which Angilbert took part, let us consider the theological basis for the belief.

The original Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed finalized in 381 had stated that the Holy Spirit "proceeds from the Father."²¹ The assumptions behind that formula had been Eastern in emphasis: the centrality of the Father as the source of all being, and the utter unity of the Godhead in its divine essence. As the great tendency in the East was to emphasize the transcendent, unapproachable, One God, the starting point of Greek theology had always been to assert and individualize the three persons within the Godhead.²²

²¹ Ex patre procedit: Kelly, Creeds, p. 298, and Doctrines, pp. 258-269.

²² The theological reactions following the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, for example, focused on the one nature of Christ (he was only divine), in Monophysitism, and on his one will (Monothelitism). This clearly diminished the humanity of Christ, and jeopardized his unique hypostasis as one person with two natures. For a discussion of the cultural influences determining this development, see Peter Brown, The World of Late Antiquity (London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971).

In this model the all-powerful Father was hypostatically the source and generative principle of existence. This was the unique quality which distinguished him from the consubstantial, coeternal Son and Holy Spirit. It was predicated of the Father that he was the first principle (arche), and perfect, a perfection which meant that the way the Holy Spirit came forth from him must be perfect also. Therefore the Son could not be equally the cause of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit rested in the Son, but did not proceed causally from him. Traditional Eastern teaching on the procession used the formula, "The Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son."²³

Only in this way could the essential unity of the Godhead through unity of origin be affirmed while maintaining the personal diversity of Father, Son, and Holy spirit through immanent relationship. Eastern theologians related the Scriptural texts on the Son's breathing out of the Spirit strictly to the work of the Trinity in the world. These texts, they said, in no way described the inner life of the Trinity.

The Western Augustinian view that what was predicated of one person must be predicated of all, however, virtually required the doctrine of the simultaneous procession ex patre filioque.²⁴ The simultaneous

²³ In the words of the eighth century theologian John Damascene,

We also believe in the Holy Spirit...who proceeds from the Father and rests in the Son...proceeding from the Father and communicated through the Son...We do not speak of the Son as Cause...and we do not speak of the Spirit as from the Son, although we call him the Spirit of the Son.

De Fide Orthodoxa I. viii as quoted by Richard Haugh, Photius and the Carolingians (Belmont, Mass.: Nordland, 1975), pp. 18-19.

²⁴ Developed largely in response to Arianism, Western theology rejected the Arian view that Christ was neither fully God nor fully man,

procession of the Spirit implied generative causal power for both the Father and the Son, and, therefore, the equality of the Son with the Father. To say that the Spirit proceeded from the Father through the Son seemed to make the Son posterior to, and, by extension, less than the Father. Hilary of Poitiers' great anti-Arian treatise, De Trinitate, first clearly stated the principle that Christ was equally the source of the Holy Spirit with the Father (patre et filio auctoribus), although it was also suggested in the theology of the earliest Western Father, Tertullian.²⁵ The hymns of Marius Victorinus had described the Son as the medius between Father and Spirit because the Son communicates to the Spirit that which he receives from the Father: "The Spirit receives of the Father in receiving of the Son." Similarly, Marius described the Spirit as the bond (copulus) between Father and Son.²⁶

Saint Augustine crystallized and gave a permanent vocabulary to the doctrine. He explicitly rejected the per filium formula that the Spirit proceeded from the Father through the Son. He assumed that what was said of the Trinity's work in the world must also be said of its very nature. That is, the eternal and interior relationship between the

but an intermediate being, the first of all creatures sent as mediator between God and men. For a complete discussion of Arianism, see Pelikan I, Chapter 4, and Kelly, Creeds, pp. 231 ff., and Doctrines, Chapter 9. The historical background is discussed in Wand, Chapters 14-16. For the primary source documents, see Decreta, pp. 1-31.

²⁵ Cf. Hilary of Poitiers De Trinitate II. xxix, VIII. xix ff., and XII. lv-lvii. For a complete history of the simultaneous procession doctrine see H.B. Swete, History of the Doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co., 1876), pp. 111-114, which though old is a masterful account. Cf. Kelly, Athanasian Creed, p. 87.

²⁶ Marius Victorinus Hymn I. xxiii, and Adversus Arium Liber I (PL VIII 1146).

Persons must be described in the same terms as its outward activity in the economy of salvation.²⁷ Since the Father and Son both were visibly at work in the Baptism or the Annunciation, likewise both must operate visibly and equally as the source of the Holy Spirit.

But the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Father into the Son, and proceed from the Son for the sanctification of the creature; but he proceeds from both at the same time...Neither can we affirm that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son (spiritus sanctus et a filio non procedat), for it is not without reason that the one and the same Spirit is called the Spirit of the Father and the Son (et patris et filii spiritus dicitur). Nor do I at least see what other meaning he wanted to convey when he breathed on the face of his disciples and said: "Receive the Holy Spirit." For that bodily breathing, which came from the body and caused the sensation of bodily touch, was not the substance of the Holy Spirit, but rather the manifestation through an appropriate symbol, that the Holy Spirit proceeds not only from the Father but also from the Son (non tantum a patre sed et a filio procedere spiritum sanctum)...For the Spirit of God is one, the Spirit of the Father and the Son (spiritus patris et filii), the Holy Spirit who works all things in all.²⁸

In a concept which became normative in the West, Augustine described the Holy Spirit as the mutual bond of love between the Father and the Son, the communio of the Father and the Son. Therefore, both must be the origin of the Spirit.

²⁷ Cf. Jaroslav Pelikan The Christian Tradition, Volume II: The Spirit of Eastern Christianity (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), Chapter 1.

²⁸ Augustine De Trinitate XV. xxvii, xviii, and IV. xx. 29 CCSL L/a, p. 530, and L, pp. 199-200): Spiritus autem sanctus non de patre procedit in filium et de filio procedit ad sanctificandam creaturam, sed simul de utroque procedit...Nec possumus dicere quod spiritus sanctus et a filio non procedat; neque enim frustra idem spiritus et "patris et filii spiritus" dicitur. Nec uideo quid aliud significare uoluerit cum "sufflans ait: 'Accipite a spiritum sanctum.'" Neque enim flatus ille corporeus cum sensu corporaliter tangendi procedens ex corpore substantia spiritus sancti fuit sed demonstratio per congruam significationem non tantum "a patre" sed "et a filio" procedere spiritum sanctum...Unus enim spiritus est "spiritus Dei, spiritus patris et filii", spiritus sanctus "qui operatur omnia in omnibus." (McKenna, pp. 518-521, and 167-169).

The second dogmatic implication of Augustine's emphasis on the oneness of the Trinity was the need to distinguish clearly the Person of the Son. We have cited above the Scriptural texts used to affirm the equality of Christ with the Father. But other prominent texts emphasized the subordination of Jesus to the Father. In the same Gospel of John in which Christ said, "I and the Father are one," he also said "The Father is greater than I" (John 14:28), and "My glory is conferred by the Father" (John 8:54). Augustine resolved the problem by distinguishing clearly between the human and divine natures in Christ, while maintaining always the absolute oneness of his Person. When the confusion arose again in the Carolingian period, Charlemagne's theologians responded with the same Augustinian distinction.

Augustine said that in his divinity, Christ was equal to the Father. He was the coeternal, consubstantial, and coequal Word. Those characteristics were substantial (substantialiter dici), since they were the unchanging and integral characteristics of Christ's divinity. In his humanity, however, Christ had to be less than the Father, since the human could never be equivalent to the divine. These were relative characteristics (relativa, relative dici), relative strictly to the unique double nature of the Son (and, by extension, never applicable to the Persons of the Father and the Holy Spirit).²⁹

²⁹ De Trinitate V. xi-xvi. Similarly, although the other two Persons were often present in the work of one, Father and Holy Spirit also possessed characteristics described relative et non substantialiter to each one.

This distinction between natures could never affect the unity of person in Christ. To explain and emphasize this union, Augustine borrowed the ancient formula of the communicatio idiomatum, or "communication of properties." This formula posited a real exchange of the properties of humanity and divinity between the two natures of Christ. Christ communicated his divine nature to his body, and the divine nature took on human attributes.³⁰ Ultimately, therefore, characteristics must be predicated of the Person of Christ, and not of his natures. For example, Christ was the Son of God in his whole Person, and not merely as the Word. The whole Person of Christ underwent the Passion and Resurrection, not merely the man Jesus.³¹ The communication of properties explained the total integration of two natures in Christ without a confusion, separation, or diminution of either nature. This was the key to salvation theology, because it affirmed the complete identification of God with man in Christ.

Hence the tight interrelationship of all three principles: the unity of the Trinity, the Holy Spirit as the mutual bond of love between the Father and the Son, and the unique hypostasis of the Son and its relationship to salvation theory. Through the influence of the De Trinitate, through Scriptural support, and through credal popularizations, these three first principles became the foundation and starting point of

³⁰ According to Pelikan, some of the Fathers said that the hypostasis of the Logos, originally simple, became composite at the Incarnation. See The Christian Tradition III: The Growth of Medieval Theology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), p. 57.

³¹ As Pelikan concisely summarized, "One could say, 'My God suffered for me, my God was crucified for me,' but one could not say, 'The man Jesus died and the God raised him up.'" See The Christian Tradition III, p. 57. Cf. De Trinitate I. xiii, IV. viii.

Carolingian trinitarian speculation.

Besides Scripture, tradition, and Creed, the Carolingian concern for the Trinity was also informed by ancient Frankish custom. From the beginning, the Frankish cultural identity and royal power had been identified with upholding belief in the Trinity. This political and cultural identity was equally as important as the theological sources for the Carolingians, and also influenced Angilbert's program at Saint-Riquier. Let us now consider this aspect of Carolingian trinitarianism.

Alcuin provides us with a glimpse into Carolingian power on the eve of Charlemagne's coronation as emperor in 800.

But let your sacred will and your power ordained by God defend the catholic and apostolic faith everywhere: and just as it labors mightily to expand the Christian empire by arms, so too let it be zealous to defend, teach, and propagate the truth of the apostolic faith, with that very One helping in whose power are all the kingdoms of the earth; to the end that in the manifold reward of labor you deserve to come into the blessedness of the everlasting kingdom.³²

There were two key elements here. First, the end and focus of Charlemagne's work was to be salvation, the eternal beatitude for himself and for the people subject to him that came from faithful and zealous service of God's will. The salvation of God's people was the raison d'être of Frankish kingship.

³² Alcuin to Charlemagne, MGH EPP IV, number 202, in 800: *Vestra vero sancta voluntas atque a Deo ordinata potestas catholicam atque apostolicam fidem ubique defendat: ac veluti armis imperium christianum fortiter dilatare laborat, ita et apostolicae fidei veritatem defendere, docere, et propagare studeat, ipso auxiliante, in cuius potestate sunt omnia regna terrarum; quatenus cum multiplici laboris mercede ad perpetui regni beatitudinem pervenire merearis.*

Second, there were two kingly obligations which would achieve that salvation. Charlemagne was to be dux, to wield a righteous sword to defend and extend physically the true faith. And he was to be doctor, a pious teacher of the doctrines of the Church, called to be vigilant over the dogmatic truths of the faith.

This particular understanding of special vocation to Christian kingship was part of the Carolingian royal identity. It was integral to the establishment and legitimization of the Carolingian kings with the usurpation of Pepin in 751, and became the idée fixe of Pepin's reign. It was rooted in ancient Frankish tradition, as we shall see. And on certain occasions, it also provided a link with the papacy.³³ Pepin already represented a long tradition of support for the Frankish Church. Ever since Pepin II of Herstal in the 690s had supported the work of Willibrord in Frisia, the Arnulfing, or Carolingian family had allied itself closely with the missionary and reform efforts of Willibrord and Boniface and their Anglo-Saxon followers.³⁴ "Frankish dominion and

³³ Cf. Rosamund McKitterick, The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians (New York: Longman, 1983), p. 35, who provides insight into the relationship between Carolingian power and the Frankish Church in the following quote: "The oil ofunction with which Pippin was annointed by the Frankish bishops in 751 may well have made up for the long hair of the Merovingians, but it also symbolized the pact between the Carolingian ruler and the church, and the relationship which had developed between the two since the time of Pippin II. The growth of the Austrasian and German missionary church and reform of the church with Carolingian support, meant that the church was indeed the decisive factor in the transference of rule to the Carolingians..." McKitterick cites the development of tight institutional ties which related the Carolingian dukes to the Frankish clergy, rather than to Rome. I am considering here the ideology or "political theology" of Frankish rule. Cf. Morrison, The Two Kingdoms, cited in Chapter I, p. 20, note 36.

³⁴ The classic and still fascinating study of the Carolingian-Anglo-Saxon missionary and reform movement is Wilhelm Levison's England and the Continent in the Eighth Century (Oxford: Clarendon Press,

Christian mission assisted each other," as Wilhelm Levison said. Reform of the Church and support of Christian evangelization among the pagans in newly conquered areas became a bulwark of Carolingian rule and territorial expansion. Pepin II, on his own initiative, sent Willibrord to Rome to be consecrated Archbishop of Frisia by the Pope. Charles Martel, even while he ruthlessly disposed of ecclesiastical appointments according to the demands of personal power, supported Boniface and his evangelization of Germany from 716 onward.

The Frankish Church repaid Carolingian support by legitimizing Pepin III, Mayor of the Palace, as King of the Franks. Pepin in 751 usurped the throne from the moribund Merovingian line. He stood in need of formal sanction; the Frankish Church bestowed upon him royal unction which created him King by the will of God. Pepin's anointing by the Frankish Church was seen as a sacrament investing him with divine grace, and a liturgical symbol of his preeminent obligation and status. In addition he applied to the Pope for sanction of his new role, which the Pope granted.³⁵ It was probably the pressure of the Lombard invasions of

1946). Cf. McKitterick, Chapter 1.

³⁵ The relationship between the papacy and the Carolingians is a difficult and delicate subject. While the Popes seem repeatedly to have enlisted Frankish aid against the Lombards and to have emphasized the special vocation of the Carolingian kings as defenders of the Church of Peter in the letters contained in the Codex Carolinus, they were also acutely aware of their own power and prerogatives. We will see in the course of this study that, indeed, Pope Hadrian rejected the Carolingian theological arguments of the Libri Carolini and the filioque controversy because of his perception of his own role. (Cf. Chapters III, pp. 151 ff., and IV, note 48.) It seems also to have been during the reign of Pepin that the Donation of Constantine, an overt assertion of Papal rights in the West, was written. As almost all of the letters of the Codex Carolinus were written within the context of Lombard attacks on the papal territories, it is likely that the papacy found it important on these occasions to encourage Frankish military support with these

the papal territories which motivated the Popes to support Carolingian power in the 750s and 760s. The papal letters written to the Frankish court during this time consistently referred to the need for protection against the Lombard menace. Throughout the early eighth century, the pontiffs had repeatedly been beset by Lombard attempts to conquer central Italy and the city of Rome, territories under the de facto temporal rule of the Pope. Within this context, military defense of the Church became the mantle of Carolingian legitimacy. Evidently the Popes found it necessary to establish a link with Pepin and his sons.

Already, surely, before you came forth from the maternal womb, he held you as predestined, because "Those whom he has foreknown he has also predestined; and whom he has predestined he has also called." For truly the Lord has magnified his mercy over you and, anointing you into kings through his blessed apostle Peter, he has established defenders of his holy Church and of the orthodox faith... But may the almighty Lord, "who is rich in mercy," invigorate in you the strength of his own arm and make you victors over all barbarous nations, expanding the borders of your kingdom; and may he permit one from your preeminent seed to sit on the royal throne of your power until the end of the world, for the eternal defense of his holy Church and of the orthodox faith with universal rejoicing.³⁶

claims for the special Carolingian religious vocation. Again, McKitterick provides an apt summary with regard to the sanction of Pepin's usurpation (Frankish Church, p. 35): "The Pope was really the only possible provider of sanctions for the transference of the title of ruler, but one wonders whether the Pope really understood the complications of Frankish political structure and the position of the mayor of the palace." For a discussion of the Biblical and papal roots of Frankish power see J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

³⁶ Paul III to Charles and Carlomann, 761-766, MGH Epp III, Codex Carolinus, number 35: *Iam nempe praedestinos vos habuit, antequam de materno prodiretis utero, quoniam : "Quos praescivit, et praedestinavit; quos praedestinavit, hos et vocavit."* Vere enim magnificavit Dominus misericordiam suam super vos et, in reges per suum apostolum beatum Petrum vos unguens, defensores sanctae suae ecclesiae atque fidei orthodoxae constituit... Sed omnipotens Dominus, "qui dives est in misericordiis"...corroboret in vobis fortitudinem brachii sui atque victores vos super omnes barbaras efficiat nationes, dilatans regni vestri terminos, atque de vestro praeclaro semine super regale solium potentiae ves-

The Franks waged holy war and received holy rewards.

More than a personal royal charge, the Popes described this as the unique identity of the Frankish people as a whole. It was the means by which Pope Stephen, shortly after the coronation of Pepin, exhorted the Frankish magnates to switch their allegiance from the Merovingians to Pepin.³⁷

Indeed, the Pope invoked Old Testament models of the Davidic kingship of God's Chosen People to teach the Franks:

Indeed, Lord Pepin, son most Christian and protected by God, spiritual co-father, king most victorious by the will of God, has been made a new Moses and a new David in all his works, through whom the exalted Church of God triumphs and the catholic faith stands firm, unimpaired by the spear of heretics. And you, dearest ones--rejoice and exult indeed as a "holy tribe, a royal priesthood, a people of acquisition," whom the Lord God of Israel has blessed, because your names and the names of your kings have been recorded in heaven and great is your reward before God and his angels; you have surely indeed acquired as a constant protector blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, to whom the power of binding and loosing sins in heaven and on earth has been granted by our Redeemer...May almighty God, granting you victory from heaven, also expand your borders, subjecting all barbarous nations to your most excellent kings for the perfect liberty and exaltation of the holy universal church of God and

trae usque in finem saeculi sedere permittat pro aeterna sanctae suae ecclesiae universali exaltatione et fidei orthodoxae defensione.

³⁷ MGH Epp III, Codex Carolinus, number 5, dated 753: ...pro certo tenentes quot per certamen, quod in eius sanctam ecclesiam, vestram spiritalem matrem, feceritis, ab ipso principe apostolorum vestra dimittantur peccate et pro cepti cursu laboris centuplum accipiatis de manu Dei et vitam possideatis aeternam--idcirco obsecramus atque coniuramus vestram sapientissimam caritatem per Deum et per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum et diem futuri examinis, in quo omnes pro nostris facinoribus erimus reddituri rationem ante tribunal aeterni iudicis, ut nulla interponatur occasio, ut non sitis adiutores ad obtinendum filium nostrum a Deo servatum, Pippinum excellentissimum regem, pro perficienda utilitate fautoris vestri, beati apostolorum principis Petri...quatenus, vobis concurrentibus dum nostra deprecatio fuerit impleta, ipso principe apostolorum cuius causa est largiente, vestra deleantur peccata et, ut habet potestatem a Deo concessam sicut claviger regni caelorum, vobis aperiat ianuam et ad vitam introducat aeternam.

the integrity of the orthodox faith.³⁸

This was a collective sacramental identity consecrated to God and the defense of the Church of Peter. Peter himself was its patron and guarantor.

Pepin used this charge. His models were those of the Old Testament, because those were the images that fit the immediate circumstances. The tribal kingship of the Franks was mirrored in the peculiar political salvation history of the Old Testament; there were no such definite and evocative parallels in the New.³⁹ But Pepin immediately and directly associated himself with the forwarding of the trinitarian faith. One of the earliest documents of his reign, a grant to the monastery of Echternach written in May, 752, contained a striking new diplomatic formula: In nomine summae et individuae Trinitatis, "In the name of the highest and undivided Trinity."⁴⁰ Another such formula, In

³⁸ MGH Epp III, Codex Carolinus, number 39, dated 757-766: Novus quippe Moyses novusque David in omnibus operibus suis effectus est christianissimus et a Deo protectus filius et spiritalis compater, Dominus Pippinus, Dei nutu victorissimus rex, per quem exaltata Dei ecclesia triumphat et fides catholica ab hereticorum telo inlibata consistit. Et vos quidem, carissimi, "Gens sancta, regale sacerdotium, populus acquisitionis," cui benedixit Dominus Deus Israhel, gaudete et exultate, quia nomina vestra regumque vestrorum exarata sunt in celis et merces vestra magna est coram Deo et angelis eius; firmum quippe beatissimum Petrum apostolorum principem, cui a redemptore nostro ligandi solvendique peccata caelo ac terra concessa est potestas, adepti estis protectorem. Cf. I Peter 2:9.

³⁹ For a discussion of the Old Testament models and influences of Carolingian kingship, see Wallace-Hadrill, Early Germanic Kingship, cited above in note 34.

⁴⁰ I am indebted to Professor Robert-Henri Bautier of the Ecole des Chartes for this information. Cf. Arthur Giry, Manuel de Diplomatique (Paris: Hachette, 1894), pp. 531-533, who suggests that this type of Carolingian invocation resembles a profession of faith in the Trinity in relation to the "interminable discussions" over the trinitarian dogma during the eighth century.

nomine sanctae et individuae Trinitatis, opened a grant to Gorze in 762, and another to the Marienkloster in Vienna, undated. Pepin's renewal of the Lombard pact with Pope Stephen, which must be dated before 757 when Stephen died, opened with the formula, "In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, who reigns with the Father and the Holy Spirit, God in ages before and in ages to come."⁴¹

Such an invocation of the Trinity in royal documents did not occur prior to Pepin. Merovingian documents generally opened with the symbol of the Chrismon, the famous Constantinian Chi-Rho symbol, which was a vestige of late Imperial documents.

Another diplomatic change was even more telling. Sometime during his reign, Pepin promulgated a new version of the Lex Salica, the ancient written tribal law of the Franks. First published under Clovis in the late fifth century, the Law had consisted simply of a preface listing the four representatives of the Frankish groups elected to witness the law-giving, and the main text which stated the crimes and punishments.

King Guntramn, who ruled from 561 to 592, had published the Law again, with an extended prologue:⁴²

⁴¹ MGH DD I, numbers 31, 37, 40, and 42.

⁴² MGH Legum I, Leges Nationum Germanicarum IV, pars I, pp. 2-3: Incipit Pactus Legis Salicae: Placuit auxiliante Domino atque convenit inter Francos atque eorum proceribus, ut pro servandum inter se pacis studium omnis incrementa rixarum resecare deberent, et quia ceteris gentibus iuxta se positis fortitudinis brachio prominebant, ita etiam eos legali auctoritate praecellerent, ut iuxta qualitate causarum sumerent criminalis actio terminum.

Here begins the Pact of the Salic Law

It is pleasing and fitting among the Franks and for their princes, with God helping, that for keeping zeal for peace among themselves they should curtail all growth of quarrels, and because they by the arm of courage excelling over other nations compared with them, so they even exceed them by legal authority, so that likewise they may by nature arrogate an end to lawsuits.

The theme of Guntramn's promulgation was peace in a very concrete sense. The Salic Law was established in order to bring about an end to quarrels and to promote the political well-being of the Frankish people. The Franks themselves appeared as a superior people because of their courage, and now because of their legal authority as well. That legal authority was expressed in human terms; the law here was a human construct for social convenience, not a mystical or divinely inspired pronouncement. The only mention of God here was a brief ablative absolute--Deo auxiliante, "with God helping"--at the beginning. The tone of the prologue was always straightforward and matter-of-fact.

One hundred and eighty years later Pepin wrote a new prologue which changed greatly the original framework of the Salic Law. His prologue was much longer, expanding the original introductory paragraph into three (plus Clovis' original list of Frankish representatives, which Guntramn's had also included). Pepin's prologue expressed a virtual cultural program.⁴³

⁴³ MGH Legum I, IV, pars 2, pp. 2-8. For the Latin text of the Prologue, see below, note 44. There were actually two prologues written for Pepin's promulgation, a shorter prologue, and a longer one prepared sometime around 763 by Badilo. The two differ only slightly, but in the version of the code published by Karl August Eckhardt for the MGH the longer text contains the invocation "In nomine sanctae trinitatis." The manuscripts of the text specifically dated to Pepin do not refer to this invocation. However, all but one of the manuscript copies of Charlemagne's emendation of 798 contain the longer prologue with the trinitarian formula.

Here begins the Prologue of the Salic Law

The glorious nation of the Franks,
 established by God the Creator,
 Courageous in arms,
 Firm in peace with allies,
 Profound in counsel,
 Noble in body,
 Pure in brightness,
 Surpassing in beauty,
 Bold, swift, and fierce,
 Converted to the catholic faith,
 Immune from heresy--
 Though up to that point bound
 by barbaric ritual--
 While God was inspiring,
 Seeking the key of knowledge,
 Its custom the same as its own quality,
 Desiring justice,
 Keeping watch over piety,
 Have said the Salic Law...

For when Clovis, King of the Franks,
 dynamic and beautiful, as the first accepted
 catholic baptism for favoring God, by perusing
 the decree, which was judged unfitting for the
 pact, through the king's blow it was emended
 more clearly for Clovis and Childebert
 and Clothar.

May Christ who loves the Franks live,
 May he watch over their kingdom,
 May the light of his grace fill the rulers
 of those same ones
 May he protect the army,
 And grant faith as their bulwarks;
 May Jesus Christ, Lord of lords, grant piety,
 peace, joy, prosperity, and opportunities.
 For this is the tribe which was
 Courageous, and sound in strength
 By fighting they cast off the harshest yoke
 of the Romans
 And after the recognition of baptism,
 The Franks adorned gold and precious jewels
 over the bodies of the holy martyrs, whom the
 Romans had burned with fire or maimed
 by the sword,
 or had thrown to the beasts to

tear."⁴⁴

Pepin's prologue tied the tribes to an aggressive religious identity as the divinely inspired custodians of the trinitarian faith (ad catholicam fidem conversa emunis ab heresa). It was an identity that assumed and glorified their most ancient traditions and most venerable heroes. From the first lines the Franks appeared as the Chosen People. They were founded by God, and they excelled thereby. They were warriors, and the mark of God's approval and inspiration was their preeminence in the art and character of the warrior. They surpassed in battle through their courage, daring, speed and ferocity, and their physical perfection. They were incolumna candore, unstained, white in their purity, bright with God's favor. And they surpassed in peace, constant as allies and worthy as counsellors.

⁴⁴ Incipit Prologus Legis Salicae

Gens Francorum inclita, auctorem Deo condita, fortis in arma, firma pace fetera, profunda in consilio, corporea nobilis, incolumna candore, forma egregia, audax, velox, et aspera, ad catholicam fidem conversa, emunis ab heresa; dum adhuc teneretur barbaro, inspirante Deo, inquerens scientiae clavem, iuxta morem suorum qualitatem, desiderans iusticiam, custodiens pietatem dictaverunt Salicam legem. . Ad ubi Deo favendi rex Francorum Chlodovius, torrens et pulcher, primus recepit catholicum baptismum, et quod minus in pactum habebatus idoneum, per percussus regis Chlodovio et Childeberto et Chlothario fuit lucidis emendatum (percurrente decretum). Vivat qui Francus diligit, Christus eorum regnum custodiat, rectores eorundem lumen suae gratiae repleat, exercitum protegat, fidem munimenta tribuat; paces gaudia et felicitatem tempora dominancium dominus Iesus Christus pietatem concedat. Haec est enim gens, que fortis dum esset robore valida. Romanorum iugum durissimum de suis cervicibus excusserunt pugnando, atque post agnitionem baptismi sanctorum martyrum corpora, quem Romani igne cremaverunt vel ferro truncaverunt vel besteis lacerando proiecerunt, Franci super eos aurum et lapides preciosos ornaverunt.

More important was their Christian identity, which comprised the bulk of the prologue. They were emunis ab heresa, "immune from heresy," and it was this that made the Franks unique. Furthermore, they were ad catholicam fidem conversam, "converted to the catholic faith". The phrasing emphasized the peculiar character of the Frankish conversion; the emphasis was later reinforced by the paragraph on Clovis, who was the Salian king who first converted to the trinitarian faith. Clovis became the model of Frankish kingship, of critical importance for Pepin's own understanding of kingship, as the citation in the Prologue implied.

Clovis reigned over the Salian Franks from 481 to 511. His conversion was an event of singular importance not only in the founding of the Frankish cultural identity, but also in Frankish political ascendancy in the West. The Franks had come into the Roman West as pagans. Excepting possibly the Lombards, the other tribes had already been converted in their homelands, but by Arian missionaries. The Arians, the great enemies of the trinitarian Christians, argued that Christ was not God himself, but the first among creatures, as a created intermediary between God and man. Arianism therefore struck at the very heart of Christian orthodoxy, which claimed that Christ was fully God and fully man, generated from the Father, and not created. (It was against Arius that the Nicene Creed had first been drafted.) Thus by the sixth century, Latin churchmen everywhere found themselves surrounded by the most dreaded enemies of the faith.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ For a discussion of the various barbarian groups, their political impact, and their religious affiliation, see J.M.W. Wallace-Hadrill, The Barbarian West (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1962), Lucien Musset The

The Franks, on the other hand, came into Gaul as pagans and remained so until 506 when King Clovis, married to a Burgundian princess of trinitarian practice, chose to convert to his wife's faith. The story was recounted by Gregory of Tours in a history both well-known and important to the early Carolingians.

30. Queen Clotild continued to pray that her husband might recognize the true God and give up his idol-worship. Nothing could persuade him to accept Christianity. Finally war broke out against the Alamanni and in this conflict he was forced by necessity to accept what he had refused of his own free will. It so turned out that when the two armies met on the battlefield there was great slaughter and the troops of Clovis were rapidly being annihilated. He raised his eyes to heaven when he saw this, felt compunction in his heart and was moved to tears. "Jesus Christ," he said, "you who Clotild maintains to be the Son of the living God, you who deign to give help to those in travail and victory to those who trust in you, in faith I beg the glory of your help. If you will give me victory over my enemies, and if I may have evidence of that miraculous power which the people dedicated to your name say that they have experienced, then I will believe in you and I will be baptized in your name. I have called upon my own gods, but, as I see only too clearly, they have no intention of helping me. I therefore cannot believe that they possess any power, for they do not come to the assistance of those who trust in them. I now call upon you. I want to believe in you, but I must first be saved from my enemies." Even as he said this the Alamanni turned their backs and began to run away. As soon as they saw that their King was killed, they submitted to Clovis. "We beg you," they said, "to put an end to this slaughter. We are prepared to obey you." Clovis stopped the war. He made a speech in which he called for peace. Then he went home. He told the Queen how he had won a victory by calling on the name of Christ. This happened in the fifteenth year of his reign.

31. The Queen then ordered Saint Remigius, Bishop of the town of Rheims, to be summoned in secret. She begged him to impart the word of salvation to the King. The Bishop asked Clovis to meet him in private and began to urge him to believe in the true God, Maker of heaven and earth, and to forsake his idols, which were powerless to help him or anyone else. The King replied: "I have listened to you willingly, holy father. There remains one obstacle. The people under my command will not agree to forsake their gods. I will go and put to them what you have just said to me." He arranged a

Germanic Invasions, Edward and Columba James, translators (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975), and E.A. Thompson, Romans and Barbarians (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), an especially well-documented and informative study.

meeting with his people, but God in his power had preceded him, and before he could say a word all those present shouted in unison: "We will give up worshipping our mortal gods, pious King, and we are prepared to follow the immortal God about whom Remigius preaches." This news was reported to the Bishop. He was greatly pleased and he ordered the baptismal pool to be made ready. The public squares were draped with colored cloths, the churches were adorned with white hangings, the baptistry was prepared, sticks of incense gave off clouds of perfume, sweet-smelling candles gleamed bright and the holy place of baptism was filled with divine fragrance. God filled the hearts of all present with such grace that they imagined themselves to have been transported to some perfumed paradise. King Clovis asked that he might be baptized first by the Bishop. Like some new Constantine he stepped forward to the baptismal pool, ready to wash away the sores of his old leprosy and to be cleansed in flowing water from the sordid stains which he had borne so long. As he advanced for his baptism, the holy man of God addressed him in these pregnant words: "Bow your head in meekness, Sicamber. Worship what you have burnt, burn what you have been wont to worship"...King Clovis confessed his belief in God Almighty, three in one. He was baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and marked in holy chrism with the sign of the Cross of Christ. More than three thousand of his army were baptized at the same time.⁴⁶

This was a conversion which took place in the context of battle, and which immediately revealed the potency of the trinitarian faith. By invoking the true God of the Christians, Clovis won in war and brought glory to his people. Moreover, he won in war against desperate odds. He received divine physical might and invincibility. Clovis and his followers repudiated old idols because they were totally ineffectual; the gods had no ability to win treasure and subjects for their devotees. External success mirrored internal conviction. It was baptism in the

⁴⁶ Historia Francorum II. xxx-xxxii. I have used the translation of Lewis Thorpe (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1974), pp. 143-144. The other sources which cover this event, the Chronicon Fredegarii and the Liber Historiae Francorum, are both later sources that rely heavily upon Gregory and cast their accounts in the same salvation-history mold. I have used Gregory's account as the earliest, best, and most influential version. A copy of the Historia Francorum was at Angilbert's library at Saint-Riquier, as we know from the inventory of books taken for Louis the Pious in 831. See Hariulf Chronicon Centulense III. iii (Lot, pp. 88-94).

name of the Trinity that made the Franks great.

For Gregory the embracing of the Christian faith of Saint Remigius gave the Franks an orthodox faith from the beginning, and created a natural alliance between the Latin Church and the Franks. At last there was a people who could champion the true faith, as he saw it, and protect the churches from being despoiled. This gave the Franks an obvious and traditional identity as the people of election, the upholders of the will of God and bearers of his grace.

In Gregory's view, the trinitarian faith, orthodoxy, was the unifying theme of the entire Historia. His work was in fact a salvation history in which the Franks were the main actors. He opened the story with a statement of personal faith in which he was especially concerned to denounce the Arians; his orthodoxy was pristine in its purity.

Gregory began his account with the Creation and Adam and Eve, recounting the great salvific episodes of the Old and New Testament, the persecutions of the Church by Rome, and the evangelization of Gaul until the death of Saint Martin. This type of universal approach was a commonplace of early Christian historiography, seen, for example, in Eusebius and in Saint Augustine. Gregory, by focusing on Gaul and the Frankish tribes, gave it a uniquely religio-political focus and suggested the sense of divine Frankish vocation which the Popes and Pepin later invoked. Gregory located the foundation of Frankish greatness in the orthodox conversion and glorious consequent success of Clovis, who then stood as the model of behavior for all generations to come. The link between the Trinitarian faith and the true--that is, successful and valid--kingship was direct. It was a tradition which later would accord with the

aggressive papal imagery of the New Frankish Israel.

This was the royal tradition that Pepin invoked in his Prologue, the still-fresh memory of the divine charge of the Frankish nation. Conversion was election. In Pepin's Prologue to the Lex Salica it became the mystical source of Frankish greatness in holy war, and now also in the holy law. The signs of conviction were there in palpable terms: pious Franks, having received the grace of baptism, venerated the relics of the martyrs who had been killed by the Romans. In honor of their sanctity, the Franks decorated their tombs lavishly, covering their bodies with gold and precious jewels:

By fighting they cast off the harshest yoke
of the Romans
And after the recognition of baptism,
The Franks adorned gold and precious jewels
over the bodies of the holy martyrs, whom the
Romans had burned with fire or maimed
by the sword,
or had thrown to the beasts to
tear.⁴⁷

This was the symbol of the saints' eternal glory--and the proof of Frankish filial piety toward the most ancient and venerable of Christian traditions.

47

Romanorum iugum durissimum de suis cervicibus excusserunt pugnando, atque post agnitionem baptismi sanctorum martyrum corpora, quem Romani igne cremaverunt vel ferro truncaverunt vel besteis lacerando proicerunt, Franci super eos aurum et lapides preciosos ornaverunt. See above, p. 87 and note 44.

Pepin's kingly authority as defensor ecclesiae extended to the "heretic's spear" as well as to battle against barbarian pagans. In the later 760s he intervened directly in issues of trinitarian doctrine. In 766 he called the Council of Gentilly in response to Byzantine challenges to the dogma of the Trinity. No record remains of the council. We have only the testimony of the Annales Laurissenses and the Annales Einhardi, which say simply that Pepin called the council to consider questions about the Trinity and about images.⁴⁸

Pepin's action was probably in response to a request by the Byzantine emperor, Constantine Copronymous, that the Franks accept the Greek policy of Iconoclasm and the particular trinitarian formulations that went along with it.⁴⁹ Einhard reports that a major concern was to examine whether the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son as well as the Father, a point of contention that was to cause considerable difficulty two decades later, as we shall see. Whether Einhard was thinking of the trinitarian issue that was foremost in his own day or whether the main issue actually was the procession of the Holy Spirit we do not know. His is the only source that is specific. Nevertheless, the procession of the Spirit was intimately related to the whole theology of the Trinity, and bore some relation to the theology of Iconoclasm as well.

Iconoclasm was a program, begun by the emperor Leo the Isaurian in 730 and continuing until 788, which decreed the destruction of all religious images as idols. An extremely complex issue, it expressed a tension traditional in Christian devotional and liturgical practice.

⁴⁸ MGH SS I, 144-145.

⁴⁹ Cf. Hefele, III. ii, 725-726.

Veneration of icons was a widespread and popular devotion throughout the Byzantine Empire, based upon the belief that the icon itself, the physical image, was a channel of grace and therefore had a mystical content.

This veneration contrasted sharply with a strong tendency in Eastern thought in general to emphasize the purely spiritual, divine nature of Christ to the detriment of his human embodiment; any emphasis on matter of any sort was seen as a denial of God's sovereignty and spiritual transcendence. Schismatic churches based on the Monophysite and Monothelite heresies, which stated that Christ had only one divine nature or one divine will, respectively, wielded great influence in the East. Western Christian theology by contrast emphasized the two natures and the two wills of Christ, fully human and fully divine. That full union was also the heart of the doctrine of salvation, as we have seen: Christ redeemed only that which he took on. Monophysitism and Monothelitism, accepting only the divine in Christ, thus presented a radical theology that fed directly into the devotional reaction of Iconoclasm and fueled the already strong "spiritualist" tendency.

Considerable political insecurity aggravated the reaction. Leo was a usurper who tried to revive Byzantine imperial power after the traumatic losses of the Arab invasions. He had to establish a new dynasty. He himself came from Syria--a hotbed of Monophysitism and in close contact with Moslem populations militantly opposed to the use of images. The coming together of philosophical and devotional traditions with the pressure of political instability produced a policy which saw Moslem invasions and internal decay as the punishments sent by a God angry over the corruption of the pure, spiritual Christian faith.

Icons, proscribed by law as idols, were destroyed. Iconodules, those supporting the veneration of icons, were persecuted.⁵⁰

Leo's son and successor, Costantine Copronymous, went even further by introducing a Christological argument. He asserted in terms very similar to Monophysite one-nature theology that Christ could never be represented in an icon because his divine nature could not be expressed in crude physical representations. He based his argument upon a philosophical position which identified the icon consubstantially with its prototype: the physical representation was the very thing represented.

The Iconodules, on the other hand, distinguished essentially between the prototype and the icon, which they described as a symbol only partially participating in the reality it represented. Their argument too was based on Christology. They saw in the Incarnation, the Word made flesh, the type and justification for an incarnational view of art. To say that the physical image itself was a channel of grace was to accept the very bedrock of Christian belief that God took on a body. Iconodulism was linked, therefore, to the whole theology of salvation. Similarly, then, God could speak quite directly and salvifically through the physical world.⁵¹

We do not know how the procession of the Holy Spirit, cited by Einhard as the other concern of the Council, was related to these issues. It seems likely that the procession of the Holy Spirit from

⁵⁰ George Ostrogorsky, History of the Byzantine State, revised edition (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1969), pp. 152-165. The Roman pontiff, Gregory II, opposed Leo's policy and condemned Iconoclasm, creating an almost complete break in relations between Rome and Byzantium.

⁵¹ Cf. Ostrogorsky, pp. 171-172.

both the Father and the Son was essential in Western minds to the complete integrity of the two natures of Christ challenged in Iconoclasm, as well as to the full equality between the first and second persons of the Trinity.⁵²

A letter from Pope Paul I to Pepin, probably dating from the Council of Gentilly in 767, placed the responsibility for the doctrinal well-being of the Church squarely upon Pepin. The letter expressed the other side of the notion that the Carolingians were defensores ecclesiae: now it was their calling to protect the belief of the Church.

We as postulants ask you with suppliant entreaty, good, orthodox king, that after God you be for us the firm protector and defender, remaining steadfastly in that good and reverent work of redemption of the holy Church of God which you have begun. For however great and of what sort be the impious malice of the heretic Greeks, the Christianity of your preeminence, having been detected, stands out best: they covetously pondering and plotting how to humiliate the holy catholic and apostolic Church and even how to trample the faith underfoot and to destroy the tradition of the holy Fathers, just as you, most powerful, good king, deem it worthy indeed as an orthodox man to resist manfully those same impious heretics and to defend as usual the holy church of God and the orthodox faith of Christians, since your customary aid and agreeable arrangement have been protected by God, because after God great trust resides in your excellence and in the arm of your most courageous kingdom.⁵³

⁵² The filioque later became a mainstay of the anti-Adoptionist position in order to prove the equality of the Son with the Father. Spanish Adoptionism also was a tendency that denied the full union of human and divine in Christ. See below, Chapters III and IV, passim.

⁵³ MGH Epp III, Codex Carolinus number 32: Supplici deprecatione te, bone, orthodoxe rex, quesumus postulantes, ut sis nobis post Deum firmus protector ac defensor, constanter in eo quod caepisti bono ac pio redemptionis sanctae Dei ecclesiae permanens opere. Optime enim praecellentiae vestrae christianitas comperta existit, quanta qualisque sit impia hereticorum Grecorum malitia: inhianter meditantés atque insidiantes, qualiter, Deo illis contrario, sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam humiliare atque conculcare et fidem bone, potentissime rex, viriliter sicut vere orthodoxus eisdem impiis resistere hereticis atque solite sanctam Dei ecclesiam et christianorum orthodoxam fidem tuo a Deo protecto solito auxilio atque congruo disposito defendere digneris, quoniam magna post Deum in vestra excellentia et fortissimi regni vestri

It is possible that Paul wrote this letter in response to the Council of Gentilly to encourage Pepin to hold the line against the Greeks. Earlier in the year a synod of the patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria had declared themselves Iconodules and had sent an envoy to the Pope. We do not know his response, but he strongly opposed Iconoclasm. It is possible too that he was alarmed by Byzantine overtures to the Franks, since the imperial delegation also seems to have been interested in recovering Byzantine territories in Italy lost to the Pope.⁵⁴ After a short-lived conquest of the Lombards in 755, Pepin had presented the old Byzantine cities of Ravenna and Pentapolis to the See of Peter, despite the fact that Aistulf, the Lombard king, had once submitted to the overlordship of Byzantium. An embassy from emperor to Pepin failed to win the cities back, as did two new embassies sent to Pepin and the Lombards in 757 and 758. Thus, Byzantine interests in the Franks were not merely theological. However complex the motives, the papal mandate was clear: the integrity of the trinitarian faith both in doctrine and in institution was the special vocation of the Frankish kings and their holy people. It was a vocation to which Pepin eagerly responded.

In Byzantium, the policy of Iconoclasm, which spawned much theological and political unrest, continued throughout the 760s, 770s, and 780s. It was exacerbated by dynastic instability and machinations over control of the papacy. Paul I died in 767, after Gentilly. Pepin, the great protector of the Church, died in 768. He was immediately suc-

brachio existit fiducia.

⁵⁴ Cf. Hefele III. ii, pp. 725 ff.

ceeded by his two sons, Carloman and Charles, who were the heirs of his religious interests.

It was, then, these two aspects of the trinitarian tradition, the theological and the political, which were handed down to Pepin's successors. The theological, based upon Creed, Scripture, and patristic (especially Augustinian) exegesis, was the substance of formal belief. The political and cultural was an ideological tradition which identified the Franks as true believers, gens conversa ad fidem catholicam et emuna ab heresa. With the accession of Pepin, this became a quite specific role for king and people as defensores aecclesiae. Under Charlemagne that role was more fully elaborated, and expressed itself not only in extensive theological debate and aggressive uprooting of heresy, but also in a broader cultural program of aesthetic theory and practice. Let us now consider the development of trinitarianism under Charlemagne.

CHAPTER III

CULTORES FIDEI

TRINITARIANISM UNDER CHARLEMAGNE

From the beginning of Carolingian royal power in 751, the Popes associated Carloman and Charles with the special character of their father's kingship.

But I ask, most excellent Sons, that you be made imitators of your most Christian father, following in his footsteps pleasing to God, so that just as he showed to all people by works, so too may you be eager to bring to completion that work which you have begun and to decide the issue manfully with him, to the end that the fullest exaltation of the holy church of God may be attained, while blessed Peter receives his just due with your help, and you receive as a result the worthy reward of celestial prizes before God and his angels, that same prince of the apostles, blessed Peter, interceding, and the renown of your name remains forever widespread in laudable remembrance.¹

The two ruled jointly until 772, when Carloman died.

¹ Paul III, MGH Epp IV, number 35, dated 761-766: Sed peto, excellentissimi filii, ut imitatores vestri christianissimi genitoris efficiamini eiusque Deo placita sequentes vestigia, ut, sicut ipse operibus omnibus gentibus demonstravit, ita quoque et vos bonum quod cepistis opus perficere studeatis et viriliter cum eo decertare, quatenus amplissima sanctae Dei ecclesiae procuretur exaltatio, dum vestro auxilio beatus Petrus receperit iustitias suas, dignamque ex hoc coram Deo et angelis eius, eodem principe apostolorum beato Petro interveniente, celestium praemiorum recipiatis remunerationem et vestri nominis memoria laudabili fama maneat in seculum seculi divulgata.

The quote illustrates the title of this chapter, which is taken from Paulinus of Aquileia's Regula Fidei Metrico l. 121 (MGH PL I, p. 129). The context is a discussion of the definitive establishment of true trinitarian doctrine at the Council of Nicaea in 325. Paulinus related the Nicene Fathers to the Carolingian theologians, new cultores fidei. See Appendix E.

Charles then ruled alone as the heir not only of his father's territory and royal power, but also of his cultural vision. The charges of Pepin's Prologue to the Lex Salica, that the Franks were God's warriors, the inheritors of Clovis whose special legacy was the true faith and filial piety, became an integral component of Charlemagne's cultural program.²

Charlemagne immediately took an aggressive posture toward the role of Christianity in his rule. His first capitulary, given in 769, almost immediately after his accession, was completely concerned with the good ordering of the Church. In it he presented himself as "Charles, King by the grace of God and rector of the kingdom of the Franks, and devoted

² The nature of that cultural program has long been debated. Its specifically religious content has been of special interest in the last twenty years. Walter Ullman has argued that the so-called Renaissance promoted by Charlemagne consisted of the aggressive promotion of a community of belief which involved the replacement of the Frankish identity by that of "the Christian People." Its mechanism was the recreation of society on an ecclesiological model, making clerics and Church law the predominant ruling elements in the new society, a kind of Civitas Dei here and now. Ullmann focused on legal and institutional aspects, and said little about the content of belief or the substance of intellectual and cultural discourse. Moreover, as we have seen above, the Frankish identity was not replaced, but fulfilled in the Christian identity and royal identity that went back to Clovis, perceived as the very founder of Frankish greatness due to his trinitarianism. See The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship (London: Methuen, 1969), especially Chapter 3, "Ecclesiology and Carolingian Rulership." Cf. Morrison, The Two Kingdoms.

J.M.W. Wallace-Hadrill has discussed the content of the cultural and political models, finding a predominantly Old Testament source. See Early Germanic Kingship, cited in Chapter II, note 35. Wallace-Hadrill's "The Via Regia of the Carolingian Age", Early Medieval History (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1976), pp. 181-200 discusses the religio-political theory of the age and the righteousness demanded of the Christian king. Recently, Karl Morrison has discussed Christian models as sources of mimetic strategy in the reform of society in the Carolingian period. He has focused specifically upon the political theory of Hincmar of Rheims and the philosophy of history of Paschasius Radbertus. See The Mimetic Tradition of Reform in the West (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), Section II, Chapters 4-6.

defender and helper of the holy Church in all things."³ There were similar promulgations throughout the early years of his reign.

Perhaps the most palpable example of the militancy of his Christian vision was his conquest and conversion of the Saxons. Still a pagan people in the 770s, the Saxons bordered Carolingian territory and had come under Frankish control sporadically and temporarily.⁴

From the beginning, Charlemagne's expressed intention in the conquest was conversion of the tribes to Christianity, and the order he then imposed was a harsh one based largely on control through ecclesiastical institutions.⁵ Severe penalties were assigned to infractions of church law: the death penalty, for example, was imposed for breaking the Lenten fast; the tithe was assigned as a mandatory obligation.⁶ The ecclesiological order, then, informed external as well as internal affairs.

The growth in the king's role as defensor ecclesiae was marked in the letters of the court circle which addressed Charlemagne as David. No longer was he cited simply as David the holy conqueror, preeminent for his military prowess and prayer. Now he was David the reverent teacher, God's chosen agent of true doctrine.

³ MGH LL II, Capitularia I, number 19.

⁴ See Chapter V, pp. 187 ff. Charlemagne prosecuted a series of campaigns throughout the 770s, finally claiming victory in 776.

⁵ See the Capitulatio de Partibus Saxoniiis (MGH Legum II, Capitularia I, pp. 68-70).

⁶ Later, Alcuin would decry the severity of this settlement and the imposition of the tithe without true conversion in faith as the cause of subsequent and vicious Saxon revolts. MGH Epp IV, number 113, written to Arn of Salzburg who was about to undertake the evangelization of the pagan Avars.

Beyond the devotion of your heart of hearts, he has unfolded the devotion of your authority on our behalf, how you have been zealous to examine the truth of the catholic faith with a pure and holy searching, and he has laid claim to your prudence always to hold the royal way, comforted by apostolic preaching, with the clear discourse of truth...So too David long ago, elected by God as king of the people going ahead, and beloved to God, and most excellent psalmist of Israel, subjecting people on all sides with a conquering sword, also arose in the people as a preacher of the law of God.'

Here more fully than before the two aspects of Carolingian Christianity, the political and the theological, came together.

To aid him in his teaching capacity Charlemagne began in the 780s to gather around himself a group of scholars and theological doctores. Most noted among the company was the great Anglo-Saxon magister Alcuin, who came from York to the itinerant Frankish court at the king's invitation in 782. Alcuin brought with him considerable erudition and a strong background in Scripture and patristic tradition, resources which would serve both him and Charlemagne well. His work until 790, when he returned to England for a three-year visit, was teaching, and there is little information on him before the late 780s. It was only after his return to Francia at the king's request in 793 that he seems to have become involved with theological issues.

Already at court upon his arrival were a number of prominent intellectuals. Arn, a native Bavarian and a deacon at Freising, had come to Charlemagne before 780, and by 782 had been appointed as abbot

⁷ Paul III, MGH Epp III, Codex Carolinus number 41: Insuper mentis probamentis vestrae auctoritatis pro nobis explicavit devotionem, quam pura et sancta inquisitione catholicae fidei veritatem examinare studuistis, et semper viam regiam, apostolica confortatus praedicatione, plano veritatis sermone vestram adseruit prudentiam tenere...Ita et David olim praecedentis populi rex a Deo electus et Deo dilectus et egregius psalmista israheli victrici gladio undique gentes subiciens, legisque Dei eximius praedicator in populo extitit. Cf. Letters 86, 111, 118, 121, 126, 136, 143, 145, 148, 149, and 155.

of Saint Amand. In 784 he went to Salzburg as Archbishop, to replace Vergil, the Irish scholar who had been an advisor to and teacher for King Pepin. As Archbishop he was responsible for the Church in the Eastern March, and led the effort to evangelize the pagan Avars as part of Charlemagne's policy of eastern conquest. By 790 he was joined in this effort by the cleric Leidrad. Both Arn and Leidrad by that time were close friends of Alcuin, as the Anglo-Saxon's letters imply.⁸

Paulinus, a Lombard of great intellectual sophistication and the most prolific of Charlemagne's theologians, joined the court sometime after 776 as a teacher of grammar. His reputation as a teacher must already have been great, as the king in the same year had given him property confiscated in a revolt of Lombard magnates. He was appointed as Patriarch (Bishop) of Aquileia either in 781 or 787, but his prominent participation in the theological controversies of the 790s brought him often to court.

By the end of the 780s two other influential scholars were at court as well. The first was Angilbert, one of Charlemagne's most prominent courtiers and probably a cleric of the Palatine chapel.⁹ Perhaps the scion of a great Frankish family, Angilbert had been raised at the court of Pepin and of Charlemagne.¹⁰ During the 780s he had served as

⁸ For a complete and lucid account of the members of the court circle, sorting through often fragmentary and scattered evidence, see Donald Bullough, The Age of Charlemagne (New York: Putnam, 1965), Chapter IV. For the letters referring to Arn and Leidrad, see MGH Epp IV, numbers 10, 59, 66. On Alcuin see also Bullough's informative article, "Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven," in Uta-Renate Blumenthal, editor, Carolingian Essays (Washington D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1983), pp. 1-69.

⁹ See below, Chapter V, p. 187.

advisor to King Pepin of Italy, whence he seems to have returned to Francia probably by 787 or 788. He quickly became Alcuin's most intimate friend at court; he worked with Theodulf and Paulinus, and he corresponded with Arn.¹¹

Probably the last of the scholars to come to Charlemagne's court was Theodulf, a Visigoth from northern Spain, who arrived sometime before 789. We know little of his early life and nothing of his reasons for coming to Francia, though it is possible that he left Spain in the wake of Charlemagne's unsuccessful military expedition of 778.¹² He lived continuously with the court after that time, and his prolific poetry offers great insight into the royal life. A gifted theologian of considerable erudition, he too contributed substantially to the doctrinal debates of the 790s. Charlemagne appointed him as Bishop of the ancient and important see of Orléans, possibly around 797 or 798.

These men accompanied Charlemagne along "the royal way," and helped to define and implement his cultural program. That program was epitomized in the governmental charge set out in 789 in the greatest of the Carolingian capitularies, the Admonitio Generalis. The capitulary described an ecclesiological society in which the expressed intent of human institutions was the salvation of God's--and Charlemagne's--holy people.¹³ The capitulary presented Charlemagne as "the new Josiah" who

¹⁰ See below, Chapter V, pp. 187, 211 ff.

¹¹ MGH Epp IV, numbers 147, 148. See below, Chapter V.

¹² This is the thesis of Bullough, "Charlemagne," p. 102.

¹³ MGH Capitularia I, pp. 52-62. Cf. Ullmann, Renaissance, especially Chapter 3.

was eager "to call back to the worship of the true God the kingdom given to him by God, by going around, by correcting, and by admonishing."¹⁴ Like his Biblical forebear, Charlemagne was to reestablish the good law found in the Temple, and to that end he mandated the reform of both the institution and the belief of the Church, the latter for the good understanding of the laity as well as of the clergy. The capitulary envisioned a holy people called to understand and witness to the faith, and regularized the status and duties of the clergy as administrators of the cult.

Corrupted institutions were not the only concern to which Charlemagne was responding. Chapter 82 of the capitulary protested "pseudo-doctores coming in the most recent times," and the opening paragraphs forbade nova, new teachings and practices which perverted the faith. So that the Christian truth might triumph Charlemagne prescribed that all Christians preach "first of all things the faith of the holy Trinity and the Incarnation of Christ, his Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension."¹⁵ Purity of belief informed the prescribed rules of ritual and canonical

¹⁴ Admonitio Generalis chapter 19.

¹⁵ MGH LL I, Capitularia I, p. 66. The passage is worth quoting at length, as we will see these subjects again at Saint-Riquier: *Primo omnium praedicandum est omnibus generaliter, ut credant Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum unum esse Deum omnipotentem, aeternum, invisibilem, qui creavit caelum et terram, mare et omnia quae in eis sunt, et unam esse deitatem, substantiam, et maiestatem in tribus personis Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti.*

Item praedicandum est quomodo Dei Filius incarnatus est de Spiritu sancto et ex Maria semper virgine pro salute et reparatione humani generis, passus, sepultus, et tertia die resurrexit, et ascendit in celis; et quomodo iterum venturus sit in maiestate divina iudicare omnes homines secundum merita propria; et quomodo impii propter scelera sua cum diabulo in ignem aeternum mittentur, et iusti cum Christo et sanctis angelis suis in vitam aeternam. See below, Chapter VII.

behavior; belief and action must perfectly conform to bring about salvation.

The warnings against the innovations of false teachers reflected serious royal concern over the recent penetration of heresy into the Frankish realm. The threat was not idle; nova fidei pseudodocorum were to challenge the Carolingian understanding of the tradition of belief and to force the court theologians to reassess and reassert that tradition throughout the following decade. It was against these specific dogmatic challenges that Angilbert would build Saint-Riquier.

The challenge first arose from Spain, where by 789 the heresy of Adoptionism was not only widely accepted by the Visigothic hierarchy, but aggressively seeking supporters in the Spanish March territory under Carolingian control. First a christological issue, Adoptionism claimed that Christ was the true Son of God according to his divine nature, but adopted as Son of God according to his human nature.¹⁶ As the issues confronted here were addressed quite directly at Saint-Riquier, let us consider at length the theological problem.

The trouble had first developed in 785 when Elipandus, Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain, had written a letter to the abbot Fidelis complaining about the teachings of two Visigothic clerics, Beatus, a priest of Liebana, and Etherius, Bishop of Osma. Elipandus declared that Beatus and Etherius had refused to speak of the adoption

¹⁶ For the best theological discussion of Adoptionism see Jaroslav Pelikan, The Christian Tradition, Volume III: The Growth of Catholic Theology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), pp. 50 ff. The historical circumstances are covered in Augustin Fliche and Victor Martin, Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'a nos jours, 21 vols. (Paris: Bloud and Gay, 1935-1964), Vol. II: L'Epoque Carolingienne, by Emile Amann (Paris: Bloud and Gay, 1937), Chapter 4.

of humanity by the second person of the Trinity. The Archbishop thought that they were denying that the Word became flesh, thereby diminishing the integrity of Christ's humanity. He accused them of reviving the ancient arch-heresy of Sabellianism, which had claimed that the Trinity was nothing more than three modes of the Father. Sabellianism defined the Trinity not as three separate and distinct persons with one divine essence, but as one person with three names. Similarly, Christ was nothing more than the temporary indwelling of God the Father in a man's body.¹⁷

The Archbishop had countered this apparently heretical teaching with his own formula that Christ was fully man and fully God, the true Son of God according to his divine nature and the adopted Son of God according to his human nature. Stated otherwise, the Word adopted flesh in the man Jesus, and thereby raised that mere man into a new status as the adopted Son of God. This adoption of the flesh Elipandus saw as crucial to salvation theology, because it was the archetype of salvation for all "mere men." Hence his judgment that "He who shall not have confessed that Jesus is adopted in his humanity and in no way adopted in his divinity is both a heretic and should be exterminated."¹⁸

¹⁷ Our only source for Elipandus' early teaching is his letter to Fidelis reproduced in the response of Beatus and Etherius. See Heterii et Sancti Beati ad Elipandum Epistola (PL LXXXXVI 918-919).

¹⁸ Heterii et Sancti Beati ad Elipandum Epistola (PL LXXXXVI 918: Qui non fuerit confessus Jesum Christum adoptivum humanitate, et nequam adoptivum divinitate, et haereticus est et exterminatur. This letter is our only source for Elipandus' early teaching; his letter to Fidelis and his teachings are found in columns 918 and 919.

Beatus and Etherius had defended themselves against the charges with a long letter to Elipandus. They claimed that the Archbishop's adoption formula was itself heresy, and that he had misunderstood their position. Christ must be the true Son of God both in his humanity and his divinity, they said, and they cited centuries of patristic exegesis in their favor. They saw Elipandus' view, quite the opposite of his intention, as the very denial of the true union of God and man in Christ. They thought that the archbishop meant to say that the man Jesus was not integrally related to the Word according to the mysterious union of two natures into one person. And it meant a fundamental failure to recognize the unique character of Christ and his redemptive role as Son of God. To call Christ in any way adopted was to confuse him, the God-man, with all other men, and to fail to recognize the fullness of human potential through him.¹⁹

Hence they accused Elipandus of the arch-heresy of Nestorius, who had spoken of Christ as two separate persons, a man and a God. Nestorianism had misunderstood the orthodox formula that Christ was two separate and discreet natures, human and divine, in one person.²⁰ The for-

¹⁹ Heterii et Beati Epistola, (PL LXXXXVI 902, 922). Cf. Pelikan III, pp. 52-53.

²⁰ The accusation of Nestorianism has recently been called into question in the later development of the controversy among the Carolingians. At this early stage, however, it is clear that Beatus and Etherius made the connection, as they frequently referred to the anti-Nestorian decisions of the Council of Ephesus. See especially PL LXXXXVI, col. 906. For a complete discussion of the tragic Nestorian conflict and the misunderstanding of the Nestorian position, its complicated historical context and its theological implications, see Pelikan I, pp. 245-275, Kelly, Doctrines, pp. 310-311 and 330-334, Wand, pp. 218-224, Decreta, pp. 33-56. For the related concept of communicatio idiomatum see Kelly, Doctrines, pp. 153-161, Wand, pp. 69-79, and Pelikan I, pp. 249-251, 270-274, and III, pp. 56-57. Jesus Solano, in his article "El Concilio

mula had been rejected by the third great ecumenical council held at Ephesus in 431, and along with Arianism was considered one of the greatest possible errors of christological teaching.

Beatus and Etherius developed their defense along two lines later important for the Carolingian argumentation of the anti-Adoptionist position as well. The first was a trinitarian argument taken directly from the second portion of Augustine's De Trinitate. To the charge of Sabellian modalism they answered with Augustine's famous analogy between the three-fold intelligence of man and the peculiar unity of the immanent Trinity. Just as one man had a three-fold mind comprised of memory, intellect, and will, "which three are in one nature and in one person and in one man," so too the Trinity comprised three persons in one God, "a Trinity of persons of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit in one nature, that is, in one God."²¹ The Trinity was stamped in the patterns of creation and in the pattern of the human soul. To understand the divine mystery one had only to look into himself.

de Calcedonia y la controversia adopcionista del siglo VIII en Espana," in Aloys Grillmaier, S.J. and Heinrich Bacht, S.J., Das Konzil von Chalkedon II (Würzburg: Echter-Verlag, 1953), p. 870, has argued that the accusation of Nestorianism toward the Adoptionists is wrong both on a technical basis and due to the fact that Elipandus saw himself as the defender of the decisions of Ephesus and Chalcedon against Beatus' Monophysitism.

²¹ Heterii et Beati Epistola (PL LXXXXVI 921): Sicut unus homo natura est, et in eo imago Trinitatis, id est, memoria, intelligentia et voluntas, quae tria in una natura sunt, et in una persona sunt, et in uno homine sunt...Hoc dixi de Trinitate in uno Deo, ut credamus Trinitatem personarum Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti in una nature, id est in uno Deo.

The second tack was christological, and again based upon the arguments of the De Trinitate. First, Beatus and Etherius asserted the importance of the Incarnation of Christ through the Virgin Mary. Elipandus had tried to underscore the importance of the Incarnation for the eventual adoption of the flesh by the Word. "For we believe that we will be like him in resurrection, not in divinity, but in the humanity of the flesh, namely by the assumption of the flesh which he received from the Virgin."²² But ultimately, he described Mary merely as mother of the man Jesus who later and by gracious act became adopted as the Son of God.

For Beatus and Etherius, the old dogmatic assertion of the Council of Ephesus, that Mary was "Mother of God," or Theotokos, meant the integral and complete union of a human nature and a divine nature in the one person of Jesus at the moment of conception by the Holy Spirit in the womb of the Virgin. There could be no separation of person and no delay of the moment of union, nor any distinction in the means or character of conception. The human Jesus was from that first moment fully God, and Mary was the Mother of God.

To explain that full union of human and divine in Jesus and its implications for his relationship to the Trinity, Beatus and Etherius relied on Augustine's distinction between the substantial and the relative in Christ.²³ This was ultimately the issue over which Elipandus had stumbled. While the Primate had been anxious to assert the hypostatic

²² Heterii et Beati Epistola (PL LXXXXVI 917): *Credimus enim quia in resurrectione similes ei erimus, non divinitate, sed carnis humanitate, videlicet carnis assumptione quam accepit de Virgine.*

²³ See above, Chapter II, pp. 76-77.

union in Christ, he was unable to comprehend in that union the equal relationship of the man and the God. He felt that of necessity the man had to be subordinate to the omnipotent and transcendent God; to deny this was to undermine the nature of the divinity. Beatus and Etherius explained the potential for the full union and full activity of both natures through Augustine's distinction between that which was essential according to the divinity and relative according to the hypostasis.

It is natural to him to be everywhere with the Father. It is natural to him to be local as the Son alone...It is natural to him to be unsuffering with the Father. It is natural to him to have been given over to suffering as the Son alone. It is natural to him to be immortal with the Father. It is natural to him to die as the Son alone. I say that the Son alone died, because only the Son emptied himself. His emptying is his coming. His coming is his humanity, which humanity is his flesh and soul, that is, he has been perfected as a whole man. And that man, the Son of God, is God. And the Son alone is man, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit is one God.²⁴

To Beatus and those of his party, then, the proper christological understanding was crucial for the proper understanding of the Trinity.²⁵ The personhood of Christ and the relationship between his divinity and his humanity affected the way in which he related to the Father and the Holy Spirit. It was crucial, too, for the proper understanding of salvation and of man's ultimate relationship to God. Orthodox salvation theory posited that God redeemed what he took on. His divine assumption

²⁴ Heterii et Beati Epistola (PL LXXXXVI 930): Naturale est illi ubique esse cum Patre. Naturale est illi localis esse solus Filius...Naturale est illi impassibilis esse cum Patre. Naturale est illi solus Filius subditus passioni. Naturale est illi immortalis esse cum Patre. Naturale est illi solus Filius more. Solum Filium dico mori, quia solus Filius se exinanivit. Exinanitio ejus, adventus ejus est. Adventus ejus, humanitas ejus est: quae humanitas cari ejus est et anima, id est, totus homo perfectus est. Et ipse homo Filius Dei, Deus est. Et solus Filius est homo, qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto unus est Deus.

²⁵ Cf. Heterii et Beati Epistola (PL LXXXXVI 906, 942-943).

of full humanity meant the full redemption of humanity. Without the integral union of God and man in Christ at the moment of conception in the womb of Mary, without the integral union throughout the life, passion, and resurrection of Jesus, the true potential for redeemed man's union with God was lost. In fact, Beatus tied his anti-Adoptionist position not only to the proper understanding of the historical act of redemption in Christ's Passion, but also to the ongoing sacrifice of the Mass as a salvific act:

Why do we say this...except that all of us are reconciled in the one sacrifice of the Mediator? Because "that man, Christ Jesus, is the mediator of God and men." He himself is the head of the body of the Church, one person. To that end we eat his body and drink his blood, so that just as that is visibly digested and passed through, so we are transformed and taken into him, because that which is a sacrament is a mystery. And by eating that flesh of a little man...and drinking that blood, they come to solid food, that is the One God, that Trinity.²⁶

Hence the rejection of Elipandus' formula as both theologically inaccurate on an abstract level, and as undermining the meaning of the sacraments.

This was the understanding which became the basis of Carolingian trinitarian argumentation. But for Elipandus much more than christology was ultimately at stake. His reaction was also a question of authority, and involved in no small measure the political side of Carolingian trinitarianism.

²⁶ Heterii et Sancti Beati ad Elipandum Epistola (PL LXXXXVI 942-943): Hoc totum quare diximus, nisi quia omnes in uno sacramento Mediatoris reconciliamur? Quia "ipse est mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Jesus." Ipse caput corporis Ecclesiae, una persona. Obinde manducamus corpus ejus et sanguinem ejus bibimus, ut sicut illud in nos inuisceratur et trajicitur visibiliter, sic nos in illo transformamur et inuisceramus: quia sacramentum est, mysterium est...Et hanc carnem manducando parvuli, et hunc sanguinem bibendo, veniunt ad solidum cibum, quod est ipsa Trinitas unus Deus. Cf. 906, 916.

Elipandus was Archbishop of Toledo, a see "which has never erred," as he repeatedly thundered. Toledo had been the most active see in the West during the seventh century, universally respected for its synodal decisions. The Visigothic Church had boasted such luminaries as Isidore of Seville (whose brother, Leander, had been Archbishop of Toledo), Hildonsus, and Julian, also Archbishop of Toledo. This territory alone had escaped the Moslem occupation in Spain, and continued to flourish.

However, Elipandus during his tenure saw Toledan jurisdiction increasingly hedged in by Roman ecclesiastical and Frankish political and cultural hegemony. Aquitaine and the Spanish March had been reclaimed from the Moslems by Pepin in the late 750s. But Pepin had established Frankish control by a series of savage and devastating campaigns aimed not only at expulsion of the Moslems, but also at crushing any hopes for separatist autonomy among the Gascons and Septimianians. This resulted in the virtual decimation of local institutions and the destruction of the local economy.²⁷

²⁷ Cf. Bullough, Charlemagne, p. 36: "For the last nine years of his life Pippin was occupied almost annually in trying to put an end forever to Aquitanian and Gascon separatism... (The Franks) were probably as much to blame as the infidel invaders for the impoverishment of this once-wealthy region." Compare the descriptions in the Annales Regni Francorum 760-769 (MGH SSRG, pp. 741-829), and Chronicon Fredegarii IV, Continuationes 41-53. See J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, editor, The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar (London: Nelson, 1960), pp. 109-120.

²⁸ "On ne savait plus très bien ce qu'était un archevêque ou un métropolitain. C'est le réveil de la culture juridique qui amena leur réapparition," as Philippe Wolff has said. See "L'Aquitaine et ses Marges" in Wolfgang Braunsfels, editor, Karl der Grosse, Lebenswerk und Nachleben II: Persönlichkeit und Nachleben (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann Verlag, 1965), p. 296.

The Church hierarchy, too, had been decimated.²⁸ Only very slowly was the religious structure reestablished. During the 770s Pope Hadrian initiated a reform movement for Spain and Septimania, commissioning Wilcharius, Archbishop of Sens, to bring the Visigothic Church into conformity with Rome on the model of Saint Boniface's work in Germany. Wilcharius faced a cultural Christianity welded together by particularism and a long history of isolation, jealous of its traditions and its autonomy. The strong self-identity had been heightened by the Moslem occupation of Spain after 711, and Frankish inroads after 760. Wilcharius, faced with a monumental task and stiff opposition, appointed a native Visigoth, Egila, as bishop with an undetermined see, to help him as a sort of apostolic delegate. Egila concentrated his efforts in Granada where the the Moslem threat was the greatest. Here he met and enlisted the aid of a certain Migetius.

Migetius rabidly attacked the particularism and the authority of the Spanish Church and promoted conformity with a heavy hand. This alone alienated the Spanish clergy. But he also taught a bizarre trinitarian theology which had little to do with the belief of the Church, claiming that God the Father was the historical King David, God the Son the man Jesus, and God the Holy Spirit the Apostle Paul. He spoke of "the divinity" only in vague and confused terms, emphasizing above all these three corporeal persons. Such theological perversion was intolerable; Elipandus called a synod in 782, probably at Seville, at which Migetius was condemned both for his theology and his harsh criticism of Toledan authority.²⁹

²⁹ Our knowledge of Migetius comes from two sources. The first is

Although Rome quickly disavowed the work of Migetius, the Spaniards must have made the connection with the reform movement. Indeed, the response of Elipandus to Migetius raged against the idea that Rome had any special authority or prestige (and any right, by extension, to meddle in Visigothic affairs). Rome was not, he said, the New Jerusalem descended as the vision of peace on the world, as the reformers claimed, but the New Babylon, possessor as any other church of her share of evil and good. The vision of peace, the true source of authority, was, rather, the vision of the Trinity descended upon and held in special care by the Church throughout the world, the Spanish as well as any other.³⁰

Elipandus' authority had eroded further in the early 780s. Charlemagne consolidated Frankish power in 781 by creating in Aquitaine a separate sub-kingdom, crowning his son Louis as king. He continued the policy of romanization already begun by Hadrian by supplying the emptied church treasuries with new liturgical books which contained the Roman liturgy. The move resulted indirectly in the disappearance of the ancient Visigothic Gallican liturgy. Only in Urgel, a diocese of the eastern Pyrenees (which did not become Frankish until 785), where economic straits meant the replacement of books only very slowly, did the

the Elipandi Epistola ad Migetium Haereticum (PL LXXXXVI 859 ff.), which was Elipandus' response to and condemnation of the teachings of Migetius. The second is a series of letters from Pope Hadrian addressed to Wilcharius and Egila, condemning the theological and reform abuses. The letters corroborate Elipandus' account. See also Wilhelm Heil, "Der Adoptianismus, Alkuin und Spanien," in Wolfgang Braunfels, editor, Karl der Grosse, Lebenswerk und Nachleben II: Das Geistige Leben (Düsseldorf: Verlag L. Schwann, 1965), p. 100.

³⁰ Elipandi Epistola (PL LXXXXVI, 867).

visigothic liturgy coexist for any length of time with the Roman.³¹

More striking was the new growth of Frankish monastic life, inspired by the work of Benedict of Aniane from 782 onward. Few monasteries had survived the Moslem occupation; Benedict, a close confidante of Charlemagne at the Carolingian court, and a native of the territory, worked at Aniane with Charlemagne's blessing, reforming monastic practice according to the Benedictine Rule. He immediately developed a monastic network with the other Aquitainian foundations, and his companions established new abbeys on his reform model.³² The work resulted in an efflorescence of religious culture in the monastic liturgy, life, and scriptorium. It, too, encouraged the process of standardization and romanization, since Benedict's reform was based upon the Benedictine Rule, a very Roman monastic ordo.

Furthermore, in 785, the very year of Beatus' and Etherius' letter challenging Elipandus, several March territories, including Gerona, Septimania, and Urgel, under Toledan authority before the Moslem occupation, revolted from the Saracen Emir and gave themselves over to Charlemagne. The Frankish king strengthened his own control by granting

³¹ Wolff, p. 300. Much has been written on the Carolingian romanization of the liturgy. See, for example, Jungmann, Missarum Sollemnia, pp. 106 ff., who also provides an extensive bibliography, Netzer, L'Introduction de la Messe Romaine en France sous les Carolingiens, (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1910), Cyrille Vogel, "Les échanges liturgiques entre Rome et les pays francs jusqu'à l'époque de Charlemagne," Le chiese nei regni dell'Europa occidentale e i loro rapporti con Roma fino all'800. Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo VII (1960): 225-246, and, for a consideration of the effects of the reform on Frankish spirituality, André Vauchez, La Spiritualité du Moyen Age Occidental: VIIIe-XIIIe siècle. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1975), pp. 14-18.

³² Wolff, pp. 297-300.

exceptional privileges and grants to the potentes who gave allegiance to him. Thus, the Visigothic Primate found himself increasingly confined by Frankish political and cultural hegemony, which meant in effect, Roman religious hegemony.

Elipandus saw himself as the upholder of the pristine belief and authority of the apostolic Church. Even in his Adoptionist theology Elipandus' appeal to orthodoxy was justifiable. He had, in fact, drawn his argument from the most venerable of patristic, Biblical, and liturgical sources. Augustine himself had used the term "adopted" to describe Christ's humanity; so too had Athanasius, Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory the Great, and Isidore of Seville in passages which the archbishop quoted.³³ But while his references to the Fathers were technically correct, Elipandus either misunderstood or ignored their meaning. They had never meant to use adoptionist terminology as the archbishop understood it, and, in fact, always used it to assert the integral union of human and divine in Christ.

³³ Elipandi Epistola ad Albinum (PL LXXXXVI, 872-873): Incipiunt testimonia sanctorum venerabilium Patrum de adoptine in Filio Dei secundum humanitatem, et non secundum divinitatem...Beatus Ambrosius in suis dogmatibus dicit: Nostro usu adoptivus Filius, et verus Filius. Beatus Hieronymus iterum dicit: His Filius hominis per Dei Filium in Dei Filio esse promeretur, nec adoptio a natura separatur, sed natura cum adoptione conjungitur. Beatus quoque Augustinus secundum divinitatem dicit, Dei Filius ante saecula ex Patre genitus non est adoptione, sed genere, neque gratia, sed natura, secundum humanitatem dogmatibus dicitus homo adoptatus...Beatus quoque Leo papa in suis dogmatibus dicit: Ipse Dominus et Redemptor secundum divinitatem dicit: "Ego et Pater unum sumus"; secundum humanitatem dicit, "Pater major me est." Beatus quoque Isidorus, jubar Ecclesiae, sidus Hesperiae, doctor Hispaniae, in libro Etymologiarum dicit: "Aequalitas ista non est in divinitate, sed in sola humanitate, et in carnis adoptione, quam accepit de vergine..."

Elipandus was also supported by the rule of prayer, for the Mozarabic liturgy of eighth-century Christian Spain contained phrasing that might easily lead to Adoptionist assumptions. "Through the passion of an adopted man" (per adoptivi hominis passionem), "(Christ) given in adoption" (in adoptione donum), and "through the adoption of the flesh" (per adoptionum carnis) were common phrases referring to Jesus and his work of redemption.³⁴

Adoptionist tendencies had existed in Spain long before Elipandus crystallized a formal doctrine in reaction to Migetius and Beatus. Throughout the seventh century Spanish councils had deliberated on christological matters; the eleventh Council of Toledo in 675 had expressly condemned an "Adoptionist" teaching: "For this Son of God is Son by nature, not by adoption, whom God the Father must be believed to have generated neither by will nor by necessity."³⁵

Like Elipandus, earlier upholders of the formula had seen themselves as defenders of the faith. Visigothic memories of their Arian past were strong, and there were local, temporary revivals of Arianism periodically, though without success. To assert the adoption of flesh by the Word was the orthodox assurance against Arian denial of the divinity of the Son. Other heresies had appeared as well, including Apollinarianism, Priscillianism, and Monothelitism.³⁶ What all of these

³⁴ Henri Leclercq, "Adoptionism," DACL I, cc. 467-468.

³⁵ Mansi XI, 133: Hic etiam Filius Dei natura est Filius, non adoptione, quem Deus Pater nec voluntate, nec necessitate genuisse credendus est.

³⁶ Apollinarianism was a heresy that strongly downplayed the "merely human" in Christ, saying that Christ assumed a human body and a human soul, but not a human spirit (mind). Priscillianism stated that, while

intellectual currents had in common was a denial or diminishing of the human integrity of Christ, and an overemphasis on the divine nature.

The Moslem presence in Spain in the eighth century undoubtedly heightened fears of the denial of the Incarnation, since the Moslems were radical monotheists who militantly denied that the man Jesus was God. The Adoptionist formula, then, supported by the most venerable tradition and worship, seemed the surest and clearest way to assert the truth of the Incarnation.³⁷

Elipandus actively promulgated his christological formula, which was endorsed almost unanimously by the bishops under his jurisdiction. Beatus and Etherius seem to have pleaded their cause to Pope Hadrian. At any rate we have his response, a letter to the entire Spanish episcopate. He warned the bishops against the heresies infecting their church, castigating Elipandus, whom he openly accused of Nestorianism, as well as Migetius and Egila.

Under this pressure, Elipandus appealed sometime between 787 and 789 to one of the most respected and intellectually influential bishops in the Carolingian Spanish March: Felix of Urgel. (At the same time, ironically, Alcuin was writing a letter to Felix, whose sanctity and

Christ was both God and man, his human nature was not conceived by the Holy Spirit, but by the human seed of David and Mary. Priscillianism also emphasized a strong Gnostic dualism, emphasizing Christ's purification of human nature and worldly life and the overcoming of the earthly nature of man in the Redemption. Monothelitism asserted that Christ had only one will or energy, his divine one; his human body, reason, and soul at no time fulfilled any independent motion of their own, but acted only when and how the divine Logos willed them to act.

³⁷ Cf. Amann, pp. 132-133, and Kelly, Doctrines, pp. 119-123, 289-295, and 343-345. For a complete historical and theological analysis of Adoptionism, of the work and role of Elipandus, and of the nature of the problem, see Heil, "Adoptianismus," pp. 95-155.

learning were renowned, requesting his prayers for Alcuin's well-being. The Anglo-Saxon master would, even after Felix took up Adoptionism, refer to him as a "father worthy of honor and a brother worthy of love.")³⁸ Elipandus' solicitation of Felix, clearly, was not merely a theological defense. It was a bid for support and the reclaiming of lost prerogatives aimed directly at Carolingian control. Felix responded on Elipandus' behalf, himself taking up the Adoptionist cause and developing his own Adoptionist teaching. This was a threat by no means negligible for a Frankish royal power so recently and tenuously established in the region.

Thus, Spanish Adoptionism, which denied the traditional understanding of the person of Christ, was a threat to the Carolingians both politically and theologically. It became an open struggle when it entered Carolingian territory. As we will see, in the 790s, Angilbert, now abbot of Saint-Riquier, himself entered the fight against Felix on Charlemagne's behalf.

Just before that, however, a new and difficult challenge would involve Angilbert from yet another quarter. It was probably in 789 that the report of an ecumenical council held in Byzantium on the issue of Iconoclasm reached the Frankish court from Rome.

In 787 Empress Irene, the mother of the new Byzantine child-emperor Constantine VI, had called the council at Nicaea to reconsider the policy of Iconoclasm and its attendant theology. A Greek from the Iconoclast city of Athens, she was devoted to the restoration of the venera-

³⁸ MGH Epp IV, number 23.

tion of icons.³⁹ The wife of Leo IV, the successor of the hard-line Constantine Copronymous, she had taken over the throne as regent for her young son upon her husband's death, and saw her ascendancy as the opportunity to revoke Iconoclasm and the powerful party that had supported it once and for all. The council refuted Iconoclasm, rejected the council of 754 which had established the hard-line policy, and reestablished communion with Rome, which had objected strongly to the Iconoclast program.

The council had further sought to bolster theologically the veneration of images as vessels of grace and visible representations of spiritual perfection which thereby participated in the work of salvation. To that end, it reaffirmed the radical inseparability of the human and divine in Christ by promulgating once again the dogmas of consubstantiality, of the absolute unity of the person of Christ, and of the Theotokos.⁴⁰

Although the Second Council of Nicaea had been called as an ecumenical council, Western theologians had not participated. After several invitations from and much negotiation with Constantinople, Pope Hadrian sent two papal delegates along with a letter upholding through Scriptural and patristic proofs the cult of images.⁴¹ But he seems not to have informed Charlemagne about the negotiations. Only later did he

³⁹ Ostrogorsky, p. 176.

⁴⁰ Hefele III. ii, 775-776. Cf. Pelikan II, Chapter 3.

⁴¹ The Melkite patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch also participated. For a complete account of the council see Amann, pp. 112-121; Gervais Dumeige, Histoire des Conciles Oecuméniques IV: Nicée II (Paris: Editions de l'Orante, 1978). For the primary documents, see Decreta, pp. 107-132.

send a copy of the conciliar acts to the king. This was Charlemagne's only source of information about the proceedings. But in Rome the Latin translation had been made so poorly and so carelessly that it grossly misrepresented what the Greeks had actually said. When the decrees were read to the king, he was outraged. He thought he detected heresy throughout the documents, and he summoned his court theologians to determine the validity of the Greek position.⁴²

The Greeks had finally rejected Iconoclasm by the theological argument that icons were mystical vessels of God's grace.⁴³ Therefore, they were worthy of veneration. However, in an especially egregious error, the Greek word proskynesis, "veneration," had been translated as adorare, "to adore or worship." Worship was an act and honor reserved for God alone; to worship images was to disobey the most ancient and fundamental tenet of the Judeo-Christian tradition, the prohibition against idolatry of the First Commandment.

⁴² The account of the poor translation comes to us from Anastasius Bibliothecarius, librarian of Pope Leo IV, who had to make a new translation for official records as a consequence. Sancta Synodus septima generalis Nicaena secunda Anastasio Bibliothecario interprete (PL CXXIX 195): ...non quod ante nos minime fuerit interpretata, sed quod interpres pene per singula relicto utriusque linguae idiomate, adeo fuerit verbum e verbo secutus, ut quid in eadem editione intelligatur, aut vix aut nunquam possit adverti, in fastidiumque versa legentium, pene ab omnibus hac pro causa contemnatur. Unde a quibusdam nec ipsa lectione, ut non dicam transcriptione, digna penitus iudicatur... Compare, for example, the most notorious error in a quote attributed to a Cypriot bishop: Suscipio et amplector imagines secundum servitium adorationis quod consubstantiali et vivificatrici Trinitati emitto. This was the opposite of what the bishop had said. Cf. Amann, p. 121, note 3.

⁴³ See Chapter II, pp. 95 ff., for the Iconodule argument.

So essential a divine prescription could not be perverted. Charlemagne asked his clerics to identify the erroneous passages for the development of an official response.⁴⁴ These objections were recorded in a series of reprehensia or official objections. These were the outline or chapter headings of an intended dogmatic and aesthetic treatise, now called the Libri Carolini, a comprehensive and fully developed exposition of the Carolingian position

The reprehensia developed three issues: Greek heresy on the dogma of the Trinity, Greek sacrilege in the worship of images, and Greek arrogance in the exaltation of the emperor to divine status. The protest set the context with a forceful dogmatic statement on the Trinity. Byzantine misunderstanding of the heart of the faith was the true source of Rome's quarrel. The Carolingians clearly thought that the Greeks could not possibly believe rightly on images because they did not believe rightly on the very heart of the faith.

The Byzantines, they said, misunderstood both the Son and the Holy Spirit in the Trinity, because they denied a doctrine which was traditional in Western trinitarian thought and credal formulation: the simultaneous procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son.⁴⁵ The reprehensia complained:

⁴⁴ MGH LL III, CC II, p. 481. Cf. Haugh, pp. 46-47, Ann Freeman, "Further Studies in the Libri Carolini III", Speculum 46 (1971): 597. For the order of events and probable dates, see Von den Steinen, "Entstehungsgeschichte der Libri Carolini", Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken XXI (1929-30): 1-93. This article was summarized by Ann Freeman, "Theodulf of Orléans and the Libri Carolini", Speculum 32 (October, 1957): 663, note 1, and 666.

⁴⁵ For the term "simultaneous procession" see Pelikan, Christian Tradition II, pp. 183-198.

that Tarasius (Patriarch of Constantinople), who professes in his statement of faith the Holy Spirit proceeding not from the Father and the Son according to the faith of the Nicene Creed, but from the Father through the Son, does not understand correctly.⁴⁶

The reference to the faith of the Nicene Creed was particularly important, because it located the source of authority for the Carolingian belief. Hence this was not only an issue of belief, but also a question of authority and the propagation of nova.

The Creed as sung throughout the Carolingian realm and the entire West in the eighth century said of the Holy Spirit, "And (I believe) in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the Life-giver, who proceeds from the Father and the Son," Et in Spiritum Sanctum, dominum et vivificantem, qui ex patre filioque procedit.⁴⁷ The phrase qui ex patre filioque procedit expressed in the most authoritative of all contexts a doctrine that went back to the earliest Western theological speculation and was taught by every great Father in the West.⁴⁸ It was part of two credal statements used in the West. Therefore, when, as part of the mistranslated decree of the Council, the statement of faith of the Patriarch of Constantinople said that the Spirit proceeded from the Father through the Son, rather than from the Father and the Son, the Carolingians thought they again detected a heresy. In their view this denied both the dogma of the unity of the Trinity, and that of the divinity and equality of the Son with the Father. This seemed an especially dangerous position in

⁴⁶ MGH Epp V, number 2, p. 7: Quod Tarasius non recte sentiat, qui Spiritum sancto non ex Patre et Filio secundum Niceni symboli fidem, sed ex Patre per Filium procedente in sue credulitatis lectione profitetur.

⁴⁷ Kelly, Creeeds, pp. 358-367.

⁴⁸ Cf. Chapter II, pp. 72 ff.

light of the Adoptionist question.

Ironically, neither the Greeks nor the Franks were wrong on what they knew of this issue, as we have seen in Chapter II.⁴⁹ The differences in understanding the eternal relationship of the three persons had been determined by the different points of departure in Eastern and Western theology. In the West, Augustine's formulation of the simultaneous procession was definitive. Most post-Augustinian Latin theologians accepted the teaching as a matter of course, and many considered it to be the standard belief of the universal Church. Bishop Avitus of Vienne and Cassiodorus in the sixth century both taught that it was the catholic faith of the Church; and Bishop Fulgentius of Ruspe believed that the doctrine had apostolic sanction. The simultaneous procession had papal support as well, having been taught by the two great theologian Popes, Leo the Great in the fifth century and Gregory the Great in the sixth. Thus, belief in the double procession, though not yet liturgically expressed in the credal term filioque in 600, was widespread throughout the West, promulgated by the greatest Latin patristic authorities and accepted as universal and apostolic belief.⁵⁰

The use of the term filioque in the liturgical context of the Creed came from two sources. The first and seminal influence was the Athanasian Creed, that mainstay of Carolingian religious teaching.⁵¹ The formal statement said, Spiritus sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus nec creatus nec genitus sed procedens, "The Holy Spirit is from the Father

⁴⁹ See pp. 63-64, 72 ff.

⁵⁰ Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands II, pp. 22-25.

⁵¹ Cf. Chapter II, pp. 62 ff.

and the Son, not made nor created nor begotten but proceeding." It was couched in the context of proving the uniqueness of persons within the divine unity of the Trinity by the method of origin: Unus ergo Pater non tres Patres, unus Filius, non tres Filii, unus Spiritus Sanctus, non tres Spiritus Sancti, "So," (ergo, implying cause), "there is one Father, not three Fathers, one Son, not three Sons; one Holy Spirit, not three Holy Spirits." This creed had answered and further precluded the two main Western heretical tendencies, Arian subordinationism and Sabellian modalism. First, it assured the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father. Second, it clearly defined the ways in which the Son and Holy Spirit came forth, their modes of origin distinguishing them as more than mere modes of the divinity. The Athanasian formulation, then, both answered the Christological problem of the two natures of the Son and avoided the trinitarian problem of the confusion of persons.⁵²

The second source was the Visigothic liturgy. There were many references to the simultaneous procession, some using the filioque formula itself, others speaking of the procession et ex Patre et Filio, "both from the Father and the Son." This Pentecost prayer was characteristic:

O Holy Spirit, you who proceed from the Father and the Son (qui a Patre Filioque procedis): teach us to do the truth. As you have received the sending forth from the Father and the Son (qui de Patre Filioque accepisti promissionem), you will associate us with them from whom you proceed so ineffably by invisible charity.

The concept was furthered in other usages as well. Whereas, for example, the Roman liturgy addressed prayers to the Father through the Son, in the Visigothic liturgy prayers were often addressed to the Son alone,

⁵² Cf. Kelly, Athanasian Creed, pp. 19ff.

and were addressed indifferently to Christ and to God.⁵³

The actual interpolation of the filioque into the Nicene Creed seems to have occurred in Spain. The first appearance of the interpolated Creed was in 589 when at the Third Council of Toledo the Visigothic king Reccared converted to the orthodox faith from Arianism and accepted the decrees of the first four ecumenical councils. He promulgated the catholic faith by royal authority and ordered his clergy to profess loyalty to it. At the opening of the council Reccared recited both the Nicene and Constantinopolitan versions of the Creed, the latter with the filioque added to it.⁵⁴

At the Council the Visigoths had operated under two fundamental assumptions about the filioque which were of critical importance. First, Spanish theologians clearly thought that the filioque was part of the original Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. They spoke of the simultaneous procession directly in the context of this traditional and inalterable faith. The definitions of the Council of Chalcedon prohibiting any alterations in the Creed were appended to the acts of the new council, and five anathemas were directed against anyone who rejected

⁵³ Cf. Josef Andreas Jungmann, The Early Liturgy to the Time of Gregory the Great (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959), pp. 231 ff. For the prayer, see Missale in die Pentecostes (PL LXXXV 613): O Spiritus sancte qui a Patre Filioque procedis: doce nos facere veritatem. Ut qui de Patre Filioque accepisti promissionem: invisibili nos his a quibus tam ineffabiliter procedis adsocias charitate. On the attribution of the text, part of the Missale Mixtum secundum Beati Isidori, see Cunibert Mohlberg, editor, Missale Gothicum (Augsburg: Benno Filser, 1929), Introduction, and Jungmann, p. 231.

⁵⁴ Mansi IX 981, 985. The first reference contained the reading of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed with the interpolation; the second anathematized anyone not professing the simultaneous procession. See also Haugh, pp. 27-30.

the decrees of the first four ecumenical councils. The third anathema was aimed at "those who do not profess that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son (filioque).⁵⁵

Second, as a consequence of this belief, the Fathers at Toledo assumed the filioque to be the practice of the universal Church. The second canon of the council proclaimed that

in all churches of Spain and Galicia the symbol of the faith of the Council of Constantinople, that is of the 150 Fathers, be recited according to the form of the Eastern Churches, so that it be chanted in a loud voice by the people before the Lord's Prayer is said.⁵⁶

Reccared promulgated a similar royal decree, with the same wording about the practice of the Eastern churches.

After the council of 589, the filioque appeared everywhere in Spain. Isidore of Seville, whose elder brother Leander had presided over the council, used the phrase in both his Etymologiae and his Sententiae, works later found in many monastic libraries in Europe.⁵⁷ Eight councils of Toledo in the seventh century, as well as the Council of Merida in 663 and the Council of Braga in 675, promulgated the formula. It appeared as well in the Gothic Breviary for the Matins and Vespers of Pentecost.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Mansi IX 981, 985-987: Quicumque Spiritum sanctum non credit aut non crediderit a Patre et Filio procedere, eumque non dixit coaeternum esse Patri et Filio, et coaequalem, anathema sit. Cf. Haugh, pp. 28-29.

⁵⁶ Mansi IX 993: ...ut per omnes ecclesias Hispaniae, vel Gallae-
ciae, secundum formam orientalium ecclesiarum, concilii Constantinopoli-
tani, hoc est, centum quinquaginta episcoporum symbolum fidei recitetur:
ut priusquam dominica dicatur oratio, voce clara a populo decantetur...
Cf. Hefele III. i. 222-228, and Haugh, p. 28.

⁵⁷ Cf. PL LXXXII 268, 271, and PL LXXXIII 568.

⁵⁸ Haugh, p. 29.

In this way, the filioque clause and its attendant theology became entrenched in Spanish liturgical practice and in formal dogmatic decrees. Assumed to be the ancient and universal practice of the Church, the usage spread throughout the West at an early date. While there is no evidence that the filioque clause was inserted in the Creed in England, the theology of the simultaneous procession was cited as early as the Synod of Hatfield in 680.⁵⁹ Among both the Anglo-Saxons and the Franks the filioque was propagated through the Athanasian Creed, which was used increasingly for instruction in the Catholic faith in the late seventh and eighth centuries.

Rome, however, steadfastly refused to accept the filioque interpolation even though the Popes gradually came to condone the teaching of the doctrine of the simultaneous procession. Papal hesitancy probably stemmed from a clash between Pope Martin I (649-655) and Constantinople, when the Byzantines accused Martin of believing in the simultaneous procession when the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed stated the simple procession from the Father.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Haugh, p. 42.

⁶⁰ We know little about the incident, our only source being a fragment of a letter from the Byzantine theologian Maximinus the Confessor to the priest Marinus. According to the fragment, Constantinople challenged Martin's belief on the basis of a synodal letter which he had written. Maximinus, while citing the Western appeal to the Latin Fathers as the basis of their belief, went to great pains to assure his reader that the West was actually in conformity with the original Nicene-Constantinopolitan formula. It was only carelessness in terminology that made it appear that they were also endorsing the Son as the cause of the Spirit.

Although eventually exonerated, after the incident Rome professed with great care its strict adherence to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. Pope Agatho in 680 called a council of 125 bishops at Rome which produced two letters sent to the Byzantine emperor in the Pope's name. The first stressed complete support for the pure patristic tradition.

We guard with sincerity of heart and without ambiguity the faith which our fathers have left us, supplicating of God, as our greatest good, to preserve both the meaning and the words of their decisions without any kind of addition, subtraction, or alteration.⁶¹

The second addressed the filioque problem.

(We) guard in the closest keeping of our mind the definitions of the catholic and apostolic faith, which the apostolic throne has both kept and hands down to the present, believing in one God, the Father Almighty...and in the Holy Spirit...who proceeds from the Father.⁶²

Rome maintained this cautious posture for centuries, never admitting the filioque on any formal basis until 1274 despite the Frankish challenge after 787.

The Carolingian reprehensia flatly rejected the Byzantine per filium position. For them there was no question "that Tarasius did not understand correctly" when he said that the Spirit proceeded from the Father through the Son. It seemed to be a virtual denial of the Trinity.⁶³

⁶¹ Mansi XI 235-238: Cum simplicitate cordis et sine ambiguitate a patribus traditae fidei conservamus, unum ac praecipuum bonum habere semper optantes atque studentes, ut nihil de eis quae regulariter definita sunt, minuatur, nihil mutetur vel augeatur, sed eadem et verbis et sensibus illibata custodiantur? Cf. Haugh, p. 32.

⁶² Mansi XI 289 ff.: ...apostolica sedes et tenet et tradit, tota mentis custodia conservemus; credentes in Deum Patrem omnipotentem...et in Spiritum sanctum...ex Patre procedentem. Haugh, p. 32.

⁶³ MGH Epp V, number 2, pp. 7-11.

Two other reprehensia addressed related issues which seemed to challenge the consubstantiality and coeternity of the Son and the Holy Spirit with the Father. Capitulum II protested what seemed to be a subordination of the Son. The Greeks had said that the Son received his essence from the Father who was without beginning; the Carolingians took this to imply that the Son came after the Father and, by extension, was created. Capitulum III rejected the title contribulus, or "kinsman" to describe the relation of the Spirit to the Father and the Son. Again, the Franks feared subordination of the Spirit to the Father.⁶⁴

The Carolingians then took up the cudgel on the question of images. They categorically rejected the worship of images as a sacrilege, and denied that icons were mystical channels of grace in themselves. They saw art as worthy of respect, because the subject matter portrayed might be a sacred subject, and because the genius, technique, and harmonious proportions of the work inspired a sense of beauty and order which lifted the mind to God. The Carolingians therefore walked the middle ground between Iconoclasm and Iconodulism, acknowledging the subjective value of art in a theory which became seminal in Carolingian aesthetic philosophy, as we shall see in Chapter VI.⁶⁵

The final contention of the reprehensia was a rejection of the claims to supposedly divine status of Constantine and Irene, the co-rulers of Byzantium. The Carolingians were offended by the imperial blessing per eum qui conregnat nobis Deus, "through him who co-reigns with us as God," as a monstrous arrogation of Christlike power and character.

⁶⁴ MGH Epp V, number 2, pp. 11-14.

⁶⁵ Cf. Chapter VI, pp. 236 ff.

This was, perhaps, at the heart of Byzantine evil, because such a sacrilege not only poisoned all other doctrine, but was itself a great idolatry beyond even that of image-worship.⁶⁶

So argued Charlemagne's clerics. After the reprehensia were established, the king commissioned Angilbert, the recently-appointed abbot of the monastery of Saint-Riquier and one of his closest advisors, to take them to Rome for Pope Hadrian's consideration, sometime in 790 or 791. The negotiation was no easy task.⁶⁷

Pope Hadrian had been favorable to the Byzantine position, which had been hammered out in the presence of his legates. It reestablished the important ties between Constantinople and Rome after decades of estrangement. The Pope felt the Carolingian reprehensia to be a misrepresentation of what the Greeks had really said (as, of course, they were). He replied with a long letter refuting the arguments one by one, and setting the decisions of the council within the context of patristic tradition. Interestingly, he never questioned the use of the term adore for the veneration of images. He explained rather that what was intended was not worship in the cultic sense, but respect. Veneration of images as channels of grace under divine inspiration he saw as a good and salvific work.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ MGH Epp V, number 2, p. 53.

⁶⁷ As the commission meant presentation of the position, it is reasonable to assume that Angilbert was one of the court clerics present at the initial reading.

⁶⁸ MGH Epp V, number 2, pp. 14-15. For the other arguments see pp. 7-14, 16, 18, and 53.

On the filioque the Pope was adamant. He noted that all of the Fathers had spoken at times of the procession of the Spirit through the Son without denying the consubstantiality of either person to the Father. The filioque interpolation had had a difficult history in Rome, and the Popes had steadfastly refused to accept the credal addition even though they gradually came to condone the teaching of the simultaneous procession doctrine.

Hadrian's reply mattered little to Carolingian resolve. Charlemagne asked one of his theologians, probably Theodulf of Orléans, to develop the reprehensia into a full treatise, now called the Libri Carolini. The author went ahead with the composition of the books, perhaps even while Angilbert was still in Rome negotiating with the Pope. The draft made few changes in the substance of the reprehensia.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Current scholarship is divided on the authorship of the Libri Carolini. I accept the argument advanced by Ann Freeman in a series of articles published in Speculum, that the treatise was the work of Theodulf. The comprehensive listing of "Spanish symptoms" and the artistic/architectural testimony of Theodulf's church at Germigny-des-Prés (where, according to Freeman, the spare apse mosaic of the Ark of the Covenant evidenced Theodulf's anti-image position) are convincing despite the often detailed arguments advanced in Alcuin's favor.

Professor Freeman has presented her evidence in three articles: "Theodulf of Orléans and the Libri Carolini," Speculum 32 (October, 1957): 663-705, a discussion of the historiography on the issue and a preliminary listing of the Spanish elements in the text; "Further Studies in the Libri Carolini II", Speculum 40 (1965): 203-289, a discussion of the paleographical data and exegetical peculiarities of the treatise; and "Further Studies in the Libri Carolini III", Speculum 46 (1971): 597-611, which discusses the important and controversial marginal notes of the Vatican codex of the work.

Recently, Paul Meyvaert has presented further evidence in favor of Theodulfian origin; Donald Bullough, in a cogent presentation of Alcuin's thought and writings, upholds the authorship of Theodulf but posits that Alcuin contributed several chapters to the final product, taken from other treatises which he had written. See Paul Meyvaert, "The Authorship of the Libri Carolini: Observations Prompted by a Recent Book," Revue Bénédictine 89 (1979): 29-57., and Donald Bullough, "Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven", Carolingian Essays, pp. 31-39.

In the midst of the work on the Libri, probably in late 791, a tract arrived at court, sent to Charlemagne by Felix, Bishop of Urgel. The Aquitanian bishop had responded to Elipandus' solicitation by taking up the Adoptionist cause. Now he wrote to the king developing an Adoptionist position of his own.⁷⁰

We have no contemporary witness of Felix's earliest teaching. If we may extrapolate from the later treatises, it seems that he claimed that the person of Christ was divided into two distinct and separable natures, the divine Word and the human Jesus. The divine Word was eter-

Traditionally, however, the treatise has been attributed to Alcuin. His partisans have been prominent: among them are Jaffé, the editor of Alcuin's works in the Monumenta Alcuiniana, Dümmler, who edited the Carolingian letters and poetry for the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, and Bastgen, the editor of the Libri Carolini for the same collection. For a thorough resume of this historiography, see Freeman, "Theodulf," 668-673.

Luitpold Wallach, an Alcuin scholar, has reasserted the claims of Alcuin in a series of articles. He initially set out his position on the basis of close parallels in syntax and ideas with other works by the Anglo-Saxon, in Chapter IX of his Alcuin and Charlemagne, Studies in Carolingian History and Literature (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1959). He has continued the analysis in Diplomatic Studies in Latin and Greek Documents from the Carolingian Age (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), parts 2 and 3.

⁷⁰ No authentic record of Felix's teaching remains, as his works were condemned and destroyed. We know only of his later arguments from Carolingian refutations of his writings. The best source is Paulinus of Aquileia's Contra Felicem Urgellitanum Libri III, written against the bishop in 796. This particular source will be discussed in context below, Chapter IV, pp. 201 ff. The summary of Felix's teachings here is taken from it. PL LXXXIX 350-468. Cf. Alcuin's letter to the Septimanic clerics, MGH Epp IV, number 137 and Adversus Felicem Libri VII PL CI 127-230. Paulinus' work contains original theory and a rational exposition of and response to Felix's writings. Alcuin's are mainly florilegia, although recent work by G. B. Blumenshine on one treatise, the Liber Contra Haeresim Felicis, suggests that Alcuin had a larger political point to prove in his anti-Adoptionist theology. See "Alcuin's Liber Contra Haeresim Felicis and the Frankish Kingdom," Frühmittelalterliche Studien 17 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1983), pp. 222-233.

nal, coequal, and consubstantial with the Father and Holy Spirit, and was the true Son of God. The man Jesus was a normal human being who by divine action was adopted by the Son. Jesus was in no way except by the honor of adoption to be considered the Son of God--he was merely called "God" as a title. His sonship was in no way integral to his person. Sonship imputed to the man was a verbal exchange of titles only.⁷¹ Felix's theology seemed, as Pelikan has said, to make "sonship a predicate of the nature rather than of the person" of Christ.

Similarly, Felix developed Elipandus' original position on Mary. She was nothing more than the mother of the man Jesus. She was certainly not the Mother of God, except by gracious title. As Felix said, "Indeed, by nature it is proper for her to be the mother of assumed humanity, but made mother of God by the grace and honor of divinity."⁷² The flesh was adopted by the divine in a passive sense. Felix would not say, as did the orthodox, that Christ the Word assumed the flesh in an active and fully integrated sense. Thus, Jesus suffered in the flesh by necessity, not by voluntary choice. Suffering was the demand of his human nature. By this formulation, Felix seemed to subordinate Son to Father, as Arius and Nestorius had, by implying that Jesus was not truly the Son of God and by dividing the Son into two separate and separable natures not necessarily related to each other except by an eventual gra-

⁷¹ See Pelikan III, p. 57. Cf. above, Chapter II, pp. 76-77.

⁷² Apud Agobard Liber Adversus Felicem Urgellitanum XIV (PL CIV, 43: Nature quippe humanitatis assumptae propriam eam esse genetricem, Dei vero matrem gratia et dignatione divinitatis factam. Cf. Heterii et Sancti Beati Ad Elipandum Epistola II. lix (PL LXXXXVI, 1010), and Alcuin Adversus Elipandum Libri VI I. xiii (PL CI, 250). See also Pelikan III, pp. 68 ff.

cious grant.⁷³

Charlemagne sent the tract of Felix to Pope Hadrian for his examination. The king then summoned Felix to explain his views to the synod of bishops to be held at Regensburg in August, 792. Clerics came from throughout the realm. Little record of the synod remains, although there is indirect evidence of those present. Paulinus of Aquileia argued the orthodox position against Felix's case.⁷⁴ We can posit the participation of Benedict of Aniane. Both Paulinus and Benedict had been granted substantial immunities for their religious foundations during the same year, 792, at their personal requests. This may have meant their requests in person before the king. Benedict's foundation and his work of coordination and reform lay in the heart of the March territory, and as a representative of Frankish interests he spearheaded Carolingian religious policy. He became the leader of the anti-Adoptionist campaign throughout the region.⁷⁵ Alcuin was not present, as he was away in England at the time, most likely for the whole period between 790 and 792.⁷⁶

⁷³ Felix Urgellitanus apud Paulinus of Aquileia Contra Felicem Urgellitanum Libri III I. viiii, x-xi, xxiii, xli-xliiii, ccclxii. Cf. Alcuin Adversus Felicis Haerisim II. xi (PL CI, 155).

⁷⁴ For the Synod of Regensburg see Einhardi Annales 792 (MGH SS I, p. 179), and Alcuin Contra Elipandum I. xvi (PL CI 235).

⁷⁵ Cf. Wolff, pp. 296 ff., and the later letters of Alcuin MGH Epp IV, numbers 200 ff., as well as his work with Leidrad of Lyons from 798 onward. See below, Chapter IV, pp. 168-169. For the immunities, see Jacob Bohmer, Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs under den Karolingern, Volume I (Innsbruck: Wagner Verlag, 1889), pp. 317-318.

⁷⁶ He may already have been aware of the Adoptionist problem, as a letter of 789, contemporary with the Admonitio Generalis, had spoken of tempora periculosa, ut apostoli praedixerunt, quia multi pseudodoctores surgent, novas introducentes sectas. (MGH Epp IV, number 74). Cf. Bul-

Felix was condemned and sent to recant his position formally before the Pope in Rome. Once again the king commissioned Angilbert, this time to conduct Felix to Rome. It seems probable that the abbot was present at the synod himself.

At this point let us pause to assess the doctrinal issues, because it seems to have been upon his return from Rome that Angilbert conceived and instituted at his abbey of Saint-Riquier a new symbolic spiritual program which confronted quite clearly the pseudodoctores whose teachings he had been refuting in Rome since 791. We have seen that two issues were at stake which threatened the traditional Carolingian understanding of the Trinity. One, Adoptionism, was christological. Felix of Urgel, following the Archbishop of Toledo, claimed that Christ was not true man and true God, but true man adopted as God. The other involved the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit. The Byzantines claimed that the Spirit proceeded from the Father through the Son. Therefore, the origin of the Spirit was the Father alone. To Carolingian eyes this was a denial of one of the most fundamental trinitarian teachings, the unity of the Trinity. For them this unity demanded affirmation of the simultaneous procession of the Holy Spirit, ex patre filioque. Anything else implied subordination of the Son to the Father. In this, the filioque became a primary defense against Adoptionism, since Felix had stated that Jesus was not equal to God.

These were the issues which Angilbert faced. He had argued at the curia--unsuccessfully, from the papal viewpoint--the aesthetic and theological program of the Libri Carolini. He had delivered for papal con-

lough, "Alcuin," p. 39, note 90.

demnation the heretic Felix denounced by the Frankish synod. Now Angilbert razed the old buildings, and began to construct on a new and massive scale a monastery which would, as he said, inspire "the entire people of the faithful to confess, venerate, worship with the heart, and firmly believe in the most holy and inseparable Trinity."⁷⁷ Supported by Charlemagne, he addressed in a new and striking way the defense of the true faith quapropter ob veneratione sanctae Trinitatis, "on behalf of the veneration of the Holy Trinity."⁷⁸ He created at Saint-Riquier a symbol of the Trinity built into the very architectural structure, artistic decoration, and liturgy of the monastery. Chapters V, VI, and VII will discuss in detail Angilbert's own trinitarianism and his monastic program. Here we may begin to set it in context.

The timing, the focus, and the extent of the rebuilding of Saint-Riquier were more than suggestive. Angilbert had been appointed as abbot of the ancient monastery sometime around 790.⁷⁹ It was already a prestigious foundation connected with the court, as Pepin had awarded it to Widmar, one of his court clerics and advisors, in the 760s. It had also served as a member abbey of the prayer confraternity established at Attigny by Chrodegang of Metz, Pepin's cousin, for the cult of the dead in 760.⁸⁰ Angilbert began his work here after his unsuccessful arguing of the aesthetic and pneumatological positions of the reprehensia at Rome, and after his initial involvement in the anti-Adoptionist case

⁷⁷ De perfectione Centulensis ecclesiae I (MGH SS XV, p. 174).

⁷⁸ De perfectione III.

⁷⁹ See below, Chapter V, pp. 213 ff.

⁸⁰ MGH LL III, CC II, pars I, pp. 73-73.

against Felix.

Charlemagne actively supported the project, commissioning the finest materials and relics from throughout the realm to beautify and sanctify the foundation; the largesse of Frankish nobles provided the rest. When at Easter, 800, the abbey was finished, important Frankish bishops as well as two papal legates performed the consecration. The king himself attended with his court. Alcuin, as we shall see an important figure in Angilbert's life, also attended, and rewrote in elegant style and at Angilbert's request the Vita of Saint Richarius.⁸¹

The context is important, because the building began precisely at the moment when the Pope, supporting the Byzantine stance on art as a mystical channel of grace, rejected the Carolingian trinitarian aesthetic position. And, significantly, it was at this time too that the writing of the Libri and the fleshing out of Carolingian aesthetic doctrine went on despite the papal check. Here, perhaps because of the Pope's rejection of the argument of the Libri, and certainly in response to both the Byzantine rejection of the filioque and the christological challenge of Felix, Angilbert presented a concrete artistic and liturgical realization of Carolingian trinitarian doctrinal and artistic principles. The spiritual program of Saint-Riquier was very possibly that of the Libri Carolini applied to the trinitarian dogmatic issues that the Carolingians faced. It became, as we shall see, a monastic ordo of the living and symbolic presence of the Trinity in prayer and sacred space.

⁸¹ De perfectione I and III, Annales Laurissensis et Einhardi 800.

Angilbert's concern to express in symbolic terms the dogmatic truth so central to Carolingian interests at this time expressed in a new way the trinitarianism that had been developing since Pepin's accession. Under Pepin, trinitarianism had developed most palpably as a political program supporting, legitimizing, and strengthening the new Carolingian kingship. In Charlemagne's hands it became, in addition, a theological concern in the move to wipe out heresy, and a cultural concern in his ecclesiological model of society. Now, the Libri Carolini and more fully Angilbert's monastic symbol articulated an aesthetic and liturgical vocabulary for trinitarianism in a lived ordo of monks who prayed for the salvation and prosperity of king and kingdom.⁸²

Felix, after his condemnation, returned to Urgel where he renounced his recantation and fled into Moslem Spain beyond Charlemagne's jurisdiction. He began again to teach his Adoptionist theology. By now he had become a cause célèbre. The bishops of Spain, concerned over the suppression of Adoptionism and irate over Felix's condemnation at Regensburg, wrote two letters to protest the synodal decision.⁸³

They addressed the first to Charlemagne. The letter pointedly refuted the theology of Beatus of Liebana. "Antifrasis Beatus" the bishops called him--"so-called Beatus, 'Beatus' used in the sense contrary to its true meaning." The bishops claimed that Beatus denied the Incarnation by saying that the Son of God did not in any way assume

⁸² See below, Chapter VI, pp. 246 ff., and VII, p. 307.

⁸³ Heil posits a council held in Spain in reaction to Regensburg, the letters being the result of that deliberation. See "Adoptianismus," p. 103.

flesh from the Virgin by adopting humanity. They asked Charlemagne to restore Felix, the true orthodox teacher, to his proper place and to banish Beatus' heresy from his realm so that the catholic faith might be upheld.

We have directed (to you) the letter (of Beatus)...so that you may sit as judge and may distinguish by chaste and sound judgment between Bishop Felix, whom we know from an early age as the fellow defender of our cause in the service of God, and those who defend the aforementioned Antifrasius Beatus, sacrilegious and fattened with the shame of the flesh, and might give sentence by an equal weighing without the oil of adulation. To this end God the Son of God subjects the necks of barbarian peoples and all proud peoples to you to the command of your power...and reduces their glory into dust.⁸⁴

Significantly, although themselves not under Charlemagne's rule, they acknowledged his doctrinal authority and jurisdiction, and appealed to him as adjudicator of the problem.

The second letter they addressed to the Bishops of Gaul, Aquitaine, and Austrasia, and here they developed their doctrinal position through appeals to the authority of Scripture and the Fathers. They lined up quotes on Christ's adoption of the flesh from Ambrose and Hilary through Isidore. They cited the Psalms, the Prophets, the Gospels, and Saint Paul. But they seem to have taken their patristic sources from memory, and often misattributed or misquoted. These were

⁸⁴ Epistola Episcoporum Hispaniae ad Karolum Magnum MGH Legum III, Concilia Aevi Karolini I, pp. 120-121: Contra cuius vesaniam nos indigni et exigui iuxta tenuitatem nostri sensus sacerdotibus vestro regimini subditis epistolam relegendam atque tractandam et vestris sacris obtutibus presentandam direximus... ut per te ipsum arbiter sedeas et inter Felicem episcopum, quem novimus ab ineunte etate in Dei servitio proximum partis nostre defensorem, et eos, qui sacrilegum et carnis flagitio saginatum iam dictum Antifrasium Beatum defendunt, casto et salubri iudicio dirimas et absque adolationis oleo equo pondere sententiam promas. Ita Deus Dei filius colla gentium barbarorum et omnium tibi supervorum imperio potestatis vestre subiciat et dentes eorum aerius conterat et gloriam eorum, qui tibi contradicunt, in pulverem redigat.

errors which were not lost on their Carolingian opponents. The Spanish bishops again asserted Beatus' denial of the Incarnation and of Christian redemption, and they summed up their own view in a brief statement of faith that Christ's adoption of the flesh meant human justification.

Therefore we believe in and confess God the Son of God, light from light, true God from true God, only-begotten of the Father without adoption, but firstborn at the end of time by assuming true man in the adoption of the flesh from the Virgin, only-begotten in nature, firstborn in adoption and grace...Wherefore, brothers, unless from the adoption of the flesh alone, through what did he deign to have brothers?⁸⁵

Fundamental was their distinction between the eternal and the temporal Son: "Men are like Christ in adoption according to his humanity, not according to his divinity." Never was the deity of Christ at issue, only the way of stating his humanity. But this apparently Augustinian distinction between the human and the divine in adoption was one which Augustine, in his obsession with the unity of Christ's person, would never have accepted as valid. It violated the communication of properties. Why, the bishops asked further, did people so fear the term "adoptive Son of God" when the Scriptures themselves used the far more ignominious term "slave" to describe Christ?⁸⁶ Their statement called

⁸⁵ Epistola Episcoporum Hispaniae ad Episcopos Franciae MGH LL II, Concilia Aevi Karolini I, p. 113: Credimus igitur et confitemur Deum Dei filium lumen de lumine, Deum verum ex Deo vero, ex Patre unigenitum sine adobtione, primogenitum vero in fine temporis, verum hoiminem adsu-mendo de vergine in carnis adobtione, unigenitum in natura, primogenitum in adobtione et gratia...unde fratres nisi de sola carnis adobtione, per quod fratres abere dignatus est?

⁸⁶ Epistola Episcoporum Hispaniae ad Episcopos Franciae, p. 116: Quur dicere quisquis ille est pabeat adobtivum, quem sermo profeticus non formidat dicere servum? Numquid honoratius est nomen servi potius quam filii adobtibi? Adobtivus enim adfiliatus dicitur: et tu, quisquis ille est, pabes dicere adobtivum? Profeta dicit: "Et nos pretabimus eum quasi leprosum," et tu pabes dicere adobtivum?

for Christian unity in true faith, despite their polemical tone.

Indeed, the unity and well-being of the Church must have been uppermost in the minds of all at that time, as the only hope for survival. The years 792 and 793 brought tremendous hardship and instability to the Frankish realm. Abnormally wet weather both years seriously affected the harvest. Famine spread widely. The king's eldest son, Pepin the Hunchback, and a group of discontented nobles attempted to assassinate Charlemagne but failed. An expedition to Benevento by the king's other sons, Pepin of Italy and Louis of Aquitaine, failed. Charlemagne, prepared to undertake a military expedition against the pagan Avars in a campaign which had been prosecuted since 790, was checked by a vicious and bitter revolt of the Saxons. A military expedition on its way from Frisia to join the main army in the Southeast was virtually decimated by an ambush of Saxon rebels; Charlemagne was forced to abandon the entire Avar enterprise. The Saracens, too, attacked the empire in the West, penetrating well into Septimania.⁸⁷

But perhaps the most shocking news came from England, where the great old monastic center of Lindisfarne was attacked and completely destroyed by Viking invaders, forcing the monks to flee with their treasure and the body of their holy founder Cuthbert. Alcuin reflected the mood of the time in a letter written to Higbald, Bishop of Lindisfarne, his friend in England:

The pagans have polluted the sanctuaries of God and have spilled the blood of the saints around the altars, they have devastated the home of our hope, they have trampled the bodies of the saints in the temple of God as if of the dungheap in the street. What should we say, except that we must weep with you in spirit before the altar of

⁸⁷ Cf. Bullough, Charlemagne, p. 59.

Christ, and say: "Spare, Lord, spare your people, and do not give your hereditary over to the peoples, lest the pagans say 'Where is the God of the Christians?'"⁸⁸

To Christians vulnerable to attack, the world must have seemed everywhere in collapse.

Early in 793 Charlemagne called the Anglo-Saxon back to Francia to help in the increasingly desperate fight against the Adoptionists. As Alcuin later wrote, "I came to Francia and have not remained there except on account of the Church's necessity and to confirm the argument of the catholic faith."⁸⁹

With the dissemination of the Spanish bishop's letters, the theological situation was now so threatening that Charlemagne determined to call a general council at Frankfurt to resolve both Adoptionism and the filioque issue definitively. The Libri Carolini were ready for public presentation for theological debate. Images, the filioque, and the person of Christ could now be considered and determined under one of the highest public authorities in the realm.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ MGH Epp IV, number 20: Pagani contaminaverunt sanctuaria Dei et fuderunt sanguinem sanctorum in circuitu altaris, vastaverunt domum spei nostrae, calcaverunt corpora sanctorum in templo Dei quasi sterquilinum in platea. Quid nobis dicendum est, nisi plangendum animo vobiscum ante altare Christi, et dicere: 'Parce, Domine, parce populo tuo, et ne des hereditatem tuam gentibus, ne dicant pagani, ubi est Deus christianorum?' Cf. Versus Alcuini ad Samuhelem Sennensis Civitatis Episcopus de Clade Lindisfarnensis Monasterii, MGH Poetae Latini I, pp. 228-235, dated 793. Compare also a similar melancholy verse of Paulinus of Aquileia, undated, on the onetime barbarian destruction of his city, Versus de Destructione Aquilegiae numquam Restaurandae in MGH PL I, pp. 142-144.

⁸⁹ MGH Epp IV, number 43: Franciam veni nec remansi in ea, sed ecclesiasticae causa necessitatis et ad confirmandam catholicae fidei rationem.

⁹⁰ For the importance of the council and the synod as public assemblies see McKitterick, pp. 97-98.

Charlemagne felt the Council to be the most important that he had called, and he pronounced it "universal," that is, ecumenical, and held with "apostolic authority."⁹¹ Present were the bishops of the whole empire and Northern Italy, and also papal legates carrying an anti-Adoptionist statement from Pope Hadrian. Felix, called with the other bishops of the Spanish March, did not come. Charlemagne himself presided.⁹²

When the Council opened, the letter of the Spanish bishops was read, and the theologians present were asked to give, individually, their written opinion after two days' consideration. The opinions were compiled into two synodal letters refuting the theology of Felix.

Paulinus of Aquileia wrote the first, now called the Libellus Sacrosyllabus, which represented the position of the Italian bishops supported by a consideration of Scripture.⁹³ Two arguments were funda-

⁹¹ Epistola Caroli Magni ad Elipandum et Episcopos Hispaniae MGH LL III, CC II, pp. 159-160. Cf. Hefele III. ii. 1046.

⁹² Much documentation from the deliberations of the Council is extant. It has been collected in three sources in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Most has been arranged by Werminghoff in the Legum III, Conciliarum II, pars I, pp. 110-171; this includes the two letters of the Spanish bishops, the Libellus Sacrosyllabus and the Epistola Synodica of the Western bishops, and the letter of Charlemagne with his profession of faith. Also included are the Epistola Hadriani I Papae ad Episcopos Hispaniae Directa, and the capitulary promulgated by the Council. The Supplementum to that volume, edited by Hubert Bastgen, contains the entire text of the Libri Carolini. The Epistola Hadriani I Papae ad Episcopos Hispaniae Directa, actually sent to Francia at Charlemagne's request as the papal position on Adoptionism, was edited again by Werminghoff in Concilia II, Concilia Aevi Karolini I, pp. 122-130. The Capitulare Francofurtensis anno 794, the legal decree of the Council, was also edited by Alfred Boretius, in Legum II, Capitularia Regum Francorum, pp. 73 ff.

⁹³ Libellus Sacrosyllabus MGH LL III, CC II, pp. 130-142. Albert Werminghoff mentions a letter of Pope Hadrian, no longer extant, written sometime before the Council, which rejected Adoptionism according to Scriptural testimony much as the Libellus did. It is likely that the Italian bishops used this letter as the basis for their work. See MGH

mental. The first was summarized in the text of the great confession of Peter to Jesus: "You are the Christ, Son of the living God." This was a confession of sonship in the absolute sense, not relatively as through adoption. To differ from Peter himself, whose special status was derived from that very confession, was the greatest arrogance and lack of respect for the Scriptures. God was not called the "adoptive Father," Paulinus said; at the Annunciation the angel Gabriel "did not say: 'He will be called the adoptive Son of God, but the Son of God absolutely, and Son of the Most High.'"⁹⁴ The proof of this lay in other Scriptural events, and Paulinus' choice of texts here became a standard arsenal for "battering" (as Alcuin said) the Spaniards. The Baptism of Christ brought the descent of the Holy Spirit upon him and the words "This is my beloved Son." The meaning of the Baptism became archetypal, directly linked to the proper understanding of the unique character and role of Christ. From 798 onward Alcuin would consistently link baptismal symbolism, right understanding of the meaning of the sacrament, and anti-Adoptionism in his writings.⁹⁵ Similarly, the Transfiguration proved the divine nature of the man Jesus. The Incarnation, the reception of flesh from Mary, was critical, and so the Annunciation texts of Luke became mainstays of the argument.⁹⁶

LL II, Concilia Aevi Karolini I, p. 122.

⁹⁴ Libellus Sacrosyllabus III-VI.

⁹⁵ See Chapter IV, pp. 167-169, and VI, pp. 262 ff.

⁹⁶ Paulinus himself wrote a compendium of these textual proofs in a poetic Creed, the Regula Metrico Stili Mucrone MGH Poetae Latini I, PP. 126-130.

Paulinus then followed with an argument from salvation theology, summarized in I Timothy 2:5: "'Mediator,' says the Apostle, 'of God and men, the man Christ Jesus.'" If "the man Christ Jesus" was not himself the true Son of God, how could the Adoptionists understand the Passion and Resurrection? In what nature and in what way did he suffer? Since there was no way except by the heretical separation of the man and the Word into two persons, or of the body and the spirit of Christ, the Adoptionists were heretics who must repent and be reconciled with the Church under the authority of Charlemagne. The king's jurisdiction was paramount: "Let him be Lord and Father, let him be King and Priest" in the supreme protection of his Church, as the bishops said.⁹⁷

The other document, the Epistola Synodica, was written by Alcuin.⁹⁸ This document presented the opinion of the bishops of Gaul, Aquitaine, and Germany according to the argument of patristic tradition. The piece was essentially a line by line refutation of the letter of the Spanish bishops, attacking that document for its many misinterpretations, misquotes, and misattributions, and especially for the points at which interpolations were made in texts to prove the Adoptionist point. "And we marvel, or rather we mourn at how you wish to do this, how you are not afraid to stir up the purest sources of the catholic faith with a heretical foot."⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Libellus Sacrosyllabus XII-XIV.

⁹⁸ Luitpold Wallach, in a thesis now commonly accepted, has staked the claim of Alcuin. See Alcuin and Charlemagne, Part II.

⁹⁹ Epistola Synodica (MGH LL III, CC II, pars I, p. 144): Et miramur vel magis lugemus, quare hoc facere velitis, quare purissimos catholicae fidaei fontes heretico pede turbare non timetis. Consider, for example, the passage quoted on page 151: Sed et inter lucidissimas et catholicas

Even when the Adoptionists were proven right in their attributions, the Frankish bishops outdid them by claiming greater authority.

"And if your Hildephonsus named Christ 'adopted' in his prayers, indeed our Gregory, Pontifex of the Roman See and most illustrious doctor in the whole world, always did not hesitate to call him Only-Begotten in his prayers...We think that you will not be heard in these."¹⁰⁰

The bishops cited Adoptionism as a new Nestorianism dividing the person of Christ and making of Mary the mother of the man Jesus but not of the God. After listing one by one the many Adoptionist abuses of texts, the bishops called again for unity, for an end to the divisiveness of this minority opinion.¹⁰¹

The council added to these two episcopal responses a letter from Pope Hadrian. It had been written earlier and sent to Charlemagne in response to the letter of the Spanish bishops.¹⁰² Hadrian's decision was unequivocal: "The catholic Church has never believed, never taught

sancti Augustini sententias, quas sparsim et inordinate posuistis ad defensionem, ut vos dicitis, vestram, ut nos intellegimus, accusationem erroris vestri, non metuistis intermiscere sensus, fingentes eum dicere quod in illius non invenimus dictis. Ex quo perspicuum est vos vestrae non confidere causae, quia in exemplis sanctorum patrum non invenistis fidem vestram confirmari, ideoque adulterinos pravitatis sensus interposuistis, asserentes illos dicere quod non dixerunt, sicut certissime cognosci potest in capitulo XI de libro sancti Augustini, quem Encheridion, ut praefati sumus, nominavit, cuius capituli textum ponimus, ut facilius vester pateat error et malitiae noscatur imperitia.

¹⁰⁰ Epistola Synodica, (MGH LL III, CC II, p. 145): Et si Hildephonsus vester in orationibus suis Christum adoptivum nominavit, noster vero Gregorius, pontifex Romanae sedis et clarissimus toto orbe doctor, in suis orationibus semper eum unigenitum nominare non dubitavit...Nec vos in illis exaudiri putamus.

¹⁰¹ Epistola Synodica, (MGH LL III, CC II, pp. 154, 156).

¹⁰² Epistola Hadriani I Papae ad Episcopos Hispaniae Directa (MGH LL III, CC II, pp. 122-130).

this, never proffered assent to those believing badly.¹⁰³ He argued from both the Fathers and from Scripture, and drew especially from the confession of Peter, as had the Italian bishops. That Jesus was the true Son of God, he said, was the very foundation of the faith of the Church, and unshakeable.¹⁰⁴

Hadrian buttressed his argument with a statement on the simultaneous procession of the Holy Spirit which linked the the doctrine to the proper understanding of the Son. Here for the first time the two issues--Adoptionism and the filioque--were directly connected.

Over whom do you judge that the Holy Spirit descended in the form of a dove, over God or over man, or, on account of the one person of Christ, over the Son of God and of Man? For the Holy Spirit, since it is inseparably of both, namely of the Father and of the Son, and proceeds essentially from the Father and the Son (ex patre filioque), by what means can it be believed to have descended over God, from whom he had never withdrawn and from whom he proceeds always ineffably? For the Son of God, according to that which is God, because the Father was never withdrawing from him, sent the Holy Spirit in an unspeakable way; and according to that which is man, received the One coming over him.¹⁰⁵

Here the oneness of the person of Christ required that the Holy Spirit be related integrally to both of his natures. The affirmation of the two natures required an explicit distinction between those relation-

¹⁰³ Epistola Hadriani Papae (MGH LL III, CC II, p. 123).

¹⁰⁴ Epistola Hadriani Papae, (MGH LL III, CC II, pp. 123-124).

¹⁰⁵ Epistola Hadriani Papae (MGH LL III, CC II, p. 128): Super quem putatis Spiritum sanctum in specie columbae descendisse, super Deum an super hominem, an propter unam personam Christi super Dei hominisque filium? Spiritus namque sanctus, cum sit inseparabiliter amborum, patris videlicet et filii, et ex patre filioque essentialiter procedat, quo pacto credi potest seper Deum descendisse, a quo numquam recesserat et a quo ineffabiliter semper procedit? Dei enim filius secundum id, quod Deus est, sanctum Spiritum cum patre numquam a se recedente inenarrabili modo mittit et secundum id, quod homo est, super se venientem suscepit.

ships as Augustine had said. Hadrian now applied the distinction to the procession of the Spirit. The Father and the divine Word sent the Spirit, and the human Christ received him in dynamic exchange. The principle of the communication of properties was not relevant here, nor did the sending and the receiving of the Spirit imply a division of the person of Christ. Rather, the complete unity of that person was reflected in the economic procession of the Holy Spirit, in the fact that it was the one Christ, divine and human, who breathed out the Spirit upon his disciples.

The Council seems to have separated the Adoptionist and filioque issues, but perhaps as a matter of agenda, or because the sources of the heresy were different. The Council took up the filioque in its own right when Charlemagne presented the draft of the Libri Carolini for its consideration. Vatican Codex 7207 of the text contains copious marginal notes indicating discussion and critique of the document, and it is likely that this was the working copy used at the Council "round table" discussions after having received the assent of the king, whose comments are noted in the margins.¹⁰⁶

The arguments of the Libri remained essentially unchanged. What had changed in the draft, however, and significantly, was the order of presentation. Whereas the original arguments had addressed first the trinitarian issues, second the question of veneration of images, and third the arrogance of the imperial rulers, the order was now changed.

¹⁰⁶ See Freeman, "Further Studies III," passim.

The draft opened with a Preface that set the entire treatise within its proper perspective from the Carolingian point of view. It discussed the integrity of the Church and the importance of its work in the world in protecting the faith and the faithful. That importance was rooted in one thing alone: the Church as the place where the divine mystery of the Holy Trinity was put forth in the mysterium of the liturgy. The sacraments were the true channels of God's grace. Therefore any claims that images are channels of grace seemed a gross misunderstanding of the sacraments. Images were not worthy of worship in themselves; they pointed beyond to a greater truth. "To adore" images was to miss the point and make the means the end.¹⁰⁷

Having set the broad context, the draft now took up a systematic analysis of the problem. Book I of the Libri opened with a harsh protest against Constantine and Irene and their divalia, their "divine claims." The word conregnare, "to co-reign" with God, seems to have been especially offensive to Charlemagne, whose approval of these chapters was especially strong. Chapter after chapter railed against the imperial arrogance, and asserted that the Council was invalid from the beginning because the premises of its conveners were not only false, but evil, and certain to bring damnation to them and to their subjects. Ironically, given the fact that the papal response to the reprehensia had been so blatantly and officially ignored, the draft emphasized the critical importance of consulting Rome on all questions of the faith, since Rome was preeminent in apostolic authority.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Libri Carolini Praefatio (MGH LL III, CC II, Supplementum, pp. 1-2, from Vatican Codex 7207.

The Libri then took the most evil of Byzantine premises, the question of images over which the Council had ostensibly been called. Again and again the Carolingian argument was cast in trinitarian terms: the Trinity alone was worthy of worship, and any worship of images was idolatry. Images could portray the divine, but they were not the divine itself. They could portray that which was worthy of worship, but could not be worshiped themselves. To distinguish between likeness and equality in images was the essence of the Carolingian argument. An image was not the same thing as the actual object that it portrayed. There must be a fundamental distinction between the material representation and the transcendent spiritual reality that it symbolized, which was qualitatively and essentially different. The Byzantine supporters of icons had, ironically, used the same argument against the Iconoclasts to prove that images were not idols.¹⁰⁹

In the Libri, however, this became the basis of a positive theory of the intrinsic value of art as an aesthetic creation. Art could lead to a partial knowledge of God, and therefore was worthy of respect. The argument came straight from Augustine: the physical representation was the bridge to the awareness of God in beauty and proportion, and the experience of a spiritual reality. In that way art became a symbol of the divine.

¹⁰⁸ Libri Carolini I, chapters 1 through 5 on the claims of the emperors, and chapter 6 on the centrality of Rome.

¹⁰⁹ See above, Chapter II, p. 95.

As a symbol, art was a figuration of the greater divine truth of Christian revelation. It was an encoding of the divine mystery, a clue to it. It could function generally, in its uplifting beauty and inspiration, or quite precisely in the symbolization of specific Scriptural truths. For example, the "House of God" referred not to a material building, but the spiritual home of God; the precious metals and jewels decorating the tabernacle of God or the Heavenly Jerusalem of the Apocalypse symbolized Christian virtues.¹¹⁰ The symbolic theory of the Libri, which was a source of Angilbert's own symbolic theory, will be discussed in detail below, in Chapter VI.

The third argument of the Libri was the support of orthodox trinitarian dogma. This argument had been the first of the original capitula; the new arrangement was not a demotion, but a promotion in status. The presentation was strategic. Having presented and already digested the arguments of the first two books which had demolished first the validity of the council because of the sacrilegious attitude of the emperor and empress, and then the sacrilege of image-worship, the Carolingians, defensores ecclesiae, could now get to the true matter, the Greek perversion of the trinitarian dogma.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Cf. Libri Carolini I. vii, and I. xxix: Et idcirco in plerisque Scripturae sanctae locis, cum domus Dei legitur, non parietes nec quaedam materialis aedificatio, sed spiritalis et inexistentibilis Dei intelligenda est habitatio. Quorum sensuum archanis illorum mens penitus ieiunat, qui "decorum domus" Dei non ecclesiae existimant virtutes, sed materiales imagines.

¹¹¹ Libri Carolini III, Praefatio.

More importantly, the arrangement was itself a symbol. The dogmatic exposition on the Trinity was presented in the third book, since three signified the Trinity.

In these two books, resisting (the heretics') vainest carpings, through the salutary arms of the two Testaments, let us approach the third book, in the beginning of which will be the foundation of our faith, so that just as the confession of the one and only Trinity will be contained in it, so too let the number of the third book be kept and adorned with the most sacred number, which is to be adorned with the mystery of the holy faith, establishing all hope of our disputation and of our other actions not in the argumentative allegations of worldly arts, but in him who said through the bodily presence: "It is not you who speak, but the Spirit of your Father who speaks in you."¹¹²

The symbolic arrangement called up the full eloquence of divine inspiration, and the authority of the Trinity itself.

The Libri caustically rejected the Byzantine single procession per filium usage for several reasons. First, they cited the ambiguity of the phrase "through the Son" because it did not make clear how the Son was involved in the procession. Second, they asserted that it implied subordination of both the Son and the Holy Spirit, and that it implied the creaturliness of the two. Only the simultaneous procession could support the consubstantiality of the three persons of the Trinity.¹¹³

¹¹² Libri Carolini II. Praefatio: ...ut in his duobus voluminibus per duorum Testamentorum salutaria arma eorum vanissimis neniis obnitentes ad tertium, in cuius principio nostrae fidei fundamentum erit, liberius accedamus, ut, quoniam sanctae in eo et unicae Trinitatis confessio continebitur, tertii quoque libri numerus habeatur exorneturque sacratissimo numero, qui exornandus est sanctae fidei mysterio, omnem siquidem nostrae disputationis seu ceterorum actuum spem non in mundanarum artium argumentosis allegationibus, sed in eo conlocantes, qui et per praesentiam corporalem ait: "non enim vos estis, qui loquimini, sed spiritus Patris vestri, qui loquitur in vobis..."

¹¹³ Libri Carolini III. iii.

The Carolingian problem with the Byzantine arguments stemmed directly from the Greek presupposition of the hypostatic diversity as the starting point for trinitarian speculation.¹¹⁴ That diversity had never denied the consubstantiality of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, nor the ultimate unity of the immanent Trinity. But the great majority of the Carolingian arguments in the third book of the Libri aimed again and again at establishing that unity. They argued that the Spirit was in itself a principle of being just as were the Father and the Son. That the Father, Son, and Spirit were completely consubstantial, coeternal, and coequal led to the acceptance of the Augustinian position that what was predicated of the Father must be predicated of the Son and Holy Spirit as well.¹¹⁵

The Council formally published the Libri as the Frankish answer to the Council of 787, and abbot Angilbert of Saint-Riquier was again commissioned to carry the text to Rome and to negotiate its recognition with the Pope.¹¹⁶

The final determination of the Council was a strong trinitarian statement. Felix was condemned anew, and the two synodal letters, the letter of Hadrian, and a personal letter from Charlemagne, written by Alcuin, were sent to Elipandus in Spain. Charlemagne's letter explained the Council's decision.

¹¹⁴ See above, Chapter II, pp. 72 ff.

¹¹⁵ Libri Carolini III. iv, v.

¹¹⁶ Annales Laurissenses et Einhardi 794.

"Without faith it is impossible to please God." So Alcuin began with the famous old dictum in order to impress Elipandus and the Adoptionists with the urgency of the issue. Right faith was and had to be the very cornerstone of the Christian life and of salvation itself. Deviation was damnation. The touchstone of that right faith was the universal consensus of the Church and her tradition. And the tranquillity of the Church was the mark of the Spirit in her, and hence of her truth. "Since the Holy Spirit is ruling the course of our ships, may we deserve to arrive at the port of perpetual tranquillity."¹¹⁷

He then carefully and respectfully described the Council's proceedings, always solicitous of Elipandus' dignity and position, and making it clear that the concerted decision came through thoughtful common deliberation of Elipandus' propositions by Rome, by the Italian bishops, and by the Frankish bishops. He respectfully solicited Elipandus' return to the Church without rancor or reprisal.

Hold us as sharers of your joy, divine grace helping, if you wish to be preachers of the Catholic faith with us. There will be the most certain aid of divine mercy, there where the charity of the whole Church and the confession of the true faith are one.¹¹⁸

To that end of convincing and encouraging Elipandus and his bishops, Alcuin added the king's "own" confession of faith, a master statement of the Western trinitarian position inspired both by the Nicene Creed and the Athanasian/Augustinian faith. Here included were the fil-

¹¹⁷ MGH LL III, CC II, p. 158: ...Spiritu sancto navigium nostri cursus regente, ad portum perpetuae tranquillitatis pervenire mereamur.

¹¹⁸ MGH LL III, CC II, p. 162: Habetis nos divina auxiliante gratia cooperatores gaudii vestri, si vos nobiscum catholicae fidaei vultis esse praedicatores. Certissimum itaque ibi erit divinae miseracionis auxilium, ubi una est totius ecclesiae caritas et una verae fidaei confessio.

ioque clause, the emphasis on the Incarnation through Mary as the source of the Word's true humanity, and the unique dignity of Jesus as true Son of God. Explicit was the relationship of man and God in Christ as the mediator between God and men, explicit the denial of adoption.¹¹⁹

This confession and letter, definitive because the king's own authority, were added to the other documents of the Council and sent to the Visigothic bishops. The Carolingians thought the matter finally settled, and the "royal way" maintained. In fact, it was not.

¹¹⁹ MGH LL III, CC II, pp. 163-164.

CHAPTER IV

GALATAE FORTE REBELLES

THE END OF ADOPTIONISM

The theological decision at Frankfurt was a strong trinitarian statement on behalf of the traditional faith. Nevertheless, the council favored moderation, and reconciliation with repentent heretics. Felix, despite his condemnation by the royal doctores and his previous backsliding, was allowed to return to his see in Urgel after his new recantation at Rome. Most likely Charlemagne, who had had trouble with the Moslems in the Spanish March, feared that removing Felix would cause a revolt among his followers. The penetration of the Saracens into Septimania in 793 had revealed the still insecure nature of Frankish control over the area, even after years of occupation. Revolt now on religious grounds would create a crisis the king could ill afford.¹

¹ The title of this chapter is taken from Paulinus' Regula Fidei Metrico, l. 82 (MGH PL I, p. 128). The reference is to Galatians 1:8-9, in which Paul excoriates the faithlessness of the Galatians. Paulinus placed it within a series of references proving the true sonship of Jesus, along with the Baptism and the Annunciation. Therefore, by implication, he directed it against the Adoptionists. See Appendix B. For the information on Felix and the conditions in Septimania, see Hefele III. ii. 1049-1051; Amann, pp. 142-145; Bullough, Charlemagne p. 62.

Shortly after the Council, Alcuin wrote the first full treatise on the filioque, the De Processione Sancti Spiritus.² The tract was essentially a list of Scriptural and patristic quotes implicitly or explicitly affirming the simultaneous procession. Here again the intimate connection between the procession of the Holy Spirit and the integrity of the Second Person was present, though not overtly made.

All of the texts referred to Jesus' breathing of the Holy Spirit upon the disciples. From this act followed two critical points. First, it was the man Jesus who was transmitting the Holy Spirit. Hence, the man Jesus was God. Second, the man-God Jesus was equal to the Father because he equally transmitted the divine power of God to the disciples. The key text cited here and discussed on this issue by virtually all of the Fathers was John 20:21-23. Alcuin quoted it: "When he had said this, he breathed on them and said, 'Receive the Holy Spirit; those whose sins you remit, it will be remitted to them, and those whose sins you retain, they will be retained.'"³ He located the meaning of the passage in the word insufflare, "to breathe into," which implied possession by the Son and, therefore, origin from him. It was, after all, his very breath. "By breathing out, he signified that the Holy Spirit was not of the Father alone, but his own," as Alcuin quoted of Saint Augustine.⁴

² PL CI, 66-82. The date is uncertain, but the reference to a council in the opening section very likely refers to Frankfurt. Cf. Hefele III. ii. 1127. This work has traditionally been ascribed to Alcuin. Donald Bullough, however, in his exhaustive discussion of Alcuin's writings, does not discuss this treatise; there may, therefore, be some doubt as to authorship.

³ De Processione II.

⁴ De Processione VII.

Despite the apparent settlement of the Adoptionist controversy at Frankfurt, it proved impossible to hold Felix to his new recantation. By 796 word arrived in Francia of Felix's new apostasy. Upon his return to Urgel he had immediately fled into Moslem Spain beyond the reach of Charlemagne. He began once again to propagate aggressively his Adoptionist teaching.

The Carolingians had thought the controversy settled by the dissemination in Spain of the decisions of 794. The letters of Alcuin throughout 795 and 796, and the preoccupation of the court circle with other issues indicate the extent to which Adoptionism and the filioque had ceased to be issues.⁵ The revival brought immediate and unqualified response.

In 796 Paulinus called a general synod of clergy under his jurisdiction at Friuli, intended "to explain more clearly about the mystery of the holy and unspeakable Trinity."⁶ The patriarch defined two points particularly needing clarification: the relationship of the Holy Spirit to the Son (essentially the problem of the filioque), and the problem of Adoptionism. At Friuli, the integral relationship of the filioque to anti-Adoptionism was made clear, a fact which has been ignored by previous scholars of the issue. The two points were argued together as the same fundamental issue: the need to prove the consubstantiality of the three persons of the Trinity. To that end Paulinus focused his discussion on the Creed, the most important vehicle of teaching and dogmatic

⁵ Cf. Bullough, "Alcuin," p. 49.

⁶ MGH LL III, CC II, p. 181. Besides the capitulary promulgated by the council, the main documentary evidence we have of the proceedings is a long statement by Paulinus discussing the dogma of the Trinity.

propagation. It was, he said, "the lowest lying foundation of faith for building the spiritual edifice."⁷ Knowledge and right understanding of the Creed was, he felt, the "plumbline" (linea, perpendicularum) of the Christian life, and so the key to salvation.⁸

The patriarch first defined the doctrine of the Holy Spirit as the critical component in Trinitarian belief. It was because of its affirmation of the Holy Spirit, he said, that the Fathers had always judged the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed to be the most important among all of the Creeds.

For if the series of the Nicene Creed is continually judged worthy to be venerated, nothing else could have been found in it unless promulgated about the Holy Spirit in this way: "And," it says, "in the Holy Spirit."⁹

To say that was to declare belief in the Holy Spirit just as in the Father and the Son, and thus, belief in the Trinity.

That trinitarian context demanded belief in the filioque. Paulinus justified the simultaneous procession by the same scriptural testimony already used against Felix and the Spanish bishops. But he argued as well that the simultaneous procession was demanded by the very nature of the Trinity itself, at least in the Western Augustinian understanding of the essential oneness of the Trinity.¹⁰

⁷ MGH LL III, CC II, pp. 180-181: Sed quoniam ad huius spiritalis aedificii fabricam construendam fundamenta sunt primum fidei nichilominus profundius iacienda, super illud videlicet inflexibile fundamentum modis omnibus inserenda...Sine fide impossibile est Deo placere.

⁸ As Paulinus said, ipsum textum symboli...quasi lineam in directum normulatim aequo moderamine. MGH LL III, CC II, pp. 180-181.

⁹ MGH LL III, CC II, p. 182: Nam si recenseatur Nicaeni symboli series veneranda, nichil aliud de Spiritu sancto in ea nisi hoc modo reperiri poterit promulgatum: "Et in sanctum," inquit, "Spiritum."

Here Paulinus made a surprising assertion, given the fact that the filioque had traditionally been treated as part of the original Creed. He acknowledged that the clause was an interpolation, and created, as it were, a theology of interpolation to justify it. It was, he said, consistent with the Fathers' intentions, and was necessary in order to clarify an ambiguous and difficult doctrine. He cited noble precedent: so too had the Fathers at Constantinople added the phrase "the Lord, the Life-giver, who proceeds from the Father" to the Nicene original, "I believe in the Holy Spirit". They did so to underline the consubstantiality of the Spirit with the Father and the Son, even though the Council of Nicaea had expressly forbidden additions to or subtractions from the Creed.

And nevertheless these Holy Fathers (at Constantinople) must not be held culpable as if they had added something or had subtracted from the faith of the 318 Fathers, because they did not consider divergences and they were eager to complete their stainless meaning with sound practices... They completed it, moreover, as if by explaining their meaning, and they confessed that they believed in the Holy Spirit "the Lord and Life-giver, proceeding from the Father, to be worshipped and glorified with the Father and the Son." These, then, and the other things which follow, are not held in the sacred dogma of the Nicene Creed. But afterwards also, because of these heretics who murmur that the Holy Spirit is of the Father alone, and proceeds solely from the Father, it has been added: "Who proceeds from the Father and the Son."¹¹

¹⁰ MGH LL III, CC II, pp. 183-184.

¹¹ MGH LL III, CC II, p. 182: Et tamen non sunt hi sancti patres culpandi, quasi addidissent aliquid vel minuissent de fide trecentorum decem et octo patrum, quia non contra eorum sensum diversa senserunt, sed immaculatum eorum intellectum sanis moribus supplere studuerunt... Suppleverunt tamen quasi exponendo eorum sensum et in Spiritum sanctum confitentur se credere, "dominum et vivificantem, ex patre procedentem, cum patre et filio adorandum et glorificandum." "aec enim et cetera, quae secuntur, in Nicaeni symboli sacro dogmate non habentur. Sed et postmodum, propter eos videlicet hereticos, qui susurrant sanctum Spiritum solius esse patris et a solo procedere patre, additum est: "Qui ex patre filioque procedit."

clearly, then, the Carolingians knew that the filioque was not original in the Creed. But it was both desirable and necessary for crushing heresy to make the Creed more adequately articulate the full trinitarian belief.

With the filioque of the interpolated Creed as his basis, Paulinus then went on to refute Adoptionism. The very unity of the divine essence, the consubstantiality that he had used to prove the simultaneous procession, now proved the true sonship of Christ as well. Again, the key was to relate the individual doctrine at issue to the concept of the Trinity as a whole. Paulinus borrowed copious quotes from John, the most "trinitarian" of the Gospels.

However, he focused in particular on another text, Matthew 28:19, in which Jesus blessed "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."

How rightly, therefore, the Lord, in his high and ineffable wisdom, said "in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit," so that he might reveal personally the mystery of the Trinity and so that he might demonstrate essentially the inseparable unity of the undivided Godhead, he put forth "in the name." For he does not say "in the names," as if in *many*, but "in the name," because God is three and one. For he did not describe (his own) nature, but the person. How felicitously indeed the Apostles too taught us to understand the entire holy and ineffable Trinity in the name of Jesus, that is, of the Savior.¹²

¹² MGH LL III, CC II, p. 184: Quam bene ergo Dominus alta et ineffabili sapientia, ut ostenderet personaliter mysterium Trinitatis, "in nomine," inquit, "Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti," et ut demonstraret inseparabilem essentialiter individuae Deitatis unitatem, praemisit "in nomine." Non enim ait in nominibus, quasi in multis, sed in nomine, quia trinus et unus est Deus. Non enim naturam, sed personam discrevit. Quam feliciter quidem et Apostoli in nomine Jesu, id est Salvatoris, totam sanctam et ineffabilem docuerunt intellegere Trinitatem. The emphases are mine.

The Augustinian dictum that the entire Trinity often operated in the presence of one of the persons underpinned the Son's causal role in the procession of the Spirit. And it proved unquestionably that the man Jesus was integrally joined to the divine Word and operated without distinction as the true Son of God and a member of the Trinity.

Paulinus then presented his Creed, interspersed with explanation of its elements, which combined Augustinian and Athanasian credal explanations of the Trinity and drew out an anti-Adoptionist statement on the Son. It concentrated on the importance of the role of Mary in providing and proving the humanity of Christ. There was a continual rhythm in the complementary references to the divinity of the Father and the humanity of the mother in Jesus. "Naturally of the Father according to divinity, naturally of the mother according to humanity, but proper to the Father in both," as he said.¹³

Paulinus prescribed that all in his diocese must know and say the Creed memoriter, "every age, every sex, every condition: men, women, the young, the old, slaves, free, children, spouses, unmarried girls, because without this benediction none will be able to reach their portion in the kingdom of heaven."¹⁴ Paulinus' own text made a significant change in the doctrinal formula generally used in anterior versions of the Creed to describe the Incarnation: the term humanatus est became et

¹³ MGH LL III, CC II, p. 188. On the generation of the Creed and its relationship to other Carolingian versions of the Nicene Creed see Dom Bernard Capelle, "L'Introduction du Symbole a la Messe," Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck, Volume II (Gembloux: n. pub., 1951), especially pp. 1015 ff.

¹⁴ MGH LL III, CC II, p. 180-181, 189.

homo factus est.¹⁵ The humanatus formula had become a mainstay of the Adoptionist argument: Christ was Deus humanatus, "God humaned." Paulinus' Creed, then, set a distinct counterpoint, describing Christ as "made man." The meaning of the words was, in effect, the same. But the formula humanatus est, tainted by its association with the Adoptionists, was no longer acceptable to the orthodox intent upon using the Creed as an anti-Adoptionist weapon. Hence Paulinus' change. He would later tie this formula to a specific theology of the Incarnation related to Johanne texts.¹⁶

Alcuin, recently made abbot of the monastery of Saint Martin at Tours, wrote to Paulinus shortly after the synod to congratulate him on the work.¹⁷

In how many ways indeed is the work which I have long hoped for and rather often urged to the Lord King going to benefit and be integral to the evaluation of the catholic faith, that the creed of the catholic faith be compiled into one little pamphlet with the plainest meanings and clearest words, and be given out to all priests through the individual parishes of the episcopal governments which must be read and committed to memory.

Both Alcuin and Paulinus pursued with Charlemagne the issue of the Creed as the main defense against heresy. They seem to have undertaken a virtual campaign to have the Creed included formally and permanently

¹⁵ Six of nine texts used this form. Cf. Capelle, "L'Origine anti-Adoptianiste de notre texte du Symbole de la Messe," Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale I (1929): 15-16.

¹⁶ See below, pp. 175-176.

¹⁷ MGH Epp IV, number 139. Cf. Capelle, "Introduction," pp. 1018-1019: Quam plurimis vero profuturum et pernecessarium fecistis opus in catholicae fidei taxatione, quod diu optavi et saepius domno regi suasi, ut symbolum catholicae fidei planissimis sensibus et sermonibus luculentissimis in unam congereretur cartulam, et per singulas episcopaliū regiminum parrochias omnibus daretur praesbiteris legenda, memoriaeque commendanda.

in the liturgy of the Mass. By 798 Paulinus' version of the Creed was being sung regularly at the Masses of the Palatine Chapel. Walafriid Strabo, writing around 840, added that the Creed began to be sung in the Mass latius et crebrius post deiectionem Felicis haeretici, indicating that it was because of Adoptionism that the Creed became a permanent liturgical fixture constantly in the view of the laity.¹⁸

Alcuin, too, immediately responded to the new threat from Felix, undertaking another reading of the Fathers and also of a new manuscript available to him at Tours of the Canons of the Council of Ephesus (which had rejected Nestorianism). He intended to make a new collection of quotes with which to refute the heresy once and for all. The Canons sharpened his christological understanding far beyond what it had been,¹⁹ particularly in regard to the implications of Nestorian dualism and the role of Mary, as Mother of God, in salvation history.

In early 797 he wrote a highly conciliatory letter to Felix exhorting him to renounce once again his errors and join the catholic fold.

May you beware conscientiously, O brother worthy to be venerated, lest this house of yours be built upon the sand, and your labor be in a strange house: Arise, brother, arise and return to your father and into the lap of holy Mother Church. Faithful is Mother: recollect yourself and congregate your flock with you in the sheep pen of Christ, which that very one commended, because of the glory of his three-fold confession, to blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, for feeding his sheep.²⁰

¹⁸ PL CXIV 947. Cf. Capelle, "Introduction," p. 1012.

¹⁹ This is the thesis of Gary Blumenshine, "Alcuin's Liber Contra Haeresim Felicis and the Frankish Kingdom," Frühmittelalterliche Studien 17 (1983): 222-233.

²⁰ MGH Epp IV, number 23: Caveas diligenter, frater venerande, ne haec aedificatio tua super harenam fiat, et sit labor tuus in domo

He restated the orthodox position, supporting it with some of the patristic and canonical sources he had recently gleaned for his florilegium, emphasizing in particular the force of the tradition of consensus and adherence to the teaching of Peter. This time his quotes were unusually muscular, refuting any possible use of adoption terminology.

With the same tone and the same intention Alcuin wrote to Elipandus, "the most sacred light of Spain," in late 797 or early 798.²¹ The main thrust of his argument, amidst the forest of authoritative quotes which Alcuin cited from the New Testament and the Psalter, was the relationship between right understanding of the sonship of Christ and right understanding of baptism. The link with baptism was crucial in Alcuin's mind. He articulated the theological issue in these terms:

And so our Lord Jesus Christ alone was able to be born thus, so that he was not in want of the second regeneration; likewise in the baptism of John he wanted to be baptized with the sure act of mercy of the dispensation, because in the baptism of John there was not regeneration, but a certain precursory sign of the baptism of Christ. In his baptism alone through the Holy Spirit is there the remission of sins for believers, so that in his spirit we are born, in whom he was born from the Virgin Mary. For he wanted to be baptized in water by John, not so that any iniquity of his be washed away, but so that his great humility might be commended. For in him there was no baptism which washed, just as there was no death which punished; he came so that the devil might be conquered by the truth of Justice, not crushed down by the violence of power. Whence he undertook both baptism and death not by necessity needing to be pitied but rather by compassionate choice.²²

aliena: Surge fili, surge et revertere ad patrem tuum, et in gremium sanctae matris ecclesiae. Pia est mater: te ipsum recollige, ovesque tuas tecum in ovile Christi, quod ipse ob trinam confessionis gloriam beato Petro principi apostolorum pascendae commendavit, congrega. Here and throughout the rest of the chapter I follow the critically important and closely argued chronology of Wilhelm Heil, Alkuinstudien I (Düsseldorf: Verlag L. Schwann, 1970).

²¹ MGH Epp IV, number 166.

²² MGH Epp IV, number 166: Dominus itaque noster Iesus Christus

Here Alcuin clearly distinguished between Redeemer and redeemed, a most vexing issue in Adoptionism. And since Adoptionism claimed that it was at his baptism that the man Jesus was adopted as the Son of God, the connection between understanding the nature of baptism and understanding the two natures of Christ was especially important.

At about this time, Leidrad, Alcuin's friend and Arn's coworker in Salzburg, was elected as Bishop of Lyons. As religious leader of a major southern city, the position was important. His presence in the south, along with Benedict of Aniane, gave Charlemagne another immediate and trustworthy advocate in difficult territory.²³

Alcuin now extracted from his florilegium quotes for a treatise documenting some of the patristic evidence against Adoptionism, the Libellus Contra Felicis Haeresim.²⁴

solus sic potuit nasci, ut secunda regeneratione non indignisset; ideo in baptismo Iohannis certa dispensationis miseratione baptizari voluit, quia in Iohannis baptismo non fuit regeneratio, sed quaedam precursoria significatio baptismi Christi. In quo solo baptismo per Spiritum sanctum vera est remissio peccatorum credentibus, ut in eo spiritu renascamur, in quo ille natus est ex virgine Maria. "In aqua enim voluit baptizari a Iohanne, non ut eius ulla dilueretur iniquitas, sed ut magna illius commendaretur humilitas. Ita quippe nihil in eo baptismum, quod ablueret, sicut mors nihil, quod puniret, invenit, ut diabolus veritate iustitiae vinceretur, non violentia potestatis opprimeretur. Utrumque enim, et baptismum et mors, non miseranda necessitate, sed miserante potius voluntate susceptum est."

²³ MGH Epp IV, number 134.

²⁴ The best and most recent edition of the treatise, prepared by Gary Blumenshine (Studi e Testi 285, Vatican, 1980), unfortunately has not been available to me. I have relied on the edition in PL CI, 87-120. Historians differ on the reception of the work. Blumenshine has argued that Charlemagne was pleased with it. Bullough, "Alcuin," p. 50, describes the reception as lukewarm at best and states that Charlemagne sent it back with little comment, as a failure.

Blumenshine also argues that the work was far more than a mere collection of quotes from the Fathers. He posits rather a work of conscious political theology in which the sources chosen and the Biblical

Alcuin sent the libellus to court with a letter asking Charlemagne to confirm it, since Alcuin intended the treatise for a wider audience. Probably through Leidrad, Alcuin sent a copy of the treatise to the monks of Septimania.²⁵ In a letter written to them in 798, Alcuin again made the connection between the Adoptionist belief and baptism, this time on the liturgical practice of the sacrament.

And indeed, a third question from Spain--which was once the mother of tyrants, but now of schismatics--has been brought down to us against the universal custom of the holy Church on baptism. For they say that one immersion must be performed under the invocation of the holy Trinity. The Apostle, however, seems to be against this observation in that place where he said: "For you are buried together with Christ through baptism." For we know that Christ...was in the tomb for three days and three nights...Three immersions can symbolize the three days and three nights...For it seems to us...that just as the interior man must be reformed in the faith of the holy Trinity into its image, so the exterior man must be washed by the third immersion, so that that which the Spirit works invisibly in the soul the priest should visibly imitate in the water.²⁶

identification of David and Solomon with Charlemagne point to an overt assertion of Frankish royal and orthodox religious control over Septimania. Alcuin was deliberately propagating a politico-religious symbol which the monks would have picked up due to the liturgical and scriptural references. However, Blumenshine claims too much for his evidence. For example, quotes which he cites from Popes Leo and Gregory the Great--standard patristic authorities of great prestige--illustrate rather the peculiar relationship between Rome and the Frankish kings. I agree with Bullough ("Alcuin," p. 51), who says that the work is notable for its theological development but should not claim more than an argument from authority, Alcuin's tried and true strategy, as its aim.

²⁵ We do not know which monks they were; given the circumstances, they were probably those in houses related to Aniane, since Benedict was involved both in the revival of monasticism in the southwest, as we have seen in Chapter III, p. 116. Alcuin corresponded through Leidrad. See below, p. 178, note 44.

²⁶ MGH Epp IV, number 137: Tertia quoque nobis de Hispania--quae olim tyrannorum nutrix fuit, nunc vero scismaticorum--contra universalem sanctae ecclesiae consuetudinem, de baptismo quaestio delata est. Adfirmant enim quidam sub invocatione sanctae Trinitatis unam esse meritionem agendam. Videtur enim apostolus huic observationi esse contrarius in eo loco, ubi ait: "Consepulti enim estis Christo per baptismum."

Alcuin's opinion was unequivocal. It focused on the symbolic significance of the act, a physical representation which effected an interior change of a particular sort. The letter evidenced the extent to which liturgy, belief, and salvific change were intertwined in the Carolingian understanding. The symbolic action of the liturgy effected a change in the recipient of the sacrament, and that symbolic action grew from or concretized the fides recta of the believer. One could not be changed without destroying the other two.

Alcuin's hopes for reconciliation with the Adoptionists were not realized. A new tract from Felix arrived at the court of Charlemagne in 798, the bishop's response to Alcuin's conciliatory letter. Felix rejected Alcuin's solicitude and wrote a personal attack against the Anglo-Saxon, sending the writing to Charlemagne perhaps as a conscious insult to Alcuin. Felix had sharpened his Adoptionist argument. He now called the man Jesus Deus nuncupativus, "God by appellation only." The Word, on the other hand, was "God by essence," and therefore the only true Son of God.²⁷ Here even more clearly was the Nestorian dualism.

The treatise was greeted with alarm. Frequent references to the Adoptionist menace now filled the letters of Alcuin. Thoroughly exasperated, and fearful of the new force of Felix's thrust, he wrote to

Scimus enim Christum...tres dies et tres noctes in sepulchro esse...Possunt tres noctes tres mersiones et tres dies tres elevationes designare...Novis vero...videtur, ut, sicut interior homo in fide sanctae Trinitatis ad imaginem sui abluendus est; ut, quod invisibiliter spiritus operatur in anima, hoc visibiliter sacerdos imitetur in aqua.

²⁷ Apud Paulinus Contra Felicem Urgellitanum Libri VII I. xv (PL LXXXIX 366). Cf. Amann, 146-147.

Charlemagne from Tours.

Recently the pamphlet directed to me by the unfortunate Felix arrived. When on account of my curiosity I glanced at a few pages, I found worse heresies and greater blasphemies than I had read before in his writings...If nothing else be found against the catholic faith, that (nuncupativus) alone suffices to him for his perdition.²⁸

Claiming that he alone was not equal to the task of refuting this heresy once and for all, he asked Charlemagne to take up the fight by appointing others to help him. He asked for Pope Leo III, new successor of Hadrian I, Paulinus of Aquileia, the old ally in anti-Adoptionist theology, Richbod of Treves, an old friend, and Theodulf of Orleans to respond individually as well.²⁹ It was determined that Alcuin would dispute with Felix directly at Aachen in April, 799.

In late summer, Leidrad, as Bishop of Lyons, served as royal missus in Septimania, going to Urgel to summon Felix to the disputation.³⁰

²⁸ MGH Epp IV, number 148, dated 798: Nuper mihi venit libellus a Felice infelice directus. Cuius propter curiositatem cum paucas paginolas legendo percucurri, inveni peiores hereses vel magis blasphemias, quam ante in eius scriptis legerem...Si nihil aliud inveniatur contra fidem catholicam, hoc solum sufficit tibi ad perditionem sui. Cf. Letters 139 to Paulinus; 146 to Arn; 148, 149, 171, and 172 to Charlemagne; 160 to Theodulf; and 166 to Elipandus.

²⁹ MGH Epp IV, number 149. Alcuin had sent a treatise on the catholic faith to Theodulf and promised to send him a copy of his recent libellus to Septimania. Cf. MGH Epp IV, number 160. Regarding Alcuin's request for help in refuting Felix, Donald Bullough has argued that the Anglo-Saxon had been convinced after the Council of Frankfurt that Adoptionism was dead. Its reemergence, especially in the context of a personal attack against Alcuin's own work, was inconceivable. See "Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven", pp. 49-54.

³⁰ Alcuin Adversus Elipandum I. xvi (PL CI 231). Cf. MGH Epp IV, numbers 193, 194, and 199. There is much confusion over the dating of the council. Werminghoff dated it in June, 800, an opinion supported by Dummler who edited the corresponding letters for the MGH. See LL III, Concilia Aevi Karolini, p.222, and Epp IV, numbers 193, 194, and 199. Hefele, however, set the date in 798 (III. ii. 1098, note 1). He followed the chronology of J. Nicolai, Annalen des historischen Vereins für

It is possible that Theodulf also went as missus to the southwest. A poem of his, undated, lauded the monks of Benedict at Aniane, where Theodulf stayed while working as missus.³¹

The months before the meeting were filled with preparation. Alcuin honed his arguments by preparing a long and involved treatise against Felix, the Adversus Felicem Libri VII. The treatise mustered the full scope of Alcuin's erudition, expanding heavily and fruitfully upon the florilegium of patristic quotes he had made in 796.³² The focus was characteristic: Alcuin emphasized above all the ancient authority and tradition of the true Church (his Church), which argued against Adoptionism. This was the true issue at stake; Felix's great error was his willingness to stray from the via regia onto the road to perdition.

It is great foolishness for a man to have confidence in his own opinion, and spurn the catholic understandings of the holy Fathers and the whole Church. Wasn't this the cause of perdition to all heretics, that they wanted more to be lovers of their own opinion than of the truth?...And it is a wonder that such doctores do not fear to introduce beliefs new and unknown to ancient ages, while the most excellent teacher of the nations (Saint Paul) firmly prohibited in every way that all novelties of speech and newly discovered sects be taken up by any catholic whomsoever.³³

den Niederrhein (Cologne: no pub., 1859), pp. 78-121, a source which I have not been able to consult. I here follow the opinion of Heil, Alkuinstudien, in favor of 799.

³¹ MGH Poetae Latini I, pp. 520-522. Cf. Heil, "Adoptianismus," pp. 106-107.

³² PL CI 119-230.

³³ Adversus Felicem I. i (PL CI 129): Stultitia magna est hominem in sua solius confidere sententia, et sanctorum Patrum vel totius Ecclesiae catholicos spernere sensus. Nonne haec omnibus haereticis causa fuit perditionis, quod suae magis voluerunt amatores esse sententiae, quam veritatis?...Et mirum est cur non timeant tales doctores nova inferre, et incotnita antiquis temporibus, dum egregius doctor gentium omnes novitates vocum, et inventas noviter sectas omnino firmiter prohibeat a quoquam catholico recipi.

Always paramount for Alcuin, as the true son of England, was the one unanimous authority of the apostolic Church.

Paulinus of Aquileia also produced a long treatise, the Contra Felicem Urgellitanum Libri III, which remained the most mature statement of the Carolingian anti-Adoptionist position.³⁴ There was no longer any question of reasonably considering Felix's position, he said: Felix was the enemy of the faith, son of the Devil, and must be vomited "as a nausea from the stomach of the holy and universal Church, as a Goliath to be felled with a rock, a hydra to be consumed by fire."³⁵ Felix followed in the paths of both Arius and Nestorius, straying far from the orthodox belief.

Paulinus focused on three main arguments. They will summarize for us the entire Adoptionist debate for the Carolingians and the christology which was important to Angilbert at Saint-Riquier. The first was the old accusation of Nestorianism. Paulinus refuted this Nestorianism in several ways, with ample Scriptural support. First, he countered that Felix's most dangerous claim implied not only a division of the person of Christ but also a confusion of his natures. "One can never be divided...nor the unity of person undergo sectioning.", as Paulinus said.³⁶ Just because Christians spoke of God and man in Christ, and because God was one thing and Man another, did not mean that there was another Christ:

³⁴ PL LXXXXIX 343-468. Cf. Solano, pp. 847-849.

³⁵ Contra Felicem I. vi (col. 357). See also ii-v and vii.

³⁶ Contra Felicem I. xii (cols. 363-364).

Rather, the Word took flesh without change and without confusion with the man. This was proven by the role of Mary, whose title as Theotokos Paulinus upheld as true Mother of God "not nuncupativa genetrix of a nuncupativus God." From the moment of conception full divinity and full humanity were joined in Jesus. That unity was proven by the Psalms and the Prophets as well, since they never spoke of a true and a putative God. And it was proven by the evidence of the Passion, which Christ undertook by choice and not by necessity, and the Resurrection, which was the divine proof of God's justification of the Savior.³⁷

Second came an argument from salvation theology. Felix confused the terms "adopted" and "assumed" when he spoke of the Word taking flesh, according to Paulinus. Many Fathers had spoken of Christ assuming humanity. To use the term "adopted" was to confuse the role of Christ as Savior. It was to make of him the redeemed rather than the redeemer, the saved rather than the Savior; it was to confuse his role as adoptor of fallen man with ours as adopted sons of God. It was to make of him an advocate rather than a Mediator, and therefore to deny his essential role in salvation. This was ultimately a denial of the economic Trinity, of the peculiar hypostases of the persons according to their roles vis a vis the world.³⁸ The key text in support of that role was Paul's canticle in Philippians 2:6-11: "Though he was in the form of God, Jesus did not deem equality with God something to be grasped at, but emptied himself and took the form of a slave, being born in the likeness of men."

³⁷ Contra Felicem I. xiii-xix (cols. 364-373).

³⁸ Contra Felicem I. xxii-xliv (cols. 375-398).

Third, Paulinus argued from the Trinity itself. The unity of the Trinity and the inseparability of its works also meant the presence of the entire Trinity as God in the works and events of Christ's life.

And because the works of the Trinity are always inseparable, just as in the womb of the Virgin the entire Trinity effected the man, so the entire Trinity can not be denied to have raised him from the dead... But there is not one Son who raised, and another who was raised: although there be the one and the other, that is, the divine and the human, nevertheless the Son is one, raising and raised.³⁹

The unity of person meant that the whole Christ was raised from the tomb as the Son. And since the whole Trinity, Son as well as Father and Holy Spirit, operated in the Resurrection, the unity of God and man in Jesus was the logical implication.

Paulinus developed the particular homo factus est formula which he had used first in his version of the Nicene Creed, by linking it with an exegesis of the Prologue of the Gospel of John. He stated that he preferred the homo factus est formula to the Deus humanatus formula of the Adoptionists not because the latter was necessarily wrong theologically, but because it did not fully express the meaning of the Incarnation.⁴⁰ Indeed, Paulinus preferred his own terminology even over the usage of John, who had expressed the mystery in the phrase Verbum caro factum est. Homo factus est, he felt, most fully and starkly designated the personhood of Christ, and the radical identification of the man Jesus

³⁹ Contra Felicem I. lvi (cols. 413-414): Et quia inseparabilia sunt semper opera Trinitatis, sicut in utero virginis tota Trinitas operata est hominem Christum, ita cum de sepulcro tota Trinitas a mortuis non abnuitur suscitasse... Sed non est alter Filius qui suscitavit, et alter suscitatus: quamquam sit aliud et aliud, hoc est divinum et humanum; unus tamen est Filius, suscitans et suscitatus...

⁴⁰ See above, pp. 164-165.

with the eternal Word. He underscored the phrase at various points throughout the treatise:⁴¹

Verbum igitur Dei quod caro factum est,
hoc est, homo factus est, non est
mutatus in cranem, sed caro (I. xiv)

Verbum caro factum, hoc est, Deum
hominem factum (I. xvi)

Tantummodo Verbum caro factum, hoc est,
Deus homo factus, operatus est (I. xxx)

Deus erat cum illo, non quemadmodum cum
nuncupativis diis...sed Verbum caro
factum est, hoc est, Deus homo factus
est (I. xxxiv)

Veraciter scriptum legitur: Verbum caro
factum est et habitavit in nobis, hoc
est, Deus homo factus est (II. i)

Habes etenim quoniam naturaliter factus
est Deus homo (III. xxvii)

So said Paulinus. We do not know the responses of Richbod and Theodulf. Pope Leo responded by calling yet another council at Rome in October, 798.⁴²

The Pope's statements during the council reveal the extent to which he was informed by and sympathetic to Charlemagne. The council proceeded in three sessions. At the first the Pope spoke of the Adoptionist heresy and the fact that under Hadrian, his predecessor, it had seemed to be quelled. At the second, he took up the actions of Felix:

⁴¹ Capelle, "Introduction," p. 1019-1020 has collected these examples.

⁴² MGH LL III, Concilia Aevi Karolini, pp. 202-204. Cf. Hefele III. ii. 1096 ff. For the dating of the council see Heil, Alkuinstudien, pp. 17 ff.

his breaking of his word three times, his flight to the Moslems, and his blasphemous treatise against "the venerable man Alcuin." At the third he pronounced a solemn anathema against Felix with the assurance that he would be received back into the Church in grace if he truly repented. It is interesting that in all of this not a word was spoken against Eliandus, a Primate of the West under papal authority and the original source of the problem, who was far more venomous in his attacks and as uncompromisingly Adoptionist as ever.

Bolstered by the recent anathema pronounced against Felix at Rome, Charlemagne and his court met in April, 799, to witness the debate between Alcuin and Felix. Alcuin disputed for one week with the bishop. Finally overwhelmed by the censure of Rome and Alcuin's patristic army, Felix declared himself defeated by the authority of the true Church, and he signed an orthodox profession of faith which he sent to the bishops of Spain.⁴³

Felix was placed under the care of Rinulf, Bishop of Mainz, and forbidden to return to Spain, and the priest who accompanied him (who, Alcuin says, was even worse) was given over to Arn of Salzburg. However, at the recommendation of Alcuin, both were instead put under the

⁴³ MGH LL III, Concilia Aevi Karolini, p. 222: Quod per hoc me magis consequi a Domino confido, si scandalum seu error in fide, qui per me usque nunc inter utrasque partes duravit, per me iterum omnino correctum atque sedatum fuerint adque omnia ecclesiae membra in unitate fidei et concordia caritatis velud in unum corpus compaginata, ita ut nemo ex nobis in ecclesia Dei ultra scandalum vel quodlibet scisma intromittere audeat; sed omnes nos cum universale ecclesia, que in toto mundo dilatata noscitur, similiter sentientes et eam, que dudum intentio orta est, id est adoptionem carnis sue nuncupationem in humanitate filii Dei, anathematizantes, pacem, ut dixi, et unitatem fidei cum omnibus fidelibus ecclesiae absque ulla simulatione inconvulsa fide retineamus, ne cum Nestorii impietate concordantes, qui purum hominum Christum dominum credidit, alicubi deinceps labamur...

care of Leidrad, now Bishop of Lyons, who was charged to watch over them, to examine them on the sincerity of their faith, and to ensure that Felix would write to his colleagues in Spain in condemnation of his old errors.

All that remained now was the final work of convincing Elipandus and the Aquitanian and Spanish Adoptionists to adhere to the results of the council. The old primate, now well into his eighties, was immovable in his Adoptionist stance. In June, 799, Leidrad, Benedict of Aniane, and Nebridius, Bishop of Narbonne, were commissioned by the king at Aachen to undertake the new evangelization and conversion of the southwestern territories which had accepted Adoptionism. The mission advanced zealously, quickly, and successfully.⁴⁴

In October, Elipandus replied to Alcuin's entreaties with a letter to Charlemagne and "to the most reverent brother, Deacon Alcuin, not the minister of Christ but the disciple of the stinkingest so-called Beatus, arisen as the new Arius...(headed for) eternal damnation."⁴⁵ He listed once again, and ever more vehemently, his patristic authorities on Christ's adoption of the flesh, and urged Charlemagne to reject both Alcuin and his teachings. He upheld the righteousness of Felix and prayed that the king would "mitigate his indignation toward his servant," so that there might not be "a bad end to a good king." He sent a copy of the letter to Felix urging him to keep the (Adoptionist) faith.⁴⁶ Outraged at the verdict against Felix, he bitterly attacked the

⁴⁴ The progress is recorded in the letters of Alcuin. See MGH Epp IV, numbers 200-208.

⁴⁵ MGH Epp IV, number 182.

authority of the Frankish and Roman Church. Alcuin responded yet again with a treatise, the Adversus Elipandum Libri IV, recapitulating the same arguments used against Felix.⁴⁷ Despite Elipandus' intransigence, the Adoptionist controversy was settled to Charlemagne's satisfaction within his own realm, and after the primate's death the heresy virtually disappeared even in Spain. Indeed, by 800 the orthodox reconversion was so great a success that Alcuin, in a letter to Arn, wrote that close to twenty thousand Adoptionist clergy and laymen had been reconciled with the Church.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ MGH Epp IV, number 183.

⁴⁷ PL CI, 243-300.

⁴⁸ MGH Epp IV, number 208. Some trinitarian theological work continued, though chronologically it is beyond the scope of this study as it was too late to affect the program of Angilbert at Saint-Riquier, which was essentially completed in 800. In 802, at Charlemagne's request, Alcuin wrote a short treatise on the Trinity, called the De Trinitate, which was virtually a summary of the dogmatic portion of Augustine's great treatise (Books I through VIII). See PL CI, 13-58. Although the Byzantines did not respond to the decrees of the Council of Frankfurt or to the Libri Carolini, the filioque issue again flared up in 807 when a famous incident occurred between Frankish and Greek monks in Jerusalem. The Franks, chanting the Creed with the filioque at their monastery, were overheard by the Greeks and accused of heresy. The form of the Creed had been brought to Jerusalem by two of their brethren who had visited Charlemagne's court in 806 and had heard the Creed sung in that way. The accused monks wrote in protest to Pope Leo, who sent a letter upholding belief in the filioque to all of the Eastern Churches. He also requested the support of Charlemagne, who commissioned Theodulf to write a treatise on the Holy Spirit, the De Spiritu Sancto (PL CV, 239-276). For the date, see Amann, p. 182 and Hauck II, p. 347. The king also convened a council at Aachen which upheld the simultaneous procession theology. Leo, however, refused to sanction the public inclusion of the filioque in the Creed, despite his private adherence, to the belief, and affixed two silver shields engraved with the Creed, one in Latin and one in Greek, to underscore his decision. Charlemagne continued to sing the interpolated Creed at Aachen, and thereby set the standard for practice in the West. Cf. Haugh, pp. 65-90.

Let us now consider the result of this mammoth battle between Charlemagne's theologians, the Adoptionists, and the Byzantines. It set the dogma of the Trinity. It related christology and pneumatology more fully and directly to belief in the Trinity as a whole. The work of Paulinus of Aquileia, especially at the Council of Friuli, was the major contribution to clarifying the Western notion of the Trinity. It was here that the integral character of the relationship between the true humanity and true divinity of the Son, the procession of the Holy Spirit, and the description of the immanent Trinity was most clearly articulated in post-Augustinian theology. And it was here that the Creed was set forth as the keystone of right trinitarian belief, to be included as a regular component of the Mass.

It was also Paulinus who began to focus, at least in a rudimentary way, on the importance of Mary in salvation history. Although Spanish theologians, most notable among them Hildephonsus and Julian of Toledo, had written treatises on Mary, their influence was confined to Spain and their reputations tarnished by frequent Adoptionist citations drawn from their works. Paulinus made Mary important for the Franks and for Western theology on more than a devotional or liturgical level. Christ's assumption of humanity from his mother became the main defense both in the anti-Adoptionist argument and in the filioque, since both depended upon the unity of the two natures in the one person of Jesus.

Furthermore, the struggles over Adoptionism and the filioque resulted in the creation of a primary and extensive resource of Scriptural and patristic learning that would provide a compendium of trinitarian texts for subsequent scholars.

The controversies also made clear the increasingly strong position of Charlemagne as the "prime mover" of Western theological authority. It was he who called the councils in Gaul, and he who enlisted the support of the Popes in combatting Adoptionism. Despite Pope Hadrian's opposition to many of its positions, the king endorsed and published the Libri Carolini as the Western answer to the Nicene Council of 787, and it was he who pushed a strong position on the filioque despite the Pope's approval of the Greek per filium formula. Spanish bishops not under his jurisdiction appealed to Charlemagne as the valid judge of their doctrinal questions. By the time Leo III came to the throne, Charlemagne was defining Western belief and the Pope was speaking in defense of "venerable Alcuin."

Charlemagne's interest in the issue went beyond "mere" theology. Along with the Libri Carolini, the reconversion of Septimania, the reform and revitalization of monasticism in the same territory, and the conversion of the Saxons, the king sponsored the work of Angilbert at Saint-Riquier. This artistic and liturgical program, as a monumental symbol of the Trinity, was fully consistent with the wider trinitarian interests of Pepin and Charlemagne. And it extended that vision to the realm of aesthetics. Indeed, as we shall see, it asserted the integral importance of that art and liturgy to Carolingian life as a whole, through the importance of the symbol to men's lives here and now and salvation hereafter. This is the topic of Chapters VI and VII. First, however, let us consider Angilbert's life and work, and his own interest in trinitarian symbols, because though Charlemagne was a supporter of this work, Angilbert was its creator.

CHAPTER V

DOGMATIBUS CLARUS, PRINCIPIBUS SOTIUS

ANGILBERT OF SAINT-RIQUIER

A pivotal member of the group who worked on the trinitarian theological positions was Angilbert, courtier, poet, Primicerius of Italy, and abbot of the monastery of Saint-Riquier. He was, as his epitaph says, dogmatibus clarus, principibus sotius.¹ Around him much of the practical success or failure of the Carolingian program turned, because it was he who argued the reprehensia, he who accompanied Felix to Rome and presented him for judgment to Pope Hadrian; he who argued the case of the Libri Carolini at the Lateran Court. He is a pivotal figure in another sense as well, for it is he who gives us the fullest insight into the meaning of trinitarianism as a cultural program. His new monastery of Saint-Riquier embodied an aesthetic sensibility fed upon symbols of the Trinity. His poetry presented an ideal of kingship that sustained and actively encouraged those symbols. This chapter will consider Angilbert, his work, and his personal understanding of Trinity.

Many letters exchanged between members of the court circle give us the measure of Angilbert as a man well loved and highly regarded by his

¹ MGH SS XV, p. 179.

companions. From them we can glean an overview of his life.²

- 760s Angilbert receives traditional aristocratic training at the court of Pepin and then of Charlemagne
- 777 Angilbert writes the poem De Conversione Saxonum commemorating Charlemagne's victory over the Saxons in the previous year
- 781 Charlemagne appoints Angilbert as Primicerius of King Pepin of Italy, Charlemagne's infant son; resident at the court at Pavia
- late 780s Angilbert's friendship with Alcuin; Friedelehe with Charlemagne's daughter Bertha
- c.790 Angilbert appointed, again by Charlemagne, as abbot of the monastery of Saint-Riquier, near Amiens. Although an absentee abbot, he undertakes the rebuilding of the seventh century structure
- 791 Angilbert carries the capitula, the projected argument, of the Libri Carolini to Pope Hadrian; argues the Carolingian position on images and the Trinity against the Council of Nicaea of 787
- 792 Charlemagne commissions Angilbert to conduct Felix of Urgel from the Synod of Regensburg to Rome and to present Charlemagne's case to

² See for example MGH, Epp IV, numbers 9, 11, 75, 92-95, 97, 125, 147, 151, 152, 162, 164, 165, 172, 175, 220, 221, 237, and 306. The letters, and Nithard's Historia Book IV (MGH, SS II, 671), as contemporary sources are the most reliable for details about Angilbert's life. The letters provide a basic chronology and references to the most important events of Angilbert's life. Nithard gives us rudimentary information about Angilbert's relationship with Charlemagne's daughter Bertha and the two children from that union. Our information about Angilbert's work at the monastery of Saint-Riquier comes from his own description of the monastery and its reconstruction, to be discussed below (cf. pp. 226-227, and note 53), and from Book II of the late eleventh century Chronicon Centulense by Hariulf, a monk of Saint-Riquier (ed. Ferdinand Lot, Paris: A. Picard, 1894). There is a twelfth century Vita of Angilbert by the abbot Anscher which is untrustworthy, as it adds details and points of view which reflect the mentality of the twelfth century and are not supported by the early evidence. See MGH, SS XV, 180, and Mabillon's edition, along with Anscher's Miracula Sancti Angilberti in AASS, Februarii III, pp.88-98, 101-102.

Pope Hadrian

- 794 Angilbert probably present at the Council of Frankfurt; carries the final draft of the Libri Carolini to Pope Hadrian; conducts Felix of Urgel for his second recantation
- 796 Angilbert carries part of the Avar treasure, along with Charlemagne's exhortations, from Paderborn to the new Pope, Leo III, in Rome
- Writes the laudatory poem Ad Pippinum Regem
- Probably also writes the dedicatory poem of a manuscript of the De Doctrina Christiana for King Louis of Aquitaine
- late 790s Angilbert probably resident at the new court at Aachen, with visits to Saint-Riquier's work in progress
- Writing of the inscriptions and saints' epitaphs for the monastery
- 800 Dedication at Easter of the new abbey of Saint-Riquier in the presence of Charlemagne, Alcuin, and the great lay and ecclesiastical magnates of realm
- Angilbert accompanies Charlemagne to Rome, where the king is crowned emperor on Christmas Day
- 811 Angilbert is present at the witnessing of Charlemagne's will at Aachen
- 814 Angilbert dies on February 18, twenty-two days after the death of Charlemagne

We do not know the date or place of Angilbert's birth. He seems to have been a younger contemporary of Charlemagne, who even much later affectionately referred to him as puer, "child."³ A letter of Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne describes Angilbert as having been "brought up almost from the very beginnings of infancy in your palace."⁴ Nithard, in

³ MGH, Epp IV, 92.

⁴ MGH Epp V, number 2, p. 7: Praeterea directum a vestra clementis-

his Historia, spoke of his father Angilbert as being of a family "in no way unknown" (haud ignotae familiae), of the lineage of Madelgaud and Richard. These two were not identified, although a Madelgaud was the imperial missus sent to the territory of Le Mans in 802 along with Bishop Magenard of Rouen, and several Counts by the name of Richard were mentioned in the anonymous Vita Hludovici as ostiarii, overseers of royal villas, one of the highest positions at court.⁵ Given that background and the high position of Primicerius which Angilbert would hold in Italy by 781, we may speculate that he was born sometime in the late 750s to one of the great families of the Frankish aristocracy, and that he received at the court of Pepin, and then of Charlemagne, the usual training for royal service given to noble children sent to the court.⁶

sima praeclsa regali potentia suscepimus fidelem familiarem vestrum, videlicet Engilbertum abbatem et ministrum capellae, qui pene ab ipsis infantiae rudimentis in palatio vestro enutritus est, et in omnibus consiliis vestris receptus...

⁵ Nithard Historia IV, 671. Corblet took the text as an interpolation. Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands II, p. 180, note 2, accepted it as authentic. For Richard see Vita Hludovici I. 6, III. 55-56. Cf. Alan Cabaniss, Scn of Charlemagne (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1961), pp. 38, 108-111, 139 note 44. For Madelgaud, see Johann Friedrich Böhmer, Regesten I, p. 155, number 374.

⁶ Charlemagne was born in 748. Cf. McKitterick, Frankish Kingdoms, p. 73, note 16. Hariulf says that when Angilbert witnessed the will of Charlemagne he was already senio lassescente, "growing weary with the feebleness of old age." However, what he in the eleventh century considered to be old age is open to question. Alcuin, who was born in 730, always referred to Angilbert as "my son" (filius meus), thereby implying the authority of Alcuin's age; however, Alcuin clearly uses this term in a spiritual, almost Pauline sense, addressing most of his letters to his "beloved sons." Abbe J. Corblet, using Alcuin's birth as his terminus a quo and Hariulf's reference as his terminus ad quem gave Angilbert a birthdate around 740, a date much too early given Charlemagne's letter. Cf. Hagiographie du diocèse d'Amiens I (Paris: n. pub., 1868), pp. 104-105. Abbé Jules Hénocque, the great historiographer of the abbey of Saint-Riquier, dated his birth between 750 and 755. Histoire III.i, p. 113. Cf. P. Richard, who assigned the same date in the DHGE

The phrase pene ab ipsis infantiae rudimentis, "from the very beginnings of infancy," is unusual in that noble children were usually brought to court at adolescence--roborata aetate, "at a strengthened age"--after having received their first education at home.⁷ Angilbert's parents may, then, have already been resident at court in an official capacity. He would thereby have been exposed to the cultural renewal taking place under Pepin.⁸ He knew Ovid and Virgil well. He consistently drew upon Ovid's Amores, Ars Amatoria and Metamorphoses, upon Virgil's Eclogues,

III, col. 120. Eleanor Duckett, who gives an extended consideration of the Palatine Court members in her Alcuin, Friend of Charlemagne (New York: Macmillan, 1951), pp.103-105, assigns no date. Recent historians of the Carolingian court have not addressed the issue.

I have assigned a somewhat later date, in the late 750s or 760, due to the varied information given in the sources. Angilbert must have been at least ten years younger than Charlemagne to earn the nickname puer. I have taken the papal statement enutritus in palatio vestro at face value, to mean that Angilbert was still a youth being educated when Charlemagne became king in 768. He would have written his De Conversione Saxonum, then, in his late teens or early twenties, and become Primicerius in his early to mid-twenties. Such a position of responsibility at that age is odd only to modern readers; Charlemagne became king at age 22. Angilbert became abbot, then, in his early thirties. In a poem written in 796 he speaks of his two small sons playing in his garden; he would have been in his late thirties. Hariulf's statement that Angilbert was enfeebled with age in 811 would hardly be improbable in the ninth century for a man in his mid-fifties. Cf. Pierre Riché, La Vie Quotidienne dans l'Empire Carolingien (Paris: Hachette, 1973), p. 63.

As for Angilbert's family background, Hauck identifies Angilbert's family as Neustrian because Nithard lived in the realm of Charles the Bald. However, as Nithard was the son of Angilbert and himself abbot of Saint-Riquier, which was in Charles the Bald's territory, there is no reason to assume that Angilbert was Neustrian by birth. Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands II, p.180, note 1.

⁷ Pierre Riché, Education and Culture in the Barbarian West (Columbia: University of Columbia Press, 1976), pp. 236, 439; compare the terms a pueritia, robustior aetas, in pubentibus annis.

⁸ Cf. Pierre Riché, "Le renouveau de la culture à la cour de Pepin", Francia 2 (1974): 59-70.

and especially upon the Aeneid for the imagery in his poetry.⁹ Angilbert's poetic efforts later earned him the nickname "Homer" as the epic poet of the Palatine Court, a name given him by Alcuin and used affectionately by Charlemagne and the rest of the court circle as well.¹⁰ Beyond that, he seems to have had a fairly extensive training in theology. Much later, in the 790s, Angilbert more than once argued the Carolingian position on difficult theological controversies in Rome, for which he would have needed a detailed knowledge of the complex doctrinal and philosophical issues involved. Our best guess is that Angilbert was in orders of some sort and served as a cleric.¹¹

It is in one of his poems that the earliest glimpse of Angilbert appears. In 777 he wrote a laudatory poem in honor of Charlemagne's conquest of the Saxons the year before. The Saxons had long been an intractable problem for Frankish kings anxious both to protect and to extend their own borders. First taken over as a tributary state by the Merovingians in the sixth century, the Saxons had resisted Frankish mil-

⁹ The influence of Ovid and Virgil came from Angilbert's early education, and not from his later contact with Alcuin, as Angilbert's earliest extant poem, the De Conversione Saxonum, loaded with Ovidian and Virgilian figures, dates from 777, before the arrival of the Anglo-Saxon master in Francia.

¹⁰ For the name "Homer" see MGH, Epp IV, numbers 25, 92, 97, 162, 164, 172, 175, 220, 221, and 237. Despite the honorable judgment of Angilbert's friends, modern scholars have been divided on the artistic merit of his poems. Cf. Max Manitius, Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters I (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1911), pp. 543-547; F.J.E. Raby, A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages I, 2nd edition, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 201-202. The claim that Angilbert knew Greek is groundless; the letter of Alcuin quoting Greek words and phrases uses what would have been common knowledge, and implies no further knowledge of the language. See MGH Epp IV, number 162.

¹¹ See below, pp. 207-208, pp. 212 ff., and note 39.

itary and economic hegemony. Charles Martel had reconquered them in the early eighth century; Pepin III again fought them and forced them to receive Christian missionaries. He sent Anglo-Saxons, led by Saint Boniface, to do the work. They were willing evangelizers. From the earliest years of Anglo-Saxon missions on the Continent the great hope had been to bring Christianity to the pagan brother-Saxons living in the original homeland. Indeed, it was a major motivation for their Continental evangelization in the first place, a matter both of fraternal duty and longing.¹² Thus the urge to evangelize the brethren combined with the aggressive Old Testamental identity of Pepin's kingship. It provided a new thrust for Frankish hegemony in Saxony, even while it built upon the ancient Frankish warrior culture of raid and plunder which always underlay Frankish territorial expansion.¹³

The pagan Saxons, however, were not eager to be "reunited" with their Anglo-Saxon brethren, nor to endure Frankish domination of any sort. They continually resisted Frankish demands for submission and tribute. Charlemagne led a military raid against them in 772 to assert

¹² The Anglo-Saxons saw the rim of the North Sea as one continuous Saxon land and culture, the "Saxon littoral," whose unity was broken only by the paganism of the old tribes. To be their brothers' keepers, as it were, and reestablish the family tie by ministering to the faith was a desire common to both groups, in their view. As Saint Boniface stated in a letter to the Anglo-Saxons, "Take pity upon them (the Old Saxons); for they themselves are saying: 'We are of one blood and one bone with you.'" MGH Epp III, number 46: *Miseremini illorum, quia et ipsi solent dicere: "De uno sanguine et de uno osse sumus"...* I have taken this translation from The Letters of Saint Boniface, ed. and trans. Austin P. Evans, *Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies XXXI* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), p.75. For a thorough and interesting discussion of the most recent evidence on the Saxon littoral, see Michel Rouche, "Les Saxons et les origines de Quentovic", Revue du Nord (Oct-Dec 1977): 457-478.

¹³ See Chapter II, pp. 80 ff.

his own control and gain plunder. He captured their greatest fortress. He also destroyed their most important religious object, the Irminsul, despoiling its temple of its gold and silver treasure. In 774 the Saxons retaliated by devastating the Frankish borderlands; a small and highly successful Frankish contingent sent by Charlemagne defeated the Saxons, wasted their territories, and carried away much plunder. Finally, in 775, Charlemagne determined that the Saxons would submit totally to him and to Christianity or be exterminated.¹⁴ After an extensive campaign, he conquered in 776 when three Saxon tribes at last submitted to baptism.

The description of that conquest from the Royal Frankish Annals--the official court account--is worth quoting in full as a context for Angilbert's own description in the De Conversione Saxonum.

Then a messenger came with the news that the Saxons had rebelled, deserted all their hostages, broken their oaths, and by tricks and false treaties prevailed on the Franks to give up the castle of the Eresburg. With Eresburg thus deserted by the Franks, the Saxons demolished the buildings and walls. Passing on from Eresburg they wished to do the same thing to the castle of Syburg but made no headway since the Franks with the help of God put up a manly resistance. When they failed to talk the guards into surrender, as they had those in the other castle, they began to set up war machines to storm the castle. Since God willed it, the catapults which they had prepared did more damage to them than to those inside. When the Saxons saw their constructions were useless to them, they prepared faggots to capture the fortress in one charge. But God's power, as is only just, overcame theirs. One day, while they prepared for battle against the Christians in the castle, God's glory was made manifest over the castle church in the sight of a great number outside as well as inside, many of whom are still with us. They reportedly saw the likeness of two shields red with flame wheeling over the church. When the heathens outside saw this miracle, they were at once thrown into confusion and started fleeing to their camp in terror. Since all of them were panic-stricken, one man stampeded

¹⁴ Annales Laurissenses et Einhardi 772-775 (MGH SS I, pp. 150-155). Cf. Louis Halphen, Charlemagne and the Carolingian Empire (New York: North-Holland, 1977), pp. 47-50.

the rest and was killed in return, because those who looked back out of fear impaled themselves on the lances carried on the shoulders of those who had fled before them. Some dealt each other aimless blows and thus suffered divine retribution. How much the power of God worked against them for the salvation of the Christians, nobody can tell. But the more the Saxons were stricken by fear, the more the Christians were comforted and praised the almighty God who deigned to reveal his power over his servants. When the Saxons took to flight, the Franks followed on their heels as far as the River Lippe slaughtering them. Once the castle was safe, the Franks returned home victorious.

When the Lord Charles came to Worms and heard what had happened he called an assembly there. He held his general assembly, and after deliberation suddenly broke through the fortifications of the Saxons with God's help. In great terror all the Saxons came to the source of the River Lippe; converging there from every point they surrendered their land to the Franks, put up security, promised to become Christians, and submitted to the rule of the Lord King Charles and the Franks.

The Lord King Charles with the Franks rebuilt the castle of Eresburg and another castle on the River Lippe. The Saxons came there with wives and children, a countless number, and were baptized and gave as many hostages as the Lord King demanded. When the above castles had been completed, and Frankish garrisons installed to guard them, the Lord King Charles returned to Francia.¹⁵

I have chosen to quote the Royal Frankish Annals because as the official history produced at court it unabashedly presented the Carolingian point of view, and can be expected to have painted the Saxon war in as rosy a light as possible.¹⁶ Two points stand out. First, the overwhelming emphasis of the passage was on the power and victory of God. It was he who controlled and conquered; Charlemagne and his Franks stood in total dependency on him. It was he who acted, even when Charlemagne suddenly overcame the Saxon fortifications. The defeat was divine retribution. The victory was comfort and escape for the Chris-

¹⁵ RFA, 776, here translated by Bernhard Walter Scholz, Carolingian Chronicles (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1970), pp. 53-54.

¹⁶ For a lucid and detailed discussion of these annals, including date, authors, and character, see McKitterick, Frankish Kingdoms, pp. 4-5.

tians. The supernatural character of the conquest was emphasized by the miracle story, in which "God's glory was made manifest." Interestingly, although conversion to Christianity was one result of the defeat, (and the only aspect on which Angilbert chose to focus) according to this annalist paganism was not the Saxon problem. God's retribution was sent because of their perfidy against the Christians, because they rebelled, abandoned hostages, broke oaths, and attacked Frankish forts. Of course it was clear that he supported the Franks because they were Christians. But virtually nothing was said of Saxon paganism, and baptism into Christianity was presented very much within the context of political submission to "the Lord King Charles and the Franks." The whole question of religious belief or adherence to a form of worship, then, was political. It was the following of the tribal, Frankish, god who brought victory and prosperity.

The tribal, organic communal character so described was the second striking aspect of the passage. Surrender and submission were to Charles and the Franks, not just to Charles. Similarly, it was as a group that they completed the rebuilding of the devastated territory. Most significant was the fact that it was after the deliberation of the Frankish assembly--and not on the initiative and action of Charles alone--that the king "suddenly broke through the fortifications of the Saxons with God's help." Here the tribe was all important, and defined the power and majesty of the king.

Only one other contemporary source sheds light on attitudes toward the Saxon conquest of 777. That is a letter from Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne congratulating him on the victory. The tone of this letter

was very similar to that of the Annals with regard to the power of God and the meaning of the victory, although there was no tribal emphasis.

When we had heard this, our soul, rejoicing in the Lord, was lifted up with the joy of powerful exaltation; and thereupon with palms stretched to the heavens, we repeated sumptuous praises to the King of kings and Lord of lords, beseeching more earnestly his ineffable divine clemency, so that he might grant you both safety of body and salvation of soul and might grant tremendous victories over enemies, and put all barbarous nations under your feet...From that day on which you set out in those parts from this Roman city, daily at spontaneous moments and even for unremitting hours all our priests, and even religious servants of God, monks, through all our monasteries at the same time, and the rest of the people both through titular priests and deacons, with voices raised do not cease to proclaim to our God three hundred Kyrie eleisons on your behalf, and on bent knees to beseech the same most merciful Lord our God that he grant you greatly both pardon of sins and the greatest joy of happiness, and beyond, plentiful victories from heaven.¹⁷

Again the emphasis was on God's work and God's victory. In the papal view Charles was totally dependent upon God for success. And, as in the Annals, the critical issue here was conquest of barbarians,

¹⁷ MGH, Epp III, Codex Carolinus 50: Quo audito, vehementi exultationis laetitia noster in Domino ovans relevatus est animus, et protinus, extensis palmis ad aethera, regi regum et domino dominantium opimas laudes retulimus, enixius deprecantes ineffabilem eius divinam clementiam, ut et corporis sospitatem et anime salutem vobis tribuat et multipliciter de hostibus victorias tribuat omnesque barbaras nationes vestris substernat vestigiis...ab illo die, quo ab hac Romana urbe in illis partibus profecti estis, cotidiae momentaneis etiam atque sedulis horis omnes nostri sacerdotes seu etiam religiosi Dei famuli, monachi, per universa nostra monasteria simulque et reliquus populus tam per titulos quam per diaconos trecentos 'krieleyson' extensis vocibus pro vobis Deo nostro adclamandum non cessant flexisque genibus eundem misericordissimum dominum Deum nostrum exorantes, ut et veniam delictorum vobis et maximam prosperitatis laetitiam et copiosas victorias vobis multipliciter e caelo concedat.

Cf. a similar letter, Codex Carolinus 76, written in 785 after the submission of the formidable Saxon chief Widukind to baptism, in which Hadrian praised Charlemagne for his holy and inspired victory and proclaimed that there were three days of litanies in Rome and throughout the West. The letters of Alcuin criticizing the forced conversion of the Saxons and the failure of Christianity to penetrate among the people date from the mid-790s and refer to conditions then that apparently were not anticipated earlier.

rather than the conversion of pagans, a conversion not even mentioned in this letter of the Pope. Noteworthy was the chanting of the kyrie, the penitential prayer for mercy, three hundred times, since 300 was the symbol of the heavenly kingdom, perfection in the Trinity. As we shall see below, it was a most important symbol to the Franks, the product of 100, the symbol of perfection, times 3, the symbol of the Trinity.¹⁸

Let us now consider Angilbert's poem within this context of thought about the Saxon war. The tone of Angilbert's work was quite different, a virtual panegyric on that triumph, written in the vein of the old exhortatory papal letters sent to Pepin III and Charlemagne calling them to the Davidic kingship of a Chosen People.¹⁹ In fact, the very focus of his work was different: not the conquest, but the conversion of the Saxons. Here follows Angilbert's Latin text.

Quintus erat mundi tristis ab origine limes
 Expletus, morbo nimium tabefactus acerbo
 Quatuor horribilis metas dum torserat orbis,
 Dumque diurna rotans redeuntia saecla redirent,
 5 Quae patribus promissa darent fulgentia regna.
 Post coepit sextus felix se volvere cardo,
 Qui meruit tandem praedictum germinis alti
 Adventum, antiquis multisque capessere saeclis.
 Qui genitor solio clemens prospexit ab alto
 10 Pompiferum mundum, dura sub morte iacentem,
 Et genus humanum, ex limo quod fecerat olim,
 In batri cernens foveam mersisse profundam.
 Tunc pater omnipotens, rerum gratissimus auctor,
 Ille pius sator, superam qui temperat axem,
 15 Progeniem sanctam praecelsa mitis ab arce
 Misit, et extemplo cinxit lux aurea mundum,
 Horrida probosae dempsit qui crimina mortis,
 Et facinus mundi Iordanis lavit in undis,
 Signavitque pios pretiosi sanguinis ostro.
 20 Sic quoque fellivomi praedam de fauce celydri

¹⁸ Cf. Chapter VII, pp. 331-332.

¹⁹ Cf. Chapter II, pp. 81 ff., and III, pp. 99 ff.

Abstulit et Cocyti calidas spoliavit arenas,
 Victor ovans rediit, patriam remeavit ad arcem.
 Iam septingentos finitos circiter annos
 Et septem decies, ni fallor, supra relictis,
 25 Ut tradit, septem, priscorum calculus index,
 Adsunt praesentis defluxu temporis anni,
 Quo Carolus nono regnat feliciter anno,
 in quo Saxonum pravo de sanguine creta
 Gens meruit regem summum cognoscere caeli,
 30 Sordida pollutis quae pridem dona sacellis
 Ponebat rapidis bustim depasta caminis,
 Rite cruentatas tauros mactabat ad aras.
 Et demonum cultus colla inflectendo nefandos,
 Suppliciter venerans proceresque, deosque, penates,
 35 Barbarica rabie fluxas grassante medullas,
 Pro rerum fortuna plebs miseranda rogabat.
 Hoc genus indocile Christo famularier alto
 Ignorans, dominum nam corde credere nolens
 Ob causam nostrae in mundum venisse salutis.
 40 Hanc Carolus princeps gentem fulgentibus armis
 Fortiter adnictus, galeis cristatus acutis,
 Arbitri aeterni mira virtute iuvatus,
 Per varios casus domuit, per mille triumphos,
 Perque cruoriferos umbos, per tela duelli,
 45 Per vim virtutum, per spicula lita cruore
 Contrivit, sibimet gladio vibrante subegit:
 Traxit silviculas ad caeli regna phalanges,
 Moxque lupos saevos teneros mutavit in agnos;
 Raucisonos tinctos furva nigredine corvos
 50 Vertit in albifluas subito iamiamque columbas,
 Alipedes griphes subito harpeiasque volucres
 In placidas convertit aves, dirosque molossos
 Transtulit in molli tectas lanugine dammas,
 Saltigerosque tygras, fulva cervice leones
 55 Haud secus ut pecual proprio reclausit ovili.
 Postque salutiferi perfusos rore lavacri,
 Sub patris et geniti, sancti sub flaminas almi
 Nomine, quo nostrae constat spes unica vitae,
 Christicolasque rudes ad caeli sidera misit,
 60 Chrismatibus sacro inunxit baptismate lotos,
 Quo iam fumiferas valeant transcendere flammam,
 Progeniemque novam Christi perduxit in aulam.
 Porro celsithronus iudex cum factor Olympi
 Venerit, ultricibus mundum damnare favillis,
 65 Et vas pestiferum caelesti fulmine fractum
 Ad Stigias raptim vinctum retruserit umbras,
 Pulvereoque globo versutum coxerit anguem,
 Quo sine fine dolens picea marcescat in olla,
 Cunctorum meritum trilibri tunc lance librando,
 70 Lactea dona bonis, seu tristia iungit amaris,
 Princeps interea clemens pro munere tanto
 Praestet, ut astrigeri potiatur praemia regni;
 Dulcia mellifluae degustet pascua vitae:

Pascua, quae noster iam dudum iure redemptor
 Caelicolisque dare proprio promisit ab
 ore.²⁰

20

MGH, PL I, pp. 380-381. Hereafter cited as
De Convers Sax. I have translated the text into English as
 follows:

The fifth course from the beginning of the sad world
 had been completed,
 Made to waste away too much with a harsh disease
 Until the horrible limit had twisted the four poles
 of the earth,
 Rotating daily, until the returning ages should come
 back

5 Which might give the shining kingdoms promised to the
 Fathers.

Next the sixth happy hinge began to turn itself,
 Which finally was worthy to grasp the coming
 Of the noble offshoot prophesied in many and ancient
 ages.

10 The clement Father surveyed from the exalted throne
 The pomp-bearing world, prostrate under harsh death,
 And seeing that humankind, which he had once made from
 the dirt

Had sunk into the deep abyss of the lower world.
 Then the almighty Father, most gracious author of
 things

15 That devoted begetter who controls the sky above,
 Gentle one, sent a holy progeny from the lofty citadel--
 And immediately a golden light girded the world--
 A progeny who took away the horrid accusations of
 infamous death,

And washed away the crime of the world in the waves of
 the Jordan,

And marked the pious with the purple dye of precious
 blood.

20 And thus he snatched the plunder from the jaws of vile-
 spewing Celydrus

And despoiled the hot sands of Cocytus;

The victor rejoicing came back, he returned to the
 paternal citadel.

Now about seven hundred completed years

And seven times ten, unless I err, besides seven left
 over,

25 As the calculator index of the ancients hands down,
 Are present by the flowing away of the time of the
 present year,

And in that year Charles is reigning happily for his
 ninth,

In which the nation of the Saxons, sprung from depraved
 blood,
 Merited to know the highest king of heaven;
 30 A nation which long ago was placing filthy gifts at
 polluted temples
 Consumed with quick flames, pyre-like;
 Duly was slaughtering bulls at bloodied altars.
 And, by suppliantly bending necks, venerating the
 abominable cults
 Of demons, and princes, gods, penates;
 35 While barbaric rage was attacking flowing marrows,
 The people needing to be pitied was praying for the good
 fortune of life.
 This nation, not knowing how to serve the exalted Christ,
 For not wanting to believe in their hearts that the Lord
 Had come into the world for the sake of our salvation,
 40 This nation Charles the prince, bravely girded
 With shining arms, crested with pointed helmets,
 Helped by the wonderful strength of the eternal judge,
 He tamed through different destructions, through a
 thousand triumphs;
 And through blood-bearing shields, through spears of war,
 45 Through the strength of virtues, through javelins smeared
 with gore
 He crushed down and subjected it to himself with a
 shimmering sword.
 He dragged the forest-worshipping legions into the
 kingdoms of heaven
 And thereupon changed savage wolves into tender sheep;
 Raucous ravens dyed with inky blackness
 50 He turned suddenly and immediately into snow-white doves,
 Wing-footed griffons and flying harpies
 He converted into placid birds, and frightful hounds
 He transferred into gentle gazelles covered in soft down,
 And pouncing tigers and tawny-necked lions
 55 Hardly differently than a herdsman he contained in his
 own sheepfold.
 And afterwards the rough ones,
 Poured over with the dew of salvation-bearing baptism
 Under the name of the Father and the Son and the dear
 Holy Breath,
 By which the only hope of our life stands firm,
 60 He sent to the stars of heaven;
 He annointed with chrisms those washed by holy baptism
 So that they might already be able to rise above the
 smoky flames,
 And he led the new progeny of Christ into the great hall.
 Again when the heaven-enthroned judge, maker of the
 heavens,
 65 Shall have come to condemn the world with avenging ashes,
 And he shall have cooked the crafty snake on the dusty
 world,
 So that grieving without end it might waste away in a

The poem had seventy-five lines. It contained three major sections divided in terms of time and protagonist. There was one continuous theme throughout: salvation. Three characters, God the Father, God the Son, and Charlemagne, performed. More than half of the poem, forty-two lines, was devoted to Charlemagne; thirty-three lines were given to the Father and the Son.

The first section, comprising lines 1 through 22, opened with a prologue that set the conditions of time and circumstance. This was the sixth age of the world after five ruinous ages had passed: Post coepit sextus felix se volvere cardo (line 6). These ages were so devastating that the earth itself had rotted and its very poles had been twisted out of shape. Physical decay and chaos mirrored the moral condition of the world: Et genus humanum, ex limo quod fecerat olim, in baratri cernens foveam mersisse profundam (lines 11-12). But the endless cycle of days promised hope of better things, the "shining kingdoms promised to the ancients," redeuntia saecula redirent, quae patribus promissa darent fulgentia regna (lines 4-5), because with the advent of the sixth age came the hope of redemption. God the Father and Creator surveyed the world as a cosmic emperor from his heavenly throne and sent his "holy progeny" (progeniem sanctam, line 15) from the heavenly citadel who would save

pitch pot,

Then by weighing the merit of all on a three-pound scale,
He joins milk-white gifts to the good, and sad gifts to
the bitter;

70 Meanwhile may he grant that the clement prince
For so great a reward might take possession
Of the prizes of the star-bearing kingdom;
May he taste the sweet pastures of honey-flowing life:
Pastures which our redeemer already long since
75 Promised by right with his own mouth to give to
heaven-dwellers.

mankind. In baptism this savior purified the world of crime (Et facinus mundi Jordanis lavit in undis, line 18), and then, as a glorious young warrior, he despoiled Hell of its treasure, condemned men: Sic quoque fellivomi praedam de fauce celydri abstulit et Cocyti calidas spoliavit arenas (lines 20-21).

Angilbert here combined three different traditions in his imagery. In speaking of the cycles of the ages he drew upon both Classical and Old Testament thought. Carolingian authors combined these two sources indiscriminately in a theory of history that divided the time from the beginning of the world into six ages through which man developed the various arts of civilization and morality. The first age ended with the Flood, the second with Abraham, the third with David, the fourth with the Babylonian Captivity, the fifth with the Incarnation, and the sixth with the Final Coming. Angilbert in this poem collapsed the age of the Incarnation and that of the End time into one, the sixth age. Whether by accident, as an error of memory, or whether by intent we do not know. Whether in turn he intended to imply a seventh age in the last section of his poem as the age of the Final Coming (which would thereby take on symbolic significance in the number seven) he did not make clear. But the effect of the compression of the two ages was to unify the actions of Christ and Charlemagne, as we shall see below.²¹ Their work took place in the same age, the age of salvation, the establishment and propagation of the Church in an ongoing and uninterrupted progress.

²¹ For a discussion of the Carolingian theory of the six ages, which was related to their theory of the moralism of the arts, and for the sources of that theory, see Edgar DeBruyne, Etudes d'Esthétique Médiévale I (Bruges: n. pub., 1946), pp. 209ff.

Charlemagne completed the work that Christ began. Angilbert here made no reference to the progressive development of the arts of civilization and society throughout those ages; in his poem the ages preceding the Incarnation were unregenerate, bad, chaotic. Hence the redemptive work that occurred here truly appeared as the only hope of mankind in salvation from the chaos that would otherwise continue.

Angilbert's action and characters in this section were strictly Biblical, focusing on the redemptive acts of Christ and the Father. But within that Biblical picture he painted many of the details in Classical colors. Hell, for example, was called "the hot sands of Cocytus" (one of the tributaries of Acheron, the river of Hell) and "the vile-spewing jaws of Celydrus" (the most deadly of poisonous snakes, which in the Carolingian period was a metaphor for the Devil). Both of these images were taken from the Aeneid. His description of Christ, however, stood squarely within the Frankish warrior tradition. Christ's victory was portrayed as the seizing of human plunder which he carried back in glory to the fortress of heaven. Two words in particular underscored the image: Christ snatched away "plunder" (praedam) and "despoiled" the hot sands (spoliavit, lines 20-21). Salvation here was purification and battle with the forces of Hell, whose treasure horde the victor brought to his father's high palace.²²

²² Compare in the Frankish tradition the warrior imagery through out Gregory of Tours' Historia Francorum and in the Anglo-Saxon tradition Beowulf's warrior character and death and the Dream of the Rood's description of Christ's death and resurrection as his coming into his treasure horde in heaven.

Angilbert carried on and expanded the symbolism of salvific battle in the second section of the poem (lines 23 through 62). The transition, an extended time description playing with the number seven--seven hundreds plus seven times ten plus seven years--was minimal: Iam septingentos finitos circiter annos et septem decies, ni fallor, supra relictis, ut tradit, septem, priscorum calculus index, adsunt praesentis defluxu temporis anni (lines 23-25). Angilbert's reference to the calculator index of the ancients and his use of the image of the flowing out of present time added gravity to the description, which provided the context for this special year of Charlemagne's reign. The short transition juxtaposed the great victor Christ quite radically with Charlemagne, the victor and protagonist of this section. That juxtaposition cast Charlemagne himself in a salvific role toward the Saxons.²³ Lines 27 and 40 (Quo Carolus nono regnat feliciter anno...Hanc Carolus princeps gentem fulgentibus armis) whose subject was Charlemagne, functioned almost parenthetically to enclose the barbarians in their false worship and focus them on his coming action. The Saxon rites were demonic, inspired by Hell (Et demonum cultus colla inflectendo nefandos, line 33), and carried out with slaughter on impure altars (sordida pollutis quae pridem dona sacellis, line 30, and rite cruentatas tauros mactabat ad aras, line 32). And because they worshipped devils and idols they were virtually possessed with uncontrollable rage in the very marrow of their bones: Barbarica rabie fluxas grassante medullas (line 35). This echoed the savagery of the original condition of men described in the

²³ Here we might recall the increasing association of the king and Christ in the Laudes Regiae liturgy. Cf. Ernst Kantorowicz, Laudes Regiae, pp. 56-64.

first section, men prior to the effects of civilization and redemption, prior to the possibility of peace.

Here, however, the remedy would be immediate. Charlemagne, glittering with warrior splendor (fulgentibus armis adcinctus), strengthened by virtues, and helped with amazing power from God (arbitri aeterni mira virtute iuvatus, and per vim virtutum), ended that possession through conquest and subjection of the Saxons to himself (lines 40-46). His very person shimmered with divine favor; the sword, normally the instrument of death, became in his inspired hand the transmitter of life, soaked with sacred power: (sibimet gladio vibrante subegit). It was so for one reason: Charlemagne by it "dragged the forest-worshipping legions into the kingdom of heaven" (traxit silviculas ad caeli regna phalanges), and thereby initiated a profound transformation in the Saxons. Their demons fled, and they became peaceful. Lines 47 through 55 concentrated in striking metaphors the full meaning of conquest as a movement from the demonic and devilish to the pure and benign, from aggression to peace. Screeching black ravens became gentle white doves, vicious wolves lambs, and snarling dogs soft gazelles (moxque lupos saevos teneros mutavit in agnos...raucisonos tinctos furva nigredine corvos vertit in albifluas subito iamiamque columbas...dirosque molossos transtulit in molli tectas lanugine dammas). The sword brought form out of chaos and life out of death.

Charlemagne's victory was a cosmogony. It brought resolution out of conflict by virtually replicating the original divine work of creation and most especially the divine work of redemption. The images of beastly chaos echoed the horrible condition of the world before the com-

ing of the holy progeny in the first section; here the effects of salvation were made explicit. What was critical was the form which lay at the heart of that new world, the Trinity. The sacrament, the "dew of salvation-bearing baptism" (salutiferi rore lavacri, line 56), became a hierophany, the manifestation of the Holy Trinity "under the name of the Father and the Begotten One and the dear Holy Breath" (sub patris et geniti, sancti sub flaminis almi nomine, lines 57-58). The Trinity was the center, the fixed orientation, the reference point of this world "by which the only hope of our life stands firm" (quo nostrae constat spes unica vitae, line 58), and in which the true power and source of all life and fecundity lay. The invasion of the Trinity through the invasion of the Franks brought the Saxons into the aula, the "great hall" of sacred space of the Trinity worshippers.

It is significant, however, that the real focus and determining factor here was not the actual sacrament of baptism. Although important, it was subordinate to the conquest. Rather, that which transformed was the sword. It was the sword which in the potent hand of Charlemagne became a virtual liturgical, almost sacramental instrument that mediated between heaven and earth. It was a physical channel of grace in its power to subject. It was the shimmering sword of Charlemagne that overcame demonic powers; it was his sword that brought about the great transformation of the barbarians into a people and enabled them to live a human life, indeed to receive the baptism that saved them in an ultimate sense. Most important was that it is Charlemagne's sword, for it was the piety of his heart that yielded the power of his hand.

His triumph was single-handed. No army backed him up, no mention of troops, no deliberations of Franks. Only his charismatic person made war here to complete the cosmic battle for salvation. This was a power very different from that described in the Annals or the papal letter, for even such phrases as "helped by the wonderful strength of the eternal judge" seem to disappear under the force of the actions ascribed to Charlemagne. He tamed (subegit), converted (convertit), sent to heaven (ad caeli sidera misit), and led the progeny of Christ into the great hall (progeniemque novam Christi perduxit in aulam). These verbs were very strong; they asserted virtually salvific action. Charlemagne saved the Saxons by conquering them and bringing them peace in the name of the Trinity. He carried out in microcosm the salvific work that the great warrior Christ had carried out cosmically. He was successful because he was the warrior of the Eternal Judge. Whether that judge was the Father or the Son Angilbert did not make clear. His ambiguity here mirrored the unity of the persons of the Trinity which we have already seen characterizing the Western Augustinian theological tradition.²⁴ What was predicated of one person was predicated of all. Here we might say there was even a confusion of persons.

The third and final section of the poem spoke of the Final Coming, the end time of the world when the Last Judgment would reduce the world and bring the faithful to their eternal reward. This section was very short, comprising lines 65 through 75. The first six lines again provided the transition and set the context; the last five prayed for the just reward due to the king, to "take possession of the prizes of the

²⁴ See Chapter II, pp. 71 ff.

star-bearing kingdom" (ut astrigeri potiatur praemia regni), and "taste the sweet pastures of honey-flowing life" (dulcia mellifluae degustet pascua vitae). Again the main actor was the terrible and just judge (ambiguous as to whether the Father or the Son); nevertheless, the focus was still on Charlemagne, who was now shown worthy to receive the prize of eternal life.

The effect of the second section and its powerful images of Charlemagne remained, particularly since this closing section was so short. Charlemagne, even as one needing to be saved, seemed to have superhuman status. He was more than a man; he was a mediator between man and God. Indeed, that was one of the great innovations of this poem, particularly in comparison with the far more modest claims of the Royal Frankish Annals and the letter of Hadrian regarding the conquest of the Saxons. Those texts continually emphasized the power of God as the determining force in the victory. It was God's victory, to which Charlemagne happened to be privy. But here the active force was Charlemagne himself, and his status was very much magnified. It was his status that dominated, it was he who acted, and he who conquered. He was in this poem the third member of a trinity of actors: the Father ruled from the high citadel, the Son justified the world through blood sacrifice, and Charlemagne continued that redemptive process through the imposition and extension of right worship. He shared center stage, dominating alone fully half of the poem, while Father and Son shared the other half. It is true that the subject of the poem was the work of Charlemagne with the Saxons; but its setting in this overall context of cosmic redemption and the work of the Father and the Son was more than

suggestive. Whether he intended to or not, Angilbert here took a great ideological step in the magnification of the figure of the ruler. Not even the old letter of Pope Paul to Pepin's Franks, promising that they would assuredly fly right to heaven if they supported their new king, isolated and exalted the figure of the king to this degree.²⁵

Angilbert's poetic technique reinforced the trinitarian theme that he developed in the poem, because it implied all sorts of threes and sevens--both numbers that symbolized the Trinity--in the structure and images of the poem. The work was divided into three major parts. There were three characters who acted, Father, Son, and Charlemagne. The two sections that referred to the Father and the Son and the cosmic redemption comprised thirty-three lines. The year of Charlemagne's triumph chosen by Angilbert was 777--"seven hundreds plus seven times ten plus seven left over"--even though the actual battle and conquest took place in 776. For the Carolingians, as we shall see, three symbolized the Trinity quite directly. Seven was both a trinitarian number referring to the ongoing salvific work of the Holy Spirit in the world, and an apocalyptic number signifying the End Time of justification of the righteous and condemnation of the wicked. Even the coincidence of this year with the ninth of Charlemagne's reign was suggestive, since nine, or three times three, was also a trinitarian symbol.²⁶ The symbolic structure of the poem, then, evoked the very truths that Angilbert wanted to convey.

²⁵ Cf. Chapter II, note 37.

²⁶ For the numerical symbolism understood by the Carolingians see below, Chapter VII.

What was important for Angilbert in the De Conversione Saxonum, thus, and unique in the contemporary thought about the Saxons, was the focus of the whole poem upon the phenomenon from a religious--or, better, perhaps--a politico- religious point of view. The various chronicles and Pope Hadrian's letter spoke in prosaic terms about conquest. But for Angilbert, what was significant was that conquest brought about salvation. This was the life-giving battle waged by the unique king. Through it the Trinity was made manifest as the center of the sacred world that Charlemagne ruled. It was the truth exposed and made available to all who were subject to him, for their peace right now and their eternal salvation.

In 781 Charlemagne appointed Angilbert as Primicerius to his three-year-old son Pepin when he made Pepin King of Italy. Angilbert was resident at Pepin's court at Pavia. We have little knowledge of what that title meant in substance; the use of the term for Angilbert appears only in a letter of Alcuin dated probably before 792.²⁷ The letter asks Angilbert to obtain King Pepin's aid for a pilgrim on his way to Rome, and requested him to send relics to Alcuin in Francia:

Mindful of the mutual friendship between us, I have presumed to direct these letters to you, beseeching you kindly to deign to receive the bearer of these letters, and intercede with the king, Lord Pepin, to assist the ways of his pilgrimage...I beg you most devotedly besides, dearest brother, to take care also to send me the gifts sweetest and most necessary to me, that is, the relics of the saints, or some relics.

²⁷ MGH, Epp IV, number 11. See Bernhard von Simson, Jahrbuch des fränkischen Reiches unter Karl dem Grossen II (Leipzig: Duncker and Humbolt, 1884), p. 435, note 6 for a discussion of the authentic form of the salutation containing the title "Primicerius."

Originally the term Primicerius palatii referred to the first among the palace chaplains (the more common usage being Capellanus or Archicapellanus) charged with caring for the cape of Saint Martin and the other relics of the royal palace, and with carrying those relics into battle.²⁸ This may perhaps explain Alcuin's request for relics more adequately than the simple assumption that because Angilbert was in Italy as a royal official he would have access to them. If part of his duty were the care of the royal relics, Alcuin's would indeed be an appropriate request. It is from later letters, dating from the 790s and referring to Angilbert's work back again at the court of Charlemagne, that we can perhaps infer what his work at Pavia must have entailed. Another letter from Alcuin, dated between 792 and 796 (when Alcuin was travelling between Rome and Charlemagne's court on diplomatic missions) asks Bishop Agino of Constance to send him relics through Angilbert.²⁹ At the same time, Pope Hadrian's letter to Charlemagne on the image controversy, cited above, refers to Angilbert as ministrum capellae, minister of the royal chapel, and in 796 a letter from Charlemagne to Pope Leo III introduces him as manualem nostrae familiaritatis auricularium, "the secret counsellor and secretary of our intimacy."³⁰ Taken together,

²⁸ Adalbert DuCange, Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis (Niort: L. Favre, 1883, 1886), Vol. II, p. 118, col.4 and Vol. VI, p. 498, col.1.

²⁹ MGH, Epp IV, number 75.

³⁰ See note 3. Ministrum capellae may refer here to Angilbert's former role at Pepin's court, since in 791 Angilbert was back in Francia, probably at the royal court; or it may refer to some dignity held now at Charlemagne's court as one of the clerics responsible for safeguarding the relics and attending to the chapel of the king. For manualem...auricularium, see MGH, Epp IV, number 93.

these references suggest that Angilbert served Pepin in an ecclesiastical and advisory capacity, since the Primicerius was a close royal advisor and Angilbert had been educated for royal service. The later references to manualis and auricularius, both important and confidential posts at the court of Charlemagne, imply some of the work that Angilbert probably did for Pepin in Pavia, since they refer to a confidential secretary entrusted with the secrets of state and, probably, also of the king's private life.

Charlemagne had set up Pepin's court in Pavia several years after his final conquest of the Lombards under Desiderius. At the same time he created another subkingdom in Aquitaine under his infant son Louis. Italy was a troublesome territory, disputed between the Lombards in the north and center of the peninsula, the Byzantines in the northeast at Ravenna, and the papal territories. As we have seen, it was primarily the need for a protector against the Lombards that had inspired the liaison between the popes and the Franks in the first place.³¹ Even after the initial efforts of Pepin III, Charlemagne's father, to subdue the Lombards, under King Desiderius they continued to seize territories in central Italy, coming virtually to the gates of Rome. Charlemagne, in response to the desperate pleas of Pope Hadrian I, came down into Italy, besieged the Lombard capital of Pavia, and after its defeat assumed the title Rex Lombardorum for himself. He also kept the territory already seized from the papal patrimony. His creation of a subkingdom to be ruled by his son Pepin was a measure to consolidate Frank-

³¹ Cf. Chapter II, pp. 80 ff.

ish authority in Italy.³²

The royal court at Pavia served four main functions. Most important, it asserted a Frankish ruling presence in the peninsula, to establish and carry out Frankish law. Pepin promulgated capitularies and called assemblies in which both Franks and Lombard nobles and churchmen participated; a number of Frankish counts were established in the territory. Second, it provided and assured open and frequent communication between Charlemagne and this important region. Third, Pepin guarded and secured the Frankish march territories contiguous to Italy. This meant primarily the northeast, which bordered on Avar territory. Fourth, Pepin went to war against the enemies of the Franks; and since this was an age in which a major duty of kings was still to extend the kingdom and bring peoples and their wealth under his personal control, he was often summoned as warlord to help his father Charlemagne in battle against the Avars. Pepin and his counts conquered the Avars in a famous bloodless battle in 796, and brought the treasure from the Ring, the greatest Avar fortress, to Charlemagne at Paderborn (part of which would go to Pope Leo in Rome), a triumph celebrated in verse by several Carolingian poets.³³

³² Halphen, Carolingian Empire, pp. 71-84

³³ De Pippini Regis Victoria Avarica (MGH, PL I, pp.116-117); it is likely that Angilbert composed his Ad Pippinum Regem in honor of that triumph as well. Cf. Charlemagne's letter to Queen Fastrada on a victory of Pepin over the Avars in 791 (MGH Epp I, number 20). The Vita Hludovici provides a good picture of the functions of the subkingdoms in discussing the work of Louis the Pious in Aquitaine and of King Bernard, Pepin's successor in Italy. See Book I. v. 12, viii, ix, xiv. 1; and Book II. xxv, xix. 2, xxxv. 2, xxxvi, and xxxvii. 1. For secondary accounts see Halphen, Carolingian Empire, p. 80, and McKittrick, Frankish Kingdoms, pp. 68-69.

Angilbert, then, would have been a key figure in the administration of these territories throughout the 780s, although in all of these matters the main actor and most important figure was Charlemagne. The subkings really functioned only as auxiliaries to him. It is significant, for example, that none of the papal letters in the Codex Carolinus from this period mention Angilbert. All of those letters, even those on relatively minor matters, were exchanged directly between the pope and Charlemagne, and through other specifically appointed legates. On the other hand, Angilbert is always mentioned as legate for issues in which he was involved in the letters of the 790s. Thus we can surmise that Angilbert's concerns were primarily the local ones of administering the Lombard territory and church, whereas major questions of direct dealings with Rome and the initiation of military campaigns were still in Charlemagne's hands.

Angilbert must also have travelled back and forth between Pavia and Charlemagne's itinerant court where, after 782, he met Alcuin newly arrived from York. The two formed a long and extremely close friendship, as witnessed in the intimate and flowery language with which Alcuin addressed Angilbert in his letters. By 794 he was calling him "the most elect envoy of my lord king, indeed my dearest son."³⁴ The Anglo-Saxon master took a paternal attitude toward Angilbert, mentioning him often in letters, asking and returning favors, and rebuking him on his love of public games. Alcuin was as devoted as a father to many of the members of the court circle, often referring to Paulinus, Arn, and others as his "dearest sons." But the extent of his love for Angilbert

³⁴ MGH, Epp IV, number 27.

is revealed in a letter written in 796 asking Angilbert to intercede on his behalf with Pope Leo III for special forgiveness of a sin from which Angilbert had suffered as well:

You being gone, I have often tried to come to the port of stability. But the rector of things and the dispenser of souls has not yet conceded that I am able to desire what I once did. The wind of temptations still flails the young branches of reflection being born from the depths of the heart, so that the flowers of consolation and the fruits of rest cannot be nourished...But if I might return to the point again with a creased brow, indeed demanding that you, as a friend of like mind, begging that you, as the caretaker of a soul, intercede for the counsel of our souls from God, with the approval of the holy apostles. For the chain of necessity constrains us both, as I recognize, and does not allow us to enter the forts of the will with a free course.³⁵

This passage has recently been interpreted as evidence of a homosexual relationship between Angilbert and Alcuin.³⁶ Although that is possible from the reference to a mutual sin which Angilbert knows only too well, the language which Alcuin uses is not in itself evidence of much. To a great degree it follows medieval convention. To a great degree it reflects Alcuin's emotional character, evident in all of his letters. His references to Arn and Paulinus have already been cited, and in general it is clear that he means these affectionate titles and

³⁵ MGH, Epp IV, number 97: Te abeunte temptavi saepius ad portum stabilitatis venire. Sed rector rerum et dispensator animarum necdum concessit posse quod olim fecit velle. Adhuc ex radice cordis nascentes cogitationum ramusculos ventus temptationum flagellat, ut consolationis flores et refectionis fructus nutriri nequiverunt...Sed ut iterum ad seriem rugosa fronte revertar, te vero unanimem deprecans amicum, te custodem animi obsecrans, ut consilium salutis animarum nostrarum cum suffragiis sanctorum apostolorum a Deo depreceris. Nam nos ambos, ut recognosco, quaedam necessitatis catena constringit et libero cursu voluntatis castra intrare non permittit.

³⁶ John Boswell, Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homo sexuality (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 188-191. Boswell bases his argument essentially on the flowery language used and on the many other references in Alcuin's correspondence to his "dearest sons."

remarks in a spiritual sense. Alcuin's letters in the years between 793 and 796 reveal a real turning inward and an increasing concern with the approach of death, which may account for the intensity of his reaction in this letter toward whatever sin he and Angilbert knew.³⁷

Whatever Angilbert's bond with Alcuin, it was also during these years that Angilbert began a marital relationship with Bertha, the daughter of Charlemagne. Two sons, Nithard, who later became abbot of Saint-Riquier, and Hartnid were born of the relationship. Angilbert described his two young sons playing in the garden of their home in the Ecloga ad Carolum Regem a poetic account of the court of Charlemagne written sometime during the 790s.³⁸ The relationship was most likely Friedelehe, an ancient Germanic custom of marriage by mutual consent, usually between partners of unequal status, in which the woman remained under the power of her own kin. It was essentially a romantic match. If Angilbert was a cleric, as seems likely, the marriage is an indication that conditions as court were quite fluid, despite the evidence of the capitularies that Charlemagne was eager to regularize and reform the clerical status.³⁹

³⁷ Cf. Heinrich Fichtenau, The Carolingian Empire (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964), p. 97. It is Fichtenau who brings out the shift in the later letters of Alcuin, and he who first interpreted the term "chain of necessity" as a common sin.

³⁸ MGH, PL I, pp.360-363, and Nithard Historia IV (MGH, SS II, 671).

³⁹ Clerical celibacy was a longstanding obligation in the Western Church, though one much ignored. Charlemagne's Admonitio Generalis, promulgated in 789, forbade any cleric to have a woman in his house (except a housekeeper). See MGH LL I, Capit I, p. 55, number 4. However, two sources written during the reign of Louis the Pious, Einhard's Vita Caroli Magni XXV (MGH, SS I, p. 456), and the Vita Hludovici II. 25. 1 speak of the scandals of life at the court of Charlemagne and the reaction of Louis the Pious in clearing the palace of all offenders.

Sometime around the year 790, Charlemagne appointed Angilbert abbot of the monastery of Saint-Riquier. In a letter dated 790, Alcuin addressed Angilbert as filium, nunc vero ex filio patrem, "my son, but now from my son to my father," which seems to refer to the new dignity.⁴⁰ Saint-Riquier had first become prominent under Pepin, Charle-

The latter says that the "blemish" of Louis' sisters' behavior was the only disgrace of the court of Charlemagne, and that Louis, sensitive to the impropriety of their affairs banished them from court. Hence Angilbert's marriage, even if he was in orders (e.g. as a deacon, as was Alcuin), is not unlikely. The character of the Friedelehe was informal, and the fact that the woman remained within her own kin group sheds light on Einhard's famous comment that Charlemagne so loved his daughters that he would not allow them to marry, preferring to keep them always with him (Vita Caroli Magni xix).

Angilbert's relationship with Bertha has always been problematic for later historians who saw it as an irregularity with his clerical status. They have either claimed that the two were married, or they have denied the validity of the texts. Hariulf briefly mentions that Angilbert married Charlemagne's daughter (Book II.iii; today only the chapter heading is extant). Anscher in the twelfth century claimed both that Angilbert was married to Bertha and that he was a cleric. According to Anscher, Angilbert, eventually disgusted with the world and moved by the miracles of Saint Richarius entered the monastery and lived such a holy life there that the monks eventually elected him abbot. (A similar section in Hariulf seems to be an interpolation by Anscher; cf. Book II. 6-7, and Introduction). A.P.M. Gilbert, the earliest modern historians of Saint-Riquier, followed Anscher. Déscription historique, pp. 147-148. Dufour, President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Picardy, argued that Angilbert seduced Bertha and that later writers legitimized the impropriety by inventing a marriage. Cf. Jules Hénocque, "Mariage de Saint Angilbert avec la Princesse Berthe, Réponse a Monsieur Dufour", Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie 9 (1866) number 2, pp. 258-259. Hénocque denied the relationship altogether, citing the relevant passage in Nithard's text as an interpolation and, in fact, denying that the Nithard who wrote the chronicle was the son of Angilbert. Ibid, pp. 263-268, Histoire III. iii, pp. 95 ff., and "Observations de M. l'Abbé Carlet, curé de Manicamps", Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie 11 (1873) number 3, pp. 335-351. More recently, historians have either given credence to the sources or have ignored the problem. Duckett did not consider Angilbert's marriage. Boswell, as we have seen, focused on Angilbert's relationship with Alcuin (see footnote 30 above). The most thoughtful resolution of the problem is that of Suzanne Fonay Wemple who has suggested the Friedelehe discussed above. See Women in Frankish Society (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), pp. 12-15, 35.

magne's father, who had given it to Widmar, one of his chancery secretaries. Pepin characteristically awarded abbacies for service in the royal chancery, as he also did, for example, with the abbey of Saint-Denis to his chaplain Fulrad, and of Marmoutier to Badillo.⁴¹ Charlemagne continued the practice, a further indication of Angilbert's work and worth in Italy and at court. The tradition may explain why it was that Angilbert was given this particular abbey.

Angilbert was an absentee abbot, at least during the years of the reconstruction, probably living at court as part of Charlemagne's entourage. From 791 through 796 he was intimately involved in the trinitarian theological controversies as Charlemagne's papal envoy, and he was completely conversant with the issues continually being discussed at court. He was ministerium capellae, as a letter from Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne calls him in 791. He was thereby involved in the work of maintaining the liturgy and relics of the royal chapel. And he was ambassador, entrusted with the most delicate and crucial theological negotiations within the realm and with Rome. Angilbert's high position at court during those years, and the extent of Charlemagne's trust in his friend are evident in a letter of presentation with which Charlemagne introduced Angilbert to Pope Leo III in 796. He called him manualem nostrae familiaritatis auricularium, "the secret counsellor and sec-

⁴⁰ MGH, Epp IV, number 9. Anscher's claim that Angilbert was appointed Count of Ponthieu or France-Maritime is baseless. Any such reference in Hariulf is probably an interpolation by Anscher.

⁴¹ Cf. McKitterick, Frankish Kingdoms, p. 37. Widmar, like Angilbert later, was the ambassador of Pepin to Pope Paul I between 761 and 766. In 763 he was a signatory, as mentioned above, to the acts of the Council of Attigny. Cf. Chapter III, p. 138, and Hariulf's Chronicon, p. 43 note 1.

retary of our intimacy."⁴² He was confidential secretary and counsellor, privy to the king's public and private wishes. A poem of the 790s, the Ecloga ad Carolum Regem, described in intimate detail the life and people at court, and as we have noted above, spoke of Angilbert's two little boys, Nithard and Hartnid, playing in the garden of their home nearby. A letter from Alcuin to Charlemagne in 799 spoke of Angilbert as a friend of Peter of Pisa, then teaching grammar at Aachen, and as privy in the palace to Peter's concerns.⁴³

In 791 Charlemagne commissioned Angilbert to carry the reprehensia of the Libri Carolini to Pope Hadrian in Rome. His task was a difficult and sensitive one, as it was he who had to argue the Carolingian position on Iconoclasm and the Trinity with a Pope who was essentially favorable to the Byzantines. It was likely Angilbert who brought back the papal response. Hence he needed an integral knowledge of the extensive theological argument and its early development among Charlemagne's court theologians, as well as of the aesthetic theory that would comprise the bulk of the treatise. And he needed a consummate diplomatic skill to convince Hadrian of a position to which he was essentially hostile. Although Hadrian would not budge on the filioque issue, he responded fully to Charlemagne's concerns and sent back a detailed and comprehensive critique of the treatise, as we have seen.⁴⁴

⁴² MGH Epp IV, number 93.

⁴³ MGH Epp IV, number 172: ...scriptam esse eandem (sic) controversiam in eadem civitate audivi. Idem Petrus fuit, qui in palatio vestro grammaticam docens claruit. Forsan Omerus vester aliquid exinde audivit a magistro praedicto. For the Ecloga see MGH PL I, pp. 360-363.

⁴⁴ See above, Chapter III, pp. 132 ff., and the response of Hadrian, MGH Epp V, number 2.

It was probably upon his return from Rome that Angilbert began the work for which he is most famous, the razing and rebuilding of the monastery of which he was abbot. He undertook the task with both the encouragement and the open patronage of Charlemagne, who commissioned the most precious building materials from throughout the world, and with the largesse of the Frankish nobles. He began to rebuild the simple seventh-century monastery on a much larger and more opulent scale, dedicating it as a symbol of the "veneration of the Holy Trinity," as we will discuss further below.⁴⁵ Given his involvement in the negotiations over the Libri Carolini, as well as the papal rejection of the treatise, it will become clear that Angilbert undertook the rebuilding at Charlemagne's behest in order to put into concrete terms the trinitarian aesthetic program of the Libri and to develop (and assert) the Carolingian position more fully. It became a response not only to the Greeks, but to Hadrian as well.

In 792 Angilbert became directly involved in the Adoptionist controversy when Charlemagne commissioned him to conduct the wayward Felix of Urgel to Rome to be examined by Pope Hadrian. There is no evidence that he participated in the theological debates prior to this time, but now he was responsible for presenting Charlemagne's doctrinal position to the Pope.⁴⁶ Again in 794 the king called upon him, at Frankfurt. He was to carry the final draft of the Libri Carolini to the Pope once again, to present the point of view on Iconoclasm and the Trinity

⁴⁵ See pp. 227 ff., and Chapter VII. Cf. Angilbert De perfectione I (MGH SS XV, p. 174).

⁴⁶ Annales Laurissenses et Einhardi 792 (MGH SS I, p. 178).

finally determined by the Council. It is likely that he attended the conciliar deliberations, since he would have needed an extensive knowledge of the development of the position among Charlemagne's theologians.⁴⁷

In 796 Angilbert went to Rome yet again, this time from the court at Paderborn, where Charlemagne was again fighting the Saxons. His work this time was to create a liaison between Charlemagne and the new Pope, Leo III. He carried with him not only the congratulations of the king and exhortations explaining the proper respective roles of Leo and Charlemagne, but also a portion of the Avar treasure just captured by King Pepin as a gift for the Pope.⁴⁸

It was probably in connection with this journey to Rome that Angilbert wrote his poem in honor of King Pepin, the Ad Pippinum Regem, in which he described Charlemagne, Louis, and the sisters of Pepin lamenting the young king's absence from the family and longing to see him coming over the Alps. The Royal Frankish Annals for this year also record that Charlemagne "in the palace at Aachen was happy to see his son Pepin returning home from Pannonia bringing along the treasure."⁴⁹

Another poem to Louis the Pious, King of Aquitaine, was probably written at the same time. This was a dedicatory poem for a manuscript of the De Doctrina Christiana which Angilbert had copied and sent to Louis. His choice of text and his description of it in the poem are

⁴⁷ Annales Laurissenses et Einhardi 794 (MGH SS I, pp. 180-181).

⁴⁸ MGH, Epp IV, numbers 92, 93, and 94.

⁴⁹ RFA 796 (Scholz, p. 75). For Angilbert's poem, see MGH PL I, pp. 358-360.

significant, because they reveal Saint Augustine as a major source of Angilbert's thought, and give important insight into Angilbert's trinitarian thought. For Angilbert the most important aspect of the De Doctrina Christiana was its treatment of the things of this world as symbols of the kingdom of heaven, the transcendent realm where truth resides.

Angilbert's poem not only summarized the meaning of Augustine's symbols, but showed that it was a critically important duty of kings to understand those Christian symbols as well. The Latin text is as follows:

I

Hic Augustini Aurelii pia dogmata fulgent,
 Quae de doctrina aedidit almifica
 Haec tibi multa docent, lector, quod quaeris honeste,
 Si replicare cupis scripta sacrata libri.
 5 Huius enim corpus, parvum quod cernitur esse,
 Continet insertos quattuor ecce libros.
 Primus enim narrat Christi praecepta tenere,
 Quae servare deus iussit in orbe pius:
 Rebus uti saeculi insinuans praesentibus apte
 10 Aeternisque frui rite docet nimium.
 Edocet ex signis variis rebusque secundus,
 Qualiter aut quomodo noscere signa queant.
 Tertius ex hisdem signis verbisque nitescit:
 Quid sint, quid valeant quaeque vitanda, canit.
 15 Tunc promit quartus librorum dicta priorum:
 Quid res, quid signa, quid pia verba docent,
 Qualiter et possint cuncta intellecta referre,
 Magno sermone intonat ipse liber.
 Summis, pariter moderate, granditer atque,
 20 Lector, perlecta dic: 'Miserere deus.'
 Hunc abbas humilis iussit fabricare libellum,
 Angilbertus enim vilis et exiguus,
 Quem daret ille pio caelesti numine fulto
 Hlodoico regi, qui est pius atque humilis,
 25 Qui sanctae sophiae certat rimare secreta
 Nobilis ingenio nocte dieque simul,
 Quique etiam domini ac frataris praeclarus amator
 Ingenti dictu permanet ore pio.
 Quem deus omnipotens multos feliciter annos
 30 Glorificet servet diligat ornet amet.

II

Haec perlecta pii, lector, doctrina patroni,
 In primis domino, totum qui condidit orbem,
 Devote laudes iugiter perfunde benignas,
 Qui mare fundavit, caelum terramque creavit,
 5 Omnia qui numero, mensura ac pondere clausit,
 Per quem cuncta manent vel per quem cuncta manebunt,
 Quae sunt, quae fuerant, fuerint vel quaeque futura.
 Ipso iterum magnas domino perfundito grates
 Pro tali ac tanto, casto doctoque magistro,
 10 Ordine sub digno scripsit qui talia nobis.
 Cholduici regis precibus memorare benignis,
 Nomine qui est dignus, divino ac munere fretus,
 Laudibus almificis, ingenti et mole coruscans.

15 Cui deus omnipotens multos feliciter annos
 Hic pie concedat felicia regna tenere;
 Cum quo coniugium, prolem cunctosque fideles
 Dignetur regere caelorum rector ab axe.
 Et post hunc cursum caelestia scandere regna
 His tribuat dominus, cunctorum conditor almus.
 20 His ita perlectis curvatis undique membris,
 Lector, dignanter haec verba micantia prome:
 'Gloria sit patri, solio qui fulget in alto,
 Filius aeternus cum quo est et spiritus almus,
 Nomine qui trino regnans super omnia
 solus.⁵⁰

50

This is Traube's edition of the poem; see below.
 I have translated the text as follows:

I

Here glow the reverent dogmas of Augustinus Aurelius,
 Which he set forth on teaching that nourishes.
 These teach you many things, reader, because you seek
 virtuously,
 If you desire to unfold the sacred writings of the book.
 5 For the body of this book, which seems to be small,
 Contains--behold--four books mingled within.
 For the first explains how to keep the teachings of
 Christ,
 Which God, the Righteous One commanded us to observe
 on earth:
 Suggesting how to use the present goods of the world
 well,
 10 It also rightly teaches how to enjoy the eternal goods
 to the utmost.
 The second instructs by different signs and objects
 How and in what way signs can be known.
 The third glitters with these same signs and words:
 It sings about what they are, what their power is, and
 and which must be avoided.
 15 Then the fourth sends forth the teachings of the
 prior books:
 That very book intones with a great expression
 What objects, what signs, what pious words teach,
 And how they can refer to all intellected things.
 Humbly, moderately and even grandly, Reader,
 20 After reading through the words, say: "Lord,
 have mercy."
 For a humble abbot commanded that this book be made,
 Angilbert, worthless and puny,
 Which he, who is reverent and humble, might give
 To the pious King Louis, borne by heavenly divine power,
 25 Who strives to comprehend the secrets of holy wisdom,

Noble in character by day and night alike,
 And who moreover remains a lover of his lord and
 his brother,
 Outstanding by a great command in a righteous mouth.
 May almighty God glorify, preserve, cherish, adorn, love
 30 Him happily for many years.

II

Continually and devotedly pour out as kind praises,
 reader,
 These teachings of the pious patron,
 thoroughly grasped,
 To the Lord who in the beginning founded the whole
 earth,
 Who poured the sea, who created heaven and earth,
 5 Who enclosed everything by number, measure, and weight,
 Through whom all things remain, and through whom all
 will remain,
 Which are, which were, which shall have been and which
 will be.
 Again you shall pour out great thanks to that same
 Lord
 For such a chaste and learned teacher, so great,
 10 Who wrote such things for us in worthy style.
 Be mindful of King Louis with generous prayers,
 Who is worthy in name, and borne by divine grace,
 And glittering in immense strength with fruitful
 praises,
 May almighty God grant that he faithfully keep
 15 Bounteous kingdoms happily for many years;
 May the rector of the heavens deign from on high that
 The offspring of his wives may rule all the faithful
 with him.
 And after this course, may the Lord, kind founder
 of all things,
 Grant that they mount the celestial kingdoms.
 20 And so, reader, for these readings, thoroughly grasped
 and everywhere moved,
 Worthily proclaim these glittering words:
 "Glory be to the Father, who shines forth in the
 on high,
 With whom is the eternal Son and the nourishing Spirit
 too,
 Reigning alone over all things in the three-fold name."

The authorship of this poem seems unquestionably to belong to Angilbert of Saint-Riquier. Mabillon, in his first edition of the poem, attributed it through a convoluted and strained argument to a later abbot Angilbert of Corbie, a contemporary of King Louis III (879-882). He based his opinion upon the fact that the manuscript (now Codex Parisiensis 13359 of the Bibliothèque Nationale) once belonged to Corbie. Citing the internal evidence mentioning the name of a King Louis and

The poem did three things. First, it described the treatise of Augustine by summarizing briefly the contents of its four books. Second, it praised Louis as a pious ruler, and exhorted him to the virtue and blessings proper to kings, to be achieved by approaching the world as Augustine prescribed. Third, it exhorted the reader to praise of the triune God who created that world, and in filial piety to pray for Louis and his kingdom.

In Angilbert's eyes, Augustine's work was important because it taught men how to understand the world as symbol. The four books elaborated progressively on that theme. Book I distinguished between present conditions and the eternal and transcendent truth behind them: Rebus uti saeculi insinuans praesentibus apte aeternisque frui rite docet

comparing this with a list of abbots of Corbie, Mabillon determined upon a parallel between Angilbert, who reigned only during the year 860, and Louis. He speculated that Angilbert, dismissed in disfavor in 860, was called back to the abbacy once Louis became king, thus accounting for the dedication of the poem. However, Angilbert's name does not appear among the abbots at that time, nor was Louis ever married as is clearly stated in the poem.

Ludwig Traube, reexamining the manuscript in the late nineteenth century, attributed it instead to Angilbert of Saint-Riquier. The manuscript seems to have been a copy made at Corbie and based upon a manuscript of the De Doctrina Christiana listed in the 831 library inventory of Saint-Riquier. Thus Angilbert was a contemporary of Louis the Pious when he was King of Aquitaine. Furthermore, Louis was already married and had a child. His brother Pepin was still alive until 810. Thus this identification is fully consistent with the internal evidence of the poem. The poem also contains rare vocabulary and phrases which were peculiar to the poetry from Saint-Riquier in the early and mid-ninth century. Angilbert's reference to himself, furthermore, echoes the way in which he spoke of himself in the dedication of Saint-Riquier.

For a complete discussion of the problem, see Traube's O Roma Nobilis, in the Abhandlungen der Königlich-Bayerisch Akademie der Wissenschaft, 1891, pp. 322-331, which also includes Traube's edition of the poem. The poem was also published, with the attribution to Angilbert of Saint-Riquier, following Traube, by Karl Strecker in MGH, PL IV. 2-3, pp. 915-916. The original manuscript, dated before 800, appears in Codex Parisiensis 13359, folios 19 and 108.

nimum (lines 9-10). The present world was to be used for attaining the eternal, in which its whole value resided. The here and now were only means to a greater end. And only the eternal was to be sought and enjoyed since it was the source of truth. According to Angilbert, the second book explained how the signs of the eternal might be known, qualiter aut quomodo noscere signa queant. Book III discussed the power of signs, and what signs thereby must be avoided as evil: Quid sint, quid valeant quaeque vitanda, canit. The fourth spoke of the eternal world behind the signs, what the signs themselves referred to, "all intellectured things," qualiter et possint cuncta intellecta referre. Angilbert then spoke briefly of himself, to explain why he had the book copied: it was for King Louis, who always sought knowledge of sacred things, and who was notable for his piety and faithfulness to his lord and father, Charlemagne, and his brother Pepin. Thereby he was worthy of honor in God's eyes, and Angilbert ended this part of the poem with a prayer that God would favor him with a long and happy reign: quem deus omnipotens multos feliciter annos glorificet, servet, diligat, ornet, amet.

The second section of the poem presented two key pieces of aesthetic philosophy. First, as Part I taught that truth was to be found in forms abstracted from concrete things, so Part II taught that that abstraction was objectively possible because the essence of the created world, the structure that underlay everything, was number. The key was line 5: Omnia qui numero, mensura, ac pondere clausit, "Who enclosed everything by number, measure, and weight." Angilbert quoted these words from the Bible, Wisdom 11:21. The Biblical text is worth quoting,

because the line occurs in the context of beastly chaos and demonic worship, using vocabulary strikingly similar to that which Angilbert had used in the De Conversione Saxonum. Augustine did not quote this text in his De Doctrina Christiana.⁵¹ Angilbert, quoting it in the context of commentary on the treatise of the master, seems to have used the Biblical passage itself because it so closely described the world which he saw around him.⁵²

As their foolish and wicked notions led them astray
 into worshipping mindless reptiles and contemptible beasts,
 you sent hordes of mindless creatures to punish them
 and teach them that the instruments of sin are instruments
 of punishment.

And indeed your all-powerful hand did not lack means
 --the hand that from formless matter created the world--
 to unleash a horde of bears or savage lions on them
 or unknown beasts, newly created, full of rage,
 exhaling fiery breath,
 ejecting swirls of stinking smoke
 or flashing fearful sparks from their eyes,
 beasts not only able to crush them with a blow,
 but also to destroy them by their terrifying appearance.
 But even without these, they could have dropped dead at a
 single breath, pursued by your justice,
 whirled away by the breath of your power.
 But no, you ordered all things by measure, number, weight.

These words, and those of Angilbert in the poem, expressed the fundamental conviction that Creation could have been chaotic, but indeed was orderly--ordered by arithmetical truths. That order was divine. It was the intellectual and intellected truth available both to sense and reason. And so it lifted the believer into the realm of the abstract:

⁵¹ Augustine did quote it in the De Civitate Dei, and the De Trinitate, both in Angilbert's library at Saint-Riquier. But Augustine used only the words numero, mensura ac pondere, and did not elaborate on the numerical order of Creation.

⁵² The text is quoted from the Jerusalem Bible.

"What things, what signs, what pious words teach, and how they can refer to all intellected things," as lines 16 and 17 of Part I of Angilbert's poem put it: Quid res, quid signa, quid pia verba docent, qualiter et possint cuncta intellecta referre. By feeling the proportionate harmonies and striving to comprehend the internal structures of things, the mind moved toward the truth of right belief in the eternal, unchanging Form which was God. And even more striking was the fact that Angilbert's God--as Augustine's--was expressed as a number--"He who is reigning in the the three-fold name, alone above all things," nomine qui trino regnans super omnia solus, as the last line of the poem said. God was Three-in-One, unity and multiplicity its very self. He was the numerical form which gave and guaranteed form in numbers to all things "which are, have been, will have been, and will be" (line 7): Quae sunt, quae fuerant, fuerint vel quaeque futura.

Thus signs and the very order of the universe pointed to the Creator behind them and both gave birth to and fed correct and salvific faith. In Augustine's treatise, that faith was the inseparable bond between right belief and moral behavior. Understanding the Christian truth and the way it permeated the whole world resulted in good action. This was related to Augustine's famous Uti-Frui distinction (Part I, 9 and 10). And in Part II the reader was shown again the moral fruits of that understanding. He was to praise the Trinity and he was to pray for and be faithful to Louis and his family, who could not reign rightly without this desire to grasp the truth. As in the De Conversione Saxonum, the Trinity was the source of reality.

At Easter of 800 Angilbert's greatest work was at last unveiled: the new monastery complex of Saint-Riquier. Charlemagne, Alcuin, and the greatest bishops and dignitaries of the realm attended the dedication. What they found was a signum that brought together and expressed in stone and prayer the ideas that had occupied Angilbert from the time he had written the De Conversione Saxonum. It was the culmination of his work.

Shortly after the dedication Angilbert wrote a little book in two parts, the Libellus, which explained his program and his intentions. The first section, the De perfectione et dedicatione Centulensis ecclesiae, described the buildings, their dedication, and the physical arrangement of the cloister as well as its altars, relics, and treasures. The second, the Institutio de diversitate officiorum, recorded the order of offices that Angilbert prescribed for the cloister for both its daily routine and its special festival celebrations.⁵³

⁵³ The Libellus is extant in only one manuscript, Vatican Codex Regiensis 235, a mutilated text dating from the twelfth century. A second source, Hariulf's Chronicon Centulense, which dates from the late eleventh century and included Angilbert's texts, was lost in a fire at the library of Saint-Riquier in 1719. Both the Vatican Codex and Hariulf's version seem to have been taken from a common manuscript from Gorze, now disappeared which Hariulf believed was Angilbert's original text. The special value of Hariulf's manuscript was that it contained a drawing of the monastery, probably in Hariulf's own hand, which he did because the old Carolingian structure, now unsound, was being razed in his own day.

Hariulf's autograph manuscript was for some time in the library of Paul Petau, from which one copy was made by Andre Duchesne in about 1615. According to Ferdinand Lot, Duchesne collated the passages by Angilbert from the Vatican 235 manuscript with those corresponding from Hariulf's autograph manuscript in his own copy. Two copies were made from Duchesne's version, including Amiens manuscript 531 and and Dom Luc d'Achery's first edition of the Spicilegium (1661). Mabillon copied Books II and IV from the Spicilegium edition for his Vita Angilberti. See AASS, OSB, saec. IV, Volume I, pp. 91ff. The second edition of d'Achery's Spicilegium took the Chronicon from the Petau autograph manuscript. See Chronicon II, viii-x (Lot, pp. 57-70), and "Nouvelles

The Libellus described a little monastic city organized "on account of the veneration of the Holy Trinity", quapropter ob veneratione sanctae Trinitatis.⁵⁴ This image of the Trinity was quite literally the structural integrator of Angilbert's program, the image into which both the physical house and the liturgy were built. There were, for example, three churches in a triangular cloister. There were three main altars covered by three liturgical canopies; three times ten priests said three times ten masses daily at the three times ten altars of the complex. Three hundred monks divided into three choirs sang antiphonally the office and prayers for the salvation and prosperous reign of Charlemagne. Even the many relics in the churches were arranged under the altars three by three.⁵⁵

This small glimpse alone is enough to reveal a liturgified, symbolic articulation of the theological concerns that had dominated the 790s, in which Angilbert had played so prominent a role. The abbey of Saint-Riquier thereby gives us a clear view into Angilbert's trinitarianism. Here he has applied the artistic program of the Libri Carolini

Recherches sur le texte de la Chronique de l'Abbaye de Saint-Riquier par Hariulphe," Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes 72 (1911): 245-258.

The two parts of the Libellus have been published separately in modern editions. The best and most recent edition of the Institutio is that of Kassius Hallinger, CCM, Volume I: 283-303, which presents the two texts of the Vatican and Hariulf versions side by side. Georg Waitz published an edition of Angilbert's De perfectione in MGH SS XV, 173-179. In 1894 Ferdinand Lot published Hariulf's version of both texts in his edition of the Chronicon Centulensis, pp. 57-76. For this study, I have examined the Vatican Codex 235, which is often fragmentary, and have relied for secondary editions upon the texts of Hallinger and Waitz.

⁵⁴ Institutio (CCM, p. 291).

⁵⁵ See Chapter VII for a complete description of the monastery.

in an architectural and liturgical complex that stood as a great symbol of the Trinity and, as we shall see, included and emphasized the doctrinal issues that had been so great a problem in the 790s, while the monastery was being built. Chapters VI and VII will discuss the aesthetic sources and the program of the monastery in detail, but first let us consider the character of Angilbert's trinitarianism as drawn from his writings.

Above all Angilbert was concerned with the signum. Whether he was talking about a program of political expansion and conversion, as in the De Conversione Saxonum, a program for kings, as in the De Doctrina Christiana, or an artistic and liturgical creation which drew participants into a particular aesthetic sensibility, he conveyed his meaning through symbols. His signa came from one great source: the Trinity. For him the triune God was reality itself, who stamped form and order on the world.

Our picture of Angilbert's trinitarian thought is filled in by layers, though his themes are constant. The earliest evidence, the De Conversione Saxonum, reveals the fundamental assumption that adherence to Christianity, belief in the Trinity, created the moral order. It brought peace. To be outside of the sacred company of the new Chosen People headed by the most pious Christian King Charlemagne, was to be in the no-man's land of demonic possession and raging chaos. It was to be insane with aggression, and the lust for blood sacrifice, and the desperate search for luck. To be within the sacred company was to find peace, prosperity, and salvation.

Angilbert used liturgical images to describe the transformation. Righteous battle became sacramental, the weapons of Charlemagne channels of grace. Christian belief was in itself described in liturgical terms. It was the act of baptism and that alone, without any overt reference to the internal state of belief or to the instruction of neophytes. The power of the name of the Trinity transformed.

Already we see the aesthetic concern for symbolic structure, though it was rudimentary in this early poem. The evocation of threes and sevens, the setting of the Saxon conquest in the context of the cosmic redemption, and the transforming, sacramental action of a trinity of performers were early examples of the symbolic mentality that would come full flower at Saint-Riquier. Angilbert's trinitarianism was aesthetic.

In the De Doctrina Christiana Angilbert elucidated further the moral character stamped by the name of the Trinity (conversion brings peacefulness). Now it was linked overtly with the interior life of intellection and understanding. Here the only source of that understanding was symbolism. The world itself became the channel of grace and the communication between heaven and earth. Moral righteousness was contingent upon the proper understanding of the world as such, as no more than a symbol of the greater spiritual truth at its source. The things of this world were to be used for the enjoyment of the eternal goods.

Again, as in the De Conversione Saxonum, kingship was intimately bound to a Christian ideal. There the king was pious by the sword as he fought for Christ. Here he was made pious in word and understanding as he sought to know and love the eternal truths hidden in the world.

Without this he could not reign, since it was righteousness that made him worthy of the love and honor of God. Furthermore, the pious reader who understood the Christian order would act righteously as well, as he prayed for the well-being of Louis and his kingdom.

Most important here was the link between the beauties of this earth, the triune God who stood behind them, and the virtue that was required of Christians. Augustine's treatise and Angilbert's poem asserted the unity of knowledge, love, and action. God had ordered the world by number. Therefore, the believer could strive to comprehend that order, and thereby could come to know more of the God behind it. The world brought the Christian to knowledge and love of the eternal source, the Trinity, and inspired in him praise and fidelity to all that expressed God's will or presence.

That conviction of the three-fold unity of knowledge, love, and action and of the mediatory role of the symbol in that unity was, as we shall see, embodied in Angilbert's monastery of Saint-Riquier. Here was a liturgical complex meant to house the perpetual prayer and praise of the Trinity. As we will see below, its very physical structure replicated the divine form in "number, measure, and weight." The abbey stood as the witness of the transcendent truth with all the clarity of the true symbol: it referred at once to itself, rooting participants in the physical aesthetic soil of visual and aural beauty, architectural harmony, and ritual splendor; and beyond to the Trinity who was the end and source of that rich expression. Reality was its template.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Cf. Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in The Interpretation of Culture (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 87-125.

Angilbert himself described his aim in these terms:

Therefore, that the entire people of the faithful should confess, venerate, worship with the heart and firmly believe in the most holy and inseparable Trinity, we, with God cooperating and the aforementioned Augustus, my lord, helping, have been zealous to found in this holy place three principal churches with the members belonging to them, according to the program of that faith in the name of almighty God.⁵⁷

Here was the tight mesh of cult and theology that ensured the right and salvific ongoing worship of the Trinity. For as Charlemagne said, "Without right belief it is impossible to please God."⁵⁸ Angilbert understood this as collective as well as personal salvation, since the monks, echoing the charges of the De Doctrina Christiana poem (I. 19-30, II. 11-19) daily prayed and said Mass for the wellbeing of Charlemagne and the realm. Throughout Angilbert's works the figures of Charlemagne and his heirs stood as the earthly authority that guaranteed the moral order and made it available to men. The Carolingian kings embodied Christian well-being and validity on earth. By their work on behalf of the Christian order they tied the individual believer to the polity and defined his Christian identity.

Hence this monastery of the Trinity was meant to embody the truest worship that concentrated and carried out the metaphysical and practical concerns so pressing in the 790s. It located in miniature the conjoined mirror orders of heaven and earth. It was the point of passage between

⁵⁷ De perfectione I: Quia igitur omnis plebs fidelium sanctissimam atque inseparabilem Trinitatem confiteri, venerari et mente colere firmiterque credere debet, secundum huius fidei rationem in omnipotentis Dei nomine tres aecclesias principales cum menbris ad se pertinentibus in hoc sancto loco, Domino cooperante, et praedicto domino meo autusto iuvante, fundare studuimus.

⁵⁸ MGH LL III, CC II, p. 158.

the natural and supernatural worlds. The transcendent reality of the divine Form became apprehensible in number, measure, and weight. The immanent power of kings was justified and focused as they foremost of all intellects the spiritual truth seized in those places; it became greater in the calling down of God's favor upon them. Liturgy was the hinge between heaven and earth.

Angilbert's trinitarianism, therefore, was a program that rooted theological and philosophical assertions in culture. Angilbert tapped the thought-world of symbols, and thereby revealed not only the integral importance of symbols to the Carolingian cultural experience, but also one practical and full-bodied application of the aesthetics of symbolism. He articulated the essential unity of the Carolingian world of thought and action. That symbolic mentality was the intellectual taproot of the Carolingian world. Let us now consider the sources of Angilbert's symbolic theory and aesthetics of Trinity.

CHAPTER VI

ORDO ET MIMESIS

ANGILBERT'S AESTHETIC THEORY

Angilbert presented his rationale for the building of Saint-Riquier in a key text which we have already seen above.¹

So that, therefore, all the people of the faithful should confess, venerate, worship with the heart and firmly believe in the most holy and inseparable Trinity, we have been zealous to establish three principal churches with the members belonging to them in this holy place, with the Lord cooperating and my aforesaid Lord Augustus aiding, according to the belief of that faith in the name of allmighty God.

This rationale, tied to the buildings at Saint-Riquier, implied an aesthetic theory.

Angilbert's focus here was important: his foundation of three churches was a catalyst for "confessing, venerating, worshiping with the heart, and firmly believing in" the Trinity. His program at Saint-Riquier was thus a response to Carolingian concerns in the 790s on two levels. It addressed the immediate dogmatic concerns about the Trinity in which Angilbert was so closely involved. And, by its concern in the belief of the "entire people of the faithful," it expressed in a new way the cultural vision of the Carolingian Frankish Chosen People: in Angilbert's monastery at Saint-Riquier, the political and theological

¹ See Chapter V, p. 237, and for the Latin text, note 57.

concerns of Carolingian trinitarianism were presented in aesthetic theory and concrete iconography.

Although Angilbert himself never explicitly articulated his aesthetic theory, four sources with which the abbot had close contact give us insight into how he envisioned his program at Saint-Riquier. We shall consider them here chronologically, in the order in which we know Angilbert had contact with them. We know that he defended the Libri Carolini, the Carolingian statement on aesthetics and the Trinity, in 791. We know that he described the De Doctrina Christiana some four or five years after that. In addition, we know of several letters which Alcuin wrote to the monks and abbots of Gothia and to Arn of Salzburg respectively, which reveal much about the climate of thought among the Carolingians on liturgical symbolism, and particularly on the connection between that symbolism and true belief. Although we have no direct evidence that Angilbert read these specific letters, both men were concerned with the refutation of Adoptionism in which Angilbert was intimately involved. Finally, we have the eloquent testimony of Augustine's De Trinitate, a source of which we know only later, from an inventory of the library at Saint-Riquier made in 831.²

We have already discussed the character of Angilbert's early thought in the De Conversione Saxonum of 777.³ We have seen Angilbert's concern with conversion to right faith and his conviction that that faith was critical to all worthwhile life. In his terms, the conversion

² For the inventory, see Chronicon Centulense III. iii (Lot, pp. 88-94).

³ See Chapter V, pp. 193 ff.

of the Saxons to Christianity was a virtual cosmogony or recreation of the people, which he described in animal metaphors. Christianity quite literally meant the transformation of the people from savage bestiality to sublime peacefulness.

We have also seen that Angilbert implicitly expressed the truths in which he believed in numerical symbols evoking the Trinity. He structured his poem around three actors: God the Father, Christ, and Charlemagne. And he structured it in three parts, representing the three ages he saw as the history of salvation: Creation, Redemption, and Conversion.

Angilbert, then, from the very beginning showed a great sensitivity to symbolism as the expression or locus of religious belief. Symbols, especially numbers and metaphor, were vehicles of understanding and information on the trinitarian faith which was the key to all life and salvation.

Angilbert came into contact with the Libri Carolini about twelve years after writing the De Conversione Saxonum. Here he encountered an aesthetic philosophy directly hospitable to these early ideas about the meaning of symbols. But in the Libri the liturgy became the focus of symbolic meaning.

The opening paragraphs of the Praefatio epitomized the argument of the treatise.

The Church sets forth through the parts of three-fold prayer the mystery (mysterium) of the holy Trinity, while her words must be grasped by the ears of the divine majesty, that is, she prays the melody of psalmody, which she displays without ceasing, and she also prays out with a devoted heart the acclamation which must be understood, that is, the love of the heart, which is received wonderfully not with fleshly ears, but with the ineffable hearing of divine majesty; and she entreats that the voice of her prayer be stretched

forth so that she might declare, namely, that this is perfect prayer which inflames the love of a burning heart. And although she intermingles our senses with words changed metaphorically, nevertheless she believes that the divine nature does not separate the things that are to be separated with the parts of its members, but goes through all things with one power, who hears all things which are seen by us and sees into that which we have thought and are going to think; nor is anything able to hide from his ineffable light. For indeed, to grasp words, to understand the sound, to strain toward the voice of prayer although they be brought forth again and again under a variety of words through that type of speech which is called metabole by the rhetoricians, nevertheless the threefold repetition signifies one and the same thing. Even while she says in the invocation of both the King and the Lord God: "Because I will cry to you O Lord my King and my God," she demonstrates that she believes in and confesses three persons and one substance in divinity, because she interposes to the invocation of three names not plural, but singular words.⁴

Here, in the very opening lines of the Libri, was a statement which argued the integral relationship of faith and aesthetic symbolism, and especially of the role of the Church's liturgical ritual in express-

⁴ Libri Carolini Praefatio (MGH LL III, CC II, p 2: Quae incessanter per partes trinae orationis mysterium sanctae Trinitatis exponit, dum et verba sua auribus divinae maiestatis percipienda, id est psallendi melodiam, quam sine intermissione exhibet, deprecatur et clamorem intelligendum, id est cordis affectum, qui non auribus carnalibus, sed ineffabilibus divinae maiestatis auditibus mirabiliter excipitur, devota mente exorat et orationis suae vocem intendam exposcit, ut scilicet declaret hanc esse orationem perfectam, quam mentis affectus ordentis inflammat. Et quamquam metaforicos mutatis verbis sensus nostros inmiscet, divinam tamen naturam credit non partibus membrorum discernenda discernere, sed una virtute cuncta peragere, qui ea, quae a nobis videntur, audit et, quae cogitavimus sive cogitaturi sumus, intro inspicit nec quicquam eius ineffabili lumini potest abscondi. Auribus etenim verba percipere, clamorem intellegere, voci orationis intendere quamquam iterate sub varietate verborum per id locutionis genus, quod a rhetoribus metabole dicitur, proferantur, trina tamen repetitio unum idemque significat. Quae etenim in invocatione regis et Dei sive Domini, dum dicit: "Rex meus et Deus meus, quoniam ad te orabo, Domine," tres personas et unam substantiam in divinitate se credere et fateri demonstrat, cum trium nominum invocatori non pluralia, sed singularia verba interserit.

It was only somewhat later, under the liturgical reforms of Benedict of Aniane, that the trina oratio took on a very specific meaning as the series of gradual Psalms (Psalms 119-133). The three-fold prayer implied in the Libri has a much different symbolic meaning, as we know from the context of this quote. On the trina oratio see Schmitz, "L'influence de Saint Benoit," cited above in Chapter I, p. 35, n. 64.

ing the trinitarian faith. That role was "to set forth the mystery (mysterium) of the holy Trinity through the parts of three-fold prayer," (per partes trinae orationis mysterium sanctae Trinitatis exponit). The significatio of the three-fold perfect prayer was quite direct. The repetition three times of the same prayer confessed the Trinity, tres personas et unam substantiam in divinitate, "three persons and one substance in divinity." Even prayers directed to God under three different names, such as the psalmist's "O Lord, my King and my God," signified that same "divine secret" or mysterium of the Trinity, since it directed three singular names to the one God.⁵

Three-fold prayer was, in effect, the Church's liturgy. It was prayer offered metaforicos, metaphorically or symbolically, in which the Church "intermingles our senses" with the same prayer expressed in many ways. It was visual in gesture, vestment, candlelight, procession, mosaic or sculpture. It was verbal in the words of the Mass and prayers; aural in the chanting of the psalms and sequences. It was sensual in the incense which purified the participants and rose to heaven as proffered prayer.⁶

The intermingling of the senses through symbol drew the whole person into the mysterium sanctae Trinitatis without confusion or error. It was the action of God which drew the sensual clues together and gave them meaning, not "separating the things that are to be separated with the parts of its members, but going through all things with one power"

⁵ See Psalm 5. Cf. Psalms 44 and 145.

⁶ Cf. Angilbert Institutio IX, XI (CCM, pp. 296-297, 300), texts which describe the sensual quality of the liturgy down to the turibula, or thuribles.

(divinam tamen naturam credit non partibus membrorum discernenda discernera, sed una virtute cuncta peragere). All of the sensual expressions and manifold metaphors were in fact one through the power of the God who was their referent.

Liturgy had a double purpose and effect. It was to "seize the ears of the divine majesty," (auribus divinae maiestatis percipienda), God himself. And it was to "inflame the love of a burning heart," (mentis affectus ardentis inflammat) as the inspiration and expression of the believer. In this way the three-fold prayer, which the Libri defined as the heart of the liturgy, created a real bond between God and the believer. As oratio perfecta it assured a hearing from God, and it inspired desire for God in the heart of the believer. It was indeed perfect prayer, complete prayer, sung as psalmody sine intermissione, "without ceasing."⁷

Thus there was a deeper level of expression and meaning underneath the sensate effect. This was the level of intention and desire which was not "apparent," but was pervasive: "the acclamation which must be understood, that is, the love of the heart, which is received wonderfully not with fleshly ears, but with the ineffable hearing of divine majesty" (clamorem intelligendum, id est cordis affectum, qui non auribus carnalibus, sed ineffabilibus divinae maiestatis auditibus mirabiliter excipitur). That level of the love of the heart was the internal commitment of him who prayed.

⁷ For prayer without ceasing as laus perennis at Saint-Riquier, see below, Chapter VII, p. 307.

This emphasis on internal conviction was really at the heart of the Libri's discussion of images. Images were not of themselves evil; they only became so through the worship of the believer who intentionally treated the image as an idol. There was, according to the Libri, an essential distinction between an image and that beyond the image to which it referred. The image was a similitudo or likeness of the transcendent spiritual reality, but was not in itself that reality. (By similitudo, the Libri understood the physical, concrete action or object which reminded the viewer of the spiritual reality beyond.) Just as in the natural world the species was a subcategory of the genus, so in the world of religious art the idol was a subcategory of the image, merely one perverted type of image. Nam cum pene omne idolum imago sit, non omnis imago idolum, as the Libri said: "For while nearly every idol is an image, not every image is an idol."⁸ The Christian viewer's attitude toward the image was what was critical.

Images were made for ornament, or for demonstrating events which have taken place. But idols were purely illicit and sacrilegious. Images always referred to something else, but idols always referred to themselves, and never sent the viewer to a reality beyond: Imago ad aliquid, idolum ad seipsum dicatur.⁹ Another way of saying this was to define the image as material representation of something else which was

⁸ Libri Carolini Praefatio (MGH LL III, CC II, p. 3. Cf. nescientes imaginem esse genus, idolum vero speciem et speciem ad genus, genus ad speciem referri non posse.

⁹ Libri Carolini Praefatio (MGH LL III, CC II, p. 3. Cf. Alterius et longe alterius definitionis est idolum, alterius imago, cum videlicet istae ad ornamentum vel ad res gestas monstrandas fiant, illud autem numquam nisi ad miserorum animas sacriligio ritu et vana superstitione inlicendas...

essentially and qualitatively different than itself, whereas the idol claimed worship as that reality itself.

The problem, then, was the distinction between likeness and equality in images. The material image, because it was material, could not be the same thing as the spiritual and transcendent reality that it portrayed. The transcendent spiritual reality must be qualitatively and essentially other. But that difference between the two referred to the gross material character and content of the image or work of art, not to its subject matter or to the beauty of its representation. Works of art were intrinsically worthy as objects of contemplation. They were bridges to the divine over which the soul of the viewer could cross to the true presence of God. They were so because of the technical character of their execution, the beauty and harmony of proportion, color, and arrangement, and the subjects they portrayed.

In the affirmation of the contemplative character of art, the Libri drew upon a critical text from Augustine's De diversis questionibus to explain the nature of that physical bridge to the divine: "But all things which live and do not know participate less in likeness...That which participates in knowledge both lives and is."¹⁰ In Augustine's treatise this was an epistemological point: knowing something brings about likeness to it, which is continuity with it. In the optic of the Libri this meant that knowing God brings about conformity with him and, in turn, salvation. The work of art thus could engage the

¹⁰ Libri Carolini I. vii (MGH LL III, CC II, 1024): Omnia vero quia vivunt et non sapiunt, paulo amplius participant similitudini...Quod enim participat sapientiae, et vivit, et est... Cf. De diversis quaestionibus liber unus LI. ii (CCSL XLIV/a, pp. 79-80).

intellect, which in turn could engage the entire person, in response to and in conformity with the spiritual truths which it portrayed. Thus, the essential aesthetic argument of the Libri was participation in the divine through cognition, or contemplation of a work of art.

Spiritual truths were present in art through figurative symbolism. By this the Libri meant a usage representing something in a way which was entirely different from it, though suggestive of it. This was similitudo. These usages were figurations of the greater divine truths of Christian revelation or Christian virtue.

The House of God either according to allegory is the Church or according to anagogy is the homeland of heaven or according to tropology is the soul of man. And therefore in many places of holy Scripture, when the House of God is read, neither the walls nor some material edifice is to be understood, but the inestimable habitation of God...Did that same very excellent prophet see certain images or, surely, beauties of walls or the most precious splendors of ministers when he said: "O Lord, I have loved the beauty of your house and the place of the habitation of your glory?" Is the place of the habitation of the glory of the Lord to be believed to reside in some manufactured thing or another?

Therefore the holy Church holds the beauty which the prophet loved to be spiritual virtues.

She holds "gold" to be faith or inner understanding.

She holds "silver" to be confession or the loveliness of eloquence.

She holds "silvered columns" to be holy men ornamented with reasonable patience and the beauty of eloquences. These columns have "silver bases," because they are placed together above the stability of the Word of God, which is handed down to us through the prophets and apostles. They even have a "gilded head," because the golden head is the faith of Christ, as the Apostle testifies who said: "For the head of the man is Christ."¹¹

¹¹ Libri Carolini I. xxix (MGH LL III, CC II, p. 57): Domus Dei aut secundum allegoriam ecclesia est aut secundum anagogen caelestis patria aut secundum tropologiam anima hominis. Et idcirco in plerisque Scripturae sanctae locis, cum domus Dei legitur, non parietes nec quaedam materialis aedificatio, sed spiritalis et inexistentabilis Dei intelligenda est habitatio. Quorum sensuum archanis illorum mens penitus ieiunat, qui "decorem domus" Domini non ecclesiae existimant virtutes, sed materiales imagines. Numquidnam idem eximius vates quasdam imagines vel certe parietum pulchritudines aut ministeriorum pretiosissimos apparatus

Images, then, presented spiritual realities. The concrete details stood for something entirely different and intangible. They were not important in themselves; they presented in code what was not otherwise available to the senses.

Thus, art contained quite specific spiritual truths. Whether the subject matter was allegorical (equating, for example, the sublime ornament of the House of God with the spiritual virtues), or realistic (for example, a painting of the Virgin and child or a statue of a saint), its formal representation must be perfectly clear. It must immediately convey the encoded message which was intended. The bridge must carry the viewer across to the right shore. This was the significance of the famous Carolingian insistence upon "verist" art according to a conventional, formalized, and realistic iconography. The iconography conveyed the dogmatic meaning.

The image of the holy Mother of God must be adored; how can we know what her image is, or by what indications it is differentiated from other images?...When, therefore, we see a certain beautiful woman depicted holding a child in her lap, if a superscription has not been made...by what industry are we able to discern whether it is Sara holding Isaac, or Rebecca carrying Jacob, or Bathsheba carrying Solomon, or Elizabeth carrying John...whether it is Venus holding Aeneas, or Alcmene carrying Hercules, or Andromache Astyanax? For it is folly if one is adored in place of the other; if, moreover,

viderat, cum dicebat: "Domine, dilexi decorem domus tuae et locum habitationis gloriae tuae?" Numquidnam locus habitationis gloriae Domini in manufactis quoquam credendus est esse?

Habet ergo sancta ecclesiae "decorem", quem propheta diligebat, id est spiritalis virtutes.

Habet "aurum", id est fidem sive interiorem sensum.

Habet "argentum", id est confessionem sive eloqui venustatem.

Habet "columnas argentatas", id est sanctos viros patientia rationabili et eloquiorum pulchritudine comptos. Quae columnae habent "bases argenteas", cum supra stabilitatem verbi Dei, quod per prophetas et apostolos nobis traditur, conlocantur. Hae etiam habent "caput deauratum", quia caput aureum fides est Christi Apostolo adtestante, qui ait: "Omnis namque viri caput Christus est."

that which must be adored inwardly is not, that is madness, for both must be avoided.¹²

The realistic conventions of art made the identification easy. Therefore there must be prescriptions for everything from the preparation of colors to proportions, from the meanings of gestures to physical appearances. Everything must appeal directly to the normal sense experience of the viewer. By association the viewer would grasp the encoded meaning. Only in this way could the viewer "see" beyond the image into a rational and authentic (because complete) understanding of that image.¹³

Thus, the Libri both confirmed Angilbert's understanding of the importance of liturgy, and developed it far beyond what he had expressed in the De Conversione Saxonum. These books asserted the critical importance of aesthetics and symbols for the growth of the internal conviction of faith. In the theory of the Libri, the external object or gesture, as a reminder of the reality beyond, allowed one to participate at least in part in that reality. Whether it be by obvious allegorical

¹² Libri Carolini IV. xxi (MGH LL III, CC II, pp. 212-213):...imago sanctae Dei genitricis adoranda est, unde scire possumus quae sit ejus imago, aut quibus indiciis a caeteris imaginibus dirimatur?...Cum ergo depictam pulchram quamdam deminam puerum in ulnis tenere cernimus, si superscriptio necdum facta sit...qua industria discernere valemus, utrum Sara sit Isaac tenens, aut Rebecca Jacob ferens, aut Betsabee Salomonem jactans, aut Elisabeth Joannem bajulans...utrum Venus sit Aenean tenens, an Alcmena Herculem portans, an Andromacha Astyanacta gerens? Nam si pro alia alia adoratur, dementia est; si tamen ea quae adoranda penitus non est, adoratur, vesania est: quod utrumque cavendum est. The use of the word adoranda here is remarkable given the argument of the Libri.

¹³ Cf. Edgar DeBruyne, Etude d'Esthétique Médiévale I, pp. 267 ff. It is noteworthy that for this very rationale of the need for intelligible art, Charlemagne favored naturalistic Roman forms and models over the equally popular Celtic abstract style.

associations or subtle beauties and harmonies which led one to intuit truth, the symbolic presence inspired internal conviction through one's participation in the likeness portrayed.

Let us return once more to the opening paragraphs of the Libri to consider the context of their statement on threefold prayer as a trinitarian symbol. Critical to this argument was what we might call the ecclesiological dimension. It was in and through the Church, and specifically through the sensual symbols of the liturgy, that the mystery of the Trinity was revealed. This revelation was, in fact, the Church's function: Quae incessanter per partes trinae orationis mysterium sanctae Trinitatis exponit, "she reveals unceasingly through the parts of threefold prayer the mystery of the holy Trinity." We can perhaps see in this the rationale behind Angilbert's creation of a complex of churches and liturgical celebrations as his signum of the Trinity. For it was in the physical house of Saint-Riquier and in the chanting of the psalms that the sign was contained:

Since our churches have been elegantly ordered and ornamented by these and other of the diverse and aforementioned relics of the saints mentioned above, as we were able to do, Lord granting, we have begun with diligence of heart to treat how, Lord granting, we were able to persist, so that, just as in marble buildings and the rest of the decorations churches shine forth for human eyes, so also they grow more clearly in the praises of God, in various doctrines and in spiritual songs, in our own and future times, in the strengthening increase of faith, God helping, today and unto eternal salvation.¹⁴

¹⁴ De perfectione III (MGH SS XV, p. 178): His et aliis (quae), prout donante Domino valuimus, eleganter dispositis atque ex diversis predictis reliquiis supredictorum sanctorum ornatis aecclesiis, diligenti mentis affectu tractare cepimus, qualiter Domino donante pervenire valvissemus, ut, sicut in aedificiis marmoreis et in ceteris ornamentis oculis honeste clarescunt humanis, ita etiam in laudibus Dei, in doctrinis diversis et canticis spiritualibus honestius, in augmento fidei roborante, nostris et futuris temporibus, Deo auxiliante, cotidie ad

As eyes were illumined, so hearts were enkindled in augmento fidei roborante.

Let us take stock of our evidence. As we can see from Angilbert's own words, his creation of a trinitarian iconographical program in a monastery was no accident. It did not merely result from the fact that he was appointed as abbot of Saint-Riquier in 789-790. That appointment was contemporary with the writing of the capitula of the Libri (which he took to Rome), and Angilbert's rebuilding of the monastery began at the same time that the Libri themselves were being written. This is not to say that Angilbert was appointed to the monastery specifically for the purpose of creating an aesthetic program there. It is to say that there was a climate of thought which understood very well the charged content of Angilbert's "ecclesiological" signum. It so happened that the image controversy with the Greeks forced the Carolingians to articulate an aesthetic theory in the Libri Carolini in terms strikingly similar to Angilbert's concrete program. Angilbert's Saint-Riquier is a counterpart to the Libri Carolini. Both articulated Carolingian trinitarian aesthetics in response to the perceived heresy.¹⁵

I have spoken above of an "ecclesiological" signum. By ecclesiological I mean that Angilbert understood the very nature and function of the Church to be the symbolic revelation of the Trinity. The symbolism

salutem proficiendo crescerent sempiternam.

¹⁵ Although we have no hard evidence, it is tempting to see a connection between the Libri and Saint-Riquier. We may wonder whether Angilbert's familiarity with the forceful argument of the books, and his continual involvement in the doctrinal disputes influenced him to put the program of aesthetic symbolism and trinitarian dogma enunciated in the Libri into practice at Saint-Riquier.

was liturgical. Given the definition of liturgy in the passage from the Libri Carolini which we examined at the beginning of this chapter, I would argue that the Carolingians understood liturgy comprehensively. It comprised both prayer and the sacred space in which it was performed. Angilbert's statement made no distinction in the way in which the mystery of the Trinity was revealed: sicut in aedificiis marmoreis et in ceteris ornamentis...ita etiam in laudibus Dei, in doctrinis diversis et canticis spiritalibus.

But Angilbert's program at Saint-Riquier was more than ecclesiological: it was monastic. In the monastery the life of prayer was perpetual; no matter what other work monks did in Carolingian cloisters, the foundation of their life was contemplative. Hence the monastery was the natural setting for oratio perfecta, for setting forth incessanter per partes trinae orationis mysterium sanctae Trinitatis, as the Libri prescribed. The special meaning of monastic prayer, and its link with Carolingian kings, had already been expressed many years earlier in a charter of Pepin to the monastery of Prüm.

Therefore it is well-known to foreign peoples as well as to our neighbors that we and our wife Bertrada, in love of the holy Savior, as well as of Mary, Mother of God, and of the blessed princes of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, and of Saint John the Baptist and the holy martyrs Stephen, Denis, and Maurice, and of the confessors Saints Martin, Vedast, and Germanus, are building on our property a monastery...in the church of which we have been seen to bury relics of our Lord Jesus Christ as well as of Mary his mother and of the other saints of whom we made mention above, and in the same place we have established monks who should carry on entirely under the rule of holy behavior and according to the doctrine of the Fathers going before us, to the end that they who are called solitary monks should be able to exult through time and, living under the holy rule and following the life of the blessed Fathers, to entreat more fully the mercy of the Lord, with Christ leading, on behalf of the condition of the Church and the longevity of our kingdom, as well as of our wife and children and the catholic people. And so it must be provided that...the priests and monks who are present serving in that

place...may return praises to almighty God day and night.¹⁶

This was a monastic life dedicated entirely to prayer die noctuque through perfecta quiete, "perfect quietude," and adherence to sanctae conversationis norma, the ancient way of the Fathers who had already achieved the life of sanctification. It was a life lived in purity of faith and practice so that the monks might more effectively and completely intercede on behalf of the king, his family, and the Franks for prosperity here and for salvation hereafter. Pepin cast the monks in a mediatory role which oriented earth to heaven.

What is significant here is the lifestyle which the monastery demanded. The permanence, stability, and quietude of the monastic life, its capacity for regular behavior in the truest sense--that is, in conformity with norm of purity--made it uniquely hospitable to the prayer that channeled petition and grace.

¹⁶ MGH Diplomatum Karolinorum I, number 16: Igitur dum notum est omnibus tam propinquis quam exteris nationibus nos et coniuge nostra Bertradane in amore sancti Salvatoris nec non et sanctae dei genetricis Mariae atque beatorum principum apostolorum Petri et Pauli vel sancti Johannis Baptistae seu et martirum sancti Stephani, Diunisii, et Mauricii atque confessorum sancti Martini, Vedasti atque Germani monasterium in re proprietatis nostrae aedificare...in ipsius vero monasterii ecclesia de scandaliis domini nostri Iesu Christi nec non ipsius genetricis Mariae ceterorumque sanctorum, quorum supra fecimus mentionem, visi fuimus recondere reliquias atque ibidem monachos constituemus, qui sub sanctae conversationis norma vel secundum praecedentium patrum doctrinam debeant omnino exercere, quatinus ut, qui monachi solitarii nuncupantur, de perfecta quiete valeant duce domino per tempora exultare st sub sancta regula viventes beatorum patrum vitam sectantes pro statu ecclesiae atque longevitate regni nostri nec non et uxoris vel filiis nostris populoque exorare. Providendum est tamen...sacerdotes atque monachi, qui ibidem servientes aderunt, possint deo omnipotenti die noctuque laudes referre.

While this charter was not directly contemporary with Saint-Riquier, it expressed most clearly the meaning of the monastic life of Prayer for the Carolingians.

Thus, we may view the monastic setting of Angilbert's program in the light of both the ecclesiological argument of the Libri and the special meaning of the cloister in Pepin's charter. The monastery of Saint-Riquier functioned on at least two different levels, the details of which we will see in Chapter VII. On one hand, it served as a physical representation of the Trinity for "the entire people of the faithful," through its outward, physical appearance and performance.¹⁷ On the other hand, the internal life of the monastery, the lifestyle of prayer which was the defining characteristic of its spirituality, functioned in a mediatory and intercessory capacity for the Frankish king and people. That this was Angilbert's intention is clear in the prayers which were said at the monastery daily:

Indeed, by all means let all with one voice continually set forth with devotion the sacrifice of praise to the allmighty Lord for the salvation of my glorious lord Augustus Charles and for the continuing stability of his kingdom...We order moreover that that be observed with special devotion, so that no day pass without the singing of sacred masses...which in the morning and at noon are celebrated most solemnly, in which daily the memory of the most holy Pope Hadrian and of my glorious lord Augustus Charles, and of his wife and children is kept: just as according to the word of the apostle, "we have been constituted on behalf of the king and of all who are in sublimity," let us continually carry out prayers to God our Savior and the thanks of prayers.¹⁸

¹⁷ As we shall see in Chapter VII, the "people of the faithful" of the town of Saint-Riquier and its surrounding territory were often involved in the liturgical celebrations. Cf. Chapter VII, pp. 309 ff., 311 ff., and 320 ff.

¹⁸ Institutio Angilberti Centulensis I. Praefatio (CCM I, pp. 292-293): *Quinimmo omnes unanimes sacrificium laudis domino omnipotenti pro salute gloriosi domini mei Augusti Karoli proque regni eius stabilitate continua devotione iugiter exhibeant...Illud etiam observari praecipua devotione mandamus, ut nulla dies praetereat absque sacrarum missarum decantatione...quae mane et meridie sollemnissime celebrantur, in quibus quotidie memoria sanctissimi papae Adriani et gloriosi domini mei Augusti Karoli, coniugis et prolis eius teneatur; qualiter iuxta verbum apostoli, "pro regibus et omnibus qui in sublimitate sunt" constituti,*

At Saint-Riquier the monks were dedicated to prayer iugiter, "continually," according to the sacrae conversationis norma of the Apostle.

Thus can we define Angilbert's understanding when he began his work at Saint-Riquier. Our only direct knowledge of his personal aesthetic theory during the years in which he was rebuilding the monastery comes from the dedicatory poem of the De Doctrina Christiana, which he wrote to Louis the Pious sometime around 796. Here Angilbert laid out in schematic form both the Augustinian basis of his thought and the particular aspects of the De Doctrina Christiana which he deemed important. We have discussed the text of the poem above, in Chapter V.¹⁹ Let us now consider the aesthetic content of the De Doctrina Christiana both in terms of what Augustine actually said, and how Angilbert interpreted it.

Augustine wrote his treatise in order to lay out an educational program for understanding and interpreting Scripture. He set the context in the opening lines of Book I. "The entire treatment of the Scriptures is based upon two factors: the method of discovering what we are to understand, and the method of teaching what has been understood."²⁰ Christian teaching was scriptural revelation. Thus, Augustine

salvatori deo nostro obsecrationum vel orationum gratias iugiter persolvamus.

¹⁹ See pp. 218 ff.

²⁰ De Doctrina Christiana, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina XXXII (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962), I.i.1: *Duae sunt res, quibus nititur omnis tractatio scripturarum, modus inveniendi, quae intellegenda sunt, et modus proferendi, quae intellecta sunt.*

I have relied throughout this discussion on the English transla-

started with the assumption that the Christian somehow had unique access to truth because he had access to God's Word in the Bible. But to understand that Word was magnum onus et arduum, as Augustine said, because the Bible was full of signs which were often obscure or impenetrable.

Because of this difficulty, Augustine's underlying premise was that the intellectual disciplines of this world aided in understanding the revelation of the eternal and transcendent divine world. The hand of the Creator could be seen in Creation, and so the things of this world, properly understood, could lead men beyond to the divine source. Profane intellectual knowledge added to or unfolded the meanings of Biblical revelation. Christians were to "plunder the Egyptians," to take from the world of profane observation and discourse anything which would profitably help them.

Creation, then, was a great sign or signum, symbolizing divine truth. "All teaching is either of things or of signs, but things are taught through signs."²¹ The transitory goods within the human purview pointed to the God behind them who was true happiness. For the Christian this was the objective experience of Creation. But inseparable from this was the subjective experience, one's attitude toward the world and its Creator. This was the moral dimension of Creation. For man could either enjoy the world in and of itself, or he could use the world

tion of John J. Gavigan, O.S.A., Fathers of the Church Series, Writings of Saint Augustine, Volume 4 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1947), which is reliable. This quote comes from p. 27.

²¹ De Doctrina Christiana I. ii. 2 (CCSL XXXII, p. 37): Omnis doctrina vel rerum est vel signorum, sed res per signa discuntur. (Gavigan, p. 28).

as a guide and vehicle to the true and eternal happiness beyond. To enjoy (frui) the things of this world in themselves was to turn away from the truth: "The proper object of our enjoyment, therefore, is the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the Same who are the Trinity."²² The world was something, rather, to be used (uti) for knowledge of one's true source, end, and happiness, God. (Here we see the basis for the distinction made by the Libri between imago and idolum.)

Augustine defined a sign, or signum, as "a thing which, apart from the impression that it presents to the senses, causes of itself some other thing to enter our thoughts."²³ It was a concrete or sensible object of some sort which referred to something else which was qualitatively different. Some signs were natural, indicative of something else by their very nature, such as smoke inferring fire, or a footprint indicating that an animal had passed by. These signa had no meaning by their own intention. They intrinsically and through our progressive experience of them pointed to another phenomenon.

But there were also signs which were accepted by human convention as a revelation of something else. These were intended to express "either the operations of (men's) minds or anything perceived by sense or intellect" so that ideas could be transferred or conveyed to others. These signs were contained either in sensible gesture, such as a nod or a movement, a banner or a sound, or in words, which were by far the most

²² De Doctrina Christiana I. v. 5 (CCSL XXXII, p. 9): Res igitur, quibus fruendum est, pater et filius et spiritus sanctus, eademque trinitas... (Gavigan, p. 30).

²³ De Doctrina Christiana II. i. 1 (CCSL XXXII, p. 32): Signum est enim res praeter speciem, quam ingerit sensibus, aliud aliquid ex se faciens in cogitationem venire... (Gavigan, p. 61).

common way of articulating thoughts.²⁴

Augustine saw signs as working on one or both of two levels (and here we see the basis for the interpretation of symbols advanced by the Libri Carolini as well as by the normal exegetical practice of the day). They could be literal, expressing quite straightforwardly the intended image or thing. For example, the word "ox" signified a particular animal.²⁵ But words, even the same words, could also be figurative, "when the very things which we signify by the literal term are applied to some other meaning." In this sense the word "ox" could mean Luke the Evangelist. This figure was understood as such through Scripture, as the Apocalypse spoke of the four winged creatures surrounding the throne of God to indicate the four Evangelists. Augustine himself cited the words of Paul as his source of interpretation.²⁶ In other words, the Bible itself was to provide much of the interpretation of figurative signs.

These signa led at least to partial knowledge of God. But the coming to knowledge had a critical moral effect. Augustine saw it as a progression of the soul to purity. This was important for Angilbert because the result of that progression was the vision of the Trinity. According to Augustine, the believer began in the fear of God which created humility of heart by reminding him of his mortality and his absolute dependence upon Christ for redemption. Through this he came to

²⁴ De Doctrina Christiana II. i. 2-iii. 4 (CCSL XXXII, pp. 32-34, and Gavigan, pp. 61-64).

²⁵ De Doctrina Christiana II. x. 15 (CCSL XXXII, p. 41, and Gavigan, p. 72).

²⁶ Cf. Revelation 4:7, Deuteronomy 25:4, I Corinthians 9:9, and I Timothy 5:18.

piety, which fostered gentleness. Augustine seems to have used the word "piety", pietas, in its classical context to mean filial respect and reverence. For piety humbled the mind into accepting Scripture as the ultimate wisdom, better than any of one's own thoughts and opinions even when it was obscure or harsh in its admonitions. Only then could one be open to the knowledge of the divine truth of the Scriptures.²⁷

This knowledge, however, placed upon the recipient a crushing burden. It revealed to him the extent of his unworthiness and involvement with the evils of the world. His only hope was to beg God's help through prayer, which brought the soul to the fourth level, fortitude. Fortitude was "the hunger and thirst for justice," the complete rejection of the transitory and temporary "deadly pleasures" of the world. This was the moment of truth for the soul, because in turning aside from the world it turned "toward the love of eternal things, namely, the unchangeable Trinity in Unity."²⁸

At that point, the Christian began to achieve his goal, the "counsel of mercy" in which the desire for God led to love of neighbor. The vision of the Trinity appeared as a blinding light unbearable to the still-imperfect soul. (Incommutabilem scilicet unitatem eandemque trinitatem...quam ubi aspexerit, quantum potest, in longinqua radiantem, suique aspectus infirmitate sustinere se illam lucem non posse persenserit...) The craving for that light led the believer to cleanse and perfect his soul through zealous charity. When he achieved even love of

²⁷ De Doctrina Christiana II. vii. 9-10 (CCSL XXXII, pp. 36-37, and Gavigan, pp. 66-68).

²⁸ De Doctrina Christiana II. vii. 10-11 (CCSL XXXII, pp. 37-38, and Gavigan, pp. 68-69).

his enemy, he achieved both spiritual vigor and the virtue of hope, the two steps by which he could climb to the sixth level, the vision of God. He could see "in proportion to the extent that (he) dies to this world" (quantum potest ab eis, qui huic saeculi moriuntur, quantum possunt). This was the ultimate proof of faith, because it was still, in the "exile" of this life, vision "through a mirror in an obscure manner" (in aenigmate et per speculum)."²⁹

He who so loved the truth and perfected faith so that he could never be turned away or discouraged from this still-obscure vision, even by the charitable desire not to cause confusion or consternation in others, achieved the seventh and final step, Wisdom, which he "fully enjoys with perfect calm and serenity." This was the culmination and revealed consequence of the first step, fear. "For 'the fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom.' From that fear until we arrive even at Wisdom, it is through these steps that we make our way."³⁰ Hence the initial act of submission to the signs of God's presence was the most critical.

It was to that moral end, then, that Augustine wanted to urge men through the understanding of the Bible. The rest of his treatise was taken up with a discussion of the intellectual training which could benefit the Christian, as well as those subjects which must be avoided as harmful to Christian virtue. This bears little direct relationship to Angilbert's work. However, in the final section, Book IV, Augustine

²⁹ De Doctrina Christiana II. vii. 11 (CCSL XXXII, p. 38, and Gavigan, pp. 68-69). Cf. I Corinthians 13:12.

³⁰ De Doctrina Christiana II. vii. 11 (CCSL XXXII, p. 38): 'Initium enim 'sapientiae timor domini.' Ab illo enim ad ipsam per hos gradus tenditur et venit. (Gavigan, p. 69).

discussed the nature of teaching those truths, and from here we can draw general principles which relate to Angilbert's purpose at Saint-Riquier. For both Angilbert and Augustine were concerned with the art of persuasion.

Augustine said that signs were the most efficacious way of transmitting knowledge. Men, he said, learned better and more felicitously by a few well-chosen and striking signs than by intellectual discourse or exegesis, no matter how straightforward and simple it be.

Why is it, then, I ask, that, when anyone asserts these facts, he affords less charm to his listener than when he explains with the same interpretation that text from the Canticle of Canticles where the Church is alluded to as a beautiful woman who is being praised: "Thy teeth are as flocks of sheep, that are shorn, which come up from the washing, all with twins, and there is none barren among them?" Does one learn anything more than when he hears that same thought phrased in the simplest words, without the aid of this simile? But, somehow or other, I find more delight in considering the saints when I regard them as the teeth of the Church. They bite off men from their heresies and carry them over to the body of the Church, when their hardness of heart has been softened as if by being bitten off and chewed...But it is hard to explain why I experience more pleasure in this reflection than if no such comparison were derived from the Sacred Books, even though the matter and the knowledge are the same.³¹

The power of the image, here expressed metaforicos (to use the term of the Libri Carolini), lay in its ability to attract and afford pleasure. Rational exposition, while putting across simply and effectively the same material, was not as powerful as metaphor. The metaphor, or the signum, more immediately attracted attention and pleased, and therefore sustained interest. But the signum was not to obscure the point. The first criterion of good teaching was that it be understandable, since its purpose was to instruct. Then the format had to be pleasing.

³¹ De Doctrina Christiana II. vi. 7-8 (CCSL XXXII, pp. 35-36, and Gavigan, pp. 65-66).

Finally, the style must be both appropriate to the dignity of the subject, and compelling in its images, so that it might convince.

Augustine did not, however, attribute persuasion ultimately to human genius. For when one spoke truly about God and his Word it was not by his own power, but was the Holy Spirit speaking through him. This was accomplished, Augustine said, "more through the piety of prayers than the power of oratory," since it was in the medium of prayer that the Holy Spirit operated most freely.³² In this way also the uprightness of the teacher's life spoke most eloquently, since it revealed both total commitment to God and the "doing" of one's belief. "Let his beauty of life be, as it were, a powerful sermon."³³ The righteous and prayerful life of the teacher became in itself a signum of the truth.

So said Augustine. We may begin our consideration of the importance of the De Doctrina Christiana for Angilbert right here. For it was here, in his discussion of teaching, that Augustine's theory meshed with Angilbert's purpose. Angilbert's monks were dedicated to persuasion. They taught by their very life, which was lived in witness "so that the entire people of the faithful should confess, venerate, worship with the heart and firmly believe in the most holy and inseparable Trinity."³⁴ Teaching the right faith was the raison d'etre of the ordo as Angilbert himself described it, but this was not teaching in the aca-

³² De Doctrina Christiana IV. xv. 32 (CCSL XXXII, p. 138): *pietate magis orationum quam oratorum facultate...* (Gavigan, p. 198).

³³ De Doctrina Christiana IV. xxviii. 61 (CCSL XXXII, p. 164, and Gavigan, pp. 231-232).

³⁴ Cf. Chapter V, p. 231 and note 57.

demio sense. The eloquence of the monks was in the signum of their lifestyle.

This was, furthermore, a lifestyle lived through "the piety of prayers." Saint-Riquier was a laus perennis cloister, a cloister in which the real work of the monks was not only the chanting of the office at the regular times of the day, but the continual singing of psalms throughout the entire day.³⁵ We have already seen the highly-charged meaning of prayer die noctuque for Carolingian kings in the charter of Pepin to Prüm.³⁶ The purity of the monastic lifestyle and the continuity of prayer for Pepin was a channel of supplication and grace between the Frankish king and people on the one hand, and God on the other. But here we see another dimension of meaning in Angilbert's laus perennis, for in the terms of the De Doctrina Christiana this became the persuasive eloquence of the Holy Spirit himself, teaching "more through the piety of prayer than the power of oratory." Thus it was of the utmost importance that Angilbert's signum of the Trinity be expressed in a monastic setting. The very contemplative ordo of the monastery became the "understandable, pleasing, and persuasive" message of the trinitarian truth. The monks themselves, as well as the sacred space in which they dwelt, were the teachers.

What we see in Angilbert's treatment of the De Doctrina Christiana is his focus uniquely on the broad context of the work. Angilbert was concerned with signa, and he schematized Augustine's treatise as the

³⁵ For further discussion of the laus perennis at Saint-Riquier, see Chapter VII, p. 307.

³⁶ See above, pp. 246-249.

revelation of res aeternae: Quid res, quid signa, quid pia verba docent, qualiter et possint cuncta intellecta referre. Let us look again at his description of the treatise.

Primus enim narrat Christi praecepta tenere,
 Quae servare Deus iussit in orbe pius:
 Rebus uti saeculi insinuans praesentibus apte
 Aeternisque frui rite docet nimium.
 Edocet ex signis variis rebusque secundus,
 Qualiter aut quomodo noscere signa queant.
 Tertius ex hisdem signis verbisque nitescit:
 Quid sint, quid valeant quaeque vitanda, canit.
 Tunc promit quartus librorum dicta priorum:
 Quid res, quid signa, quid pia verba docent,
 Qualiter et possint cuncta intellecta referre,
 Magno sermone intonat ipse liber.

We see in these lines no reference even to the ostensible purpose of Augustine's work, the analysis of Scripture. Angilbert has abstracted from these books only one thing: cuncta intellecta, "all intellected things" which are present in the signa on earth. Angilbert has deemed important the moral dimension of the work, presenting it, rightly, as the content of Book I, the praecepta Christi tenere. Book II he also interpreted in Augustine's original format, since it was here that Augustine discussed the figurative and literal types of signs and their importance. Book III, however, Angilbert changed. He presented it in the lines quoted above as the revelation of signs, their power, and their danger. Hisdem signis verbisque referred to "these same signs and words" discussed in the second book, that is, the figurative and literal signs. Quid sint, quid valeant quaeque vitanda, canit referred to the exposition of those signs and words themselves: what they were and what they were able to do. But Augustine had in fact devoted the

third book to the technical discussion of the disciplines which were helpful and unhelpful to the Christian for interpreting Scripture. In other words, it was the heart of his work on the formal education of the Christian exegete.

Similarly, Angilbert changed the meaning of the original Book IV. Augustine had included here his formal discussion of the techniques of good teaching. There was almost no mention of signs per se. He had spoken of effective types of discourse, the criteria for persuasion, style, and the nature of eloquence. He had spoken, too, of the work of the Holy Spirit as the true speaker in oration, and of the importance of the righteous lifestyle of the teacher. Angilbert, however, saw something entirely different. He presented the fourth book as the epitome, or summary, of the first three. According to him it was the symbols themselves which taught, by leading the mind to "all intellected things": Quid res, quid signa, quid pia verba docent, qualiter et possint cuncta intellecta referre. There was no mention here of eloquence and rhetorical style. Angilbert's only interest was the symbol and the intellected truth to which it referred.

Again in the second part of the poem Angilbert returned to the same theme.

Haec perlecta pii, lector doctrina patroni,
 In primis domino, totum qui condidit orbem,
 Devote laudes iugiter perfunde benignas,
 Qui mare fundavit, caelum terramque creavit,
 Omnia qui numero, mensura ac pondere clausit,
 Per quem cuncta manent vel per quem cuncta manebunt,
 Quae sunt, quae fuerant, fuerint vel quaeque futura.

His concern was to identify God as the creative source and aim of earthly signa. Creation itself was the great symbol, because it was structured according to "number, measure, and weight." Here Angilbert developed an aesthetic theory of number symbolism which Augustine had never considered. The De Doctrina Christiana had discussed the study of numbers as essential for Christian education, since the Scriptures were full of numbers which had a mystical significance in need of interpretation.³⁷ But in this treatise there was no mention of number or measure as the basis of Creation or as especially evocative of the work of God. Augustine had said simply that number was not a human invention, but a discovery of that which was of divine creation.

Angilbert, on the other hand, identified Creation as "number, measure, and weight." As seen above in Chapter V, he took this imagery from Wisdom 11:21, in which the arithmetical order of Creation was contrasted with the chaos which God could have created had he so wanted.³⁸ The scene in the Book of Wisdom had been described in animal symbolism strikingly similar to that which Angilbert had used in the De Conversione Saxonum to describe the life of the Saxons before their conversion. In the Book of Wisdom, attacks by horrible and unimaginable beasts represented cosmic chaos. Similarly, Angilbert described the terrible and demonic existence of the pagan Saxons in bestial terms, by referring to the Saxons as beasts themselves. But in Angilbert's poem bestial chaos gave way to peacefulness under the name of the Trinity.

³⁷ Cf. De Doctrina Christiana II. xvi. 25, II. xxxviii. 56-57. (CCSL XXXII, pp. 50-51, 71-72, and Gavigan, pp. 83-85, 109-110).

³⁸ See Chapter V, pp. 224-225.

Christianity was literally the restoration of God's created order.

Angilbert's quoting of Wisdom described the world as ordered in its essence by arithmetical truths: Omnia qui numero, mensura ac pondere clausit. "Number, measure and weight" were the very nature of physical creation. They were the hallmark of God's artisanship. Number, then, was the key to knowledge about God. It was the foundation of Wisdom. It enclosed (clausit) sacred secrets.

In Angilbert's interpretation of Augustine's treatise, therefore, there was a very direct correlation between symbolism, belief, and proper worship. Especially charged was the number symbolism which conveyed both in concrete structure and in abstract relationship the transcendent and eternal spiritual truth. The De Doctrina Christiana and its affirmation of the critical importance of symbolism to the understanding of and relationship to God, was developed in Angilbert's dedicatory poem to focus especially upon the relationship between numerical structure and the intellection of God.

Angilbert's interpretation of the De Doctrina Christiana thus developed the aesthetic theory only hinted at in the Libri Carolini. Angilbert's reliance upon Augustine carried the understanding of symbolism beyond liturgy and art, beyond allegory and figure and its expression of spiritual truths, into the area of moral activity and development and the meaning of Creation itself.

That the Carolingians understood liturgy, dogma, and moral activity to be integrally connected is evident from several letters of Alcuin written in the heat of the Adoptionist controversy. In fact, these let-

ters assert the importance of liturgy as an expression and reflection of belief, and as a catalyst for true belief and righteousness in the fullest and most active sense.

We have already seen the connection which Alcuin made between christological heresy and wrong liturgical practice.³⁹ Here Alcuin had explained the triple immersion of the traditional baptismal liturgy allegorically. The immersions and elevations referred to the specific and descriptive scriptural event of the burial and resurrection of Christ. But Alcuin went on to develop his own view of the symbolism through a consideration of its interior, spiritually catalytic effect.

To us, however, according to the meagerness of our paltry talent, it seems that, just as the interior man must be reformed into the image of his Creator in the faith of the holy Trinity, so the exterior man must be washed with the three-fold immersion, so that, that which the Spirit invisibly effects in the soul, the priest visibly imitates in the water. For original sin is worked in three ways: by desire, consent, and act. And so, because all sin is accomplished either by desire, or consent, or doing, so the three-fold ablution seems to accord with the triple nature of sins... And rightly is the man, who was created in the image of the holy Trinity, renewed into that same image through the invocation of the holy Trinity: and he who fell into death by the third degree of sin, that is, by the work, lifted from the font, rises into life through grace.⁴⁰

Baptism by triple immersion, invoking individually the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, was literally the washing of the soul. Each immersion cleansed away one of the elements of sin. There was no for-

³⁹ See Chapter IV, p. 167 and note 22, p. 169 and note 26.

⁴⁰ MGH Epp IV, number 137: Nobis vero iuxta parvitatem ingenioli nostri videtur, ut, sicut interior homo in fide sanctae Trinitatis ad imaginem sui conditoris reformandus est, ita exterior trina mersione abluendus est; ut, quod invisibiliter spiritus operatur in anima, hoc visibiliter sacerdos imitetur in aqua. Nam originale peccatum tribus modis actum est: delectatione consensu et opere. Itaque, quia omne peccatum aut delectatione aut consensu aut operatione efficitur, ideo triplici generi peccatorum trina videtur ablutio convenire...

malism in this explanation of Alcuin's, that is, adherence to a ritual without conviction or understanding of its content. There was no blind reliance on "mere" authority or custom.⁴¹ Alcuin's concern was the regenerative or recreative potency of the symbol of baptism and Trinity-invoking triple immersion.

This power was what the single-immersion baptism of the Adoptionists lacked, and rightly so. In Carolingian eyes the Adoptionists could not be true trinitarians because of their faulty christology. And the effect of this perverted dogma extended to the very moral condition of each Adoptionist, who could not be washed clean of his sin in baptism because he neither believed nor prayed correctly. What hope, then, did he have of salvation? In the aesthetic theory of Alcuin, every physical act performed liturgically had an interior, spiritual, God-binding consequence.

That the physical act had to be related to an internal condition Alcuin reaffirmed in 798, in a letter to Arn of Salzburg. Alcuin, writing about the evangelization of the Huns which Arn was about to

⁴¹ Cf. Even studies as recent as those of André Vauchez, La Spiritualité du Moyen Age Occidental, VIIIe-XIIe siècle (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1975), pp. 18 ff., and Jean Leclercq, Histoire de la Spiritualité Chrétienne II: La Spiritualité du Moyen Age (Paris: Aubier, 1961), pp. 99 ff., tend to treat Carolingian spirituality as formalistic, with either little understanding of or attention to intention or internal conviction or transformation. Gerald Ellard's Master Alcuin, Liturgist (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1956), pp. 73 ff., discusses this text and its extended citations of Roman authorities as a clear indication of Alcuin's concern to follow the Roman Church in all things. In fact, Alcuin cites Biblical authorities as fully, and makes no argument of his own about Roman liturgical practice. Alcuin is very careful, on the other hand, to develop his theory on the symbolic importance of this liturgical usage. He never says that Adoptionist single immersion is wrong because it differs from Rome. He says that it is wrong because it does not accomplish its desired internal effect.

undertake in the eastern March territory, urged his student to look after the interior conversion of these pagans before considering any baptism. Professed faith, Alcuin said, was imperative for the act to be sacramental.

The Carolingians had learned hard lessons about forcible conversion after the conquest of the Saxons (which Angilbert had lauded so highly in the De Conversione Saxonum). The Saxons had been baptized en masse and without prior evangelization in the territory. They knew virtually nothing of the faith they were taking on. It had served for them as nothing more than an ignominious mark of submission to a hated conqueror, and more than once they had apostasized in bloody revolt.

Alcuin reminded Arn of this precedent in his discussion of baptism among the Huns.

Without faith, what does baptism profit?...For that reason the wretched nation of the Saxons so many times lost the sacrament of baptism, because they never had the foundation of faith in their hearts...For that which the priest visibly works in the body through water, the Holy Spirit works in the soul through faith. There are three visible elements in the sacrament of baptism, and three invisible. The visible are the priest, the body, and the water. But the invisible are the Spirit, soul, the faith. Those three visible elements profit nothing outside, if these three do not work inside..."For we are cooperators with God."⁴²

⁴² MGH Epp IV, number 113: Absque fide quid proficit baptismus?...Idcirco misera Saxonum gens toties baptismi perdidit sacramentum, quia numquam habuit in corde fidei fundamentum...Quod enim visibiliter sacerdos per baptismum operatur in corpore per aquam, hoc Spiritus sanctus invisibiliter operatur in anima per fidem. Tria sunt in baptismatis sacramento visibilia, et tria invisibilia. Visibilia sunt sacerdos corpus et aqua. Invisibilia vero spiritus anima et fides. Illa tria visibilia nihil proficiunt foris, si haec tria invisibilia non intus operantur..."Cooperatores enim Dei sumus."

The sacrament was not magic. It was a gesture which united the soul of the participant with the great spiritual reality beyond and above. Without true faith there was no union, no sacrament, and no true liturgy. To be a "co-operater with God" was to teach the faith, to prepare the soul of the recipient to receive the sacrament.

The full meaning of Angilbert's aesthetic of symbol and its relationship to the trinitarian symbolism of Saint-Riquier unfolds only in the light of the final source of his thought, the great De Trinitate of Augustine. We have already seen this treatise as the source of theological education and trinitarian dogma in the Carolingian period.⁴³ That Angilbert knew it we can surmise not only from his theological background, but from the fact that an inventory of the library of Saint-Riquier compiled for Louis the Pious in 831, seventeen years after Angilbert's death, mentions a manuscript of the work.⁴⁴

⁴³ Cf. Chapter II, pp. 71 ff.

⁴⁴ The manuscript evidence for the De Trinitate is telling. Seven manuscripts of the text which date from the late eighth or early ninth centuries are extant. Most of them come from monasteries with close ties to the Carolingian court. They are as follows:

1) Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale 300, dating from about 780, seems to have been written at the same scriptorium in the region of Meaux as the Gellone Sacramentary, and, indeed, in the same hand of the scribe David. Its script is Carolingian and mixed miniscule.

2) Codex Vaticanus Palatinus Latinus 202, dating from the late eighth or early ninth century, was probably written at the scriptorium of Lorsch in Anglo-Saxon majuscule and miniscule.

3) Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale 130, of the early ninth century, was formerly in the library of the Church of Sainte-Marie in Laon.

4) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Nouv. Acq. Lat. 1445, dating from the early ninth century, was formerly in the library of Cluny (Codex 56).

5) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Lat. 9538, in eighth century Anglo-Saxon miniscule, was probably written at an Anglo-Saxon scriptorium on the Continent, most likely Echternach.

Two manuscripts have a history which makes them likely candidates

for Angilbert's manuscript.

6) Oxford Bodleian Laud. Misc. 126, dating from the mid-eighth century, contains in part a peculiar and immediately recognizable uncial script called the N-uncial, which E.A. Lowe attributed to the convent of Chelles. The decoration, in Lowe's view, "suggests the school of Corbie," which was a sister monastery of Saint-Riquier located nearby. The abbot of Corbie, Adalhard, was an intimate friend of Angilbert. Both the scriptorium of Corbie and that of Chelles had close ties to the royal court.

The Oxford De Trinitate itself seems to have had quite direct ties to Charlemagne. Folio 1 contains in Anglo-Saxon script of the eighth or ninth century a letter to Abbot Baugulf of Fulda relating to Charlemagne's educational reforms. According to Lowe, this manuscript belonged to Saint Kilian's of Wurzburg by the ninth century, as suggested by the notation on folio 1 verso: faciat eum sancto Kiliano restitui.

Both its peculiar script and its decoration connect this manuscript with the famous Gelasian Sacramentary, Vatican Reginensis 316. The Gelasian manuscript, interestingly, has the same later provenance as the Reginensis manuscript of Angilbert's De perfectione: the collections of Christina of Sweden and then of Alexander Petau. A copy of the Sacramentary was also in the 831 inventory of Saint-Riquier. This particular manuscript contains an added interlinear Latin text of the Creed and the Pater Noster. The Gelasian Sacramentary seems an odd text for one so close to court developments as Angilbert to have, since at this time the Hadrianum of Alcuin was preferred for liturgical usage. However, the inventory of Saint-Riquier's library mentions among its libri sacrarii the following: Missales Gregoriani tres, Missalis Gregorianus, et Gelasianus modernis temporibus ab Albino ordinatus.

7) Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 19, dating from the late eighth or early ninth century, written in Visigothic miniscule, was produced in Spain. It is closely related to Monte Cassino 4, a manuscript of Ambrose's De Fide, De Spiritu Sancto, and other texts. The marginalia of both manuscripts, in Arabic and Visigothic cursive contemporary with the original script, contain the name of Ibinhamdon, who seems to have been an opponent of Elipandus of Toledo. Lowe believed that the history of migration of these two manuscripts was the same, and that they came to Monte Cassino toward the end of the eleventh century.

For a complete discussion of each of these manuscripts, see E.A. Lowe, Codices Latini Antiquiores Volumes I-X (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934-1965). Cambrai 300 is found in Volume VI, p. 12, number 739; Vaticanus Pal. Lat. 202 in Volume I, p. 25, number 83; Paris Lat. 9538 in Volume V, p. 21, number 588; and Monte Cassino 19 in Volume III, p. 31, number 373 (Cf. number 372 for the companion manuscript of the Ambrose texts).

Laon 130 and Paris Nouv. Acq. Lat. 1445 are discussed in the CCSL edition of the De Trinitate, Volume L, W.J. Mountain, editor (Turnhout: Brepols, 1968), pp. lxx-lxxviii.

The De Trinitate presented its trinitarian argument in two stages. The first stage, which we have already seen developed and used so fully in Carolingian anti-Adoptionist and filiouque argumentation, set out the dogmatic principles of trinitarian theology. The second stage elaborated a psychological and aesthetic argument in order to show that the ability to understand and relate to the Trinity was innate in Creation and especially in the very structure of human thought. "Traces of the Trinity" were stamped in the physical world and in the human mind.⁴⁵

Augustine had hoped to prove that the eternal archetype of the Trinity was available to human understanding by way of analogy with the things of this world. This was a fuller development of his exposition of the signum in the De Doctrina Christiana. To say that there were traces of the Trinity in the structure of Creation and in the human intuition was to provide an important psychological link between the eternal archetype and the temporal world. It was also to say that the world could in some senses lead man to a greater knowledge or understanding of God. More important, the very mind of man was created in God's image, and reflected the divine reality in one local and specific instance. Thus, the believer's mind could conform him to that eternal and salvific archetype of the Trinity.⁴⁶ Therefore, through analogy

⁴⁵ The second half of the treatise seems to have been as important for the Carolingians as the first. Benedict of Aniane sometime between 800 and 802 wrote the Munimenta verae fidei, the first portion of which was a direct restatement of this aesthetic portion of the De Trinitate. Cf. the edition of Jean Leclercq in Studia Anselmiana 20 (Rome, 1948): 27-66. I have not been able to consult this source; I have relied on the account of Bullough, "Alcuin," p. 24, and note 48.

⁴⁶ Karl Morrison has recently discussed Augustine's theory as a mimetic strategy which adequated man to God through "advancement by correction." See Mimetic Tradition, pp. 59 ff.

between the trinities present here, especially the three-fold mind, and the eternal archetype which was their source, one could come to the truth of the Trinity itself and could conform himself more and more to it.

Three-part structures were ubiquitous and visible. Being, knowing, and loving made up one soul. One animal was composed of unity, species, and order. One love was made up of lover, love, and beloved. Most important were the three parts or three functions which composed the mind: the intellect or understanding, the memory, and the will.⁴⁷ They were most important because the mind conformed man to the Trinity.

Let us now consider Augustine's aesthetic analysis of the mind. By intellect Augustine meant understanding, the rational capacity to grasp and comprehend both sensory experience and non-corporeal principles. Memory was the faculty which retained and reconceived bodies or sensory experiences now absent. It enabled a person to see again and again an image or concept which had once been impressed upon it, and to see it now with the inner vision, the "mind's eye," as Augustine called it. Will was that faculty of passion or desire which conformed the senses or the inner vision to the object perceived or remembered. It was the act of attention which "moved the eye to be informed" and then to be attached to its object. The greatest desire and constant quest of these faculties was to contemplate God, the truth. When it did so, it achieved wholeness; and Augustine defined that part of the mind which consulted the truth as the image of God in man.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ De Trinitate VI. x, VIII. x, and IX. iii, iv.

⁴⁸ De Trinitate X. x. 13-14, XI. ii. 5, XI. iii. 6, XI. iv. 7, and

Fundamental to Augustine's theory of knowledge was the principle of analogy. It was only by knowing what was palpably observable in himself that one could come to an understanding of the other.

For we recognize the movements of bodies also from their resemblance to ourselves, and from this fact we perceive that others live besides ourselves, since we also move our body in living as we observe these bodies to be moved. For even when a living body is moved, there is no way opened for our eyes to see the soul, a thing which cannot be seen with the eyes; but we notice that something is present within that mass such as is present in us, so that we are able to move our mass in a similar way, and this is the life and the soul...Therefore we know the soul of anyone at all from our own, and from our own we believe of him whom we do not know. For we are not only conscious of our soul, but we also know what a soul is by studying our own, for we have a soul.⁴⁹

Analogy, then, both operated out of similarity and made the observer aware of his similarity with others.

The mind moved between the two poles of the observer and the observed object in order to come to understanding. Hence there was always a three-part functioning of the mind: the observer, the object, and the will which mediated between them. The action could be current and immediate, linking an external object with the sensory faculties to form a sensory image. Or it could draw upon the inner storehouse of images, the memory, and the interior vision, to create mental images.

This dynamic operation of the will between two poles to create a third entity was itself a trinitarian analogy. Augustine described it as "procession," analogous to the procession of the Holy Spirit out of the dynamic love between the "poles" of the Father and the Son. Augustine completed the analogy by likening the three faculties of thought to

XII. vii. 10.

⁴⁹ De Trinitate VIII. vi. 9.

the three persons of the Trinity. The memory was as the Father. The understanding, "formed from the memory by the attention of thought, where that which is known is spoken," was as the Son. The love "which proceeds from knowledge and combines the memory and the understanding" was likened to the Holy Spirit.⁵⁰

The creative mediation of the will (or love) between the poles of memory and rational understanding was movement toward wholeness or coming to fruition.⁵¹ This meant that the actions of the mind ultimately were inseparable, as all of the persons of the Trinity were present in the works of one. Any thinking involved the act of attention or desire which bound together the carnal image with the perceptive understanding. And understanding of necessity involved the relation of the sensory image to the memory in which experience was filed. The act of attention or desirous perception of an object grew from and fed back into the inner vision in which relationship was formed through understanding. One could not love something unknown; similarly one could not understand something without the act of attention that held the perception to the object.

For the gaze of thought does not return to anything except by remembering, and does not care to return except by loving; thus love, which unites as a parent with its offspring, the vision brought about in the memory with the vision formed from it in thought, would not know what it should rightly love if it did not have the knowledge of desiring, which cannot be there without memory and understanding.⁵²

⁵⁰ De Trinitate XV. xxiii. 43.

⁵¹ Cf. Morrison, p. 60.

⁵² De Trinitate XV. xxi. 41.

The action of the mind of necessity had a moral dimension, in Augustine's view, since it required the orientation of love. Hence the critical importance of knowing and seeking the truth. Knowledge kindled desire for the object known; desire kindled the search to know more about it. More importantly, it was from that inner commitment that one's outer actions grew:

Thus there is nothing that we do through the members of our body, in our words and actions, by which the conduct of men is approved or disapproved, that is not preceded by the word that has been brought forth within us. For no one willingly does anything which he has not spoken previously in his heart.⁵³

In this way, love adequated a person to the object of his love, because it determined the nature and end of his actions. And since the eternal archetype was the source and fulfillment of one's own inner (and thus outer) life, the mind, the image of God, was driven by desire for creative likeness to God. That is, it was driven by the desire for wholeness.⁵⁴

Christ was the turning point in the adequation of man to God. As the Word of God he was the eternal archetype of creative action, the outer life of one's doing. As the spoken Word he revealed what was "in the heart of God," so to speak, and was the mirror of the eternal archetype. He was the most direct means of knowing, and therefore of loving God. Conformity to his actions meant conformity to God himself, knowledge and action beyond this world into eternal wisdom.

For (men) could not be one in themselves, since they were separated from one another by conflicting inclinations, desires, and uncleannesses of sin. They are, therefore, purified through the Mediator,

⁵³ De Trinitate IX. vii. 12.

⁵⁴ De Trinitate XI. xi. 18. Cf. Morrison, p. 59.

in order that they may be one in him, and indeed not only through the same nature in which all mortal men become equal to the angels, but also by the same will working together most harmoniously towards the same blessedness, and fused together in some way by the fire of charity into one spirit...Then he reveals this truth itself, that he is the Mediator through whom we are reconciled to God in the following words: "I in them, and Thou in me, that they may be perfected in unity."⁵⁵

Thus, love made men like the Trinity. Love of God was the only true love; anything else was desire. Even love of the things of this earth or of other men could be love in God, "that while holding fast to the truth we may love justly, and, therefore, despise everything mortal for the sake of the love of men, whereby we wish them to live justly."⁵⁶ Thus, all things might become referents to that eternal truth, or means of contemplation of the eternal through Christ. Indeed, the corporeal "traces of the Trinity" were of great importance as referents to the Trinity, because they provided some hint of the eternal archetype. "No one can in any way love a thing that is wholly unknown," as Augustine said.⁵⁷ The things of this world, even the great revelation of Christ himself, enabled one to see beyond this world only "as through a glass darkly." But without them the opacity of the eternal beyond would be impenetrable.

Earthly signs not only gave partial illumination, they also kindled greater desire for greater illumination. They referred one to God, and thereby inflamed love for God. The partial inflamed desire for the whole.

⁵⁵ De Trinitate IV. ix (CCSL L, p. 178, and McKenna, p. 146).

⁵⁶ De Trinitate VIII. vii. 10 (CCSL L, pp. 284-285, and McKenna, p. 260).

⁵⁷ De Trinitate X. i. 1. Cf. X. i. 3, and X. ii. 4.

And yet, unless some slight knowledge of a doctrine were impressed upon our mind, we would in no way be enkindled with the desire of learning it...So, too, if anyone hears an unknown sign, for example, the sound of a word whose meaning he does not know, he desires to know what it is, and what idea that sound is intended to convey to his mind...Suppose someone hears the word temetum, and in his ignorance asks what it means. He must, therefore, already know that it is a sign, namely, that it is not a mere word, but that it signifies something. This word of three syllables is in other respects already known, and has impressed its articulated species on his mind through the sense of hearing. What more can be required for his greater knowledge, if all the letters and all the spaces of sound are already known, unless it shall have been known to him at the same time that it is a sign, and shall have moved him with the desire of knowing the thing of which it is the sign?⁵⁸

This yearning for greater knowledge was especially true of beauties of which one became aware. For beauty and virtue one had a particular yearning, and responded with full inner approval which aroused genuine love, because those things participated in and expressed truth itself. The mere rumor of a beauty or a virtue even unseen was enough to enkindle the love, because its truthfulness was known generically as a good.

Thus the trinities of this world, especially the beauties which were trinities, were stepping stones to the eternal Trinity. The partial knowledge of the temporal led both to analogical understanding of and love for the archetypal source. And that love led also to action by which the knower/lover conformed more and more to that eternal Trinity. The importance of Christ was mediatory as the most direct revelation and channel of the trinitarian mystery and of loving human response. The integral relationship between knowing, loving, and doing, between memory, understanding, and will, emphasized the importance of right belief,

⁵⁸ De Trinitate X. i. 1-2. (CCSL L, pp. 311-315, McKenna, pp. 291-292).

right understanding of the Trinity. As a source of Carolingian intellectual life the De Trinitate thus boldly underscored the obsession with correct dogma. According to the Augustinian context, truly it was not possible sine fide to please God.⁵⁹

These, then, were the intellectual and theological presuppositions of Angilbert's aesthetic theory. Let us recapitulate. From the very earliest evidence which we have of Angilbert's thought, we have seen Angilbert's concern with liturgy and symbolism. The De Conversione Saxonum emphasized external gesture as expressive of internal state. Indeed, Angilbert developed the meaning of his poem entirely through actions and behavior. Conversion was virtually imposed from without by Charlemagne who was victorious in battle against the Saxons. The fruits of that conversion sub patris et geniti, sancti sub flaminas almi nomine, were manifested as peacefulness and liberation from the kingdom of the demons. But never was internal conviction mentioned.

Angilbert's poetic technique employed symbolism of number and especially of metaphor to evoke the theme of conversion. The Saxons were described as vicious beasts in their pagan state, and as gentle and beautiful animals when they became Christians. The context of the poem was the physical power of the Trinity, and of Charlemagne as its agent.

About twelve years later Angilbert came into close contact with the aesthetic theory of the Libri Carolini. The Libri echoed his understanding of liturgy, and further, predicated an intimate relationship between liturgy and the true faith. The Libri were written as a defense

⁵⁹ See Chapters II, III and IV, passim.

of the Trinity against the bad theology of the Byzantines. Within that context the Libri asserted that the function of the Church was "to set forth through the three-fold prayer the mystery of the holy Trinity." Liturgy was the essential revelation of the Trinity through the symbolism of ritual gesture. Prayer was offered metaforicos, "metaphorically," in manifold ways which had one meaning only, discerned by the divine nature. A tacit level of meaning, the level of intention or the love of the heart which prompted prayer, supported the gestures and attracted the attention of the "ineffable hearing of divine majesty." Thus liturgy created a channel of communication between the participant and God.

Within this context, the Libri considered the character of art and image as revelatory. The image, because it was material, was essentially other than the spiritual truth which it portrayed. Thus, it could not be venerated in itself. But art had intrinsic worth as a vehicle of contemplation. Both by the subject matter portrayed and by the beauty and harmony of its technical execution, art served as a bridge to the divine. Images were symbolic in two senses. They could represent allegorically spiritual events or truths. And they could represent through their beauty and technical perfection the abstract beauty and perfection of God.

It was thus critical that the representation or intended message be perfectly clear and accessible to the observer. The spiritual truth was carefully encoded in the artwork. That code was formulaic and inviolable in order to assure the accuracy and full impact of the transmission. Color, posture, gesture, size were in themselves revelatory.

They enabled the viewer to participate in the divine truth by engaging the whole person in the act of cognition, or, better, of recognition.

Because of the revelatory function of the Church and her liturgy, the Libri contained an ecclesiological dimension which was of utmost importance in understanding the monastic context of Angilbert's program. It was in the stone and prayer of churches that the mystery of the Trinity was contained and made available to the faithful. Angilbert's churches were monastic houses of stone and prayer, and thereby added yet another formulaic dimension. For the life of the monk was devoted to prayer die noctuque, as the charter of Pepin to the monastery of Prum said, and was circumscribed by the norma patrum praecedentium. This was a life of particular dedication and sanctification which was a continual channel of petition from below and grace from above for the Frankish king and people.

The De Doctrina Christiana, about which Angilbert wrote a poem in 796, provided both the aesthetic theory of signa and the analysis of the moral effect of those signa which were the basis of Angilbert's program at Saint-Riquier. In Augustine's view, everything in the world was a signum of God. What was critical was the Christian understanding which revealed this greatest of truths and informed one's attitude toward the world. One could either enjoy (frui) the world or use (uti) it. Enjoyment meant to appreciate something as an end in and of itself, whereas use meant to refer something to the ultimate cause, God. Hence, one could only truly and properly enjoy God himself, the source of all happiness.

It was the function of signs to refer one to God, and without signs God could not be accessible. The partial knowledge which signs gave enkindled the desire to know more. This created an attitude of humility in the heart and mind of the seeker, in which he was willing to submit to the truth and to moral purification in order to come closer to God himself. This was a process of sanctification.

Augustine affirmed that men learned best through signs. They were far more effective, he said, in putting across theological truths than was intellectual discourse. For Angilbert, anxious to forward particular trinitarian doctrines, this teaching methodology was crucial. Signa were to be his strategy in the defense of the faith. And they were to be the vehicle for the interior purification and sanctification of the faithful.

In Augustine's view, the most compelling signum of all was the righteousness of the magister himself. The purity of one's life was the purest witness of faith and intellectual commitment. That was to be the life of prayer, since ultimately, any expression of the truth in one's life was by the power of the Holy Spirit rather than the power of one's genius. Here again Angilbert borrowed most directly from the De Doctrina Christiana. His program comprised the witness of monks whose entire lifestyle was ordered around prayer through the laus perennis. The purity of that life was to let the Holy Spirit persuade the "entire people of the faithful."

Angilbert did, however, choose one type of signum above all. His reading of the Book of Wisdom led him to define number as the essential structure of Creation, and therefore the essential worldly revelation of

God. This he expressed not only in his De Doctrina Christiana poem, but also in his description of the monastery at Saint-Riquier. So that the faithful would venerate and truly believe in the Trinity, he said, he had been "zealous to establish three principal churches." Just as number symbolism had been the structural principle of his first poem on the conversion of the Saxons, so now it became the structural principle of his monastery.

That liturgy became a tool of persuasion against the Adoptionist heresy we have seen from the letters of Alcuin on the sacrament of baptism. To the monks of Gothia and Septimania Alcuin wrote defending the Carolingian and Roman practice of triple immersion against the Adoptionist practice of single immersion. Alcuin based his judgment upon the catalytic spiritual effect of the immersion symbolism. This was not only a figurative mimesis of the burial and resurrection of Christ after three days and nights; it was an actual washing from the soul the deadly effects of the three degrees of sin. One person of the Trinity was invoked with each immersion. In Carolingian eyes, this was the heart of the Adoptionist error. Their sacramental symbolism could have no effect because it was wrongly performed. It was wrongly performed because their trinitarian belief was wrong.

Alcuin reaffirmed the importance of interior belief for the accomplishment of the sacrament in his letter to Arn of Salzburg on the evangelization of the Huns. Alcuin warned against the forced baptism of the Huns, citing the failure of such baptism among the Saxons, and asserting that without faith baptism profited nothing. Liturgical gesture, right faith, and moral status were thus inseparably joined in the Carolingian view.

This trinity of action, intellect, and emotional commitment was the basis of perhaps the most important of Angilbert's aesthetic sources, Augustine's De Trinitate. This treatise epitomized all of the claims made by the other sources which we have seen. The purpose of the De Trinitate was to prove that the Trinity was intrinsic in Creation, and therefore available to human intuition. "Traces of the Trinity" in earthly signs led the mind naturally and reflectively to the Trinity itself as the ultimate source. Indeed, without those traces men could not come to the Trinity, because it could not be known or knowable.

The most important trace of the Trinity was the human mind itself. Augustine defined the mind as threefold: reason or intellect, emotional response or love, and action or the fruition of the will. Knowing and loving were inseparable, since knowledge could only come through the act of attention which was the expression of love. The act of attention also meant the desire to become like what one knew, and so the inner commitment led to action. This meant that one became adequated to what one loved.

Since Christ was the ultimate source of knowledge about God for the Christian, Augustine defined the Incarnation as the turning-point in man's adequation to God. This was why Christ was the source of salvation. It was through him that one could achieve creative likeness to God himself. Christology, by extension, as the expression of one's knowledge of Christ, was critical to salvation.

In this we can see the very heart of Angilbert's program at Saint-Riquier. The signa which he created there were the embodiment of the trinitarian theology and the christology which he had negotiated for

Charlemagne. Saint-Riquier was a revelation, a source of knowledge expressed in the most attractive and compelling way. And it was the beginning of an entire moral and salvific process for those who saw it.

According to Angilbert's Augustinian understanding of the signum, the liturgical gestures of Saint-Riquier were physical acts which expressed the adequation of the heart and mind of the believer to the Trinity. The unity of knowing, loving, and doing meant that to "confess, venerate, worship with the heart and firmly believe in the holy and inseparable Trinity" was to become Trinity-like. Gesture was regenerative, or, rather, recreative. The liturgical symbolism of the stone and prayer of Saint-Riquier which "set forth the mystery" of the Trinity not only channeled the prayers of the faithful and the grace of God; it was a source of salvation for all who participated in its truth.

Let us now ourselves look at the stone and prayer of Saint-Riquier to consider at close range Angilbert's trinitarian program.

CHAPTER VII

DATUM HOC EST MIRABILE SIGNUM

THE PROGRAM OF SAINT-RIQUIER

Angilbert's program at Saint-Riquier was tightly structured around trinitarian imagery which in some cases was new to the West in the eighth century. Although Angilbert borrowed liberally from past, often disused tradition for his architecture and liturgy, he also did not hesitate to innovate in bold and striking ways. His sources were eclectic; his rationale was cogent. His choices consistently and powerfully conveyed trinitarian signa.¹ With the theological and philosophical context of Angilbert's work in place, we are now in a position to examine his monastic program.

Let us first review the doctrinal issues and theological presuppositions which governed Angilbert's choices as a member of the group fighting trinitarian heresy against the Spanish Adoptionists and the Byzantines. The essential case against the Adoptionists was the true sonship and primacy of Christ. Against the Adoptionist distinction

¹ The title of this chapter is again taken from the Regula Fidei Metrico of Paulinus of Aquileia, line 46 (MGH PL I, p. 127). The context is a listing of scriptural texts which prove the true Sonship of Jesus: Datum hoc est mirabile signum, quod deus atque homo Christus sit verus et altus. The text quoted was the Transfiguration, Matthew 17:5, one of the arguments used in Paulinus' own anti-Adoptionist writings. See Appendix B.

between the Word who was the true and eternal Son of God and the man Jesus who was the Son of God by adoption only, the Carolingians elaborated the doctrine of the absolute unity of the person of Christ. He was, as full God and full man, the true Son of God from the moment of his conception by the Holy Spirit in the womb of Mary. It was this mystery of personal unity which made Christ true redeemer of humankind. The position of Mary as mother of God (and not merely mother of the man Jesus who later became God) was a crucial corollary of this christological stance.

Against the Greeks and the Second Council of Nicaea the Carolingians sought to defend the Trinity. In the Libri Carolini, Charlemagne and his theologians claimed that the Greeks were worshipping false images by venerating icons because they did not know the true God who alone was worthy of worship. In particular, the Carolingians upheld the doctrine of the simultaneous procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son (ex patre filioque). This was a means of guaranteeing the proper relationship of coequality, coeternality, and consubstantiality between Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Images, and art in general, were of great importance within the Augustinian aesthetic framework of the Libri for the knowledge of God which they provided. Liturgy was especially revelatory because its very function was to set forth the mysterium sanctae Trinitatis for believers.

Here we must bear in mind two critically important and interrelated points. The first was the Augustinian triadic model of mind with which the Carolingians, and especially Angilbert at Saint-Riquier, were working. The second was the pivotal role of Christ within that model.

These doctrinal issues of trinitarian aesthetics and christology were crucial because within the tripartite understanding of mind as memory, understanding, and will, the model of knowledge was the source of the knower's love and action. Christ, as the epitome of faith and righteousness, was the ultimate source of knowledge about the Trinity. Therefore he was the source both of love for and of action on behalf of the Trinity. Augustine's trinity of mind made Christ not only the key to salvation, but also to the true fulfillment of the human personality. Without the truth about Christ, there could be no salvation or fulfillment, since everything depended upon and flowed from this initial spark of knowledge.

These, then, were the issues with which Angilbert was working when he said that he founded "three principal churches with the members pertaining to them so that all of the people of the faithful should confess, venerate, worship in the heart and truly believe in the holy and inseparable Trinity."² Let us now consider the physical complex which he built. We have evidence of its appearance from four sources. The first chronologically, and most important, is Angilbert's Libellus, discussed above in Chapter V, which described the various elements of the buildings, their treasures, and the monastic liturgy.³ Second, we have two seventeenth century reproductions of a drawing of the abbey which Hariulf made for his Chronicon Centulensis before Angilbert's buildings were

² See above, Chapter V, p. 231.

³ Cf. Chapter V, pp. 226 ff., and note 53.

razed at the end of the eleventh century. One reproduction, copied from the original, was made by Paul Petau in 1611. (See Plate I). The other, by Mabillon, was taken from a printed tertiary source.⁴

Third, we can draw upon the information provided by modern art historians who have suggested various reconstructions of the appearance of the buildings.⁵

⁴ The art historians who have studied Saint-Riquier have attributed the drawing to Hariulf himself, although there is no direct record of that other than the fact that the drawing was contained in the autograph manuscript of the Chronicon Centulense. See, for example, Effmann, p. 5; Durand, p. 140; Hubert in Il Monachesimo, p. 296, and, most recently, Heitz, Recherches, p. 23.

The drawing perished with the manuscript in the 1719 fire at Saint-Riquier as mentioned above (Chapter V, p. 226, note 53). Paul Petau had already made an engraved copy of the drawing directly from the autograph manuscript, which was in his possession in the early seventeenth century. Duchesne, who copied the autograph manuscript in Petau's collection in about 1615, also copied the drawing. Duchesne's version was in turn reproduced in Amiens manuscript 531 and in the first edition of Dom Luc d'Achery's Spicilegium in 1661. Mabillon produced a version of the drawing from the Spicilegium in 1677 for his Vita Sancti Angilberti. See Acta Sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti, saec. IV, Volume I (Paris, 1677), pp. 91 ff. Cf. Lot, "Nouvelles recherches sur le texte de la Chronique de l'Abbaye de Saint-Riquier par Hariulf," Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes 72 (1911): 245-258.

While Petau's version of the drawing is rather sketchy and schematic, it was very likely closer to the original than was Mabillon's. Hariulf's drawing, in character with eleventh century art, must itself have been sketchy and schematic rather than visually precise. Petau copied the original. Mabillon's, taken from a printed copy and itself highly formalized and regularized, differs from Petau's in detail. In those cases, I follow Petau.

⁵ They have traditionally based their work upon the copies of Hariulf's drawing and to some extent upon Angilbert's text. In addition, they have added the perspective of formalistic comparison with other contemporary and subsequent buildings, as we have seen in the Introduction to this study.

Four studies, mentioned above in Chapter I, have been most important. Durand's Saint-Riquier, in La Picardie Historique et Monumentale, the first such study, suggested floorplans of the main basilica and its interior organization. Effmann's Centula-Saint-Riquier was the most daring and the most influential on subsequent thinking, attempting not only a floorplan of the basilica and the disposition of its altars and sculptures, but also various sectional views and a very important pro-

Finally, we have as our fourth and most recent source of information the results of a series of archeological excavations undertaken by Honore Bernard, a Belgian archeologist, between 1959 and 1969.⁶

Angilbert tells us that the core of his program, as it were the structural integrator, was "three principal churches with the members pertaining to them."⁷ The original seventh century monastery of Centula had contained one church dedicated to the Virgin Mary.⁸ This Angilbert replaced with a large main basilica dedicated to Saint Richarius and the

jected reconstruction of the west facade of the basilica. Kenneth Conant, in Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, discussing Saint-Riquier as "the most characteristically northern and most energetic of the church designs," provided a reconstructed view as seen from the north-east. (See Conant's pp. 11-14 and Plate IIA.) Edgar Lehmann, in "Anordnung der Altare in der Karolingischen Klosterkirche zu Centula" (Karl der Grosse III, pp. 373-383), provided a reconstruction of the interior arrangement of the church to correct the suggestions of Durand and Effmann.

⁶ Bernard's work gives us a much fuller and clearer idea of Angilbert's program because it corrects misunderstandings generated by Hariulf and perpetuated by the art historians mentioned above who relied on Hariulf. The excavation data will be discussed below, in context. Let us simply note now that the differences between Hariulf and the physical evidence of the excavations corroborate Angilbert's trinitarian theme. See "Les Fouilles de l'Eglise de Notre-Dame à Saint-Riquier," and "D'Hariulpe à Effmann, à la Lumière des Récentes Fouilles de Saint-Riquier," Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, Nouvelle série, numbers 1 and 2 (1965-1966): 25-47 and 219-235, "Premières Fouilles de Saint-Riquier," Karl der Grosse III, pp. 369-373, "Un Site Prestigieux du Monde Carolingien: Saint-Riquier," Cahiers Archéologiques de Picardie 5 (1978): 241-254, and "L'Abbaye de Saint-Riquier: Evolution des Bâtiments Monastiques du IXe au XVIIIe siècle," in Sous la Règle de Saint-Benoît: Structures Monastiques et Sociétés en France du Moyen Age à l'Epoque Moderne (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1982), pp. 499-526.

⁷ De perfectione I (MGH SS XV, p. 174, ll. 26-29): Quia igitur omnis plebs fidelium sanctissimam atque inseparabilem Trinitatem confiteri, venerari et mente colere firmiterque credere debet, secundum huius fidei rationem in omnipotentis Dei nomine tres aecclesias principales cum membris ad se pertinentibus in hoc sancto loco...fundare studuimus.

⁸ Hariulf Chronicon Centulense I. xv (Lot, pp. 24-26).

Holy Savior; a second smaller twelve-sided church dedicated to Sancta Maria Dei Genitrix et Apostoli, "Holy Mary Mother of God and the Apostles"; and a third small private chapel dedicated to Sanctus Benedictus Abbas et Reliquii Sancti Regularii Abbates, "Saint Benedict and the Holy Regular Abbots."⁹

The churches were connected by arcades or arched and covered walkways (tectae, arces). These tectae gave the entire complex the shape of a triangle, with the basilica of the Holy Savior and Saint Richarius at the north or the apex, the Mary chapel at the bottom southwest corner, and the chapel of Saint Benedict at the southeast corner. A comparison of Plate I, Hariulf's drawing, and Plate III, Bernard's aerial view of the cloister based upon his excavations of the site, reveals the extent to which Hariulf's version must be questioned. In Book III. iii of the Chronicon Centulense Hariulf said, "Indeed the cloister of the monks has been made as a triangle: that is, from Saint Richarius to Saint Mary there is one arcade, likewise from Saint Benedict to Saint Richarius one arcade."¹⁰ Hariulf portrayed the three churches and their basic orientation. But the cloister in his drawing was small, dense, irregularly shaped, and four-sided.

The excavations carried out by Honore Bernard have revealed the actual relationship of the churches and the size of the cloister, and have provided a truer sense of Angilbert's complex. His data enables us to understand Hariulf's version as schematic. Bernard excavated at var-

⁹ De perfectione I (MGH SS XV, p. 174).

¹⁰ Cf. Lot, p. 56: *Claustrum vero monachorum triangulum factum est, videlicet a sancto Richario usque ad sanctam Mariam tectus unus; itemque a sancto Benedicto usque ad sanctum Richarium tectus unus.*

ious points in the site. The most extensive work uncovered the entire foundation of the Mary church. (See Plate IV.)

Here Bernard discovered that the edifice portrayed by Hariulf gave little sense of the appearance of Angibert's church. Hariulf's drawing presented a basilica with a clerestory, central nave, and two side aisles, and an apsidal area at the east end which was a two-storey round tower. Bernard's excavations revealed instead a central form dodecagonal church (replacing the round eastern tower) with a small basilican entrance-way in the west (replacing the basilica which in the drawing had appeared as the main body of the church). The dodecagonal main body of the church contained a thick outer wall, an ambulatory approximately 2.5 meters wide, and an inner wall or series of pillars and arches, possibly meant to support an upper storey or a cupola. (Compare Plates I and IV.) Hariulf's drawing shows a three-tiered lantern capping the chapel. The inner diameter of the church was approximately 6.5 meters; the entire structure was inscribed in a circle 18 to 20 meters in diameter. The nave was approximately 8 meters long and 9 meters wide.

Of the little chapel of Saint Benedict Bernard found no trace. Hariulf's drawing presented the Benedict chapel as a small, single-nave rectangular building with a rectangular apse at the east end. Like the Mary church, the building was oriented from east to west. In Bernard's reconstruction, the arcades approached the chapel at the front end of the building, near the entrance. (See Plate III.)

Bernard excavated the main basilica of the complex at key points. (See Plate II.) Here he discovered that Hariulf's drawing greatly distorted the appearance of the church and particularly of the important and

controversial western end. He uncovered both the northern and southern ends of the western transept, enabling him to determine both its size and its shape. He found that in both respects it was unlike the eastern transept. Hariulf had portrayed the western transept as the mirror image of the eastern.

Bernard also uncovered the foundation walls of the atrium of Angilbert, which he determined to be coterminous with the modern pavement in front of the thirteenth century Gothic church. Of this Hariulf had given no hint whatsoever, leading architectural historians to debate the existence of an atrium at Saint-Riquier at all.¹¹ At the eastern end of the church Bernard excavated the southeastern corner and the northwestern corner of the transept arms, enabling him to determine their size and shape. He also excavated parts of the crypt. (See Plate II.) Here he found, coterminous with the thirteenth century Gothic radial chapels, a Carolingian lateral wall which marked the eastern end of Angilbert's church. Beyond that he found eleventh century Romanesque material which had been added on. This he attributed to the abbot Gerwin, who in Hariulf's own day had enlarged the crypt. This portion of the church appeared in Hariulf's drawing as a low appendage attached to the eastern apse. (See Plate I.)

Bernard also uncovered portions of a collateral structure attached to the southern length of the basilica. (See Plate III.) This he believed was the remnant of the Carolingian monastic buildings. There was no trace of the buildings in Hariulf's drawing. However, the arcade which Bernard reconstructed between the churches does recall the clois-

¹¹ See below, page 289 ff., and note 12.

ter of Hariulf, although Bernard corrects the cloister's size and shape and provides a much clearer sense of the relationship of the three churches. Bernard uncovered no trace of the arcade, but his reconstruction posits a structure 260 meters in length between the main basilica and the Mary chapel, 85 meters in length between the Mary and Benedict chapels, and 220 meters in length between the Benedict chapel and the basilica. (See Plate III.) The triangular shape of the complex which Hariulf cited appears much more clearly here than in Hariulf's own drawing; nevertheless, Bernard affirms the right-angle triangular form of which Hariulf's drawing hinted.

Let us now consider the evidence which Angilbert provided for his buildings. Of the Benedict chapel Angilbert said almost nothing. He mentioned it only to describe its altars, relics, and role in the monastic liturgy. The chapel contained three altars. Angilbert tells us that there were thirteen altars in the Mary chapel. One, in the center, was dedicated to Mary Mother of God (Sancta Maria Dei Genetrix), and was surmounted by a stone canopy. The Mary altar was in turn surrounded by twelve altars, one on each wall, each dedicated to one of the Apostles.

The most important of the churches was the basilica of the Holy Savior and Saint Richarius. Except for a new and highly significant innovation, a westwork including an atrium, a monumental western front, a vestibule, and a transept, the church was a standard basilica in plan. (See Plate II.) The worshiper entered through the atrium (paradisus), which had three portals.¹² Each of these portals contained a chapel with

¹² There has been considerable controversy over whether the basilica had an atrium. Hans Reinhardt denied that there was an atrium on two grounds: the seventeenth century drawing did not show one, and Angil-

an altar dedicated to one of the three Archangels.¹³ Given the textual evidence, it seems that the portal of the Archangel Michael was directly opposite the front of the church itself; we have no further information on the specific placement of the other portals.¹⁴

bert never expressly used the term in his writings. See "L'Eglise Carolingienne de Saint-Riquier," Mélanges offerts à René Crozet, Volume I (Poitiers, n. pub., 1966), pp. 81-92. Reinhardt felt that the archangel chapels were located high in the tribunes over the doors of the western transept. His opinion would appear to have some backing from Alois Fuchs' earlier study, Die karolingischen Westwerke, pp. 16, 31. Fuchs traced the origin of the western transept to the idea of having a chapel over the entrance at the western end of the church. Usually these chapels were dedicated to Saint Michael as the guardian of the gate.

Although Angilbert did not use the term atrium, he did use the term paradisus when referring to the portal area. Cf. Institutio VI (CCM, p. 294). This term was synonymous with atrium, as Du Cange has documented. See Glossarium VI, p. 156. Du Cange cited Angilbert's use of the term in the Institutio among other examples. Cf. The Mc Graw-Hill Dictionary of Art, Volume IV (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), p. 297. Furthermore, Angilbert stated that the altars of Michael and Gabriel were each consecrated on separate occasions from those of the basilica, and he was quite concerned to count them separately from the other altars, referring to each chapel as a separate "church": In ecclesiis sancti Salvatoris sanctique Richarii altaria fabricata XI...In ecclesiis vero sanctorum Gabrielis, Mychaelis et Raphaelis altaria III. See De perfectione III (MGH SS XV, p. 177).

Most scholars have thought that Saint-Riquier had an atrium, and the reconstructions of Durand (p. 184), Effmann (pp. 20-21), and Conant (p. 11 and Figure IIA) all included it. Cf. Helen Dickinson Baldwin, The Carolingian Abbey Church of Saint-Riquier, a master's thesis submitted to Vanderbilt University, 1970, p. 62, note 1. Bernard's excavations have confirmed the existence of the atrium.

¹³ It was the existence of these chapels and altars, mentioned by Angilbert (see the preceding note), which led Durand, Bernard, and Conant to suggest that the portals were arranged one on each side of the atrium. Another Carolingian arrangement, following Roman custom, seems to have been to place the three portals side by side on the facade of the atrium. This was the arrangement, for example, of the great gate at Lorsch. Because of the textual evidence of Angilbert regarding the chapels and altars of the atrium, I have followed Durand, Bernard, and Conant in assigning the portals to each wall. (See Plate II.) The cult of the Archangels, Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, flourished during Charlemagne's reign, promoted in particular by the Synod of Aachen in 789. See Admonitio Generalis 16 (MGH LL II, Capitularia I, p. 55).

¹⁴ See below, pp. 319 ff., and note 71.

The basilica itself was fronted by an imposing western face. It was comprised of a vestibule (vestibulum) flanked by two small lanterned towers (turris, coclea, ambulatorius).¹⁵ (Compare Effmann's reconstruction of the west elevation, Plate V.) The facade had three portals.¹⁶ Through them the worshiper entered the western transept, called aecclēsia sancti Salvatoris.

The western transept at Saint-Riquier was a new and unique structure in western architecture, and we have seen in the Introduction to this study that it has been the subject of much scholarly debate.¹⁷ We

¹⁵ Angilbert used the terms turris, cocleae, and ambulatorius interchangeably. We know that ambulatorius referred to the tower rather than to an ambulatory in the church because he spoke of pueri ascendentes et descendentes.

¹⁶ Angilbert spoke of the ostium medianum. Institutio VI (CCM, p. 294).

¹⁷ Effmann, Fuchs, and Schmidt saw the western transept as a symbol of political power and the union of Church and State under Carolingian theocratic kingship. By this interpretation the transept either held the bishop's throne and was used as his court, or the emperor's throne emphasizing the religious identity of Carolingian power. Gall and Heitz saw the western transept essentially as a monastic liturgical structure with reference only to the cultic needs of the monks. See Introduction, p. 13, note 23, pp. 21 ff., p. 24, note 45, and pp. 47-48 and note 87.

Walter Horn has cited the existence of a number of aisled double apse churches in the pre-Carolingian West, with an apse in the west as well as in the east, a style possibly originating in North Africa. Of their liturgical significance Horn said, "The counterapse became a leitmotiv of Carolingian architecture, providing a convenient sanctuary for the founding saint of the monastery who had in many instances become more important in the ritual than its patron saint, as in the eighth-century church of Saint Maurice d'Againe and Fulda, or helped to establish a close liturgical tie with Rome by instituting at the western end of the church a sanctuary that could be interpreted as an imitation of the liturgical position of the altar of Old Saint Peter's in Rome, as in the church of the Plan of Saint Gall." The first reason has interesting implications for Saint-Riquier, where the cult of the Savior became all important and the saints in general were described as "God's ornament." See below, p. 303. For the Horn reference, see "On the Selective use of Sacred Numbers," p. 365, cited below in note 22.

will discuss its liturgical role and interpretation below.¹⁸ Now let us simply note that it was a two-story structure with the chapel on the second floor. The worshipers entered through the two towers of the facade: per cocleam meridianam ascendentes ad sanctum Salvatorem perveniat.¹⁹ The altar which it contained was one of the three main altars of the monastery (along with that of Saint-Richarius and Mary Mother of God), and therefore was covered with a stone canopy.

The basilica contained three aisles: a large central nave and two lower side aisles. Hariulf's drawing indicates the use of a clerestory with roundheaded windows. The eastern transept, larger than that of the west, was dedicated to Saint Richarius. The altar of the saint, also covered with a stone canopy, stood in the square apse beyond the transept in the east. Below it lay the crypt, which contained the relics of the three great patron saints of the area: Richarius himself, and Saints Frichor and Caidoc, the Irish disciples of Saint Columban who had first converted Richarius from paganism while evangelizing the territory.

The eastern front of the basilica seems to have mirrored the western. As two narrow towers flanked the vestibule in the west, so two flanked the apse in the east. In addition, both the eastern and western transepts were surmounted by a large tower with a three-tiered lantern.²⁰ Each end, then, was capped by three towers, the large and impos-

¹⁸ See pp. 309 ff., 329 ff.

¹⁹ Institutio VI (CCM, p. 294).

²⁰ Cf. Virginia Jansen, "Round or Square? The Axial Towers of the Abbey Church of Saint-Riquier," Gesta 21, number 2 (1982): pp. 83-90, who suggests plausibly that the two great towers were square. As Jansen

ing central tower surrounded by the two small cocleae. We have no evidence of exterior sculptural decoration. Hariulf's drawing refers only to structural elements, windows punctuating the wall surface, which on the transept arms were arranged in three rows of three.²¹

The basilica seems to have been constructed on a modular pattern similar to that which Walter Horn discovered at Saint Gall, and Horn cites Saint-Riquier as the first Carolingian modular church.²² According to Horn, modularity in Carolingian architecture meant that churches were organized spatially on the basis of square dimensions, and that the size of the square transept crossing was the key element from which numerically all other proportions in the church were developed. In other words, the size of the square transept crossing established a module from which the other proportions of the church, for the nave, the aisles, and the apse could be calculated. The square transept crossing was a Carolingian innovation.²³ The columns in the naves of these

herself says, without further archeological excavation the issue must remain inconclusive.

²¹ Effmann's elevation of the west end posits the same window arrangement for the vestibule. Although there is no direct evidence from Hariulf, the arrangement seems likely given the symmetry both with the transepts and with the three main portals of the west facade. (Compare Plates V and I.)

²² Walter Horn and Ernest Born, The Plan of Saint Gall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979). For a summary of the findings, see "On the Selective Use of Sacred Numbers and the Creation in Carolingian Architecture of a new Aesthetic based on Modular Concepts," Viator 6 (1975): 351-390. For a full explanation of the definition and aesthetic of modularity see the accompanying articles (which form, appropriately, a triad), on Carolingian modular aesthetics in literature and in music: Charles W. Jones, "Carolingian Aesthetics: Why Modular Verse?," pp. 309-340, and Richard L. Crocker, "The Early Frankish Sequence: A New Musical Form," pp. 341-350.

²³ Cf. Horn, "Selective Use," p. 370.

churches became the corners, then, of superordinated modules.

We do not have exact dimensions for Angilbert's basilica.²⁴ The module of the transept crossing, according to the scale Bernard has provided, was ten meters by ten meters, or thirty by thirty Carolingian feet.²⁵ Therefore, at Saint-Riquier the basilica seems to have been constructed of modules based on the transept crossing. These proportions repeat the number three and its multiples. The eastern transept was made up of three modules of ten by ten meters, thirty by thirty Carolingian feet. The chapel of the western transept also seems to have been ten by ten meters, thirty by thirty Carolingian feet. If, as both Walter Horn and Irmgard Achter have suggested, we can assume a square grid pattern for the basilica, the nave would in theory consist of three modules of ten by ten meters, or thirty by thirty Carolingian feet. The total length of the nave would be thirty meters, or ninety Carolingian feet, long, and ten meters, or thirty Carolingian feet, wide. Bernard projected a nave of thirty-eight meters based upon the length of the nave and the placement of the supporting pillars in the current thirteenth-century church. This would yield a total length of 112 Carolin-

²⁴ Bernard's excavations of the basilica have been partial. He has excavated the ends of the westwork, the crypt and the eastern apsidal area. From the measurements gathered here, he has projected other measurements for the church. (See Plates II and VI.)

²⁵ The Carolingian foot as computed by Walter Horn was 33.37 centimeters. I have reached these dimensions for Saint-Riquier by using the dimensions recorded in meters by Bernard, multiplying by 100 to obtain the measurements in centimeters, and dividing by 33.37 to obtain the measurement in Carolingian feet. Prior to Bernard's excavations, Irmgard Achter attempted to reconstruct the floorplan of Saint-Riquier on a square-dimensioned modular pattern. See "Zur Rekonstruktion der karolingischen Klosterkirche Centula," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 19 (1956): 133-154. No such work has been attempted since the excavations.

gian feet, or three modules of thirty by thirty-seven Carolingian feet. Whether Angilbert intended to evoke the symbolic meaning of the number thirty-seven, which fit in, as we shall see, with his iconographical program, or whether Saint-Riquier as a very early example of Carolingian modular architecture was not a completely consistent program is a matter of speculation. At any rate, these numbers, as multiples of three, had specific trinitarian symbolic significance, which we will examine below. Just as Angilbert had structured his De Conversione Saxonum years before on the number three, so now he built threes into the very infrastructure of his basilica.²⁶

The basilica contained four reliefs and eleven altars which were the focal points both of the liturgical celebrations and of the decoration of the church. We have little information on them individually, and no archeological evidence, but taken together they reveal a great deal about the interior arrangement of the church and about Angilbert's theological program.

First let us consider the reliefs. (See Plate VII.) Angilbert described them by their subjects: the Nativitas (Nativity), the Passio (Passion), the Resurrectio (Resurrection), and the Ascensio (Ascension).²⁷ Angilbert frequently described the Nativity as standing at the

²⁶ Cf. Chapter V, pp. 205 ff.

²⁷ The only information about the material from which the reliefs were made comes from Ancher's eleventh-century Vita Angilberti. Ancher described the scenes as tabulae mirifico opere ex gipso figuratae et auro musivo aliisque pretiosis coloribus pulcherrime compositae sunt. Thus, they seem to have been of stucco and polychrome, with gold mosaic probably as the background. Cf. Lot, p. 127, Conant, Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, pp. 11-13. Much Carolingian interior decor was of stucco work. Compare the churches of Germigny-des-Prés, built by Theodulf of Orleans in the late eighth century, and San Benedetto at

entrance of the church.²⁸ The Passion seems to have stood over the central nave of the church at the entrance to the eastern transept.²⁹ The Resurrection and the Ascension are harder to locate, but the clearest view comes from Angilbert's description of the Office of the Dead.³⁰ He tells us that after Vespers (horis Vespertinis), Matins (Nocturnos), and Lauds (Matutines), the monks divided into two choirs, one processing to pray at the Resurrection, the other at the Ascension. Angilbert's text provides us with so much information that it is worth quoting at length.

At all Vespers celebrated in the normal way, when everything has been completed at Saint Richarius, let the brothers proceed by singing psalms up to the holy Passion. When the prayer has been completed, let the choirs be divided into two, of which one proceeds to the holy Resurrection, the other to the holy Ascension. Then when the prayer has been done, let one choir come to (the altar of) Saint John, the other to Saint Martin. And then afterwards (proceeding) through Saint Stephen and Saint Lawrence and the other altars by singing and praying, let them come together at the (altar of) the holy Cross...

But when Vespers and Matins shall have been sung at the Holy Savior, then let one choir descend to the holy Resurrection, the other to the holy Ascension, and there, praying, let them just as above process singing to Saint John and Saint Martin; when the prayer has been completed, let them enter here and there through the arches of the middle of the church and let them pray at the holy Passion. Thence let them proceed to Saint Richarius, where, when the prayers have been said, they shall divide themselves again just as before, and shall come through Saint Stephen and Saint Lawrence,

Melles, built in the early ninth century. The famous church of Santa Maria in Valle, in Cividale, Paulinus of Aquileia's territory, still contains stucco figure sculptures on trabes above the door, which date from the late eighth century. According to Donald Bullough, most extant Carolingian stucco work is to be found in northern Italy and the Alps. See The Age of Charlemagne, pp. 133, 155, and Plate 7.

²⁸ Institutio VI (CCM, p. 294), IX (pp. 296, 299), XI (p. 300), and XIV (p. 301).

²⁹ Institutio I (CCM, pp. 292-293), and XVII (pp. 302-303).

³⁰ Institutio XVI, XVII (CCM, pp. 301-303). Edmund Bishop describes this as the first evidence of the Office of the Dead. See "Spanish Symptoms," Liturgica Historica, p. 190.

singing and praying, up to the holy Cross...³¹

This is a key text which gives us insight into the placement of the reliefs. We may note several things. First, as these would have been two choirs of 150 monks each, they would have needed a fairly large space.³² Since the side aisles were narrow, it is unlikely that they would have been the site of any ritual long in duration.

Then, we must consider the purpose of the reliefs. Lehmann has claimed that in the West these subjects were unique to Saint-Riquier at this early period, and I have not found evidence of others.³³ These were four representations from the life of Christ which bore significantly

³¹ Institutio XVII (CCM, p. 302: Omnibus horis uespertinis more solito celebratis quando ad sanctum Richarium expleuerint omnia, pergant fratres psallendo usque ad sanctam Passionem. Ubi oratione facta in duos diuidantur choros, quorum unus pergat ad sanctam Resurrectionem, alter ad sanctam Ascensionem. Deinde oratione peracta veniat unus chorus ad sanctum Iohannem, alter ad sanctum Martinum. Et post exinde per sanctum Stephanum et sanctum Laurentium ceteraque altaria psallendo et orando coniungant se ad sanctam Crucem...

Cum enim Uesperos et Matutinos ad sanctum Saluatorem cantauerint, tunc descendat unus chorus ad sanctam Resurrectionem, alter ad sanctam Ascensionem, ibique orantes uadant similiter ut supra canendo usque ad sanctum Iohannem et sanctum Martinum; ubi oratione facta ingrediantur hinc et inde per arcus mediae aecclesiae et orent ad sanctam Passionem. Inde ad sanctum Richarium perueniant, ubi oratione finita diuidant se iterum sicut ante fuerant, et ueniant per sanctum Stephanum et sanctum Laurentium psallendo et orando usque ad sanctam Crucem...

³² For the numbers of monks in the choirs, see below, p. 351. This would seem to eliminate Lehmann's suggestion that the two sculptures stood over the arches (bogen) of the aisles, since archeological evidence reveals that the small size of the side aisles would have made prolonged chanting cumbersome at best.

³³ While there were similar representations in fresco at the church of San Clemente in Rome, they date from the late ninth century (c. 885), and therefore postdate Angilbert's sculptures. Several remarkable series of fresco cycles of the life of Christ are extant which date from the mid-ninth century at Malles, Mustair, and Auxerre. Cf. Jean Hubert, Carolingian Renaissance, pp. 5-11, and Andre Grabar, Early Medieval Painting from the Fourth to the Eleventh Century, trans. Stuart Gilbert (New York: Skira, 1957), passim.

upon the doctrinal proofs which Angilbert was trying to make. As we have seen, the scriptural accounts of the Incarnation, Crucifixion, and Resurrection were particularly important in the theological arguments forwarded by the Carolingians. We shall examine this further below, when we consider as a whole the theological message of the complex.³⁴ But for now let us note a chapter of the Admonitio Generalis, Charlemagne's capitulary of 789, which set out his royal and religious cultural program. In Chapter 81 the king stated:

In the same way must be preached how the Son of God became Incarnate by the Holy Spirit and from Mary ever virgin, for the salvation and restoration of humankind, suffered, was buried, and arose on the third day, and ascended into heaven; and how he will come again in divine majesty to judge all men according to their own merits; and how the impious will be sent into the eternal fire with the devil because of their sins, and the just into eternal life with Christ and his holy angels.³⁵

Here in Angilbert's reliefs were the subjects to be preached per aecclesias to all of the faithful. Significantly enough, the four subjects chosen were those by which Angilbert could argue the christological dogma of the God-man, the Nativity, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension, rather than the Last Judgement also described here. We might expect, then, that the Resurrection and Ascension reliefs were located where all of the faithful could see them when they attended liturgies at

³⁴ See p. 330.

³⁵ MGH LL II, Capit I, p. 66: Item praedicandum est, quomodo Dei filius incarnatus est de spiritu sancto et ex Maria semper virgine pro salute et reparatione humani generis, passus, sepultus, et tertia die resurrexit, et ascendit in celis; et quomodo iterum venturus sit in maiestate divina iudicare omnes homines secundum merita propria; et quomodo impii propter scelera sua cum diabulo in ignem aeternum mittentur, et iusti cum Christo et sanctis angelis suis in vitam aeternam. We may note Angilbert's specific choice of the four key events which were prescribed in the Admonitio Generalis.

the monasteries, that is, over the side arches of the nave, before the Passion and toward the center of the church. (See Plate VII.)

From the same text we can posit the locations of the altars. We have three clues. First, we know that the altars of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Martin, of Stephen and Lawrence, and of Quintin and Maurice were paired in liturgies where the choirs divided in two. They were, therefore, on opposite sides of the church.³⁶ In the De perfectione Angilbert listed the altars in the following order: the Holy Savior and Saint Riquier (the two main altars which we know were at the West and East ends respectively), Saint Peter, John the Baptist, Stephen, Quintin, the Holy Cross, Denis, Maurice (which we would expect to stand near the portal of Saint Maurice), Lawrence (paired with its opposite Stephen), and Martin (paired with its opposite John the Baptist). Given the pairings, I would suggest that Angilbert has here listed the altars, starting with John, in, as it were, a counter-clockwise order.

Second, the circuit described above, and especially the alternative circuit for liturgies celebrated in the chapel of the Holy Savior, suggests that the altars of John the Baptist and Martin were set apart from the others. The monks processed from the Ascension and Resurrection to these two altars while they prayed. They then came together at the Passion, where they prayed, and processed to the altar of Saint Richarius to pray again. Only then did they separate into two choirs once again, and go to the altars of Stephen, Lawrence, and the others. The order of procession and the demands of space needed for 150 monks to chant at length imply that the altars of the Baptist and Saint Martin

³⁶ Cf. Institutio VII (CCM, pp. 294-295).

were located in the eastern transept arms, whereas the other altars of Stephen, Lawrence, Quintin, and Maurice, only briefly visited, were in the narrow side aisles.³⁷

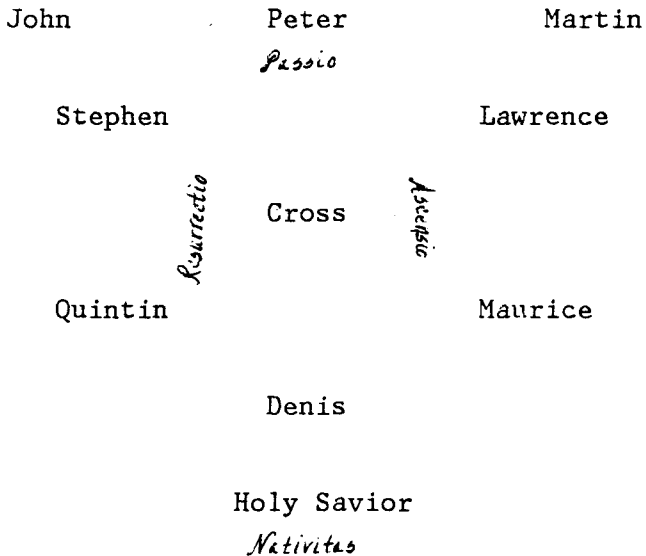
Third was the importance of the altar of the Holy Cross, where the two processing choirs repeatedly came together to pray and complete their circuits. I will argue that, given Angilbert's theological interest, it most likely stood at the center of the nave, between the Resurrection and the Ascension.³⁸

Thus, I would suggest the following arrangement of the altars, based on an east-west axis (compare Plate VI):

³⁷ Cf. Edgar Lehmann, "Die Anordnung der Altäre in Klosterkirche zu Centula," in Braunfels, editor, Karl der Grosse III, pp. 374-383.

³⁸ See below, p. 330.

Saint Richarius



Besides these liturgical and ornamental focal points, we know from Angilbert's inventory of the treasure of the church that the basilica was sumptuously decorated. Charlemagne, the royal family, and the royal household provided statues, furniture, and liturgical accoutrements of the most elegant sort.

And when the altars of the aforementioned saints had been arranged for veneration and had been worthily ornamented, by our meagerness, with their relics...we began to consider with diligent care how we had even been able to decorate them, to the praise and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ and on behalf of the veneration of all of the saints in whose honor they were consecrated, from the gifts of God and the largesse of my great lord Charles and of his most noble children and the rest of his good freemen, with works in gold, silver, and gems which they had collected for me; and how we had been able, where there were appropriate places, to set canopies above these altars as...we were zealous to do.³⁹

³⁹ De perfectione III (MGH SS XV, p. 177): Cunque prescriptorum sanctorum venerationi altaria atque de eorum reliquiis venerabiliter, ut supra legitur, a nostra parvitate essent ornata, diligenti cura tractare cepimus, qualiter ea ad laudem et gloriam domini nostri Ihesu christi, ob venerationem sanctorum omnium in quorum honore sunt consecrata, de donis Dei et largitate magni domini mei Caroli eiusque nobilissimae

The columns of the canopy over the altar of Saint Richarius were made of gold and silver. The basilica's two lecterns were of gold, silver, and marble. The treasury contained seventeen gold and silver crosses, two gold crowns, six silver lamps, two gold candelabra. There were two large gold chalices with their patens, a large carved silver chalice and paten, and twelve other silver chalices and patens. There were six statues of bronze and one of ivory. There were countless vestments of the finest fabrics, and more than two hundred liturgical books, and plurima ornamenta etiam insuper.⁴⁰ There is no evidence of any per-

prolis vel reliquorum bonorum liberorum michi ab illis collatis opere fabrili in auro, argento et gemmis ornare etiam, et ubi loca convenientia existerent, desuper ciboria ponere potuissemus, sicut, prout eodem Domino cooperante valuimus, facere studuimus.

⁴⁰ De perfectione III (MGH SS XV, p. 177): Id sunt: in aecclesia sancti Salvatoris et sancti Richarii altaria fabricata 11 et ciboria duo, lectoria auro, argento et marmoribus parata duo. In ecclesia sanctae Dei genitricis mariae et sanctorum apostolorum altaria fabricata 13, ciborium 1 et lectorium optime paratum 1. In aecclesia sancti Benedicti altaria parata 3. In ecclesiis vero sanctorum angelorum Gabrielis, Mychaelis et Raphaelis altaria 3. Quae fiunt simul altaria 30, ciboria 3 et lectoria 3. Nam de aliis vasis et suppellectilibus habentur cruces auro argentoque paratae 17; coronae aureae 2; lampades argenteae 6, cuprinae auro argentoque decoratae 12; poma aurea 3; calices aurei magni cum patenis 2. Item calix unus magnus aureus cum imaginibus simul cum patena sua. Alii calices argentei 12 cum suis patenis. Offertoria argentea 10. Ad caput sancti Richarii tabula auro et argento parata 1, ostia maiora auro et argento parata 2, alia minora 2, alia ostiola similiter parata 2. Balteus aureus 1. Altramentarium optimum argenteum auro paratum 1; cultellus auro et margaritis paratus 1. Codex eburneus auro, argento et gemmis optime paratus. Ponga auro parata 1. Incensaria argentea auro parata 4. Hanappi argentei superaurati 13. Conca argentea maior cum imaginibus argenteis 1. Bocularis argenteus 1. Urcei argentei cum aquamanilibus suis 2. Canna argentea 1, eburnea 1. Situle argenteae 2. Suiones argentei duo. Clavis aurea 1. Schilla argentea 1. Corone argenteae cum luminibus 13. Columnae coram altare sancti Richarii auro et argento paratae 6. Trabes minores cum arcubus suis argento paratae 3. Cloccaria auro parata 3. Cloccae opeimae 15, cum earum circulis 15. Scillae 3. Imagines aeneae 6, eburnea 1. Candelabra auro parata 2. Ostia auro parata 7. Insuper donavimus ibi pallia opeima 78; cappas 200; dalmaticas sericas 24; albas Romanas cum amictis suis auro paratas 6; albas lineas 260; stolas auro paratas 5;

manent or large-scale architectural ornament in the basilica beyond the rich movable treasure detailed above and the four reliefs. Of the fresco or stucco decoration so characteristic of other Carolingian churches there is no trace in Angilbert's writings. Hariulf described substantial wealth. He wrote, however, at the end of the eleventh century, when the church had been despoiled and partially destroyed more than once.⁴¹ Since Angilbert always described the treasure in detail when it was fabricated in a luxury material such as gold, silver, or marble, it is unlikely that he would not mention further luxury decoration, particularly of a large scale. Given Angilbert's evidence, we can say nothing more about the interior appearance of the basilica.

In the testimony of Angilbert's own text, however, the true ornament of the church was the saints whose relics lay under its altars and in its niches. Put into gold and jeweled reliquaries ad ornandas easdem sanctae Dei aecclesias, they inspired devotion to the Trinity: magno

fanones de pallio aureo paratos 10; cussinos de pallio 5; saga de pallio 5; casulas de pallio 30, de purpura 10, de storace 6, de pisce 1, de platta 15, de cendato 5.

De Libris. Evangelium auro scriptum cum tabulis argenteis, auro et lapidibus preciosis mirifice paratum 1. Aliud evangelium plenarium 1. De aliis libris volumina 200.

Insuper etiam plurima ornamenta in fabricaturis et in diversis utilitatibus, in plumbo, vitro, marmore, seu cetera instrumenta quae longum fuit numerare prolixiusque scribere...

The claim of 78 pallia for a monastery seems extraordinary. The evangulary mentioned as the first of the books is probably Abbeville Codex 5.

⁴¹ Hariulf himself described the burning of the church during the third quarter of the ninth century by the "barbarian invader" Guaramund: Denique ecclesiam splendidissimam beati Richarii quae pro sui magnitudine vel firmitate de jice non poterat, admoto igne succenderunt, sublati prius omnibus, quae discendentibus fratribus ex supellectili remanserant ecclesiae. Chronicon Centulense III. xx (Lot, pp. 142-143). We must also remember Evergate's caveat about Hariulf's manipulation of his sources.

desiderio nimioque amoris ardore sumus accensi.

These having been collected...honorably and fittingly in the name of the holy Trinity, we have with great diligence prepared a principal reliquary decorated with gold and gems, in which we have placed part of the above-mentioned relics, which we have been eager to place, with those for the veneration of the holy saints whose relics were seen to be collected in it under the crypt of the Holy Savior. Moreover, we have taken care to divide the relics of the other saints which are noted above into thirteen other smaller reliquaries decorated most handsomely with gold and silver and precious gems, which we merited to collect from the oft-mentioned venerable fathers with these same relics, Lord granting; and we have placed them on the beam which we have established on the arch in front of the altar of Saint Richarius Richarius, so that in every corner in this holy place it will be fitting that the praise of God and the veneration of all of his saints always be adored, worshiped, and venerated.⁴²

The list of saints was remarkable: Mary, the Apostles, the most heroic martyrs, the Popes, and above all, Christ himself. Angilbert's careful description of the worthy decoration of the relics recalls to mind those lines from the Prologue to the Lex Salica which we saw in Chapter II:⁴³

And after the recognition of baptism,
The Franks adorned gold and precious jewels
over the bodies of the holy martyrs, whom the
Romans had burned with fire or maimed by the
sword, or had thrown to the beasts to tear.

⁴² De perfectione II (MGH SS XV, p. 176): His ita sicut paulo superius scriptum est honorifice decenterque reconditis in nomine sanctae Trinitatis, cum multa diligentia preparavimus capsam maiorem auro et gemmis ornatam, in qua posuimus partem supra scriptarum r reliquiarum, quam cum ipsis ob venerationem illorum sanctorum quorum reliquie in ea recondi videbantur subtus criptam sancti Salvatoris ponere studuimus. Nam ceterorum sanctorum reliquias que supra leguntur conscriptae per alias 13 capsas minores auro argentoque vel gemmis preciosis honestissime paratas, quas a sepe dictis venerabilibus patribus cum eisdem reliquiis, donante Domino, adipisci meruimus, dividere atque super trabem, quam in arcu coram altare beati Richarii statuimus, ponere curavimus, qualiter in omnibus locis sicut dignum est laus Dei et veneratio omnium sanctorum eius in hoc sancto loco semper adoretur, colatur atque veneretur.

⁴³ See above, page 107 and note 44.

At Saint-Riquier veneration and ornamentation of the relics of the saints was proof of true Frankish piety.

In the eleven altars of the basilica, the arrangement of the relics under the altars varied, corresponding to theme or logical association. For example, under the altar of the Holy Savior lay relics of Jesus and the Holy Innocents. Under the altar of Peter lay his relics with those of Saint Paul, his fellow Apostle, and Saint Clement, one of the earliest Popes and martyrs. The altar of Saint Denis contained his relics as well as those of his disciples Rusticus and Eleutherius, whereas the altar of Saint Martin contained relics both of Martin and of other Gallican saints.

In the altars of the other churches, however, the arrangement was by number. In fact, it was by trinitarian number. The central altar of the Mary chapel contained her relics and those of nine great virgin martyrs. Each of the other twelve altars, which were dedicated to the Apostles, contained their relics and those of two other saints. They were arranged, then, three by three. Similarly, the three altars of the chapel of Saint Benedict each contained the relics of three saints, three times three. Again we see Angilbert's concern with structuring everything in the physical space of the monastery around the number three.

But it was not only in the physical arrangement of the monastery that Angilbert wanted the perpetual worship of the Trinity to be carried out. It occurred in aedificiis marmoreis et in ceteris ornamentis, etiam in laudibus dei, in doctrinis diversis et canticis spirituali-

bus.⁴⁴ The liturgy too was integral. He tells us that on account of the veneration of the holy Trinity (quapropter ob veneratione sanctae Trinitatis), he established three hundred monks in the monastery, a number which was to be kept constant for the sake of balance:⁴⁵ One hundred boys also lived and worshiped at the monastery in scolam.

The daily liturgy consisted of the office, masses, and a procession with prayers between the three churches of the complex. For the office, which was the most important part of the liturgy, the monks and scolae divided into three equal choirs of one hundred monks and thirty-three scolae (the choir of the Holy Savior containing thirty-four boys). Angilbert stated that the numbers of the choirs were to be kept constant, probably for the sake of balance:

⁴⁴ Institutio I (CCM, p. 291).

⁴⁵ Institutio I (CCM, p. 291): Quapropter trecentos monachos in hoc sancto loco regulariter victuros auxiliante deo constituimus optantes et ordinantes ut, si non plus, istius numeri congregatio in perpetuum habeatur.

This particular text comes from the Hariulf version of the Institutio, which does not contain the reference to the veneration of the Trinity. That phrase comes from the Vatican manuscript, which is fragmentary, and therefore makes no mention of the number of monks. Theodore Evergates has challenged the number of monks on the basis that it is only Hariulf's text which makes the claim. He believed that Hariulf, interested in augmenting the grandeur of the Carolingian monastery, added this section to the text of the Institutio which he was copying. See "Historiography and Sociology in Early Feudal Society: the Case of Hariulf and the Milites of Saint-Riquier," Viator 6 (1975): 35-49. However, while Saint-Riquier may have been large for its time, it was by no means unique. Adalhard's Corvey had 350 monks; Irminon's Saint-Germain-des-Pres had 212; and Aniane under Saint Benedict had 300 monks. In the case of Saint-Riquier the numbers 300 and 100 took on symbolic significance. Cf. Dom Ursmer Berlière, "Le nombre des moines dans les anciens monastères," Revue Bénédictine 41 (1929): 19ff, a study which lists the available population figures for monasteries at various times, but which is based on secondary sources, and Hilpisch, p. 26.

Indeed, in any chorus it shall always be observed that an equal number of priests and deacons and the remaining holy orders be maintained. No less, let a division by equal measure of cantors and lectors be ordered, so that one choir not be overpowered by another.⁴⁶

Each office took place at the basilica of the Holy Savior and Saint Richarius, where one choir stood at the altar of Saint Richarius, one at the altar of the Holy Savior, and one before the sculpture of the Passion. They sang the Psalms in commune simul, "together in common on behalf of Charlemagne and the stability of his kingdom," pro salute gloriosi domini mei Augusti Karoli proque regni eius stabilitate.⁴⁷ After each office had been completed, a third part of each choir left the basilica to attend to their own needs and those of the monastery, whence they would return for the celebration of the next office in commune simul.⁴⁸ In the meantime, the other two choirs remained in the basilica to chant the Psalms. Thus, Saint-Riquier was a laus perennis cloister.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Institutio I (CCM, p. 292): In uno quoque etiam choro id iugiter observetur, ut sacerdotum ac levitarum reliquorumque sacrorum ordinum aequalis numerum teneatur. Cantorum nihilominus et lectorum aequali mensura divisio ordinetur, qualiter chorus a choro invicem non gravetur.

⁴⁷ Institutio I (CCM, p. 292).

⁴⁸ Institutio I (CCM, p. 292): Ea autem ratione ipsi chori tres in divinis laudibus personabunt, ut omnes horas canonicas in commune simul omnes decantent; quibus decenter expletis uniuscuiusque chori pars tertia ecclesiam exeat, et corporeis necessitatibus vel aliis utilitatibus ad tempus inserviat, certo temporis spatio interveniente ad divinae laudis munia celebranda denuo redeunt.

⁴⁹ Cf. Gindele, "Laus-Perennis-Kloster," Revue Bénédictine 69 (1959): 33-48.

After the morning office (Lauds) and after Vespers in the evening, all of the members of the choirs lined up ordinabiliter in front of the Passion. Ten cantors from the choirs remained there while the rest, singing, processed through the atrium, the Portal of Saint Gabriel, and the western part of the cloister to the Mary chapel. There they prayed the seasonal prayers. They then continued on to the Benedict chapel in the east, and returned through the tecta to the Portal of Saint Maurice at the basilica, which Angilbert's text mentioned and which probably stood near the altar of Saint Maurice, where they again formed the three choirs.⁵⁰

Two solemn masses were celebrated by the entire community, one in the morning and one at midday, on behalf of Pope Hadrian and of Charlemagne, his wife, and his children. In addition, at least thirty brothers celebrated thirty masses at the thirty altars of the churches.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Institutio I (CCM, pp. 292-293): Matutinali etenim seu vespertinali officio consummato mox omnes chori ordinabiliter se ante Passionem congregent decem taneum psalmistis unicuique choro remanentibus, et sic per portam sancti Gabrielis ac per salam domni abbatis ambulando per occidentalem claustrum regionem cantando veniant ad sanctam Mariam, ubi oratione pro temporis ratione deposita, remeando veniant ad sanctum Benedictum in orientali parte claustrum situm; inde per gradus arcuum intrent ad sanctum Mauricium, sicque intrantes sancti Richarii basilicam restituantur suis choris.

⁵¹ Institutio I (CCM, p. 293): Illud etiam observari praecipua devotione mandamus, ut nulla dies praetereat absque sacrarum missarum decantatione, videlicet ut, si non plus, vel triginta a fratribus diversorum chororum per diversa altaria missae quotidie agantur exceptis illis duabus de conventu, quae mane et meridie sollempnissime celebrantur, in quibus quotidie memoria sanctissimi papae Adriani et gloriosi domini mei Augusti Karoli, coniugis et prolis eius teneatur; qualiter iuxta verbum apostoli, 'pro regibus et omnibus qui in sublimitate sunt' constituti, salvatori deo nostro obsecrationum vel orationum gratias iugiter persolvamus.

Thus the daily celebration of the office and the masses involved the entire three church complex and all 300 monks in a liturgical ritual which repeatedly called to mind trinitarian imagery: three choirs processing through a triangular arcade to three churches, and thirty priests singing thirty masses at thirty altars.

The special festal liturgies at Saint-Riquier took place in locations related quite specifically to the day. Most important were the Easter feasts, which centered liturgically on the Church of the Holy Savior. On Palm Sunday, the vigil offices were sung as usual in the basilica. But the monks sang the office of Tierce at the Mary chapel, where they then distributed palms and branches. The monks went out to the local people who had gathered in via monasterii, and walked with them una cum populo to the atrium, entering through the Portal of Saint Michael. The entire assembly stopped before the Nativity, where they said prayers, and then, entering through the central portal, they climbed the south tower to the Church of the Holy Savior where mass was sung in the presence of all.⁵²

⁵² Given the size of the Holy Savior chapel, it seems probable that the monks stood in the chapel itself, while the people remained below in the nave, where they could hear the Mass being sung. This text and the references to the normal antiphonal singing of the offices imply a balcony for the upper chapel which would enable those in other parts of the church to hear the liturgy.

Institutio VI (CCM, p. 294): Dominica Palmarum omne uespertinum et nocturnum officium in ecclesia sancti Saluatoris et Sancti Richarii celebretur. Post capitulum uero procedentes ueniant ad sanctam Mariam, ubi Tertia cantata et ramis ac palmis acceptis per uiam monasterii una cum populo accedentes ad portam beati archangeli Michaelis paradisum ingrediantur et coram sancta Natiuitate oratione facta per ostium medianum et per cocleam meridianam ascendentes ad sanctum Saluatorem perueniant, ubi honore condigno ab illis missa celebretur.

On Good Friday the monks and boys were divided into four choirs for the celebration of solemn prayers and the adoration of the Cross in the basilica. One choir, of brothers, stood before the altar of the Holy Cross. A second, of boys, stood in the east at the throne of Saint Richarius. Of the third we have no record; the fourth stood at the altar of the Holy Savior.

The ceremony of adoration involved three crosses. One cross stood at the altar of the Cross, to be adored by the choir of monks standing there, who sang Ecce lignum crucis. The second cross stood before the altar of Saint Quintin, to be adored by the the common people (populus vulgaris). The third cross stood before the altar of Saint Maurice to be adored by the boys, who came in three choirs. At the end of the special liturgy, the usual three choirs sang the night office.

The liturgies for Holy Saturday were confined to the monks and boys alone. The office took place entirely in the Church of Saint Richarius. After Vespers had been completed, the choirs sang the litany of saints and prayers ad fontes, that is, at the baptismal fonts.⁵³ Then, while the scola cantorum went up to the church of the Holy Savior to sing the office, the other ministers prepared for the mass, which they too celebrated in the church of the Savior. This mass included three sets of litanies: those repeated seven times, those repeated five times, and those repeated three times. Finally, Compline and Matins

⁵³ Angilbert carefully prescribed a litany comprised of centum triginta quinque nomina sanctorum excepto ordine angelorum, patriarcharum et prophetarum. See Institutio VIII (CCM, p. 295). Except for this text, there is no evidence of the baptismal fonts or their placement in the basilica. The inclusion of fonts indicates the use of this church as a parish church, since the Vigil Mass of Holy Saturday was the traditional time of baptizing new Christians.

were celebrated by the entire company of three choirs at the church of the Savior.⁵⁴

On Easter itself, the monks celebrated a special procession, mass, and office.⁵⁵ The townspeople (populus) attended the mass at the church of the Holy Savior, and participated in communion with the brothers.⁵⁶ The common worship of the entire community of believers was paramount here, as Angilbert repeatedly affirmed:

But while the brothers and the rest of the clergy receive communion from that priest who shall have sung the mass on that day, let two other priests with two deacons and subdeacons give communion, one to the men, the other to the women in that same church, so that the clergy and the people, having received communion at the same time, can likewise hear the benediction or the completion of the mass. When this is finished, let them exit at the same time, praising God and blessing the Lord.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Institutio VIII (CCM, p. 295): In Sancto etenim Sabbato omne officium, quod fieri debet antequam perueniatur ad fontes, ad sanctum Richarium impleatur. Hoc autem facto descendant ad fontes laetaniam ad faciendam, illam tamen, in qua continentur centum triginta quinque nomina sanctorum excepto ordine angelorum, patriarcharum et prophetarum atque deprecationes diuersas, quae quarta in scripto nostro, in quo reliquae continentur, habetur. Haec enim semel tantum dicatur. Ibi que omnia, quae ad hanc conueniunt rationem peracta, scola cantorum ascendat ad sanctum Saluatorem officium suum ad perficiendum. Ceteri vero ministri ad ea, quae tunc expediunt, agenda reuertantur in secretarium, unde iterum preparati procedant ad sanctum Saluatorem ibique missam condigne perficiant. Ad quam missam illa letania fiat primum septenaria, quae in eodem scripto prima habetur. Deinde quinary, quae secunda ibi continentur. Nouissime autem ternaria, quae illic tertia constare uidetur. Eadem uero nocte Nocturni et Matutini eo ordine, ut supra scriptum est, per tres choros in sancto Saluatore peragantur.

⁵⁵ Angilbert prescribes in his Easter description only that all take place ut in Natiuitate Domini omnia peragantur. The texts for Christmas are no longer extant. Institutio VIII (CCM, p. 295).

⁵⁶ Evidently it was rare that anyone receive communion, as Angilbert makes special mention of his decision to allow it on Easter and Christmas. Institutio VIII (CCM, p. 296): Ordinaui enim, ut in die sanctissimo Paschae et in Natiuitate Domini fratres et ceteri omnes, qui in ecclesia sancti Saluatoris ad missam audiendam steterint in eadem ecclesia communionem percipiant.

Angilbert specified this despite the fact that there were others in the rest of the basilica who received communion only later.⁵⁸

So went the Holy Week liturgy. We do not have the texts for the feast of Christmas, but from the references in the Paschal celebration, we know that they must have been very similar to those of Easter. Thus, on the two greatest feasts of the liturgical year, the birth and the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, the ritual celebration brought together the "entire people of the faithful" for worship. On Palm Sunday they celebrated mass in the western transept, the church of the Holy Savior. On Good Friday they celebrated the adoration of the Cross in the central nave of the basilica, between the reliefs of the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the Passion. On Easter, as at Christmas, they celebrated mass with communion simul in the church of the Holy Savior. The two great and central redemptive mysteries of Christ as God-man, the Incarnation and the Passion, were celebrated in a highly concentrated and symbolic ritual space.⁵⁹ That ritual space, dedicated to the Holy Savior, expressed concretely in stone the biblical and christo-

⁵⁷ Institutio VIII (CCM, p. 296): Dum uero fratres uel reliqui clerici ab illo sacerdote, qui ipsa die missam cantauerit, communicantur, sint duo sacerdotes alii cum duobus diaconibus atque subdiaconibus, quorum unus viros, alter in eadem aeclesia communicet mulieres, ut clerus et populus simul communicati benedictionem siue completionem missae pariter possint audire. Qua finita laudantes deum et benedicentes dominum simul egrediantur.

⁵⁸ Hoc autem facto remaneant iam dicti sacerdotes duo, ex quibus unus ad unum ostium, alter ad alterum, pueros ex ambulatoriis descendentes communicent. Et cum haec omnia adimpleta fuerint, descendat unus ex una parte, alter ex altera, cum eorum ministris, et sic ad extremum stantes gradum communicent illos, qui ad cetera supra nominata loca communicare non occurrerint. Institutio VIII (CCM, p. 296).

⁵⁹ Similarly, the mass of the feast of the Ascension took place in the church of the Holy Savior. Institutio X (CCM, p. 300).

logical events being celebrated.

The Mary church was the liturgical setting of other feasts. As we have seen, the Carolingians, and especially Paulinus of Aquileia, placed a new importance upon Mary in the development of their christological argument against the Adoptionists.⁶⁰ She was the Mother of God, Theotokos, in the traditional title of the Council of Ephesus, Dei Genetrix in Carolingian parlance. Her role was critical in the Incarnation, and therefore in the whole of salvation history. At the Annunciation, when the Holy Spirit "overshadowed" her, the Word became flesh in her womb.⁶¹ She was from that moment the true Mother of God, as well as the true mother of the human Jesus. The Adoptionists had argued that Mary was truly the mother only of the man Jesus. Later, when the Word adopted the flesh at the Baptism of Jesus, and Jesus himself became Deus nuncupativus, "God by appellation," Mary too became Dei Genetrix nuncupativa, "Mother of God by appellation."⁶² Both Jesus and Mary, then, received these titles as the mark of their new status. They were in no way integral to their persons. For Angilbert to name his Mary chapel Sancta Maria Dei Genetrix et Apostoli, then, was in itself a significant doctrinal statement. He built his church in honor of the true Mother of God, and surrounded her altar with those of the apostles who were the witnesses to the Incarnate Word.

⁶⁰ See Chapter III, pp. 110, 135 ff., 146, and IV, pp. 164, 166, 174 ff.

⁶¹ See Chapter II, p. 65.

⁶² Cf. Chapter IV, pp. 174 ff.

The monks celebrated the offices at the Mary chapel on all of the feasts devoted to Mary, as we might expect. These included the Assumption, the Nativity, and the Purification of the Virgin.⁶³ On Holy Thursday, all of the offices were sung there. But most important was the celebration of the office and mass of Pentecost at the Mary church. This was the only day in the calendar of Saint-Riquier, as far as we know, that the mass took place here.

On this day, as on Holy Thursday, Angilbert specifically called the church by its full title: Sancta Maria Dei Genetrix et Apostoli. Every other mention of the church in the Institutio refers simply to Sancta Maria. This formal usage hints at the particular symbolic importance of the church. For it was on two days of special revelation, Holy Thursday when the Eucharist was established, and Pentecost when the Holy Spirit was manifested, that the Mary church was used. Both of those feasts celebrated particular revelations associated with the Carolingian anti-Adoptionist argument. Holy Thursday celebrated the Lord's Supper, the establishment of the sacrament of the Eucharist. This sacrament was the ongoing commemoration of the salvific sacrifice of Christ. The Crucifixion and Resurrection were the reason for which the Word had become flesh, the purpose of the Incarnation. We have seen above that even the earliest anti-Adoptionists, Beatus of Liebana and Etherius of Osma, connected true belief in Christ with the sacrament of the Eucharist and the salvation of the believer. The Adoptionists, they said, by perverting the understanding of the true Sonship of the God-man Christ, also under-

⁶³ Institutio XIII, XIV (CCM, p. 301).

mined the sacraments.⁶⁴ Therefore, there was a direct correspondence between christological dogma and the understanding of the sacraments in the Carolingian position.

Pentecost was similarly related to Carolingian concerns. This was the celebration of the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the faithful believers in Christ, Mary and the disciples. Pentecost, therefore, was the definitive revelation of the Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. It must also have called up associations with the doctrine of the simultaneous procession involved in the filioque controversy. For the Augustinian theological model failed to distinguish clearly between the internal relationship of the three persons of the Trinity and their external, historical relationship with the world. As we have seen in Chapter II, what was posited of one person implied the action of all three persons of the Trinity.⁶⁵ The descent of the Holy Spirit at this moment therefore implied the Spirit's simultaneous procession at this moment ex patre filioque. This association buttressed christology as well, since we have seen that many of the scriptural texts used to prove the divinity of Jesus against the Adoptionists described Jesus's breathing forth of the Holy Spirit upon the disciples.⁶⁶

Let us consider the liturgical and architectural iconography of the Mary church. On both Holy Thursday and Pentecost, what was essential in the biblical account was that the disciples were assembled

⁶⁴ Cf. Chapter IV, pp. 167 ff.

⁶⁵ See pp. 71 ff.

⁶⁶ Cf. Chapter II, pp. 69 ff., 72 ff.

together in the Upper Room. On Pentecost, they were with Mary.⁶⁷ Angilbert created an iconography akin to that which we have seen in the church of the Holy Savior: the liturgical space itself expressed the biblical event. Here were gathered the witnesses of the revelation. The architectural arrangement was particularly evocative on Pentecost, since the central altar of Mary was surrounded by those of the disciples. We may compare the text of Acts 1:12-14 and 2:1-4 which described the event from the time of the Ascension:

So from the Mount of Olives, as it is called, they went back to Jerusalem, a short distance away, no more than a sabbath walk; and when they had reached the city they went to the upper room where they were staying: there were Peter and John, James and Andrew, Philip and Thomas, Bartholomew and Matthew, James son of Alphaeus and Simon the Zealot, and Jude son of James. All these joined in continuous prayer, together with several women, including Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brothers...

When Pentecost day came round, they had all met in the room, when suddenly they heard what sounded like a powerful wind from heaven, the noise of which filled the entire house in which they were sitting; and something appeared to them that seemed like tongues of fire; these separated and came to rest on the head of each of them. They were all filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak foreign languages as the Spirit gave them the gift of speech.⁶⁸

If we compare the Mary church with slightly later ivory carvings and manuscript illuminations, Angilbert's program becomes very clear. An early ninth century illuminated initial from the Mass of Pentecost in the Drogo Sacramentary (Plate VIII) presented the characteristic Carolingian iconography. The twelve disciples were seated in an architectural setting which suggested the Upper Room. They were haloed; their haloes contained the tongues of fire which manifest the presence of the

⁶⁷ For the Holy Thursday and Pentecost liturgies, see Institutio VII and XII (CCM, pp. 294, 301).

⁶⁸ The text is quoted from the Jerusalem Bible.

Spirit. They looked toward the sky, where they saw the Trinity revealed. Rays of fire emanated from the beak of the dove symbolizing the Spirit. Beside the Spirit sat the Son, on a cloud, identified by his halo, which contained a Cross, and the rod of his authority. His hand held the dove, a clear reference to the integral relationship between the Son and the Holy Spirit. The hand of the Father emerged from the heavens holding the unrolled scroll of the Law.

An ivory book cover dating from the mid-ninth century portrayed the scene with an iconography emphasizing the unity of the three persons (Plate IX). Here the disciples in the Upper Room were gathered around Peter, who held the keys of the Kingdom and raised his hand both in astonishment and blessing. (Here we may recall the growing cult of Peter in the Carolingian period.)⁶⁹ The divine hand emerged from the heavens, from whose fingers poured the tongues of fire which visually manifested the Spirit.

Comparison of these examples with early Byzantine representations of Pentecost yields one significant difference: in the Carolingian examples Mary was not present. The sixth-century Rabula Gospels (Plate X) showed Mary surrounded by the disciples on a mountaintop. All were haloed; tongues of fire hovered above their heads. The Spirit-dove descended from heaven. An early Palestinian ampulla (Plate XI) combined the imagery of the Ascension and Pentecost in an iconography which Grabar has identified as a symbol of the Trinity.⁷⁰ Here Mary again stood

⁶⁹ See above, Chapter II, pp. 80 ff., and note 35.

⁷⁰ Christian Iconography, A Study of its Origins (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), p. 200 and Plate 275.

in the center, surrounded by the disciples, on the mountaintop. She alone was haloed, and she stood in the orans position. The Spirit-dove descended from above, as Jesus, in the mandorla which symbolized his glorification, was borne to heaven by four angels.

The Carolingian failure to include Mary may have stemmed from strict adherence to the Biblical text. The presence of Mary at the Pentecost event was not specifically stated in Acts 2; it was, rather, implied from the preceding account of the Ascension. Angilbert's inclusion of Mary, therefore, underscored the importance of the Mother of God in his christological concerns, and the doctrinal emphasis of his iconographical program. It was also one more example of Angilbert's innovative architectural usage. There was one later Carolingian parallel for his symbolism. The Bible of Charles the Bald, dating from the mid-ninth century, presented the Pentecost event in terms strikingly similar to that of Angilbert. (Compare Plates XII and IV.) Mary was seated in the center of a polygonal Upper Room, the twelve apostles surrounding her on banks along the walls. Here there was no visible reference to the Trinity, no tongue of fire. Only the human narrative indicated what was happening: Mary and the disciples were astonished and reverent, and outside the crowds of people in the streets of Jerusalem pressed around the walls in amazement at the change in the disciples. The arrangement of the space and the characters, and the central presence of Mary, evoked Angilbert's Mary church.

These festal liturgies suggested a symbolism of place. But two other special liturgies evoked a symbolism of number. Both were liturgies of supplication.

The first was a liturgy of prayer and procession in times of trouble.⁷¹ The ordo prescribed a highly formalized three-day ritual in which the monks in procession circumscribed the entire cloister. On the first day they went out of the monastery, through the public road out of the town of Centula itself, and, returning through the western gate of the town entered the monastery through the western arcade, after which they celebrated mass at the church of the Holy Savior. The second day, they went through the eastern gate of the town and the eastern arcade, returning through the Portal of Gabriel for mass at Saint Richarius. On the third day, they processed through the south gate of the town, and returned through the houses of the artisans for mass at the Mary chapel. At every point they carried with them three crosses and three reliquar-

⁷¹ Institutio XI (CCM, p. 300): Qualiter Pro Tribulatione Cruces Sequi Debeant. In tempore autem illo, cum pro qualibet tribulatione cruces sequendae, ieiunia obseruanda et dei omnipotentis misericordia maxime est deprecanda, primo die per medium paradysi et per portam beati archangeli Mychaelis exeant, et inde per uiam publicam usque ad ianuam, per quam ingreditur in Baldiniacum campum. Inde recto itinere aquam transeant per pontem iuxta murum, et inde per ianuam occidentalem, quae habetur in platea, et per arcus similiter occidentales reuertantur per portam beati Mychaelis usque ad gloriosam Natiuitatem. Ubi oratione peracta et crucibus vel ceteris, quae portauerant, in sancto Richario remissis ascendunt ad sanctum Saluatorem ad missam audiendam. Secundo die per supra dictam portam beati Michaelis exeant, et inde per arcus orientales et per ianuam orientalem, quae habetur in platea, ingrediantur broilum. Unde recto itinere introeant per posterulam orientalem in ortum fratrum, et sic per curticulam domni abbatis et per salam uel portam monasterii necnon et per portam beati Gabriehelis perueniant ad sanctam Natiuitatem. Ubi oratione finita ueniant ad sanctum Richarium ad missam perficiendam. Tertio nanque die de prefata aecclesia promouentes ipsam uiam teneant, quam pridie tenuerant, quousque supra dictum ortum egrediantur. De quo egressi per campum Centulensem et per broilum fontem girando recto itinere exeant per ianuam iuxta portam meridianam. De quo loco per uiam publicam coram supra dictis mansionibus fabrorum ad portam, quae eis coniungitur, accedant ad sanctam Mariam ad celebrandam missam. Nam his diebus tres cruces et tres capsae minores, tria vasa cum aqua benedicta et tria turibula tantum portentur, nisi aliter a priore uel a fratribus consideretur.

ies, three vases with holy water and three thuribles.

The second of these was the liturgy for Rogations, the annual ritual of prayers, litanies, and processions for reconciliation with God which took place immediately before the feast of the Ascension. While ancient Gallican ritual prescribed a three-day penitential procession in which the entire local community of believers repented its sins and supplicated God's grace, Roman Rogations--the litaniae maiores--prescribed a one-day ritual.⁷² Angilbert's order for Rogations continued the three-day tradition in an elaborate ritual which involved not only the monks and the local populace of Centula, but also participants from seven neighboring towns.⁷³ Each town was to send a procession and a cross.

On the first day all convened in the atrium of the basilica, in front of the Nativity, where prayers began the ritual of processions organized in minute detail. First came those carrying three vases of holy water, then three censers with incense. Then followed seven crosses from the monastery, with the cross of the Holy Savior in the middle. The great reliquary (capsa maior) with the relics of the Savior followed, with three priests carrying three reliquaries on the right and three likewise on the left. Then came seven deacons, seven subdeacons, seven acolytes, seven exorcists, seven lectors, and seven porters.

⁷² For the origins of the Gallican Rogations triduum see Liber Historiae Francorum XVI (MGH SSRM II, pp. 266-267). Cf. DACL XIV, part 2, cc. 2459-2461, and IX, part 2, cc. 1550- 1553.

⁷³ Institutio IX (CCM p.296): As sollemnes litanias faciendas conueniant cruces et processiones uicinarum aecclesiarum ad sanctum Richarium: De Durcpto una, de Drusciaco una, de Bersaccas una, de Uillaris una, de Monte angelorum una, de Monte martyrum una, de Angilbertiuilla una.

Finally the rest of the monks processed in ranks of seven by seven.

The lay participants followed in the same ordering by sevens: the lay scolae with seven red standards, the noble men, the noble women, the seven crosses from the nearby towns, and boys and girls who chanted the Lord's prayer. Then came men and women from honorable local families, and finally the mixtus populus of the old and infirm, ordine sicut ceteri septeni et septeni.⁷⁴

On this day they processed around the monastery chanting specified prayers. While the monks sang psalms, all of the others sang the three Creeds (Apostle's, Constantinopolitan, and Athanasian), the Lord's Prayer, and the general litany. Then monks and populus sang together three litanies: the Gallican, the Italic, and the Roman. Finishing with prayers, the monks celebrated mass at the Holy Savior.

On the second day, following the same procedure, the procession went to two of the neighboring towns, and then celebrated mass at Saint Richarius. The third day they visited two other towns, and the monks

⁷⁴ Institutio IX (CCM pp. 296-297): Qui eo ordine exeant, ut primum tres situle cum aqua benedicta per portam eiusdem beati archangeli Mychaelis precedant; deinde thuribula tria cum thymiamate. Tunc cruces septem sequantur, ex quibus sit media crux sancti Saluatoris, quas sequatur capsula maior ipsius sancti Saluatoris. Ad cuius dextram partem vadant sacerdotes tres cum aliis capsulis minoribus tribus, ad leuam similiter. Post quos sequantur diaconi septem, subdiaconi septem, acoliti septem, exorcistae septem, lectores septem et ostiarii septem. Deinde relique monachi septeni et septeni per loca conuenientia ambulent...Tunc sequatur scola laicorum puerorum cum flammulis septem. Quos statim subsequantur nobiles uiri septeni et septeni a preposito uel decano electi. Feminae uero nobiliores similiter obseruent. Tunc iterum procedant septem iam dictae forinsicae cruces; ipsas sequantur pueri et puellae, quae canere sciunt orationem dominicam et fidem, uel cetera, quae eis auxiliante domini insinuare precepimus. Hos statim subsequantur honorabiliores uiri uel femine ex familiis, quae in eo loco fuerint constitutae. Deinde mixtus populus, infirmorum uidelicet ac senum, pedestri ordine sicut ceteri septeni et septeni...

returned for mass at Sancta Maria while the populus returned for mass at their own churches.

There were two striking innovations in this Rogations liturgy. First was the singing of three Creeds by all of the laity. No such practice is recorded in general Rogations ritual, which comprised the chanting of litanies of supplication, the reading of set passages from the Old and New Testaments, specific prayers, and the Constantinopolitan Creed. Angilbert's prescription of the Apostle's, Constantinopolitan, and Athanasian Creeds and the Lord's Prayer echoed directly the frequent injunctions of Charlemagne's capitularies that the laity be able to recite these four memoriter.⁷⁵ The constant repetition of the formulae of the faith, and especially of three Creeds, underscored Angilbert's (and Charlemagne's) concern that the monastery lead "the entire people of the faithful" to "confess, venerate, worship with the heart and firmly believe in the most holy and inseparable Trinity."⁷⁶

The second was the strict ordering of the procession in ranks of seven. Rogations processions were so ordered in Rome, where they represented the seven regions of the city.⁷⁷ But Angilbert's own intention was that the ranks of seven bear a trinitarian significance: "And we determined for this purpose to walk seven at a time, so that in our work we reveal thanks for the septiform grace of the Holy Spirit."⁷⁸

⁷⁵ See Chapter II, pp. 59-60 and note 2.

⁷⁶ See above, Chapter V, p. 231.

⁷⁷ This has led Jean Hubert to assert that the Rogations liturgy, and indeed the entire ordo of Saint-Riquier was imitative of Rome. See above, Introduction, p. 31 and note 45.

⁷⁸ Institutio IX (CCM, p. 297): Et ideo eos septenos ambulare decer-

The number seven was a highly-charged signum, in which the Carolingians understood the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Spirit as the seat of wisdom which led the believer to the vision of the Trinity. Through these gifts of wisdom, strength of character, and knowledge, the faithful Christian would understand and accept the true dogma about the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Those sevenfold gifts were identified in a particular way with Christ. A quote from the Libri Carolini will illustrate the connection. On the subject of Christ as the cornerstone of the Church the Libri said,

About him it is also said by the Father's voice through the prophet Zechariah: "Behold, I will lead my son, arising...For this is the stone which I am placing before Joshua; on this single stone there are seven eyes." In these seven eyes the Spirit of the septiform grace who proceeds from the Father and the Son (ex patre filioque) is clearly revealed, and is named through the Prophet Isaiah "the spirit of the Lord, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and fortitude, the spirit of knowledge and piety, the spirit of the fear of God."⁷⁹

Here Christ was presented as the seat of Wisdom and the bearer of the sevenfold gifts. It was this that made him the cornerstone of the Church, that is, the model of all of the faithful. He had the seven eyes which see God, because they were the gifts of the Holy Spirit qui ex patre filioque procedit. Wisdom led to the visio Dei.

nimus, ut in nostro opere gratiam septiformem sancti Spiritus demonstramus...

⁷⁹ Libri Carolini I.x (MGH LL III, CC II, p. 29): De quo (Christus lapis angularis) et per prophetam Zachariam paterna voce dicitur: "Ecce ego adducam filium meum orientem, quia lapis, quem dedi coram Iesu, septem in eo oculi sunt." In quibus septem oculis septiformis gratiae Spiritus, qui a Patre Filioque procedit, evidenter ostenditur et per Esaiaem prophetam "spiritus Domini, spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, spiritus scientiae et pietatis, spiritus timoris Domini" nominatur.

As the symbol of Wisdom, seven was also the symbol of perfection which explained the divine mysteries. Seven liberal arts taught the knowledge of the world. Wisdom built her house on seven pillars. The Creator rested on the seventh day. The world was to run through seven ages. We have already seen a similar division of time in the De Conversione Saxonum, when Angilbert described the seventh age as the age of the Final Coming. The consummation was in the seventh age, ab origine limes, after Christ had redeemed and Charlemagne had converted pagans to the faith.⁸⁰ And Angilbert's poem was set in the year 777.

Thus, seven was the number which connected heaven and earth. Alcuin described the connection in a disussion of the seven penitential psalms which prefaced his Enchiridion:

And many other things are found scattered throughout the divine books, which show the perfection of the sevenfold number. Whence also comes that saying of Solomon: "Wisdom has build a house for herself, she has quarried seven columns."...(This same number) explains all mysteries, this number which even in the beginning of creation was consecrated to the repose of the Creator himself; and now the order of the ages is established to run through that same number. And if seven is divided into two parts...that is into three and four, it comprises the wondrous secret of the world. For in three is signified the holy Trinity Creator of all that is; and in four is revealed the world of creatures, or the four poles of the earth.⁸¹

⁸⁰ See Chapter V, pp. 198 ff.

⁸¹ Alcuin Enchiridion (PL C, 571-572): Sed primum omnium numerorum eruendas rationes ratum putavi, id est cur etiam psalmi poenitentiae septenario numero consecrati essent?...Et multa alia sparsim in divinis reperiuntur libris, quae septenarii numeri perfectionem ostendunt. Unde est et illud Salomonis: "Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum, excidit columnas septem," quae longiorem poscunt sermonem; si tamen est nostri temporis quis idoneus, universa ejusdem numeri explanare mysteria: qui etiam in principio creaturarum ipsius Creatoris requie consecratus est, et nunc ordo saeculorum per eundem numerum decurrere constat; qui etiam si in duo dividitur membra majoris portionis habitudinis suae, id est in trea et quatuor, mirabile universatitatis habet arcanum. Nam in tribus sancta Trinitatis creatrix omnium quae sunt, designatur; et in quatuor

Just as Wisdom built her house on seven pillars, so through the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit did she lead the believer to the ultimate vision of Creation. For seven was the perfect number which comprised both heaven and earth, the ordering of Creation under the Creator Trinity.

These texts bring us to the heart of the number symbolism at Saint-Riquier. For the sevenfold ranks of Rogations processions announced the perfect wisdom of the sevenfold grace at the yearly point of penitential reconciliation between heaven and earth. So too the seven towers of the monastery complex: three large towers over the three main altars of the Holy Savior, Saint Richarius, and Mary, and four small towers at the beginning and end of the basilica visually signified the Trinity and the four poles of the earth. (See Plate I.)

Most important, here where the very structure of the buildings and liturgy was the number three, material Creation was visibly ordered under the Creator Trinity. Angilbert put into visual terms the association between number, Wisdom, and the vision of the Trinity which he also made in his poetry, and especially in the De Doctrina Christiana. This was the teaching more eloquent than discursive theology, the persuasive symbolism of which Augustine had spoken in the De Doctrina Christiana. Angilbert's program made explicit the great truth implicit in Creation. And he thereby made available to the true believer the personal and collective regeneration that brought him to the final visio Dei. Again, Alcuin illustrates the point in a letter to Charlemagne:

scilicet, universitas demonstratur creaturarum; seu ob quatuor mundi plagas...

After seven weeks the Holy Spirit was sent from heaven (at Pentecost) in fiery tongues over the 120 names of those believing; and we read about the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit in the prophet (Isaiah 11:2-3). And then most especially, while the white vestments are lifted from the baptized (seven days after baptism), they who in baptism receive the remission of all sins, are fit to receive the Holy Spirit through the imposition of hands (in confirmation) by the bishop; and for seven days they are accustomed to attend the holy sacrifices in the angelic garb of chastity and the lights of heavenly clarity.⁸²

Seven signified Pentecost, the creation of the mission Church out of the 120, and the witnessing to the faith through the gifts of the Spirit. And seven signified the meaning of the Christian life in the confirmation which took place seven days after baptism for the faithful. This was the lived dimension of the visio Dei described before.

The full meaning of that vision at Saint-Riquier becomes clear only within the context of the De Trinitate. For here in the dominant three symbols of Saint-Riquier were Augustine's "traces of the Trinity." The threes in Angilbert's complex were everywhere. Three churches stood in a triangular cloister. Three main altars designated by three stone canopies were the sites of the main liturgies. The atrium contained three portals with three chapels and the three altars of the three Archangels. Worshipers entered the basilica by three doors. There were three aisles in the basilica, and three lecterns. Three towers surmounted the basilica at the west end, and three at the east. Three-tiered lanterns capped the towers. Three modules of thirty-seven by

⁸² Epistola 143, De Septuagesima (MGH Epp IV, p. 226): Unde et post septem hebdomadas Spiritus sanctus missus est de coelo in igneis linguis super centum viginti nomina credentium; et septem dona sancti Spiritus legimus in propheta. Et tunc maxime, dum alba tolluntur a baptizatis vestimenta, per manus impositionem a pontifice Spiritum sanctum accipere conveniens est, qui in baptismo omnium receperunt remissionem peccatorum; et per septem dies in angelico castitatis habitu et luminibus coelestis claritatis sanctis assitere sacrificiis solent.

thirty-seven feet made up the nave, and three of thirty by thirty feet the eastern transept. One module of thirty by thirty feet made up the crypt. There were thirty altars in the complex. Three altars in the chapel of Saint Benedict each contained the relics of three saints. In the Mary chapel, the central altar contained the relics of three times three saints, and the Apostle altars each held the relics of three saints. Three hundred monks in three choirs chanted the offices with three choirs of thirty-three boys. Thirty priests sang thirty masses at the thirty altars daily. Three crosses were adored on Good Friday. Three crosses were followed with three holy water vases and three thuribles during three-day processions in times of trouble. Three Creeds were sung at Rogations.

Here at every moment and in every corner were the innumerable traces by which the faithful believer could intuit the Trinity. Here indeed were the threes which designated sancta Trinitas creatrix omnia quae sunt. Here was the liturgy which set forth metaforicos the mysterium sanctae Trinitatis in the sensual symbols of the Libri Carolini. These physical traces were the points of insight without which there could be neither recognition of nor participation in the divine truth. These were the partial clues which inspired the desire for knowledge and assimilation. We can illustrate the moral and salvific dimension of the symbol with a numerological text from Alcuin which explained the number three in the common understanding of the day:

By three means Adam was tempted and overcome, those are by lust, by boastfulness, and by greed. In these three again Christ was tempted, and he conquered the conqueror of Adam.

The whole world is divided into three parts, Europe, Africa, and India. In these regions in three ways God must be worshiped: by faith, by hope, and by charity.

God taught Abraham three things, saying: "Go out from your land and your kin and from the house of your father." Three things are promised to us: resurrection, life, and glory.⁸³

Here obedience to the precepts of God through the three Christian virtues led not only to the vision of the Trinity, but to the threefold glory of heaven: resurrection, life, and glory.

The bond between the true faith (or recognition of the Trinity) and righteousness (into Christ) was expressed in two aspects of life at Saint-Riquier. The first was the repetition of the number thirty. As the product of three times ten it represented righteousness through faith in the Trinity. Three symbolized the Trinity, and ten, the Ten Commandments. "There are ten precepts of the Law, which were given in two tablets through Moses and Aaron to the people of God," as Alcuin said.⁸⁴

The second was the "perpetual" liturgy of the monastery. Liturgy comprised almost the entire life of the monks. Three things deserve mention in this context. First, we should recall the charter of Pepin to the abbey of Prum. There the character of the monastic life was defined as prayer on behalf of the king and kingdom, and purity of life on the part of the monks as the guarantor that prayers would be performed and heard. Saint-Riquier was the fullest expression of that

⁸³ Alcuin Epistola 81 (MGH Epp IV, p. 124): Tribus modis Adam temptatus est et superatus, id est gula, iactantia et avaritia. In his tribus iterum Christus temptatus est, et vicit victorem Adae.

Totus orbis in tres dividitur partes, Europam, Africam et Indiam, in quibus particus tribus modis colendus est Deus: fide, spe et caritate.

Tria praecepit Deus Abrahae dicens: "Egredere de terra tua et cognatione tua et de domo patris tui." Tria promittuntur nobis: resurrectio, vita et gloria.

⁸⁴ Epistola 81 (MGH Epp IV, p. 123): Decima praecepta sunt legis, quae data sunt in duabus tabulis per Moysen et Aaron populo Dei.

monastic ideal.

Second, we should recall the text of the Libri Carolini on the meaning of the liturgy as the revelation of the mysterium sanctae Trinitatis. If Angilbert's purpose was to create an aesthetic complex which would inspire "the entire people of the faithful" to believe in and worship the Trinity corde, "in the heart", there was no better means of promulgating true doctrine and inspiring faith than liturgy. Third, in the Augustinian aesthetic theory and the emphasis on righteousness mentioned above, the ultimate and greatest expression of belief and love was perpetual prayer and praise of the Trinity. The liturgical lifestyle at Saint-Riquier was the epitome of the Christian life.

The great model for that life of faith, the linchpin between God and men as the great example of wisdom, was Christ himself, as we have seen in the De Trinitate and the Carolingian anti-Adoptionist arguments. Datum hoc est mirabile signum, as Paulinus of Aquileia said of Christ.⁸⁵ Christ was the ultimate means by which adequation or assimilation to God took place. Dogmatically (or intellectually, in the Augustinian schema) this adequation depended on the full union of true God and true man in Christ.

Angilbert expressed this truth metaforicos in the ritual space of the Church of the Holy Savior and the four narrative reliefs. The western transept at Saint-Riquier was a monumental innovation. Dedicated to the Holy Savior, and the place of celebration for the feasts of the Nativity and the Paschal mysteries, it stood in stone and prayer as the

⁸⁵ Regula Fidei Metrico Promulgata Stili Mucrone 1. 47 (MGH PL I, p. 127).

symbol of Christ himself. Incarnate as God-man on Christmas, and Redeemer in the Paschal triduum, this was the Christ of the Carolingian theologians against the Adoptionists.

The christological symbol was strengthened by the four reliefs. For here in the main body of the basilica and in full sight of all of the worshipping faithful, stood the four pillars of the Christian faith which the faithful were charged to believe.⁸⁶ The dogmatic clues were highly concentrated. The worshipers stood between the Passion and the Holy Savior, with the altar of the holy Cross in the center as the sign of Christ's redemptive role. The ultimate meaning of that redemption for the believer, and the proof of Christ's unique status as God-man were epitomized in the Resurrection and the Ascension. These were the revelatory stories of Christ's divine mission. And as Christ was "the first fruits of those that die," they were also hints of the life to come for the true believer.

The christological dogma of the true God and true man was repeated yet again in the vocable of the Mary chapel: Sancta Maria Dei Genetrix et Apostoli. As we have seen, the title Dei Genetrix for Mary was a key issue in the Adoptionist struggle. The Adoptionists denied the title integrally to Mary, and said that she could be called "Mother of God" only as a God-granted honor. This was by virtue of Jesus' adoption as Son of God, nothing more.

The Carolingians defended the traditional title Dei Genetrix as true and integral to Mary's role in God's plan of salvation. They supported with the Scriptural text of the Annunciation the tenet that from

⁸⁶ See above, p. 105 and note 15.

the moment of his conception by the Holy Spirit, Christ was fully and wholly God and man in the womb of the Virgin. Thus, to entitle the church Dei Genetrix was to forward the Carolingian christology.

The Mary church exposed a fuller trinitarian truth as well. For as the site of the celebration of Pentecost this church symbolized the descent of the Holy Spirit which was the final and ultimate manifestation of the Trinity. It was also the birth of the Christian Church. This was visually affirmed in the aesthetic program by the altar of Mary surrounded by the altars of the Apostles, a direct evocation of the Upper Room of Acts 2. (This was the same Upper Room used for the Holy Thursday institution of the Lord's Supper, a liturgy also celebrated at the Mary church.) The liturgical complexes of the Holy Savior and the Mother of God, and the nave reliefs in the basilica, directly and powerfully put across the true dogma about Christ in aedificiis marmoreis...etiam in doctrinis variis⁸⁷

Let us return once more to the symbolic numbers of Saint-Riquier. For the ultimate meaning of Angilbert's aesthetic program and the ultimate trinitarian revelation lay in the number three hundred, the number of monks in the abbey. For three hundred signified the great eschatological truth of the faith: one hundred, meaning the perfection of eternal life, times three, the Trinity. The definition came from the Moralia of Gregory the Great, a text which was in Angilbert's library.

By custom the fullness of perfection is understood in the centenary number. What, therefore, is designated in the number three hundred except the perfect cognition of the Trinity? Indeed, with these our Lord destroys the adversaries of the faith, with these he descends to the wars of preaching; they who can understand the divine

⁸⁷ See above, p. 246.

truths, they who know about the Trinity, who is God, understand perfect truths. Indeed, it must be known that this number three hundred is contained in the letter Tau (T), which bears the appearance of the Cross. And if that which is distinguished on the Cross would be added over the transverse arm, this would no longer be the appearance of the Cross, but the Cross itself...They who, following the Lord, so much more truly take up the Cross, how much more bravely do they also conquer themselves, and are crucified for their neighbors by the compassion of charity. And certainly this is expressed in these three hundred which are contained in the Tau, that the sword of the enemies is overcome by the wood of the Cross.**

Three hundred symbolized the Cross and the Christian life. It symbolized the weapon which alone vanquished the heretic sword. And it symbolized the perfect understanding, recognition, and acknowledgement of the Trinity. Three hundred was the visio Trinitatis, the end and hope of the life lived in faith. This was the aim of the Augustinian program in the De Doctrina Christiana. It was the aesthetic end described in the De Trinitate. It was the "participation" in the object of knowledge which the Libri Carolini described. It was the goal of Angilbert's great signum for the people of the faithful.

So stood Angilbert's great program at Saint-Riquier. Established quapropter ob veneratione sanctae Trinitatis, it recounted in liturgy and sacred space the true and salvific faith which Charlemagne, his the-

** Moralia in Job III. xxv (PL LXXVI, 565-566): Solet in centenario numero plenitudo perfectionis intelligi. Quid ergo per ter ductum centenarium numerum designatur, nisi perfecta cognitio Trinitatis? Cum his quippe Dominus noster adversarios fidei destruit, cum his ad praedicationis bella descendit, qui possunt divina cognoscere, qui sciunt de Trinitate, quae Deus est, perfecta sentire. Notandum vero est quia iste trecentorum numerus in tau littera continetur, quae crucis speciem tenet. Cui si super transversam lineam id quod in cruce eminent adderetur, non iam crucis species, sed ipsa crux esset...Qui sequentes Dominum tanto verius crucem tollunt, quanto acrius et se edomant, et erga proximos suos charitatis compassione cruciantur.

ologians, and Angilbert himself were vitally concerned to forward. It expressed in terms more compelling than dogmatic teaching the essential and specific trinitarian and christological doctrines at stake in the 790s. Here were the truths about the God-man and the accomplishment of Christian redemption. Here were the threes, the triangular cloister, and the three churches which set forth the mysterium sanctae Trinitatis. The seven towers proclaimed the perfection of Wisdom which led to the vision of God. And that greatest hope, the ultimate meaning of salvation, was revealed in the three hundred monks.

Here at Saint-Riquier the dominant concerns of politics and theology were expressed in aesthetic terms. They became a visual and sensory mimetic strategy which, according to Augustinian aesthetic theory, regenerated and recreated the individual believer and, consequently, human society. Saint-Riquier was thus of the greatest importance to Charlemagne and to the court theologians who informed policy. It was at its root Carolingian culture in formation. And it is, therefore, of the greatest importance to us. Saint-Riquier reveals the cultural nexus and the inseparability of political, religious, and artistic life in Charlemagne's world.

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APPENDIX A

THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF THE ATHANASIAN CREED

(1) Quicumque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem: (2) quam nisi quis integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in aeternum peribit.⁸⁹

(3) Fides autem catholica haec est, ut unum Deum in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate veneremur, (4) neque confundentes personas neque substantiam separantes. (5) Alia est enim persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus sancti; (6) sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti una est divinitas, aequalis gloria, coaeterna maiestas.

(7) Qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis et Spiritus sanctus. (8) Increatus Pater, increatus Filius, increatus Spiritus sanctus; (9) immensus Pater, immensus Filius, immensus Spiritus sanctus: (11) et tamen non tres aeterni sed unus aeternus; (12) sicut non tres immensi, sed unus increatus et unus immensus. (13) Similiter omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius, omnipotens Spiritus sanctus; (14) et tamen non tres omnipotentes, sed unus omnipotens.

(15) Ita deus Pater, deus Filius, deus Spiritus sanctus; (16) et tamen non tres dii, sed unus est deus. (17) Ita dominus Pater, dominus Filius, dominus Spiritus sanctus; (18) et tamen non tres domini, sed unus est dominus. (19) Quia sicut singillatim unamquamque personam et deum et dominum confiteri christiana veritate compellimur, (20) ita tres deos aut dominos dicere catholica religione prohibemur.

(21) Pater a nullo est factus nec creatus nec genitus. (22) Filius a Patre solo est, non factus nec creatus sed genitus. (23) Spiritus sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus nec creatus nec genitus sed procedens. (24) Unus ergo Pater, non tres Patres; unus Filius, non tres Filii; unus Spiritus sanctus, non tres Spiritus sancti. (25) Et in hac trinitate nihil prius aut posterius, nihil maius aut minus, (26) sed totae tres personae coaeternae sibi sunt et coaequales. (27) Ita ut per omnia, sicut iam supra dictum est, et trinitas in unitate et unitas in trinitate veneranda sit. (28) Qui vult ergo salvus esse, ita de trinitate sentiat.

(29) Sed necessarium est ad aeternum salutem ut incarnationem quoque domini nostri Iesu Christi fideliter credat. (30) Est ergo fides recta ut credamus et confiteamur quia dominus noster Iesus Christus Dei filius et deus pariter et homo est.

(31) Deus est ex substantia Patris ante saecula genitus, et homo est ex substantia matris in saeculo natus; (32) perfectus deus, perfectus homo ex anima rationabili et humana carne subsistens; (33) aequalis Patri secundum divinitatem, minor Patri secundum humanitatem.

(34) Qui licet deus sit et homo, non duo tamen sed unus est Christus. (35) Unus autem non conversione divinitatis in carne, sed assumptione humanitatis in deo; (36) unus omnino non confusione substantiae, sed unitate personae. (37) Nam sicut anima rationabilis et caro unus

⁸⁹ The text and its English translation is given in Kelly, Athanasian Creed, pp. 17-20. Cf. Chapter II, pp. 62 ff.

est homo, ita deus et homo unus est Christus.

(38) Qui passus est pro salute nostra, descendit ad inferna, surrexit a mortuis, (39) ascendit ad caelos, sedit ad dexteram Patris, inde venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos: (40) ad cuius adventum omnes homines resurgere haent cum corporibus suis et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem; (41) et qui bona egerunt ibunt in vitam aeternam, qui mala in ignem aeternum.

(42) Haec est fides catholica: quam nisi quis fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit.

APPENDIX B

THE REGULA FIDEI METRICO PROMULGATA STILI MUCRONE

The author of the Regula Fidei was Paulinus of Aquileia. There is little evidence of the date of composition, though most scholars have assigned it 796, the time of the Council of Friuli, when Paulinus was concerned to forward the Nicene Creed in the Mass as a means of insuring right belief against trinitarian and christological heresy. In particular he promoted the use of the filioque clause as a means of insuring not only the proper belief in the true Sonship of Jesus, but also right faith in the Trinity.

The Regula Fidei presented a summary of the entire range of arguments used in the Carolingian anti-Adoptionist and filioque treatises.

Its Latin text is as follows:

Te, pater omnipotens, mundum qui luce gubernas,
 Et te, nate dei, caeli qui sidera torques,
 Teque, sacer flamen, rerum moderator et auctor,
 Aeternum trinumque deum venerater et unum
 5 Confiteor labiis, pleno sed pectore credo.
 In te credo patrem, cum quo deus unica proles
 Regnat, et omnipotens cum quo deus aureus ignis.
 Non tres ergo deos, absit, sed sanctius unum
 Corde deum credo, labiis non cesso fateri:
 10 Qui semper summus, perfectus semper et altus,
 Solus et ipse potens, trinus persistit et unus.
 Personas numero distinguo denique trino,
 Naturam nullo patior dividere pacto.
 In deitate quidem simplex essentia constat;
 15 In trinitate manet sed subsistentia triplex.
 Non hunc esse patrem subolem quam credo tonantem,
 Sed hoc esse patrem summum quod germen adoro.
 Et non qui genitor genitusque est, spiritus hic est;
 Sed hoc quod genitor genitusque spiritus hoc est.
 20 Virgine de sacra, sancto de flamine natum
 Credo dei genitum: lingua decanto fideli,
 Tempore sub certo tempus qui condidit omne,
 Lucida rorigeri caeli qui temperat astra,
 Qui pontum, terramque, polum, qui maxima mundi

- 25 Clymata quatrifidi, montes collesque creavit;
 Aetheris atque humi cludit qui limina pugno
 Articulis trinis vastis cum finibus orbem
 Praelibrat et latum palmo metitur Olypnum:
 Secula praecedit, fecit quia secula cuncta.
- 30 Hunc pater omnipotens tinctum Iordanis in unda,
 Protinus ex alto sanctus cum spiritus albae
 Caelitus in specie descendit namque columbae,
 Baptista sibimet magno famulante Iohanne,
 Dilectum propriumque, pium dulcemque tonantem
- 35 Esse suum genitum sancto discrevit ab ore.
 Splendida florigeram nubes cum cingeret alpem,
 Esset et in summa secreti montis in arce,
 Discipulis cum namque tribus famulisque duobus
 Unicus altithroni caelorum gloria Iesus
- 40 Ut solis radius facies plus pulchra refulget,
 Candor ut alba nivis vestis radiabat, et ecce
 Intonuit vox alta dei de nube serena,
 Aera per vacuum, teneras transfusa per auras,
 Talia mellifluis depromit gaudia dictis:
- 45 'Hic meus est', inquit, 'dilectus filius unus,
 Hunc audite'. Datum hoc est mirabile signum,
 Quod deus atque homo Christus sit verus et altus.
 Filius ille dei sancta de virgine natus
 Arguitur hinc: forte Petrus hac voce docetur
- 50 Non homines aequare deo, dominoque clyentes.
 Haec est vera fides, frangit quae colla celidri,
 Haec mundum vincit, peccati crimina tollit:
 Hac Petrus in clavi caelorum limina pandit
 Aurea rurículas reserans ad regna phalanges
- 55 Mittit, et his niveae depromit gaudia vitae.
 Agniculos albo teneros cum vellere natos
 Lactea per centum suspensos ubera matrum,
 Ad campos, Iordane, tuos, cinctosque rosetis.
 Gramineas segetes propter myrteta virentes.
- 60 Lilia mixta rosis florentia pascua fretus
 Carpere mille monet ruminanti fauce bidentes.
 Illic picta rubent croceo de flore virecta;
 Candidulo rident pulchre de germine cincta,
 Frigore quae numquam, radio nec solis arescunt.
- 65 Marcescunt numquam gelidis infecta pruinis,
 Nec pluviis perfusa quidem madefacta tabescunt,
 Sed semper, paradyse, tuos redolentia fragrant
 Messis aromaticae permixto chrismate odores.
 Virgultum foliis geminato robore produunt,
- 70 Quod numquam foliis viduatum turpe vilescit,
 Punica mixta simul foliis sed poma retentat,
 Quae semper liquidos sudant de cortice sucos:
 Transfundunt dulces mandentis in ore sapos.
 Ad fontes salientis aquae qui viva fluenta
- 75 Influit, et rores uno de gurgite fusos
 Divisos spargit; pariles per quattuor amnes
 Albentes perducit oves, hinc pocula cogit

Sumere, quo numquam spumanti fauce balantes
 Alterius fontis sitientes flumina poscant.

- 80 Percelli pravi fautores dogmatis omnes,
 Censeo falsiloquos geminato anathemate Pauli,
 Doctoris mundi, Galatas quo forte rebelles
 Terruit: aut etiam croceo succinctus amictu
 85 Angelus altivagas quisquis iaculatus in auras
 Grandisono referens aliter sermone profatur,
 Quam Gabrihel regis praeduxit nuntius alti,
 Quam docuit Petrus, Pauli quam scribit arundo.
 Quattuor et proceres parili quam voce fatentur,
 Huius erit bibici feriendus fulminis ictu.
 90 Principium, caput omne mali, nefas omne, Cerintus
 Ultricibus fomis flammis infertur obustus.
 Infelix Ebyon huic non dispar in omni
 Impietate iacet socius sub vulnere poenae.
 Arrius in foveam, fodiit quam perfidus ipse,
 95 Corruit, aeterna damnatus nocte tabescit.
 Eunomius laqueo sese suspendit in alto,
 Per medium crepuit, picci petit ima profundi,
 Perfidiae iaculo propria se perculit ulna.
 Nestorius demens Stigias descendit ad umbras.
 100 Canceris ut pestis Macedonia dogmata serpent,
 Pro quibus ambusta Macedonius ardet in olla.
 Eutyces infelix, ex omni parte nefandus,
 Trita venena bibit, sibimet quae miscuit ipse.
 Pestifer ille Manis, totum quem possidet error,
 105 Sulphoreae fumus constat sine sine gehennae.
 Haud secus horrisono spurcoque Sabellius ore
 Blasphemus ignivoma Cocyti gemet ustus ab unda.
 Hos etenim conctosque simul qui nominis alti
 110 Qui regem Sabaoth fallaci fauce lacescunt,
 Et dominum Christum natum de virgine sacra,
 Flamine de sancto, regemque hominemque deumque
 Corde negant pravo, labiis spumantibus acti,
 Impugnare student, casso sudore latrantes,
 115 De gremio avelli sancto, de corpore matris
 Aecclesiae absici cultro decerno fidei,
 Quam Petrus Paulusque docent, quam cocinit orbis,
 Quamque satis prisca clare cecinere prophetae.
 Catholicos sanctosque viros patresque beatos
 120 Trecentos octoque decem conctosque perennis
 Iudicis aequisonae cultores nempe fidei
 Amplector placidis strictim feliciter ulnis.
 Nullus ab his terror, nullus me perfidus ultor
 Sanguivomo abscondi mucrone secante valebit:
 125 Quorum nulla meo poterit de pectore famam
 Auferre oblivio pactoque abolerier ullo.
 Non iam sub tabulis dura de rupe recisis
 Scalpelli rimis sulcatis cuspede sculpam,
 Nec pingam nigris calamo de roribus hausto;
 130 Sed potius scribam cordis sub paxide lento
 Instillante poli rutilo de culmine fonte

Infuso stilo, post me monumenta relinquo
Venturis descripta, libens non parco referre
Carmine succincto, lata sed mentis havena
135 Praecepto findente duas dulcedinis undas,
Amplectens dominus sancto quas protulit ore.
Primam libo deo, collegae reddo secundam
Pectore de puro caritatis victus amore,
140 In iubilo vultuque alacri sub mente iucundaq
Semper et almisonas sincero fame grates,
Summe tibi genitor, referam deus alta potestas,
Et tibi, nate dei, lati spes unica mundi,
Spiritus alme tibi, metuende, tremenda maiestas
145 Fons caritatis, amor dulcis super omnia mella,
Lux et origo boni, casti spirator amoris:
Qui quo vadis et unde venis nesciris, et orbem
Terrarum reple et ubivis perpete spiras.
Auditur vox ecce tua, clamore silenti
Cordis in aure sonat, nullo quatiante fragore:
150 Sit patri, genitoque deo sit gloria summo,
Spiritus per cuncta deo sit secula sancto.

PLATES



PLATE I
 Petau's Engraving of Hariulf's Drawing, 1612
 355

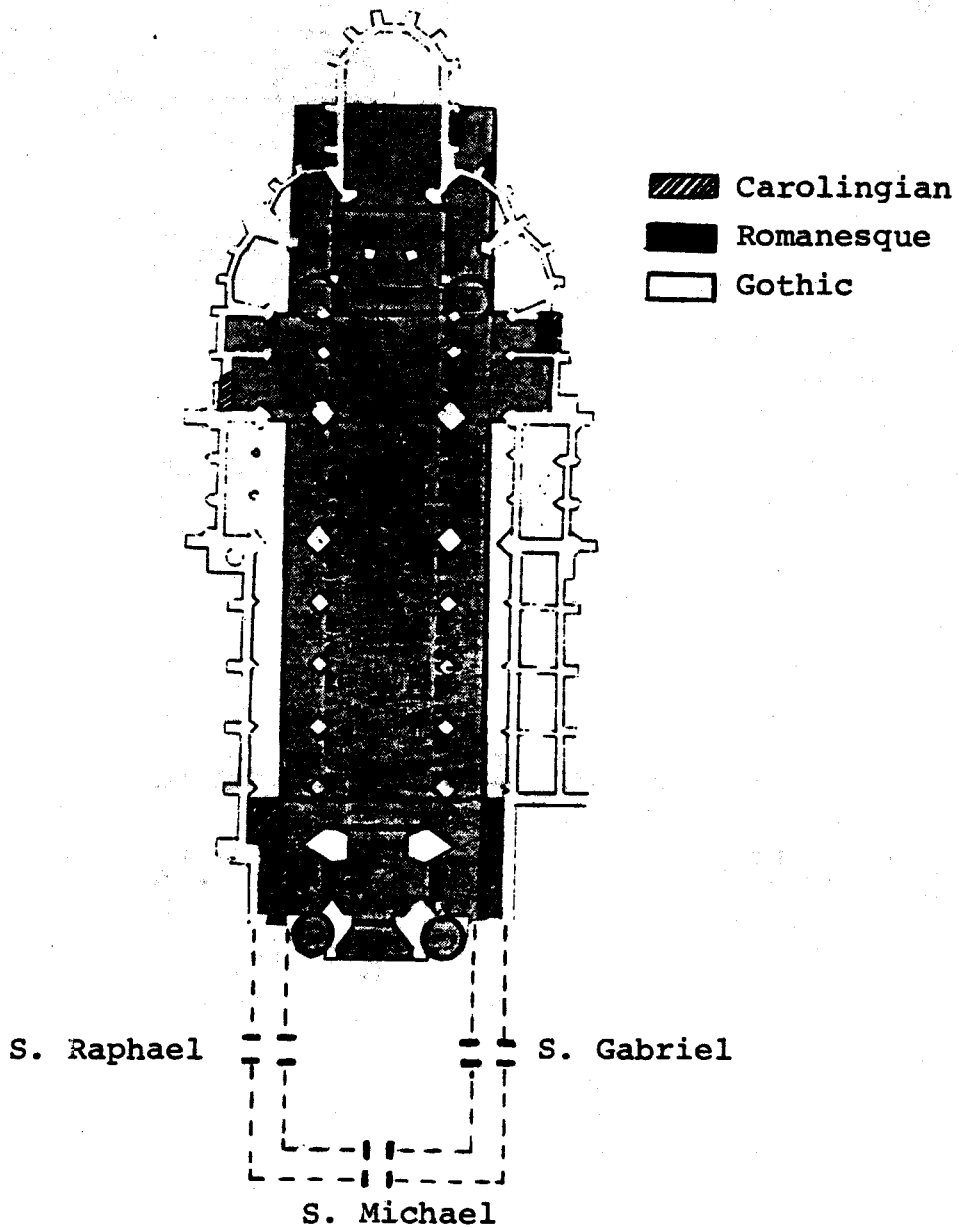


PLATE II

Plan of the Basilica as reconstructed by Bernard,
with Excavations and proposed Atrium (Rabe)

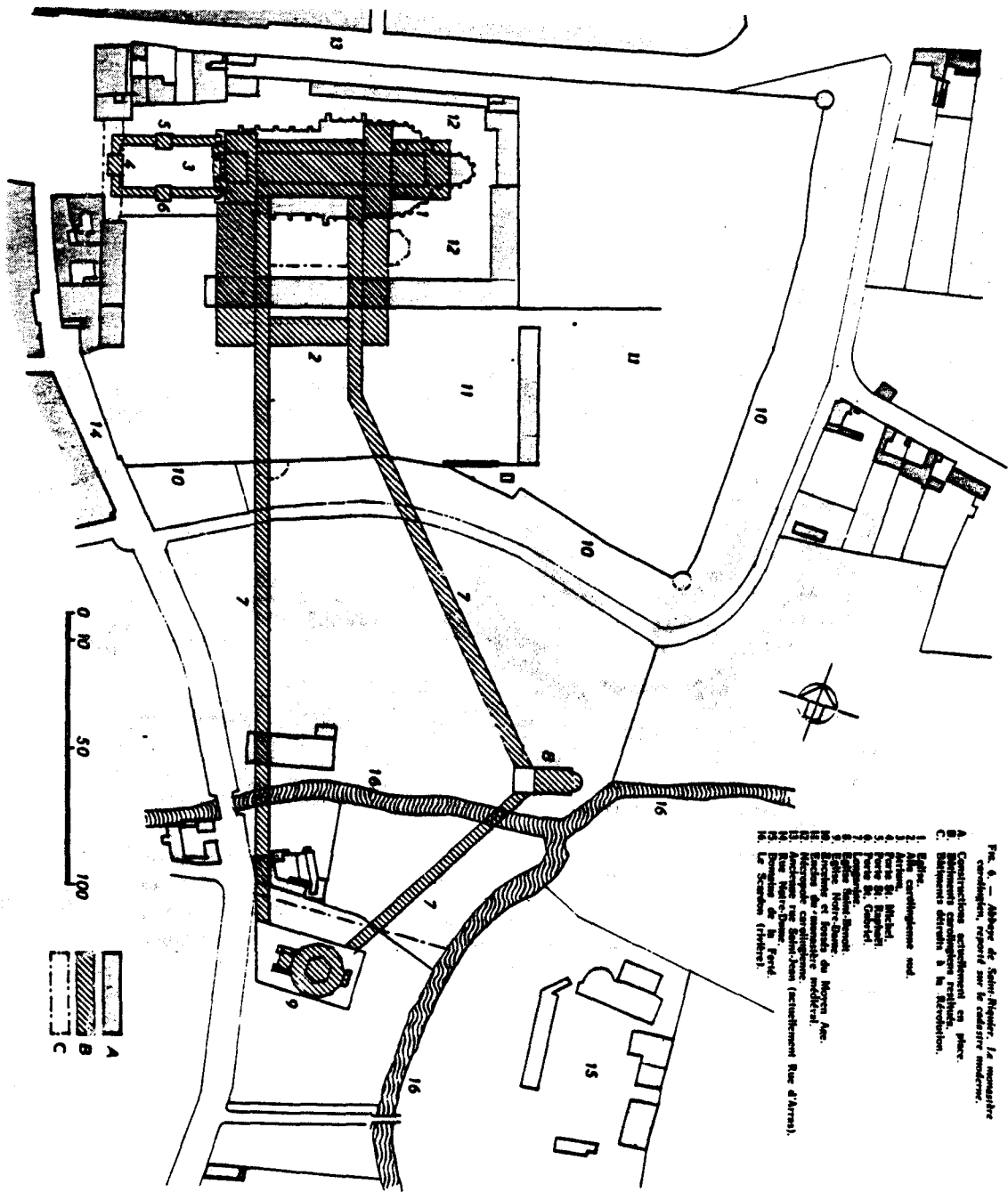


Fig. 6. — Abbaye de Saint-Mayeul. La monastère
 cistercien, reporté sur le cadastre moderne.
 Construction attribuée au plan.
 A. Bâtimens cisterciens primitifs.
 B. Bâtimens dérivés à la Révolution.
 C. Parc cistercien moderne.
 1. Abbaye.
 2. Cloître.
 3. Prieuré St. Michel.
 4. Prieuré St. Eloi.
 5. Prieuré St. Omer.
 6. Prieuré St. Gervais.
 7. Prieuré St. Jean.
 8. Prieuré St. Pierre.
 9. Prieuré St. Martin.
 10. Prieuré St. Nicolas.
 11. Prieuré St. Remy.
 12. Prieuré St. Sulpice.
 13. Prieuré St. Vincent.
 14. Prieuré St. Étienne.
 15. Prieuré St. Georges.
 16. Prieuré St. Jean-Baptiste (actuellement Rue d'Arras).
 Les hachures de la Fond.
 Le cadastre (hachures).

PLATE III

Aerial Reconstruction of Angilbert's Cloister
 by Bernard

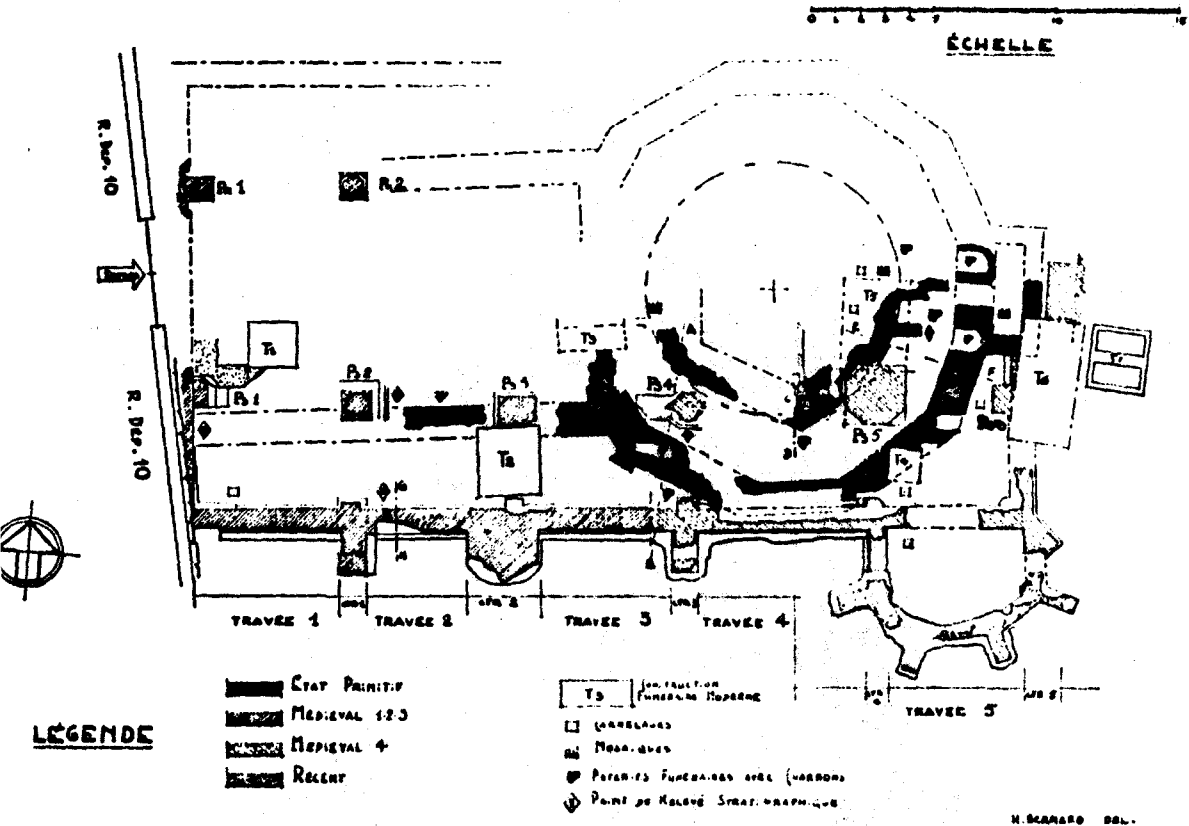


PLATE IV
Plan of the Mary Chapel
as reconstructed by Bernard

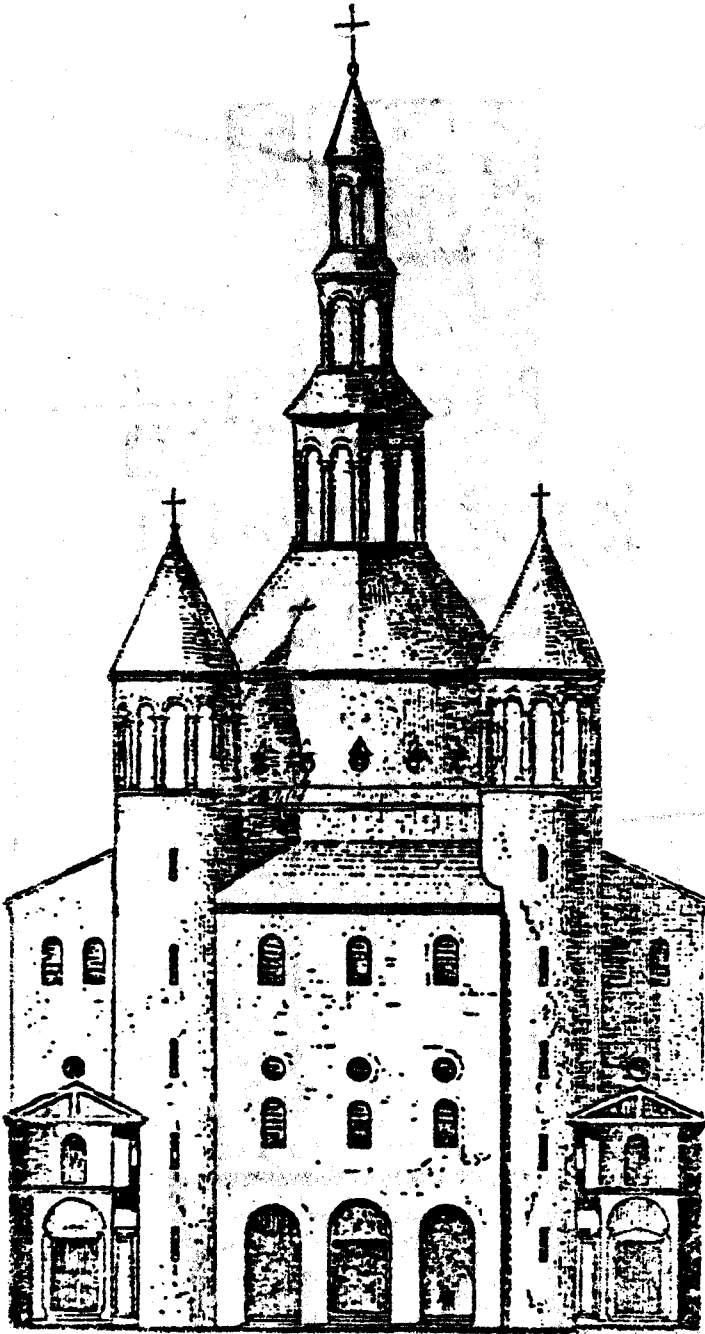


PLATE V

West End of the Basilica
as reconstructed by Effmann and Conant,
with Atrium, Vestibule, and Front of the Savior Church

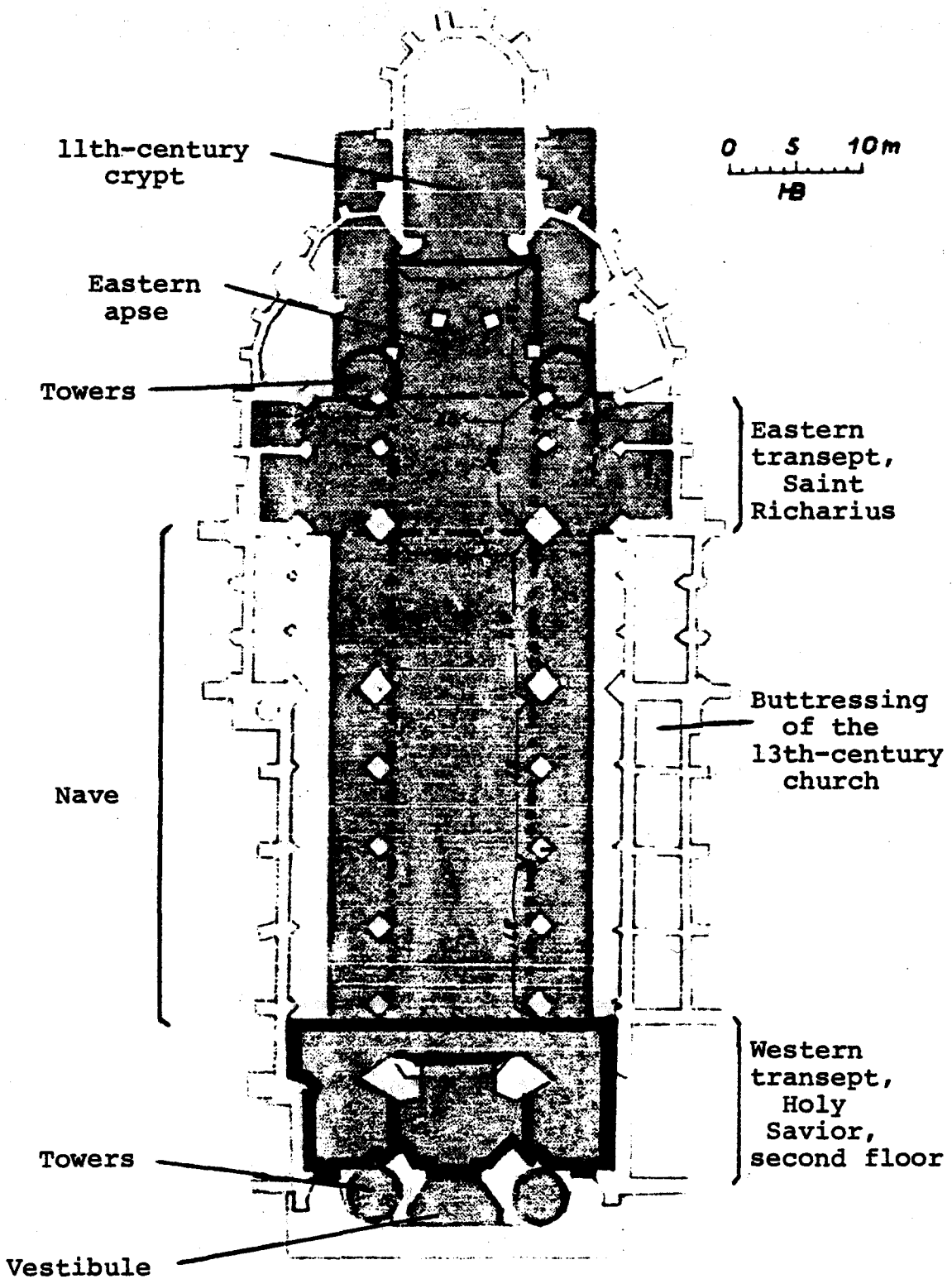


PLATE VI

Floorplan of the Basilica as reconstructed by Bernard,
with projected Modular Dimensions (Rabe)

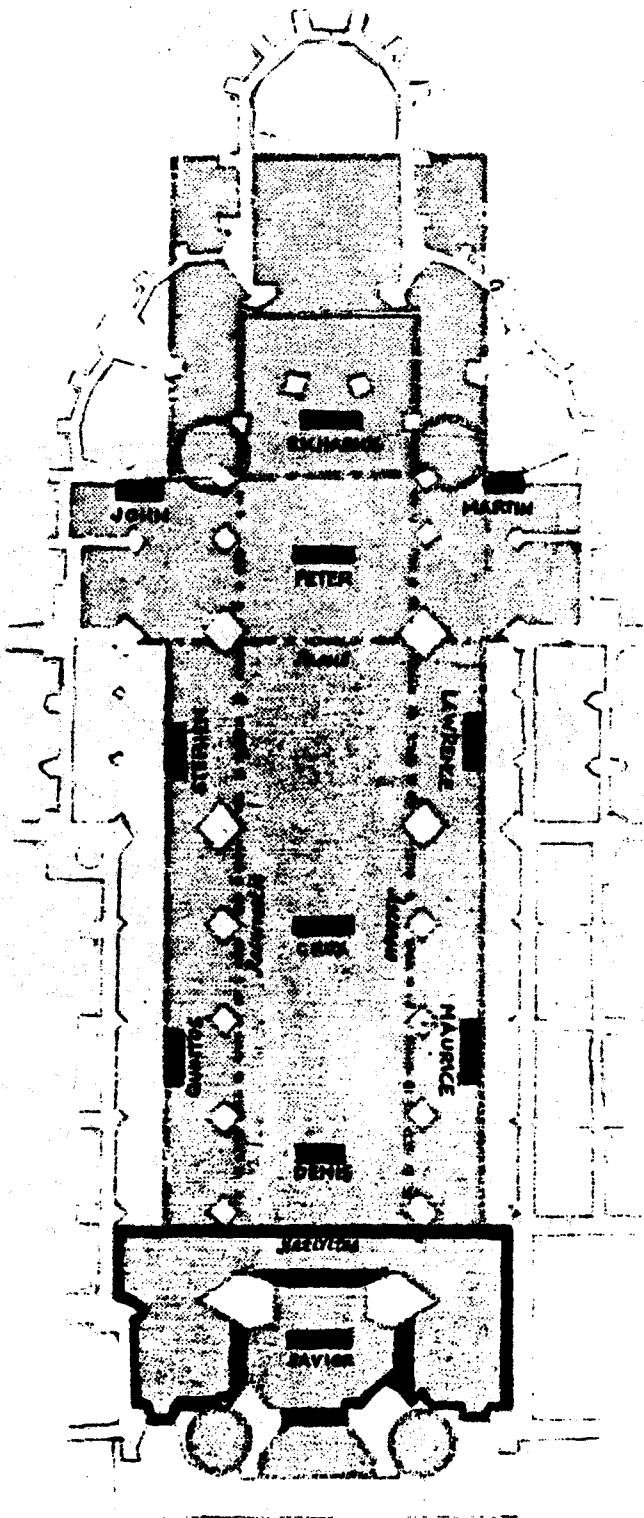


PLATE VII
Floorplan of the Basilica
Arrangement of Altars and Reliefs (Rabe)



PLATE VIII

Pentecost Scene

Drogo Sacramentary, circa 830



PLATE IX
Pentecost Scene
Detail, Ivory Tablet, mid-ninth century



PLATE X

Pentecost Scene
Rabula Gospels, sixth century



PLATE XI

Pentecost Scene with Ascension
Palestinian Ampulla of Queen Theodelinda, 625



PLATE XII

Pentecost Scene

Bible of Charles the Bald, mid-ninth century

APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Susan A. Rabe has been read and approved by the following committee:

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The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

2/12/85

Barbara H. Rosenwein

Date

Director's Signature