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THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE CAROLINGIAN SERMON

By

Thomas Leslie Amos

A DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE CAROLINGIAN SERMON

By

Thomas Leslie Amos

Sermons used for popular preaching have long remained neglected sources for the religious history of the Early Middle Ages. This neglect is regrettable in view of recent editions and discoveries made among the manuscripts containing sermons and sermon collections. The present study attempts to employ the new discoveries in a general examination of sermons and preaching in Gaul (500-950) with a special focus on the Carolingian period (750-950).

The first part of this study traces the origins of the Carolingian sermon by following the development of three earlier sermon traditions in western Europe which the Carolingians used as sources for their own sermons. The first of these traditions came from the works of Caesarius of Arles, who gave the sermon a new and effective form, and linked preaching to church reform. The second tradition came from the preaching and missionary efforts of the Merovingian clergy. The last of these traditions united the contributions of such figures as Martin of Braga, Gregory the Great and the Anglo-Saxon missionaries to preaching and the sermon. Its most important manifestation was the missionary and reform work of Boniface, who drew the three traditions together and inspired the reform and missionary activities of the Carolingians.

Few clerics preached during the Early Middle Ages; indeed regular preaching required some larger context which emphasized the sermon's importance. Charlemagne gave his clergy two contexts within which preaching was important: church reform and missionary work. The reform legislation attempted to improve both the organized church and the spiritual life of the people. It created new roles for the sermon as a device intended to teach the reform ideas to the people. Missions to the pagan peoples of northern and eastern Europe also produced sermons and preachers.

The remainder of part two examines the sermons based on an identification of 970 sermons as original Carolingian popular sermons. Carolingian bishops who preached are identified, the role of monks as preachers is examined, and the ways in which preachers were educated are illustrated. Finally, the contents of the sermons are analyzed and related to preaching by the example of clerical conduct and to works of religious art.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

All works of historical research are to some degree collective works. The historian depends greatly upon discoveries and interpretations made by predecessors and contemporaries, and the footnotes of the following study will indicate my indebtedness to others who have written about the Early Middle Ages. In collecting material for this work and putting it together in a coherent and comprehensible manner, however, I have had much help from a large number of people. These acknowledgment pages can only begin to describe the aid, encouragement and inspiration I received from the people mentioned here and the institutions they represent.

Foremost among the people who have helped me in this project is Professor Richard E. Sullivan, who directed both this dissertation and the progress of my doctoral program. He taught me to look at early medieval history as a process of human forces and ideas and not as a mere chain of dead causes and effects. In particular, he oversaw the transformation of this dissertation from general ideas about Carolingian sermons into the form it has taken in the following pages. I will owe much of my future success as teacher of and researcher in medieval history to his ability to get his students to think deeply, ask the right questions and care about communicating their own ideas to others. Professor Sullivan's generosity with his own time, despite the calls of administrative tasks and his own research, resulted in

the elimination of many errors in interpretation and style from this work. His help was invaluable, and such errors as remain are the product of my own obstinacy rather than any oversight on his part.

Professors Peter Vinten-Johansen, Eleanor Huzar, Stanley Chojnacki and Alan Fisher provided me with strong guidance and helpful encouragement through the fields of intellectual history, ancient history, Renaissance history and Byzantine history respectively. As members of my guidance committee they stepped willingly away from their own fields of expertise to offer thoughtful and helpful criticism of my dissertation. I have been very fortunate during my years at Michigan State in associating with people who care both about their disciplines and education of their students.

Professor John Contreni of Purdue University directed my master's thesis at Purdue and taught me all I know about working with manuscripts. He helped me to formulate my first ideas about the Carolingian sermons, and continued to provide help and encouragement throughout the project. It was a very pleasant experience to begin my first graduate educational process with a teacher and conclude it with a friend. It is even more pleasant to be able to say the same about my doctoral education.

My graduate education and the writing of this dissertation were made possible by funding from a variety of sources. Between 1975-76 and 1980-81, I received four assistantships from the Department of History at Michigan State. In the 1980-81 academic year I also received a College of Arts and Letters graduate fellowship,

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The greatest debt which I incurred during the time spent on this project is owed to my wife Barbara, since without her help and understanding, this dissertation would never have been written. She endured an eight-month separation while I worked in France, endless monologues on medieval sermons, and prolonged bouts at the typewriter. I hope to live several hundred years so that I might begin to repay all that I owe her.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Analecta Bollandia
AESC	Annales: Economies Sociétés Civilisations
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CH	Church History
CLA	Codices Latini Antiquiori
DACL	Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie. Edited by Ferdinand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq.
HE	Histoire de l'Église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours. Edited by Augustin Fliche and Victor Martin.
KGLN	Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben. 4 vols. Düsseldorf, 1965.
_____, I	Persönlichkeit und Geschichte. Edited by Helmut Beumann.
_____, II	Das geistige Leben. Edited by Bernhard Bischoff.
_____, III	Karolingische Kunst. Edited by Wolfgang Braunfels and Hermann Schitzler.
Mansi, Concilia	Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio. Edited by J. D. Mansi. 53 vols. Graz, 1960.
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
Cap. reg. Franc.	Capitularia regum Francorum
Conc.	Concilia Karolini aevi

Epp.	Epistolae
Epp. sel.	Epistolae selecta in usum scholarum
Epp. k. a.	Epistolae Karolini aevi. 5 vols. Berlin, 1892, 1928.
SS	Scriptores. 31 vols. Hanover, 1826-1903.
SSrM	Scriptores rerum Merowingicae. 7 vols. Hanover, 1885-1920.
PG	Patrologia cursus completum, series graeca. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 161 vols. Paris, 1857-1903.
PL	Patrologia cursus completum, series latina. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 221 vols. Paris, 1844-1903.
RB	Revue bénédictine
REA	Revue des études augustinienne
RHEF	Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France
RTAM	Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale
SB	Sankt Bonifatius: Gedenkgabe zum zwölfhundertsten Todestag. Fulda, 1954.
Settimane	Settimane di studio del centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medievo
_____, VII	Le chiesi nei regni dell Europa occidentale e i loro rapporti con Rome all'800. Spoleto, 1960.
_____, XIII	Agricoltura e mondo rurale in occidente nell'alto medievo. Spoleto, 1966.
_____, XIV	La conversione al christionesimo dell'alto medievo. Spoleto, 1967.

SM	Studi Medievali. 3rd ser.
STC	Studies in Church History
TSMAO	Typologies des sources du moyen âge occidentaux

INTRODUCTION

In intellectual, cultural, and religious history the period between 750 and 950 has received the name Carolingian Renaissance, describing a rebirth of classical thought and letters taking place at this time. There are problems with this association as there are with all such generalizations. The chief problem lies in a confusion between means and ends.[1] Much of the impetus behind this movement came from a sweeping pattern of religious reforms. Charlemagne and his circle of court advisors, to whom most of these reforms are attributed, wanted to improve the quality of Christian life within the borders of the Frankish realm, and to expand Christianity beyond its borders. They created the reform legislation with these aims clearly in mind.

The Frankish Church by the middle of the seventh century was an obvious candidate for a thorough system of reforms. Standards of clerical education, the conduct of the liturgy, even the content of basic religious texts had declined seriously during the previous century. An even more fundamental problem was the lack of religious knowledge among the Frankish people. To correct these problems Charlemagne and his advisors decided at various times during his reign to put their influence and the resources of the realm behind reform. The Frankish ruling elite attempted to secure the salvation of their people.

Commitment to religious reform became the basis for an impressive body of legislation in capitularies and synodal canons. Taken together the legislation provided a new and unified foundation for Christianity within Francia. All areas of religion from the theological formulations of belief to the most mundane elements of daily conduct for clergy and laity found their places in the reforms. In drawing upon and re-interpreting the heritage of earlier centuries, the Carolingians gave a new shape to medieval Christianity.

However, institutional success meant little in terms of the reformers' overall goals. The institutions were important, but they were only means and not ends in themselves. The reformers wanted to implant new ideas and practices within the pattern of life of the Frankish people. These new ideas and practices were the product of a social and intellectual elite, the episcopacy and circle of court advisors. How and to what degree they were communicated to the great mass of people remains a disputed question among historians of the period.

A simple and obvious answer to the matter of how they should be transmitted can be found in the legislation itself. The capitularies and synodal canons gave a great deal of attention to preaching and the sermon and the role they were to play in the reforms. The sermon had long been a traditional means of Christian education, and the Carolingians placed great reliance upon it to fulfill that function.[2] This could be seen in the legislation describing themes for sermons, preaching manuals, regularity of preaching, and even provision for vernacular preaching.

Problems in achieving these goals were immediately apparent. Preaching required an educated clergy with access to written works to serve as sources for sermons, or as collections of sermons to be read by those clerics unable to compose their own. At the same time that the Carolingian episcopate demanded that their clergy preach, they also strove frantically to create the necessary conditions for regular preaching. Success at attaining regular preaching while at the same time trying to create a clergy capable of preaching could only be limited, but given certain limitations, what can be said about that success?

* * * * *

The literature on preaching and the sermon during the Carolingian period has developed into a sizeable body during the last twenty years. Complementing this literature is an equally impressive body of discoveries of Carolingian preaching materials. Unfortunately a number of problems exist within the literature. Many of the suggestions put forward concerning preaching and the sermon no longer seem tenable, and few discoveries of new texts have found their way into even the most recent works. To illustrate these problems three works will be examined here.

In 1968 Walter Ullmann published a collection of lectures on the political ideas and practices which came out of the Carolingian Renaissance.[3] Part of his discussion assumed that the sermon played a major role in communicating reform ideas which united the Frankish people around church and state, but no sermons were used as evidence despite a wealth of citations from other types of primary sources.

Milton Gatch brought forward another type of problem in the chapter on Carolingian preaching from his study of Aelfric and Wulfstan.[4] He examined the published sermons and found them wanting as examples of material used for preaching on two grounds. Since the legislation called for vernacular preaching, the surviving body of Latin sermons was unlikely to have been used for the people. Secondly, an investigation of liturgical works led to the conclusion that no place for the sermon existed within the framework of the mass. Following Gatch's argument, there is no evidence for any Carolingian preaching, and no Carolingian sermons, properly speaking, have survived.

The most recent work on the Frankish Church also contained a chapter devoted to the sermon. Rosamond McKitterick studied the legislation and institutionalization of reform measures in various areas of the Frankish Church.[5] This study surveyed a wide assortment of manuscript evidence for almost all subjects except the sermon. In that chapter, discussion centered as much on monastic homiliaries which were not used for popular preaching as on those sermonaries which definitely were used for popular preaching.[6] There was no examination of sources of sermons, or relation of the existing sermons to the themes and spiritual needs stressed in the legislation. While an excellent work in other areas, McKitterick's study failed to treat the sermons in a comprehensive manner.

So despite the renewal of interest in the sermons which these three works indicate, there is as yet no comprehensive guide to the sermons as sources of Carolingian history. Lack of such a guide is all the more unfortunate since there has been a virtual revolution

in the discovery and editing of early medieval sermons over the last fifty years. In 1937 Germain Morin crowned some forty years of study with the publication of his edition of the sermons of Caesarius of Arles (503-543).[7] He rescued a large number of Caesarius' sermons from their previous inclusion in the corpus of Pseudo-Augustinian sermons. Morin's edition established the role of Caesarius in bringing together the elements which produced medieval sermons--as opposed to forms and styles used by authors of the Patristic Age. Morin also illustrated Caesarius' editorial influence which shaped the medieval transmission of Augustine's works. The groundwork for a new approach to the history of the sermon in this critical period of transition between the Roman and medieval periods had been laid.

Morin's edition of Caesarius did not have an immediate impact on sermon studies, but in the 1950s articles and monographs started appearing in increasing numbers. A number of French historians, such as Henri Barré, Jean Leclerq, Raymond Étaix, Réginald Grégoire and Jean-Paul Bouhot, began to publish individual sermons, descriptions of sermonaries and guides to the homiliaries from the Carolingian period.[8] Although their work has uncovered only a fraction of the sermons and sermonaries known to exist in the manuscript collections of Europe, we know about and have access to more Carolingian sermons than ever before. There is at present, however, no general study of the development of the medieval sermon based on the discoveries in the literature that have been made up to the present. This work is intended to serve as such a study.

* * * * *

An investigation of the Carolingian sermon must begin with the reasons why the reformers placed so much reliance on the sermon at a time when preaching and the sermon were neglected in the rest of Christian Europe. In part the Carolingian revival of preaching stemmed naturally from the teaching functions of the sermon. Another component derived from the preaching traditions inherited by the Carolingians from Caesarius of Arles, from their Merovingian predecessors, and from other parts of Europe. These traditions determined to a large degree the shape of the new preaching style.

The first part of this study will examine these three traditions. The work of Caesarius of Arles had a large impact on medieval preaching. His simple and direct style influenced later authors of sermons, not the least of whom were the Carolingians. As archbishop of Arles, Caesarius was one of the first medieval reformers as well as a shaper of Christian doctrine. His interest in the conditions of life among his flock and in ecclesiastical ideas and institutions in many ways prefigured the Carolingian reforms.

Indeed, use of the sermon for the purposes of reform and religious education was an important connection between the activities of Caesarius and the activities of later reformers, such as Martin of Braga, Boniface and the Carolingians. For all of these people reform had at least three purposes. The reformers sought to improve the quality of clerical life and education, and also to create or improve a system of hierarchical ecclesiastical organization to supervise the pastoral work of their priests. These two goals were perceived as necessary steps toward achieving the third goal of providing a sound

Christian education for the people through regular preaching on the Sundays and feast days of the liturgical year.

Sermons played a critical role in educating the medieval masses. Today the idea of education carries with it strong connotations of reading and writing. Such connotations would have made little sense to an early medieval bishop faced with a diocese where literacy was confined at best to five or ten percent of his people. These percentages would consist entirely of the secular and regular clergy and some of the nobles, and not even all of the clergy were literate. Education outside of the clerical ranks was both oral and practical, and was concerned with imparting skills and traditions. Sermons provided the people with religious knowledge, ecclesiastical techniques necessary for their salvation, and a sense of Christian traditions. Popular sermons, along with oral catechetical instruction, formed the basis of early medieval religious education for the great mass of the people, and it was Caesarius who reshaped the sermon to fulfill this role.

Caesarius' influence survived in Gaul during the two centuries which followed his death and led to the creation of new sermon traditions in Spain and Italy. His influence was certainly felt by the missionaries of the late seventh and early eighth centuries, most prominent of whom were the Anglo-Saxons. Their surviving documents--letters, saints' lives, and sermon fragments--show this clearly. The missionaries, particularly Boniface, adapted this legacy and added ideas and techniques of their own. Boniface saw reform of the existing Frankish Church as a vital element of his missionary activities, and

this interest united the three traditions within a Carolingian framework.

Although the efforts of Boniface in Francia had few immediate effects, he did begin to interest the Frankish rulers in the possibilities of reform. These interests received further stimulation after his death from his colleagues and disciples. Another Anglo-Saxon from the same milieu as the missionaries, Alcuin, became one of the leading figures behind the revived reform efforts under Charlemagne. The new reformers drew upon traditions, ideas and personnel from all over western Europe, combining them into a new approach to religious life and thought.

The second part of this study will examine the political, cultural, and institutional context of the sermons by looking at the legislation and the people who brought the sermons into being. Although much has been written about the legislation behind preaching, it contained the themes and practices which the Carolingians were trying to pass on to their subjects and remains a necessary point of departure. The capitularies showed the importance given preaching by secular authorities, while conciliar and synodal canons revealed the ecclesiastical cadre of reformers who used the sermon as an instrument of reform.

While the legislation applied with equal force to the whole of the Frankish episcopate, only a small group actually provided what limited success that preaching enjoyed. The circle of friends, colleagues and students of Alcuin were the episcopal activists responsible for creating the Carolingian sermon.

Finally it will be necessary to narrow the focus even further to examine the nature of the sermon and sermon collections. The large body of original--i.e., written in whole or in part by the Carolingians--Carolingian sermons has not yet been brought together for study. The first task is to identify those sermons and sermon collections, along with materials used to educate priests in their pastoral duty of preaching. It will be seen that the materials available to the Carolingian clergy were not as limited as has hitherto been thought. A series of manuscripts can be called upon to illustrate the process of educating the preacher. It will also be seen that monks acting as authors and copyists furnished a large proportion of the works intended for the secular clergy's use.

This use meant communication of basic religious ideas and practices. The contents of the sermons will give a clear idea of the types of reforms expected to take place on the popular level. While few of the religious controversies of the Carolingian theologians penetrated down to the level of the masses, the sermons present a solid view of the doctrinal concerns of the age. The sermon's prime importance lay in teaching fundamentals of religion to a populace either poorly educated in these matters, or never previously exposed to them at all.

Teaching an altogether illiterate populace meant using the spoken word. Other devices, the "silent sermons," were also employed. Art and the conduct of the clergy became actual models of ideas and practices for a society unable to read. These took their place along with the sermon as means to the reformers' end.

The Carolingian sermon remains an important, if often neglected, source for the religious, intellectual, and cultural history of its age. If the present study succeeds in making it a more accessible source, it will have accomplished one of its primary goals.

INTRODUCTION: NOTES

[1]There has been much debate concerning what the Carolingian Renaissance actually was. One school of thought emphasized, or over-emphasized, the rebirth of classical letters (see M. L. W. Laistner, Thought and Letters in Western Europe: 500-800 (Ithaca, N.Y., 1956), 191-4; and Gordon Leff, Medieval Thought: St. Augustine to Ockham (Harmondsworth, 1958), 55-62). Another school stressed the religious nature of the Renaissance and saw its origins in a desire to reform society (see Gerhard Ladner, "Die mittelalterliche Reform-Idee und ihr Verhältnis zur Idee der Renaissance," (Mitteilungen des Institut für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 60 (1952), 31-59 and Walter Ullmann, The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship, The Birbeck Lectures, 1968-9 (London, 1968), 9-18. Finally, a third school would minimize the importance of the Renaissance and its cultural and religious effects altogether (see Erna Patzelt, Das karolingische Renaissance (Graz, 1965) and Janet L. Nelson, "On the Limits of the Carolingian Renaissance," SCH 14 (Oxford, 1977), 51-69. The view of this study, following those expressed by Ladner and Ullmann, will be developed in the following paragraphs, and the basis for it will be shown in the discussion of the legislation in Chapter IV.

[2]The use of terminology in sermon studies has become confusing over the past few years. Sermons are generally distinguished from homilies. Sermonaries, collections of sermons for preaching ad populum, are distinguished from homiliaries, which were collections of homilies used generally in a monastic setting. This distinction is based upon the observation that sermons are catechetical in nature, i.e., intended to teach moral or doctrinal points, while homilies were almost entirely exegetical, i.e., explications of Scripture or patristic texts used in monasteries. Henri Barré first proposed this distinction in his Les homéliaires carolingiens de l'école d'Auxerre, Studi e Testi, 225 (Rome, 1962), 13-14. The use of the word sermo to describe popular preaching came from Augustine, see Christine Mohrmann, "Praedicare-Tractare-Sermo: essai sur la termonologie de la prédication paleo-chrétienne," La Maison-Dieu, 39 (1954), 106-7. By the ninth century this distinction had broken down entirely, so that sermons and sermonaries must be judged by their content and context. The sermons to be discussed in the following chapters will be those works used for teaching and moral exhortation and intended for a popular audience.

[3]Walter Ullmann, The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship, The Birbeck Lectures, 1968-9 (London, 1969). The thesis discussed here appears on pages 36 to 40. It is interesting that he refers to the sermon as the chief instrument of "effecting the rebirth of Carolingian society" through education (p. 36) without, as mentioned above, having examined the sermons themselves.

[4]Milton McC. Gatch, Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Aelfric and Wulfstan (Toronto, 1977), 27-39.

[5]Rosamond McKitterick, The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-850. Monographs of the Royal Historical Society 2 (London, 1978), see especially chapter 3.

[6]Ibid., 97-140. The collection of Paul the Deacon and the works of the Auxerre masters were not intended for popular audiences. The first of those was liturgical in nature, designed for the use of cathedral clergy during the offices, while the last was monastic in nature, intended for private or group study and meditation.

[7]Germain Morin, ed., Sancti Caesarii opera omnia (2 vols.; Maredsous, 1937). Volume one contained the sermons and was reprinted as Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis sermones, editio altera, CCSL, 103-4 (Tournhout, 1953). The CCSL edition will be used here.

[8]The works referred to here will be cited extensively in Chapters V, VI and VII below.

PART ONE

THE ORIGINS OF THE CAROLINGIAN SERMON

The authors of medieval sermons had tremendous respect for the authority of the works of their predecessors, which meant an authority achieved by both the passage of time and the individual sanctity and ability of the authors themselves. Therefore when composing a sermon, an author felt free, if not actually obligated, to draw heavily upon any available works touching upon the subject to which he wished to speak. When examining the sermons of any particular period, it becomes necessary to examine the various strands of tradition from which the authors of those sermons drew material and models for style.

Although the authors of Carolingian sermons employed a variety of materials in composing their works, they were influenced most strongly by three sermon traditions which developed in western Europe. The first of these traditions grew out of the work of Caesarius of Arles, who adapted the sermons of Augustine and others and wrote original sermons intended for popular preaching, i.e., preaching to a general congregation of lay people. He tied preaching to his efforts at church reform and so initiated a line of action which later reformers, particularly the Carolingians, would imitate again and again. In his desire to secure regular preaching on Sundays and feast days throughout his church, Caesarius sent collections of

sermons, his own and the works of others, to all parts of Europe. In this manner he provided sources used by the authors of later sermons and inspired preaching in areas outside of his immediate jurisdiction. After his death many of his activities were continued and developed upon in the Merovingian Church.

A second strand of sermon tradition came from the works of bishops in Visigothic Spain and in Italy. In their activities could be seen the influence of Caesarius to which they added elements of their own. Martin of Braga and the bishops of Toledo wrote sermons responsive to local needs, but some of the local problems were sufficiently universal so that their works also became sources for later writers in other places. In Italy Gregory the Great wrote works on preaching and sermons which had an almost immediate impact throughout Christian Europe. Through his letters to other bishops, he used the moral authority of the papacy to encourage preaching, and he initiated the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons by employing Benedictine monks as missionaries.

The results of the mission Gregory sponsored produced the third strand of tradition; the sermons of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries who came to the continent in the eighth century. Their sermons united the works of Augustine, Caesarius, Martin and Gregory to produce the main body of materials upon which Carolingian writers drew. The activities of the missionaries, Boniface in particular, included reforming churches in existing Christian communities. In so doing they reunited the sermon as a teaching device to the idea of reform, repeating here the earlier activities of Caesarius of Arles and

providing inspiration for the Carolingian reformers. Within these three strands of tradition are to be found the origins of the Carolingian sermon.

CHAPTER I

THE SERMON TRADITION IN GAUL: 400-550

The ideas and institutions of Carolingian Europe emerged in large part from the long period of change, growth, decay and experimentation that we call the Early Middle Ages. Although this process, like all human history, involved conscious choice and blind chance, most eighth-century institutions had their roots in the Romano-Germanic world of the fifth century. The sermon used by the Carolingian clergy followed this course. A series of people and events in fifth and sixth century Gaul shaped one strand of tradition from which it came. To follow the history of the sermon, the first roads led from Rome.

Although the sermon had been an important teaching device of Christianity from the days of Christ and the Apostles, between 450 and 500 it almost disappeared as a functioning part of the liturgy in most parts of western Europe. This was the result of a number of trends in the history of the Church during the early years of the fifth century. Yet at the same time in Gaul a series of events took place which resulted in the reshaping of the sermon. Adapted to meet new needs, it took an important role in the expansion of Christianity. The transition made by the sermon from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages was slow and uncertain, as was the case with so many other literary forms, institutions and ideas.

The collapse of the Roman Empire in the West had far-reaching consequences for the various institutions of which it was composed. In particular, economic decline meant a gradual breaking up of the communication and support networks which had made possible the flourishing urban life that characterized Roman civilization. The effects of this decline on preaching became greater over time. Bishops taught and exhorted their flocks from the towns and, as these declined in importance, they were ill prepared to shift their attentions to the countryside.[1] When the Roman governmental structure began to fragment, bishops acquired a new function as civic administrators.[2] In the new conditions brought about in western Europe, the urban bishops were poorly placed, considering the growing importance of the rural world, and burdened with new occupations unrelated to their pastoral duties.

As the old Roman towns declined, so did the schools which had been supported by the municipal and imperial governments.[3] This decline of the traditional educational system had an impact on all levels of the clergy as well as upon preaching, an activity for which literacy and literary sources were essential. While the decline of schools affected the clergy more seriously in some areas than in others, it had an additional result of wider influence. The gradual loss of the Roman schools, with their influence on written and spoken Latin, meant an acceleration in the separation of Vulgar Latin dialects from the classically-oriented Latin of the elite groups in society.[4] These changing educational conditions affected both preachers and their audiences.

By far the most important changes were the restraints placed upon use of the sermon within the church hierarchy. The fourth and fifth centuries experienced the rise of many heretical movements. Some of these were relatively short-lived while others, such as Arianism, constituted major threats to Christian unity. Since a heresy could originate or flourish from the words of a poorly-trained parish priest's sermons, one response to this problem came in 431 when Pope Celestine I forbade priests to preach.[5] In the West this meant formal acceptance of the already customary practice of preventing the lesser clergy from preaching, as Augustine discovered when he had to get special permission to preach while serving as a deacon.[6] The fifth-century Greek church historian Socrates could testify to the effectiveness of this practice in restricting both the number of preachers and the amount of preaching undertaken.[7] The restrictions on preaching placed an additional burden upon the bishops, one to which in most parts of Europe they were unequal.

Despite these trends parts of Europe enjoyed something of a "golden age" of late patristic preaching during the first half of the fifth century. In North Africa the preaching tradition begun by Augustine found successors into the sixth century. Peter Chrysologus of Ravenna (433-48), Maximus of Turin (c. 420-c. 460) and Pope Leo V (440-461) were the best known Italian preachers. The southern part of Gaul--more specifically Provence--saw a long line of preaching bishops. Beyond these areas either no regular preaching took place or sources to describe such activity have not survived.[8]

The Italian preaching bishops illustrated yet another problem faced in the sermon's history at this time. Although Maximus, Peter

and Leo I left sermons and a reputation for preaching behind them, none of the three had successors who preached. This was the case for most of Europe despite the fact that preaching was a basic pastoral duty. To take Leo I as an example, one tradition stated that no pope had preached up to the time of his predecessor Sixtus III (432-440).[9] None of Leo's successors, down to Gregory I (590-60), has left any record of sermons or preaching activities.[10] The bishops of Rome failed to set any kind of example for the other western bishops to follow in this regard. Fulfillment of the obligation to preach depended upon the individual. There could be no guarantee of continuity, since there was no central authority, either legal or moral, to impose this duty upon an unwilling bishop. In Europe after the death of Leo I, preaching survived as an active part of church life only in southern Gaul.

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This survival came from two or three factors peculiar to southern Gaul, although conditions in Provence were similar to those which prevailed elsewhere in the west. Religiously, the cities, Arles in particular, dominated a largely un-Christianized countryside. The conversion of the rural areas was only gradually beginning, and it was aided in Provence by episcopal preaching. This preaching came in the main from bishops connected with the monastery of Lérins. Regular preaching was aided by the attention given to the sermon in the "Gallican" liturgy used in most of France. Finally, the amount of preaching increased as a result of the organization of rural parishes controlled by the bishops.

Many of these factors came together in the careers of a group of bishops who entered religious life at the monastery of Lérins, which came into being around the beginning of the fifth century. Founded by Honoratus, later Bishop of Arles (428-430), it grew quickly and became an important monastic center.[11] The degree of its importance has long remained a difficult question to answer. No manuscripts have survived to illustrate the work of a scriptorium and historians have agreed that no formal school existed.[12] Yet Lérins did provide its monks with a form of education that helped to shape the form the medieval sermon would take in Gaul.

Lérins' role as a "nursery" for preaching bishops derived from the involvement of its monks in the debates over two different theological issues important in the fifth century: heresies and the nature of grace. One of the writers on these subjects, Vincent of Lérins, left an important work which illustrated the connections between the theological interests of the monks and the sermons some of them left in later careers as bishops. Vincent's Commonitorium libri duo (434) was the first surviving work in that genre known as monastic conferences. These works involved a master who composed and delivered the conferences and a group of monks and novices to whom the conferences were given as lectures, discussions, or subjects for meditation. In the Commonitorium Vincent first praised Ambrose and other confessors for their work in preaching the Catholic faith.[13] The rest of the two books traced the careers of major heresiarchs and determined the means for distinguishing the true faith from error.

Among his other purposes, Vincent wrote to combat Augustine's position on the questions of grace and predestination.[14] In this debate the chief source became the works of Augustine which were widely read throughout Gaul as more writers entered the controversy. So Lérins was a center for the use of Augustine's works, despite the monks' opposition to some of his teachings. These works included the sermons, copies of which had been widely distributed during Augustine's lifetime.[15] Vincent's writings provided an example of how the monk-bishops of Lérins probably acquired sources and inspiration for their later preaching activities from Augustine's sermons.

Honoratus, founder of Lérins, began the tradition of bishops being chosen from the monastery. He accepted the see of Arles to restore peace after a violent election which failed to produce a bishop.[16] If chosen for his asceticism and piety, Honoratus proved successful in a pastoral role and was known as an assiduous preacher.[17] His successor at Arles was his disciple at Lérins, Hilary, author of the Sermo de vita sancti Honorati and a preacher in his own right, who held the see from 430 to 444.[18] These two men were the first of many monks or abbots of Lérins to become bishops in southern and central Gaul. Among those who also left sermons or records of preaching activity were Eucherius of Lyons (434-50), Valerian of Cimiez (c. 435-460) and Faustus of Riez (460-480).[19] Maximus of Riez (434-460) and Lupus of Troyes (429-479) also came from Lérins, but their preaching activity has left only doubtful traces.[20]

The work of these men, and perhaps others whose works have left no trace, preserved the sermon in Gaul at the same time that it

vanished from pastoral activity elsewhere in the West. Exactly what role the influence of Lérins played in this survival has long remained unclear. Vincent's Commonitorium might have interested his fellow monks who became bishops in using the sermon to teach their flocks an orthodox faith as part of their episcopal duties. Lérins also exposed the monk-bishops to the sermons of Augustine. Thus the involvement of the monks of Lérins in theological controversies produced a number of fifth-century bishops who continued the sermon tradition of the late Roman world.

Another factor which helped keep the sermon alive in Gaul was the provision of a regular place for it within the "Gallican" liturgy. This form derived from the Ambrosian liturgy used in Milan and spread throughout Gaul from the fourth to the eighth centuries.[21] It was a much more elaborate ceremony than the contemporary "Roman" liturgy--i.e., the liturgical usages preserved in the Ordines Romani or Roman mass-books--containing more scriptural readings and prayers. The surviving missals date from 675-725, but provide a reasonably accurate description of the Mass as it developed in Gaul from the fifth century onward.[22] These mass-books all placed the homily or sermon after the Gospel reading, while the Roman liturgical books showed no trace at all of sermons or homilies.[23] In providing a place for the sermon, the Gallican liturgy was unique in western Europe.

The monastic experience of the Lérins group of bishops and the liturgy provided a milieu in which the sermon flourished in fifth century Gaul. There was also a new set of needs for which it was an answer. Christianity began to expand into the countryside which meant

the conversion of pagans and the establishment of rural parishes. The creation of rural parishes began in the fourth century around Narbonne, but during the course of the fifth century both the numbers of parishes and the powers of the parish priest increased.[24] In the case of Tours, for example, this growth meant going from two churches in the city (c. 390) to four churches in the city and twenty in the countryside (c. 500).[25] While the means of conversion differed from region to region, in the south conversion provided a new scope for the sermon, still the Church's main teaching device.

The problems of language and style yet remained to be overcome in the process of developing a medieval sermon. The style and syntax of the Lérins bishops' sermons did not change greatly from the highly rhetorical style favored by the late Roman writers.[26] The author of the Vita Hilarii Arelatensis stated that Hilary preached in a simple style to the rusticos, but when he saw educated people among his congregation, he altered his style to appeal to them.[27] This style resulted from the fact that Hilary and the other fifth-century bishops were among the last products of the Roman schools. Their sermons used vocabulary and syntax which must have been almost incomprehensible to those to whom the sermons were ostensibly directed.[28]

Although the sermon survived in Gaul, it was not yet a vehicle of communication adapted to meet the new conditions faced by the Church. The final stage of transformation, of reshaping the sermon and widening the range it covered, would also be the work of a bishop from Lérins. Caesarius of Arles created both a new style of sermon and a new milieu which increased its effectiveness. As a result of

this work he became the first reforming bishop of the Middle Ages. The example he set in terms of use of canon law, interest in producing educated clergy capable of preaching, and structuring a sermon capable of effectively conveying knowledge of religious doctrine and practices helped to shape the pattern of similar periods of reform down through the Middle Ages. The activities of Caesarius, repeated on a grander scale, set the pattern for the religious reforms of the Carolingians.

* * * * *

Many elements combined to make the episcopal career of Caesarius of Arles (503-543) important for the development of the sermon. The city of Arles had been an important Roman administrative center, and it served as the hub of a network of roads leading to Italy, Spain and the north of Gaul.[29] As an archdiocese the episcopal authority of the see of Arles stretched out over a large area of Provence, administering twenty-six other bishoprics. This region extended from Nice-Cimiez westward to the Rhone and northward from Marseille to a line between Die and Embrun.[30] Whatever happened in Arles would influence events over a larger region.

Another factor which furthered Caesarius' efforts at reform was the position of Arles within the Church of Gaul. Legend assigned the founding of the city's Christian community to Trophimus, one of the seven apostles of Gaul sent by Peter. Bishops of Arles possessed a certain primacy and the city became a center for councils and synods which were held with reasonable regularity from 314 onward. Throughout the fourth and fifth centuries the episcopal archives became the

repository of an impressive, and increasing, body of canon law.[31] Any reshaping of ecclesiastical life and practices would have to come through councils and additions or revisions to existing laws. A bishop in possession of the authority of the see of Arles and tradition conferred by such precedents would have an easier task in securing assent for his reforms.

With these elements Caesarius reshaped the ecclesiastical life of Arles. Concerning his own motivations much less can be ascertained. Born around 470 to Gallo-Roman parents in Burgundy, he received a traditional Roman education.[32] His biographers related few details of his early life, a traditional lacuna in hagiography. Caesarius entered the monastery of Lérins during his teens, and rose to the post of cellarer. A combination of disputes over his duties and ascetic zeal resulted in illness and his being sent to Arles to recover his health.[33]

The hagiographers' laconic reporting has hidden much within these simple facts. At Lérins Caesarius must have become acquainted with the works of Augustine which played so decisive a role in shaping his own sermons. Although he remained close to the monastic life--he was nominal abbot of a small monastery in Arles and composed a Rule for his sister the Abbess Caesaria--he was able to turn this asceticism into pastoral piety with no expressed regrets for the life he had left. Caesarius accepted priestly ordination from Bishop Eonius of Arles shortly after his arrival in the city (497/8). Shortly after that Bishop Eonius nominated him as his eventual successor.[34]

The priestly qualities which Eonius saw in the young man derived largely from Caesarius' experiences at Lérins.

His episcopal career began in 503 when, after the death of Eonius, he received consecration as bishop of Arles.[35] Almost immediately Caesarius began to face the difficulties of a Catholic bishop in a territory ruled by Arian Germans. Arles and most of Provence formed part of the Visigothic kingdom which possessed a vigorous Arian church.[36] After the defeat of Alaric II by the Franks at the battle of Vouillé (507), Provence passed to the Ostrogoths of Italy until 538.

The consequences of this political situation for Caesarius were severe. He spent one year in exile (505), and he incurred the suspicion of the Visigothic garrison of Arles during its two-year siege by the Franks (507/8), despite his efforts to feed the city and to ransom captives. Finally, local charges of disloyalty led to his being sent before Theoderic, the Ostrogothic king, at Ravenna in 513.[37] During the first ten years of his episcopate, Caesarius spent about five years on trial, in exile, or under siege. Out of his chaotic experiences came the administrative genius to be seen in the councils over which he presided.

The purpose of his councils was church reform which, for Caesarius and later reformers, meant much more than the correction of particular problems among the clergy and laity. Belief in reform was inherent in Christianity.[38] Just as Christian initiation implied a re-forming of the individual from a sinful state into a <u>typos</u> of pre-Fall innocence, so did reform of the Church imply a re-forming of both the Church and

its people into a new and better condition. During the Early Middle Ages, reformers such as Caesarius and the Carolingians looked back to the Imperial Roman Church of Constantine and Theodosius as the model they wished to imitate. These reformers tried to recreate the power, unity, culture and spiritual life which they read about in works surviving from the fourth century. The new factor that Caesarius added in his emphasis on the sermon and preaching was the desire to improve the religious knowledge and spiritual growth of the people for whom he had responsibility as bishop. In this desire he would be closely followed by Charlemagne and the Carolingian reformers.

Caesarius began his reforms with the Council of Agde in 506. The chief legal source of this council was one of the most important early medieval canon law collections, the Statuta ecclesia antiqua. Originally thought to have been composed by Caesarius himself, it has been dated to c. 475 by its most recent editor.[39] This collection served as sort of a "constitution" of the church in Arles, and its introduction, outlining the qualities expected in a bishop, illustrated the goals Caesarius set for the bishops under his jurisdiction:

> He who is to be ordained bishop, let him first be examined to see if he is prudent in nature, if he is docile, if he has temperate habits, if he has a chaste life . . . if he is instructed in the law of God, if he is cautious in his understanding of Scripture, if he is trained in church doctrine, and before all else if he asserts the proof of faith in simple words, that is he should confirm the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit to be one God, and preach that they are a Trinity: of the same essence, eternity and power. . . .[40]

This description of a bishop's duties appealed to Caesarius' ideas of episcopal obligations, and the canons of the Statuta contained other

ideas that shaped his own program of reforms. Canon three required a bishop not to occupy himself with administrative duties alone, but to have time for "reading, praying and preaching the word of God." In the same manner canon thirty-one which forbade anyone from leaving a church while a priest was preaching reflected similar admonitions in Caesarius' own works.[41]

To a large degree the canons of Agde reaffirmed the provisions of the Statuta. The first eleven canons laid down rules for a strict hierarchical discipline to be enforced by annual synods. Of particular interest in terms of Caesarius' views on preaching were canons thirteen and forty-seven. The first of these stated, "It is agreed that in all churches upon one day, the Sunday before Easter, the Creed will be taught publicly in church by a competent priest." Such use of the creed fitted in well with the other measures Caesarius took to prevent the spread of Arianism among his flock, and is reflected in his sermons upon the creed.[42] Canon forty-seven emphasized the sanctity of Sundays and repeated the sanction against anyone leaving before Mass ended with the priest's blessing.[43]

Whatever plans he had to pursue reform after this Council fell apart in the confusion resulting from the transfer of Provence to the Ostrogoths in 508/9. He held no further councils until 524, a gap of eighteen years. During this period one important change had taken place. On a visit to Rome after his trial in 513 Caesarius had been given the pallium, symbol of the metropolitan powers of an archbishop and papal vicar, by Pope Symmachus.[44] This strengthened both Caesarius' organizational powers over the clergy of Provence

and his ties with Rome. The fact remained that for a long period he failed to use these new powers.

The consequences of this inactivity could be seen in the canons of the Councils of Arles (524) and Carpentras (527). The Council of Arles was concerned with basic elements of church discipline, with such matters as establishing the age of ordination, disciplining of wrongly ordained or misbehaving clergy and excommunicating priests who refused to accept discipline. The Council of Carpentras dealt with only two issues: the sharing of church revenues between bishops and their parish clergy; and a summons to a Bishop Agricius demanding that he or a vicar attend the synods. This last issue received approval from Pope Felix IV in a letter attached to the synodal documents.[45] Although forced to repeat some of his earlier efforts, Caesarius began to use his metropolitan powers and the connection with Rome to extend his endeavors over a wider area than before.

These two councils created the organizational background for what was to be his greatest contribution to preaching reforms. For years Caesarius had been providing regular preaching to the people of Arles. With the measures enacted at the Council of Vaison (529), he was able to extend his own activities throughout his diocese. In the two preceding councils he established the age of clerical ordination, and tried to regularize the financial situation of the more remote parishes. With Vaison, he linked the parish system into his own efforts to make the sermon a vital part of the educational and liturgical life of the Church.

The first canon of this council created a system of parish education intended to provide successors for rural priests:

> It is agreed that all priests who are settled in parishes will take in young readers, as many of them as are unmarried, into the homes where they live in accordance with the custom which we know to be held soundly in Italy. The priests shall strive to be good spiritual fathers to them, to provide them the nourishment of the psalms, to pursue Scripture and to instruct them in the law of God so that the priests may provide themselves with worthy successors and receive an eternal reward from the Lord. When these young men reach adulthood if any among them wishes from frailty of the flesh to have a wife, the power to marry shall not be denied him.[46]

Preaching required an educated clergy with some means of insuring their own survival and continuity as a group. In this measure, Caesarius sought to further education and to shape a specifically Christian education, designed to supply future priests and preachers.[47] Graduates of "schools" founded by bishops who attended this council are referred to in vitae from Provence, providing evidence that some, if not all, of Caesarius' subordinates carried out the council's commands.[48] He oversaw the education of his own clergy in Arles by organizing a communal life with a strict regimen of readings and discussions.[49]

The second canon of the Council of Vaison abolished the restriction against priests being allowed to preach:

> It is agreed for the edification of all congregations and the utility of all our people that we give to priests not only in cities but in all parishes the power to preach in such a manner that, should the priest be prohibited by some infirmity from preaching himself, homilies of the holy Fathers shall be recited by deacons. For if deacons are worthy enough, as Christ said in the Gospels, to read wherefore should they be judged unworthy to read publicly the sermons of the holy Fathers?[50]

Here again Caesarius showed his interest in making the developing

system of rural parishes fully a part of his reform efforts in Arles. The provision permitting priests to preach and deacons to substitute for priests unable to do so extended his preaching and teaching endeavors widely. At the same time his reference to the homilies of the "Fathers" meant that the priests would be using prepared collections of his own works and those of earlier preachers.[51] Prepared sermonaries would safeguard the doctrinal content of sermons. Caesarius supervised the work of his parish priests closely and made regular trips throughout his diocese including a three-times yearly preaching circuit of the rural parishes.[52]

This emphasis on education through preaching to people in rural parishes became an important part of Caesarius' reforms. During the sixth century the number of rural parishes increased dramatically, although few hard figures can be adduced to illustrate this process.[53] In order to reach these previously neglected areas, Caesarius strengthened the parishes financially and tried to insure both a capable clergy and regular preaching within them. Rural parishes received strong leadership and a degree of independence, although parishioners were expected to attend services at the cathedral in Arles on the major feasts.[54]

The framework of reforms created by the promulgation of new canon law and the strengthening of the clerical hierarchy were major accomplishments. For Caesarius, it established a basis for extending his preaching efforts. His sermons, combining as they did teaching and moral exhortation, formed the keystone of his pastoral work.

* * * * *

Just as Caesarius' reforms set a pattern for other medieval reformers, so did his sermons shape the preaching tradition for centuries to follow. For Caesarius preaching became the most important aspect of clerical life and obligations. Preaching held this position in his reform efforts because it provided the means to teach Church doctrine, correct the morals of his flock and condemn the remaining aspects of paganism still being practiced. A cleric's sermons could fulfill his pastoral obligations toward the people entrusted to him in ways which prayer or observation of correct ritual could not accomplish. For these reasons Caesarius used his sermons not only to teach the people of his diocese, but also to convince other clerics of the necessity for regular preaching.

He brought many of these ideas together in his sermo I, a synodal sermon preached to a gathering of bishops, perhaps at the Council of Vaison. He warned his fellow clerics that they would have to answer before the Divine Tribunal if they neglected their duty to preach.[55] Caesarius attacked his fellow bishops' excuses for not preaching. He told his colleagues to preach in simple language, or to read collections of sermons if they felt unequal to the task of composing their own works.[56] One section of this sermon was devoted to a list of sermon topics for his bishops and priests. These topics ranged from advising people to avoid bad thoughts to warning them to attend services regularly.[57] Clearly Caesarius saw preaching as an ecclesiastical duty which clerics could neglect only at their own spiritual peril.

The reasons behind this emphasis on preaching were also given in the sermons. Caesarius believed that individual salvation--the ultimate goal of his efforts for himself and his flock--depended upon an active faith. He stated in sermo XII:

> Faith takes its name from 'he does,' that is, from that one has done. . . . Therefore when anyone declares that **he has faith, if he will not act according to that which he says he believes, he does not have faith. Because, as I have said, faith takes its name from 'he does.'**[58]

This stress on an active Christianity led Caesarius to teach religion largely in terms of "good works."

Theologians in Gaul had been debating the question of how salvation could be achieved since the early years of the fifth century. In particular, the debate centered on the role of grace, and the degree to which man had independence of action to work toward his own salvation.[59] The extreme positions ranged from Augustine's belief in predestination to Pelagius' belief in man's own self-determination--this latter view held to be heretical. A position evolved in Gaul known as Semi-Pelagianism held that grace (God's saving power) was necessary, but could be acquired through man's own actions. The Semi-Pelagians rejected predestination entirely.[60]

Caesarius upheld a middle position at the Council of Orange (529). Materials for the canons of this council had been sent to him from Rome in answer to a council held earlier that year which had reasserted the Semi-Pelagian teachings.[61] Caesarius said in the Definitio fidei attached to the acts of the Council of Orange that grace came to the individual through baptism. After baptism God's mercy inspires the faith and love which must precede all good works

which, in turn, were necessary for salvation.[62] This belief in a combination of grace and works as necessary elements in human salvation secured papal approval in a letter from Boniface II.[63]

The council set a seal on doctrines Caesarius had been teaching throughout his episcopal career. He warned his flock that good works would be expected of them at the Judgment Day.[64] It was not enough just to avoid evil; one had to do good or risk eternal punishment: "I ask you, brothers, attend to this: what hope can they have who do evil, when those who do not do good shall perish?"[65] These statements and others like them scattered throughout the sermons expressed the moralistic zeal on behalf of his people which Caesarius gave to his preaching.

He taught by example as well, providing his listeners with many practical examples to illustrate what good works he meant and what they, in turn, would do for the doer. In sermo X Caesarius set out a list of good works:

> Each person should redeem himself by an abundance of charity: because "Just as water extinguishes a fire, so does charity extinguish sin." Give to the poor the tithes of all fruits which you gather each year among the churches. Love a fast and shun gluttony and drunkenness. Feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, clothe the naked, visit the sick and look after those placed in jail. Gather strangers in your houses and wash their feet, clean them with linens, kiss them and prepare their beds.[66]

He continued by telling the congregation that if they did these things and avoided evil, they would receive remission of sins and eternal life. The works suggested here had as a common link one form or another of charity. The purpose of works was two-fold. These good works, as William Daly suggested, bound Caesarius' people into

a specifically Christian community.[67] Acts of charity helped to relieve suffering and produced a religious bond between givers and recipients. They also served as a form of penance when performed in the right spirit. Caesarius not only preached charity and community, he also tried to teach his flock about the spiritual values which should be behind them.[68]

The doctrine of good works held a central position in Caesarius' teachings, but he had other interests which the sermons also expressed. There were many pagan survivals in Arles and its diocese which he strongly opposed. He urged his flock to destroy temples and sacred trees and to avoid diviners and other kinds of pagan seers.[69] The method he used involved explaining the difference between Christian and un-Christian behavior, and his ultimate sanction was the appeal to the Last Judgment and the flames of Hell.[70] Despite Caesarius' efforts paganism would long remain a problem for the medieval church, especially in the countryside where it served as a natural religion for the farmers from whom (pagani) it took its name.[71] Here again the sermon served Caesarius as a teaching device to direct his flock along a path of approved behavior.

He also used the sermon to develop liturgical piety among the Arlesians, urging them to attend services regularly on Sundays and major feasts.[72] Among his innovations were popular participation in singing psalms and hymns of the Mass and the daily offices.[73] At this point in Church history the celebration of the Eucharist did not have the importance which it would have later. Christians were expected to receive communion three times during the year and were

told to prepare themselves for communion by fasting, observing marital continence and having a proper inward attitude.[74] Caesarius increased the scope of this liturgical piety by including in it additional emphasis through the sermon on the cult of saints. In so doing he appealed to the widespread popularity of this cult which was at the center of religious life in northern Gaul.[75] For most of Caesarius' flock the Mass served mainly for the celebration of the liturgy and the setting for the sermon which gave them moral exhortation and Christian education. The sermon and the ceremonies of liturgy were the chief sources of popular religious piety.

Just as Caesarius warned his fellow clerics of their duty to preach, so too did he tell his listeners of their obligation to listen to the sermons and carry out their teachings. He warned people to stay until Mass was finished, so they would not leave without hearing his sermon.[76] They were urged to memorize parts of the sermon and to discuss the sermons with others: "He who can retain all that we say should give thanks to God and should always offer that which he retains to others."[77] Those who could read should read the Bible and other holy works, and those who could not should hire others to read to them, or at least memorize the Creed, the Pater noster and as many psalms and hymns as possible.[78] The people of Arles were not just an audience but a congregation, and as such, they too had a part to play in the process of education through preaching.

Caesarius emphasized the role of the congregation by reshaping the sermon and making it a more effective medium of communication. He avoided the length and rhetorical style of his predecessors by

keeping the sermons short--Henry Beck estimated that the sermons took an average of twenty to thirty minutes to deliver--and organizing them around a central theme.[79] Before the end of some sermons he stopped to recapitulate the major themes he had developed, and in one case broke a long sermon into two parts.[80] He sought to speak in a simple style using few complicated terms or abstractions, and fitting his vocabulary to the understanding of his people.[81] With all of these steps, he sought to implant his messages firmly in the minds of his flock so they could remember and act upon them. These measures took on additional significance in what was rapidly becoming a predominantly oral culture.

An illustration of his concern with communication can be seen in one of his original creations, the formulaic sermon ending. Throughout much of Caesarius' episcopate his diocese was ruled by Arian Germanic kings (503-536/8), and, as a consequence, defending orthodox Catholicism came to be one of his major pastoral concerns. To this end he created six formulaic endings of which the most common was ". . . ipso adiuvante, qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto vivit et regnat in saecula saeculorum. Amen."[82] These endings either glorified Christ or identified Him as a co-equal member of the Trinity in opposition to the teachings of Arianism. The sermon endings' formulaic nature caused them to be easily remembered, making the endings an excellent teaching device for a largely illiterate populace for whom they served the same function that <u>formulae</u> of oral poetry did for an earlier period of European history.[83] In addition he taught his people the Athanasian and Nicene Creeds and the <u>Pater</u>

noster in separate sermons commenting upon and explaining the meaning of each.[84] In this manner Caesarius adapted the sermon tradition he had received to meet the needs of his flock.

He reinforced these endings by constant preaching. The authors of the Vita Caesarii reported:

> The blessed man persisted, so that it was habitual, in prayer, reading, charity and continuous preaching on each Sunday and all feast days: frequently homilies would be recited for those who came to the morning and evening services, so there would be no one who could excuse himself through ignorance.[85]

He preached not only in Arles, but, as mentioned above, tried to preach at least once a year in every parish of his diocese. Caesarius carried out his own injunctions to his fellow clerics in sermo I, and his concerns went further still.

Arles was a center of the surviving major roads, and Caesarius was the papal vicar for Gaul and parts of Spain. This meant that all travelling clerics would be stopping in Arles for hospitality and recommendation to the papal court.[86] Caesarius took advantage of this fact to give his visitors collections of fifteen to twenty sermons and demand that they be used.[87] His sermons were circulated throughout western Europe:

> He sent [sermons] to far places in Francia, Gaul and Italy, in Spain and other settled areas by priests who would preach them in their churches, so that rejecting frivolous things and toys, they would become followers of good works as the Apostle said. The sweet incense of Christ was spread far and wide by him. He who was not directly visible, shone everywhere at a distance; he touched with his concern those he could not reach by hand.[88]

Caesarius had established a scriptorium attached to the cathedral in Arles where these works were written out for distribution. In

a preface attached to one of the collections he asked the recipients to correct any errors they found and to make additional copies for further distribution.[89] Caesarius not only sent out copies of his own sermons, but also edited those of Augustine and his other predecessors. Medieval Europe received a corpus of Augustinian sermons shaped by the editorial hand of Caesarius.[90] By 600, fifty-seven years after his death, traces of his influence could be found as far away as Braga in Spain and in Rome.

Long after his death the sermons, preaching style and reform interests of Caesarius continued to exercise a tremendous influence on the medieval sermon tradition. Because his works passed under different names--Augustine in particular was credited with many of Caesarius' sermons--few of his successors knew to whom they owed their debt. For example, the collection of sermons attributed to Eusebius "Gallicanus" is now thought to be a part of Caesarius' editorial work.[91] The lack of credit would probably not have bothered him; indeed the only important factor was that more sermons were being preached.

In summary between 400 and 550 the sermon took on new vitality as part of the educational and liturgical life of the Church. The monks of Lérins kept a preaching tradition alive in Gaul when preaching all but disappeared elsewhere in Europe. Near the end of the line of bishops from Lérins, Caesarius of Arles reshaped the sermon as a teaching tool. He made it effective in terms of new needs: the rise of mass illiteracy; the growth of rural parishes; and the need to convert the pagans and semi-pagans in the countryside. He set his

preaching zeal in a context of church reforms designed to provide educated clerics capable of using sermons prepared by others to meet the needs of their own flocks.

In this process of preaching and reform can be seen an important part of the legacy inherited by the Carolingian reformers, a legacy upon which they drew heavily to create their own reform program. Other figures, works and ideas also provided sources used by the Carolingians. The second strand of traditions they inherited developed from events affecting the sermon in Gaul and Italy, and the arrival in Gaul of waves of missionaries who brought some of these new ideas. To a large degree much of this aspect of the sermon's history will involve tracing Caesarius' collections of sermons across Europe. This is only one indication of his importance for the history of preaching in the Early Middle Ages, and ultimately for the Carolingian sermon.

CHAPTER I: NOTES

[1]On the problem of the countryside in the fifth century, see Pierre Imbart de la Tour, Les Paroisses rurales du 4e au 11e siècle (Paris, 1900), 8-9 and 10-26; H. Netzer, "La condition des curés ruraux de Ve au VIIIe siècle," in Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge offerts à M. Ferdinand Lot par ses amis et élèves (Paris, 1925), 575-7; and Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., "The Effect of the Barbarian Invasions upon the Liturgy," in Environmental Factors in Christian History, ed. John T. McNeill, Matthew Spinka, and Harold Willoughby (Chicago, 1939), 174-5.

[2]Pierre de Labriolle et al., De la mort de Théodose à l'élection de Grégoire le grand, HE, IV (Paris, 1945), 538-40 and 578-82. (Hereafter HE, IV).

[3]Pierre Riché, Education and Culture in the Barbarian West Sixth to Eighth Centuries, trans. John J. Contreni (Columbia, S.C., 1976), 21-3. Riché notes that in northern Italy and some other areas schools survived in one form or another until about 500.

[4]It is now believed that Latin survived as a spoken language until the end of the sixth century in the Romanized areas of Europe. After that date there were four kinds of European languages: the Latin of the Church; the evolving Romance languages; the German of the conquerors (Franks, Visigoths and Ostrogoths); and the native vernaculars in areas outside of Roman influence (Germany, Anglo-Saxon England, and Eastern Europe). See Riché, ibid., 43; Shepherd, "The Effects of the Barbarian Invasions," 181-2; and Dag Norberg, "À quelle époque a-t-on cessé de parler latin en Gaule?" AESC 21 (1966): 346-8 and 354-5.

[5]Celestine I, Epistola 21, PL 50: 528D and 529B.

[6]Possidius, Sancti Augustini Vita, V: "Et eidem presbytero postestatem dedit coram se in ecclesia Evangelium praedicandi, ac frequentissime tractandi; contra usum quidem et consuetudinem Africanarum Ecclesiarum: unde etiam ei nonnulli episcopi detrahebent." PL 32: 37.

[7]Socrates, Historia ecclesiastica, V, 22: [Speaking of the reduced role of the priest in the Eastern church] "Verum in Occidentis partibus aperte admittunt. Hujus porro discrepantiae, ut equidem opinos, auctores fuerunt episcopi qui Ecclesiis suo quisque tempore praefuerunt. Qui autem hujusmodi ritus ab illis

acceperunt, eos velut legem quamdium ad posteros transmisere." PG 67: 642B-C. See also Louis Duchesne, Christian Worship, Its Origins and Evolution: A Study of the Latin Liturgy up to the Time of Charlemagne, trans. M. L. MacClure, 5th ed. (London, 1949), 170-1; and Joseph Jungmann, The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development, trans. Francis A. Brunner, 2 vols. (New York, 1951-2), I: 457.

[8]The problems raised by this question can best be illustrated by the case of Spain which developed a flourishing Christian community in the late Roman period as shown by the preaching activities of Hostius of Cordoba and Crosius. There are few sermons left from the period 200-400 and none at all from the period 400-550, until the arrival of Martin of Braga. Does this mean that the Orthodox bishops did not preach to avoid persecution from the Arian Visigoths, or that the sources were destroyed in the Arab conquest of 711, or that the Spanish sermons have not yet been identified from among the many anonymous early medieval sermons? In a similar manner the anonymous fifth- and sixth-century African sermons found in later collections came to Europe with the two waves of refugees fleeing the Vandal persecutions in the fifth century and the approaching Arab conquerors (c. 695-8).

[9]Sozomen, Ecclesiastica historia, VII, 19: "In eadem urbe [Rome], nec episcopus, nec alius quisquam in ecclesia populum docet. . . . Quam consuetudinem, cum antea non fuisset, introductam esse fuerunt, ex quo Arius presbyter de doctrina fidei disserans, nova dogmata invexit." PG 67: 1475B-1478A. And see the secondary works cited in n. 7 above.

[10]There are no references to papal preaching activities for any of the popes in their biographies from the Liber pontificalis, and only the sermons of Leo I have survived. This, of course, raises the question whether there was no preaching or the sources simply disappeared. The most likely possibility, in view of Celestine's letter and the testimony of the two Greek historians, is that the popes did not preach.

[11]Jean-Remy Palanque, "Les débuts de monachisme (Ve-VIIe siècles)," in Histoire de Lérins (Nice, 1965), 17-18; and de Labriolle, et al., HE, IV: 403.

[12]Riché, Education and Culture, 104-5; and Palanque, "Les debuts," 23. Both authors speak of formal schools, which does not preclude the possibility of more informal types of education for the monks.

[13]Vincent of Lérins, Commonitorium libri duo, III, v, PL 50: 643B-645C.

[14]Pierre de Labriolle, The History and Literature of Christianity from Tertullian to Boethius, trans. Herbert Wilson (New York, 1968), 425-7; and see the works cited in n. 56 below.

[15]Roy J. Deffarari, "St. Augustine's Method of Composing and Delivering Sermons," American Journal of Philology 43 (1922): 98-100.

[16]Hilary of Arles, Sermo de vita Sancti Honorati episcopi Arelatensis, VI, 28, PL 50: 1264A-1265A.

[17]Ibid., 29: "Operari etiam inter extrema non destitit. Multos in lectulo suo verbi dispensatione ditavit." 1265B.

[18]For Hilary's preaching activities see the Vita Hilarii Arelatensis, XI: "Et licet gratia ex his operibus, quae eodem dicendi impetu concepit, genuit, ornavit, protulit, possit absque haesitatione dignosci; Vita scilicet antistitis Honorati, homiliae in totius anni festivitatibus expeditae, Symboli expositio ambienda. . . ." Ibid., 1232A-B.

[19]Eucherius left two sermons ad populum (PL 50: 859C-865A); Valerian left twenty sermons (sermo 1, PL 40: 1219-22; and 2-19, PL 52: 691A-758A); and Faustus of Riez left genuine sermons (PL 58: 869C-883B). Few of these works found their way into later collections, probably because of the difficult style in which they are written.

[20]de Labriolle et al., HE, IV: 403; and Palanque, "Les débuts," 21.

[21]On the Gallican liturgy see Henri Leclercq, s.v., "Messe," DACL XI, part 1 (Paris, 1953), 648-674, especially 656; and Jungmann, The Mass, I: 46-8.

[22]Jungmann, The Mass, I: 46; and Henry Ashworth, "Gregorian Elements in Some Early Gallican Service Books," Traditio 13 (1957): 431-3.

[23]Duchesne, Christian Worship, 170-1; and Jungmann, The Mass, I: 457.

[24]Imbart de la Tour, Les paroisses rurales, 25-6; and Netzer, "La condition des curés," 576-7.

[25]C. E. Stancliffe, "From Town to Country: The Christianisation of the Touraine 370-600," in The Church in Town and Countryside, ed. Derek Baker, STC, 16 (Oxford, 1979), 50-1; and Maurice Chaume, "Le mode de constitution et de délimitation des paroisses rurales aux temps mérovingiens et carolingiens," Revue Mabillon 27 (1937): 64-5 where similar figures are given for the diocese of Auxerre c. 500-611.

26. Riché, Education and Culture, 27-8 and 83-4. Valerian, Hilary and Faustus are among the group from Lérins to be mentioned specifically. See also Erich Auerbach, Literary Language and Its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages, trans. Ralph Manheim, Bollingen Series, 74 (New York, 1965), 87-8.

[27]Vita Hilarii Arelatensis, IX: "Si peritorum turba defuisset, simplici sermone rusticorum corda nutriebat; at ubi instructos supervenisse vidisset, sermone ac vultu pariter in quadam gratia insolita excitabatur, seipso celsior apparebat. . . ." PL 50: 1231C.

[28]See, for example, Hilary, Sermo de vita sancti Honorati, 9-10, PL 50: 1253D-1255A; and Eucherius of Lyon, Homilia de sanctis martyribus Epiphodio et Alexandro, PL 50: 861D-862A and 862B-C. Both men sought correct style and rhetorical balance at the expense of being understood by the people to whom they addressed their sermons.

[29]Duchesne, Christian Worship, 38-9. Arles had been a provincial capital of the Roman Empire and its bishops were papal vicars in the early years of the fifth century, a title revived by Caesarius in 513.

[30]A. Malorny, St. Césaire évèque d'Arles 508-543, Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études, 103 (Paris, 1894), 42-3.

[31]Paul Fournier and Gabriel LeBras, Histoire des collections canoniques en occident depuis les fausses décrétals jusqu'au Décret de Gratien, 2 vols. (Paris, 1931-2), I: 20, 27-9 and 46-8; and Friedrich Maasen, Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande (Graz, 1956), 556-74.

[32]Cyprianus, Firminus et Viventius episcopis, Messianus presbyterus et Stephanus diaconus, Vita Caesarii episcopi Arelatensis, libri duo, I, 3-4, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SSrM III: 458; Malorny, St. Césaire, 1-3; and Carl F. Arnold, Caesarius von Arelate und die gallische Kirche seiner Zeit (Leipzig, 1894), 11-13 and 18-22. For the possible content of his early education see Riché, Education and Culture, 21-3.

[33]Vita Caesarii (hereafter VC) I, 5-8, MGH SSrM III: 459-60; and Arnold, Caesarius von Arelate, 42-3 and 46-7.

[34]VC I, 11 and 13, MGH SSrM III: 460-2; Malorny, St. Césaire, 24-6; and Arnold, Caesarius von Arelate, 108-14.

[35]VC I, 14-15, MGH SSrM III: 462; and Malorny, St. Césaire, 25-6. There has been a minor debate over the dates of Caesarius' episcopate. Malorny (St. Césaire, 282 and n. 2) dates his death in 543, making 503 the date of his consecration. Malorny's dating is followed here.

[36]E. A. Thompson, "The Conversion of the Spanish Suevi to Catholicism," in Visigothic Spain: New Approaches, ed. Edward Baker (Oxford, 1980), 80-2. Thompson discusses the missionary strength of the Visigothic Arian Church which undertook the first conversion of the Suevi.

[37]For the exile in 505 see VC I, 20; the siege of Arles, cc. 23-30; and the affair of 513, cc. 36-9. MGH SSrM III: 464;

467-8; and 470-2. See also Malorny, St. Césaire, 40-5 and 98-104; and Arnold, Caesarius von Arelate, 215-21 and 259-71. Caesarius' biographers felt the charges against him were groundless given his obedience to lawful authority, e.g., canon 48 of the Council of Agde which concluded with a prayer for the well-being of Alaric II, Concilium Agathense (506), c. 48. Concilia Galliae A.314-A.506, ed. Charles Munier, CCSL 148 (Tournhout, 1963), 212.

[38]On this and what follows, see Gerhardt B. Ladner, The Idea of Reform, rev. ed. (New York, 1967), 117-25, and 258-83. No one has as yet examined the use of the concept of reform in the Early Middle Ages.

[39]See Conc. Gall. A.314-A.506, 163, for Munier's dating of the Statuta.

[40]Statuta ecclesiae antiqua, I: "Qui episcopus ordinandus est, ante examinetur si natura prudens est, si docilibus, si morbus temperatus, si vita castus . . . si litteratus, si in lege Domini instructus, si in scriptuarum sensibus cautus, si in dogmatibus ecclesiasticus exercitatus, et ante omnia si fidei documenta verbis simplicibus asserat, idest Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum unum Deum esse confirmans, totamque in Trinitate deitatem coessentialem et coaeternalem et coomnipotentem praedicans. . . ." Ibid., 164.

[41]Statuta, c. 3: "Ut episcopus nullum rei familiaris curam ad se revocet, sed ut lectioni et orationi et verbi Dei praedicatione tantum modo vacet." and c. 31: "Sacerdote verbum in ecclesia faciente, qui egressus de auditorio fuerit, excommunicetur." Ibid., 166 and 172.

[42]Conc. Agathense (506), c. 13: "Symbolum etiam placuit ab omnibus ecclesiis una die idest ante octo dies dominicae resurrectiones, publice in ecclesia a sacerdote competentibus tradi." Ibid., 200. See also sermones III and IX in Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis sermones, ed. Germain Morin, CCSL 103-4, 2 vols. (Tournhout, 1953), 103: 20-21 and 46-50. These two sermons taught and explicated the Athanasian and Nicene Creeds respectively. (Hereafter references to Caesarius' sermons will be by sermon, section, volume and page. E.g., IX, 1, CCSL 103: 46.)

[43]Conc. Agath., c. 47. Conc. Gall. A.314-A.506, 212.

[44]VC I, 42, MGH SSrM III: 473. See also de Labriolle et al., HE, IV: 410; and Malorny, St. Césaire, 113-4.

[45]Concilium Arelatense (524). Concilia Galliae A.511-A.695, ed. Carlo de Clerq, CCSL 148A (Tournhout, 1963), 42-6; and Concilium Carpentoratense (527). Ibid.: 47-52. See also Imbart de la Tour, Paroisses rurales, 70-1. Caesarius also fought to keep the rural churches free from interference by lay aristocrats, Malorny, St. Césaire, 123-7.

[46]Concilium Vasense (529, c. I: "Hoc placuit, ut omnes presbyteri qui sunt in parrochis constituti, secundum consuetudinem, quam per totam Italicam satis salubriter teneri cognovemus, iuniores lectores, quantoscumque sine uxoribus habuerunt, secum in domo, ubi ipse habitare videntur, recipiant et eos quomodo boni patres spiritaliter nutrientes psalmis parare, divinis lectionibus insistere et in lege Domini erudire contendant, ut et sibi dignos successores provideant et a Domino proemia aeterna recipiant. Cum vero ad aetatem perfectam pervenerint, si aliquis eorum pro carnis fragilitute uxorem habere voluerit potestas ei ducendi coniugum non negetur." Conc. Gall. A.511-A.695, 78-9.

[47]Ellen Perry Pride, "Ecclesiastical Legislation on Education, AD 300-1200," CH 12 (1943): 237-8; Netzer, "La condition des curés," 582-3; Malorny, St. Césaire, 137-41; and Riché, Education and Culture, 128-9.

[48]See Riché, ibid., for an example from the VC; and Henry G. J. Beck, The Pastoral Care of Souls in South-East France during the Sixth Century, Analecta Gregoriana, 51 (Rome, 1950), 61-2 for other examples.

[49]VC I, 61-2, MGH SSrM III: 482-3.

[50]Conc. Vasense, c. II: "Hoc etiam pro aedificatione omnium ecclesiarum et pro utilitate totius populi nobis placuit, ut non solum in civitatibus, sed etiam in omnibus parrociis verbum faciendi daremus presbyteris potestatem, ita ut, si presbyter aliqua infirmitate prohibente per se ipsum non potuerit praedicare, sanctorum patrum homiliae a diaconibus recitentur; si enim degni sunt diaconi, quod Christus in evangelio locutus est, legere, quare indigni iudicentur sanctorum patrum expositiones, publice recitare?" Conc. Gall. A.511-A.695, 78-9.

[51]This use of "verbum faciendi daremus presbyteri potestatem" from the canon cited above is attested by a passage from the VC I, 54, MGH SSrM III: 478. See also Beck, Pastoral Care, 268-9.

[52]Beck, ibid., 266-7; William J. Daly, "Caesarius of Arles, a Precursor of Medieval Christendom," Traditio 26 (1970): 8; and Ian N. Wood, "Early Merovingian Devotion in Town and Country," in The Church in Town and Countryside, 75-6 on the importance of active episcopal surveillance in rural parishes.

[53]Netzer, "La condition des curés," 575-7; and see the works cited in n. 24 above.

[54]Conc. Agath. (506), c. 21, Conc. Gall. A.314-A.506, 202-3; and de Labriolle et al., HE, IV: 408-9.

[55]Caesarius, sermo I, 3: "Quis enim haec non grandi timore consideret, si ille, ut se apud deum absolveret, die noctuque

comissis sibi populis verbam domini praedicabat, et dominicis ovibus sal ministrare negligimus?" CCSL 103: 2-3.

[56]Ibid., 13 and 15, CCSL 103: 11. See also Gustave Bardy, "La prédication de saint Césaire d'Arles," RHEF 29 (1943): 205-8; and Malorny, St. Césaire, 32-3.

[57]Sermo I, 12, CCSL 103: 8.

[58]Sermo XII, 1: "Fides enim a fit, id est, ab eo quod fiat, homen accepit. . . . Unde quibuslibet verbis etiamsi cum multis iuramentis dicat se aliquis fidem habere, si id quod dicit credere verbis implere moluerit factis, non est fides, quid, sicut dixi, fides a fit nomen accepit." Ibid., 58. See also sermo XXXV, 1, ibid., 152 for a similar derivation. On Caesarius' use of this phrase see Malorny, St. Césaire, 183; and Beck, Pastoral Care, 274.

[59]Henry Chadwick, The Early Church, The Pelican History of the Church, 1 (Harmondsworth, 1967): 231-5; and Jaroslav Pelikan, The Catholic Tradition, 1: The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (Chicago, 1971), 300-304 and 314-318. See also n. 13 above.

[60]Pelikan, Emergence of the Catholic Tradition, 319-322.

[61]Mäieul Cappuyns, "L'origine des 'capitula' d'Orange 529," RTAM 6 (1934): 121-5.

[62]Concilium Arausicanum (529), Conc. Gall. A.511-A.695, 63 for the Definitio fidei. The passage in question reads: "Hoc etiam secundum fidem catholicam credimus, quod post acceptum per baptismum gratiam omnis baptizati Christo auxiliante et cooperante, quae ad salute animae pertinent, possint et debeant, si fideliter laborare, adimplere." See also Daly, "Caesarius of Arles," 7 and 22.

[63]Conc. Gall. A.511-A.695, 66-9; see also Cappuyns, "L'origine des 'capitula,'" 142 and Malorny, St. Césaire, 149-153.

[64]Sermones XII, 5-6, CCSL 103: 61-2; XV, 4, ibid., 76; CXXXIX, 7, ibid., 65 and CCIX, 1 and 3, CCSL 104: 835-6.

[65]Sermo CLVII, 5: "Rogo vos, fratres, hinc adtendite, quam spem habere possunt qui mala faciunt, quando illi perituri sunt qui bona non faciunt." CCSL 104: 643-4. See also Beck, Pastoral Care, 137.

[66]Sermo X, 3: "Elimosinarum copia unusquisque se redimat: quia Sicut Aqua Exstinguit Ignem, Ita Elimosinam Exstinguit Peccatum [Eccles. 3:33]. Decimas per annos singulos de omni fructu quod collegitio inter ecclesias et pauperibus erogate. Ieuinium amate, voracitatem et crapulum vini devitate. Esurientes pascite, sitientes potate, nudos vestite, infirmos visitate, et qui positi sunt in carcere requirite. Hospites in domos vestras

collegite, et pedes eorum lavate, linteo extergite, ore exosculate, et lecta ipsorum praeparate." CCSL 103: 53 and n. 4. A similar list is found in sermo LXXXVI, 5, ibid., 356-7.

[67]Daly, "Caesarius of Arles," 17-21. Daly noted that the theme of good works appeared in none of the fifteen sermons in which the term "Christian People" was used. His article also analyzed the sources and development of Caesarius' idea of a Christian community.

[68]Sermo XXXII, 1 and 3, CCSL 103: 139 and 141. See also Beck, Pastoral Care, 278.

[69]On destroying temples and sacred trees see sermones LIII, CCSL 103: 253-5 and LIV, 5, ibid., 239; and on the diviners, sortilegos and other magicians L, ibid., 224-7 and LIV, 1-4, ibid., 235-8. See also Paul Lejay, "Le rôle théologique de Césaire d'Arles," Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse 10 (1905): 444-6; and Malorny, St. Césaire, 233-6.

[70]Sermo LIV, 3: "Nos, fratres, quod vobis expedit dicimis: quicumque observare noluerit, aeterna illum poena sine ullo remedio cruciabit." CCSL 103: 234. Caesarius gave his flock several terrifying and vivid pictures of Hell, e.g., CLXVII, 5-7, CCSL 104: 685-7; and CCXXVII, 3-4, ibid., 898-9.

[71]Stancliffe, "From Town to Country," 58-9.

[72]Sermones XIII, 3, CCSL 103: 66; XVI, 3, ibid., 78; and LXXIII, 1, ibid., 306-7.

[73]VC I, 19, MGH SSrM III: 463-4; and Beck, Pastoral Care, 120-22.

[74]Conc. Agath. (506), c. 18: "Saeculares vero qui Natale Domini, Pasca, Pentecosten non communicaverint, catholici non credantur, nec inter catholicos habeantur." Conc. Gall. A.314-A.506, 202; and sermo LXIV, 6-7, CCSL 103: 198-200 for conditions necessary to receive communion.

[75]Baudoin de Gaiffer, "La lecture des actes des martyrs dans la prière liturgique en Occident," AB 72 (1954): 146-9 and 166; see also Beck, Pastoral Care, 97-8.

[76]VC I, 27, MGH SSrM III: 466-7; Sermones LXXIII, 1-2, CCSL 103: 306-7; and LXXIV, 1 and 4, ibid., 30-2 and 35-6.

[77]Sermo VI, 8: "Qui potest totam retinere quod dicimus, deo gratias agat, et aliis quat retinet semper ostendat." Ibid., 35. See also CIV, 6, ibid., 432; and Daly, "Caesarius of Arles," 15.

[78]Sermo VI, 2-3, CCSL 103: 31-2. See also Bardy, "La prédication," 203-4; and Lejay, "Le rôle théologique," 586-7.

[79]Beck, Pastoral Care, 263-4; and Bardy, "La prédication," 229-30.

[80]Sermones VI, 8, CCSL 103: 36; LXXXVII, 6, ibid., 360-1; and CIV, 5, ibid., 431-2. See also Beck, ibid., and Daly, "Caesarius of Arles," 15-16.

[81]Paul Lejay, "Les sermons de Césaire d'Arles," Revue biblique 4 (1895): 597-603; Auerbach, Literary Language, 92-5; and Riché, Education and Culture, 92-4.

[82]This ending appeared in seventy-one of Caesarius' 237 sermones ad populum. On this and what follows, see Thomas L. Amos, "Caesarius of Arles, the Early Medieval Sermon, and Orthodoxy," Indiana Social Studies Quarterly 35 (1982): 14-16.

[83]For the use of formulae as a means of cultural transmission see Eric Havelock, Preface to Plato (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 40-3. On Caesarius' use of other formulae in the sermons see Lejay, "Les sermons," 602-4; and Bardy, "La prédication," 233-5.

[84]The Athanasian Creed: Sermones III, CCSL 103: 20-1 and X, 1, ibid., 51-2; the Nicene Creed: IX, ibid., 46-50; and the Pater noster: CXLVII, CCSL 104: 602-4.

[85]VC I, 59: "Insistebat itaque, ut solitus erat, orationi, lectioni, elemosinis beatus homo, praedicationibus incessanter omni dominica omnibusque diebus festis; frequenter etiam ad matutinos, ad lucerarium propter advenientes homeliae recitabantur, ut nullus esset, qui se de ignorantia excusaret." MGH SSrM III: 481. Caesarius' biographers have described his activities almost in the terms describing an ideal bishop from the Statuta ecclesia antiqua I, cited in n. 37 above.

[86]Germain Morin, "The Homilies of St. Caesarius," Orate Fratres 14 (1939/40): 485-6.

[87]VC I, 55, MGH SSrM III: 479-80; Beck, Pastoral Care, 267-8; and Morin, "Homilies," 485.

[88]VC I, 55: "Longe vero positis in Francia, in Gallias atque Italia, in Hispania diversis que provinciis constitutis transmisit per sacerdotes, quid in ecclesiis suis praedicare facerent, ut proiectus rebus frivolis et caducis, iuxta apostolum bonum operum fierent sectatores [Tit. 2:14]. Bonus ergo Christi odor per ipsum longe lateque diffusus est. Flagravit ubique profectibus, quo non est conspectibus praesentatus; tetigit pectora, quorum membra non contigit. MGH SSrM III: 480.

[89]Sermo II, CCSL 103: 19; and Morin, "Homilies," 484-5.

[90]Réginald Grégoire, "La collection homilétique du Ms. Wolfenbüttel 4096," SM 14 (1973): 265-86.

[91]Eusebius 'Gallicanus' collectio homiliarum, ed. François Glorie, CCSL 101 (Tournhout, 1970), xii-xvii and xxi. Glorie believes that the collection was the work of Caesarius or one of his disciples.

CHAPTER II

THE MEROVINGIAN CHURCH: 550-700

In 538, five years before Caesarius' death, Provence became part of the Frankish kingdom. Unlike the Ostrogoths, who had ruled the region since 508, the Franks were Catholic Christians; or rather those who converted were Catholics. The Merovingian kings of Francia had generally good relations with the Church. They saw it as an important institution, and they were not unaware of the political benefits to be gained from supporting it.[1] The Merovingian Church, in turn, became closely tied to the royal house, and its fortune would follow closely that of the dynasty.

At the time when the Franks established their dominance, strong differences existed between the type of religious life in the rest of Gaul and that instituted in Arles by Caesarius. These differences strongly affected the organization of church life in Merovingian Gaul and the ways in which the Merovingians would employ the sermon. In much of Gaul religion was centered around the cult of the saints to a greater degree than in Arles. A saint was regarded by the people as a healer, a worker of various miracles and a personal intercessor. The cult of the saints therefore acted as a major force in converting the peoples of central and northern Gaul.[2] Although the sermon was a part of this conversion process, for many clerics it served mainly to spread knowledge of the saints and their powers.[3] So, although

sermons were part of the liturgical and educational life of the Merovingian Church, they had less importance and impact than was the case in Provence under Caesarius.

Another difference which would gradually increase the importance of preaching was the limited attention paid by the Frankish Church outside of Provence to the countryside. Surviving urban centers remained the focal points of religious life. Bishops in such areas as Tours and Auxerre oversaw the building of rural churches, but large areas of northern and eastern Gaul would remain unconverted until the seventh century.[4] This lack of attention resulted from the fact that the new territories added to Francia in the northeast along and across the Rhine did not possess the ecclesiastical structures found in the south. Such lack of attention to the countryside also came in part from the political role played by many of the bishops, who were now more interested in affairs at the Merovingian courts than in their own dioceses.[5]

These differences were compounded by the nature of the Merovingian Church. With the conversion of Clovis it became a royal church with the monarch in control of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The kings appointed bishops at their pleasure, and could depose them for political or religious reasons.[6] Royal control led to problems in church organization which were closely related to the political structure of the Merovingian state.

None of the early medieval successor states in western Europe were organized around any political ideas other than personal rule by kings. Therefore, when a king died with more than one heir, the

kingdom was divided among his sons, and when they died the process continued. While the Franks occasionally had a single king, they never had a unitary state.[7] These partitions took place without regard for metropolitan or diocesan boundaries, and the partitions undermined the authority of metropolitans over their subject bishops and individual bishops over their parish priests.[8] This practice greatly weakened hierarchical organization of the type which Caesarius tried to establish in Arles.

Two examples from the Historiarum libri X of Gregory of Tours illustrate the effects of these conditions on the Merovingian episcopate. Bishop Praetextatus of Rouen (570-586) was accused of helping Merovech, son of King Chilperic I (561-584), to revolt against his father. He was tried at a council in Paris (c. 577) and exiled from his see.[9] Upon Chilperic's death in 584 Praetextatus regained the see of Rouen; but two years later he was murdered, probably at the behest of Chilperic's widow Fredegund. Melanius, who had occupied the see of Rouen during Praetextatus' exile, once more became bishop of Rouen, appointed by Fredegund.[10] In a less fatal instance of royal interference, King Sigibert created a new episcopal see in the diocese of Chartres for one of his friends. After Sigibert's death, the bishop of Chartres convinced his successor to depose this intruder and do away with his see.[11]

The Frankish kings used Church councils for political ends and disrupted hierarchical discipline to reward friends and punish enemies. The political involvements of the bishops meant that they had less time to devote to pastoral work, and the weakening of

church discipline hindered the reform efforts of such kings as Guntram and Dagobert I by limiting the area over which they would apply. Both of these conditions also meant that there would be less opportunity for Merovingian bishops to exercise the kind of leadership over the Merovingian Church that Caesarius had exercised in Provence. The strong ties between Merovingian church and state gave the ruler a great role in leadership over both institutions, but with the result that the power and stability of the church depended greatly upon the king's ability and strength. This would be equally true of the Frankish Church under the Carolingians. One additional basic difference between church life in Provence and that of the rest of the Frankish realm was that in the south the remains of Roman civilization and culture lasted much longer than they did further to the north.[12] The north was more heavily influenced by the Frankish and other Germanic peoples of the invasion period. While Caesarius also attacked pagan practices, they survived longest in the central and northern areas of Gaul.[13] In part this was due to the large tracts of sparsely populated forest areas. People in the forest lands resisted attempts at evangelization until the seventh and eighth centuries.[14] Pagan survivals also resulted from the partial destruction of the old Gallo-Roman ecclesiastical centers during the invasions.[15]

The results of these factors which encouraged the survival of pagan religious practices could be found in the quality of Christianity in these regions. Elements of the old pagan religions began to enter Christianity at a fairly rapid pace in the north. The

festival of the Rogations, instituted by Bishop Claudius Mamertus of Vienne (465-475), became a rite used to spare cities from the plagues which ravaged Gaul in the sixth century.[16] The prayers of a monk spared a wheat field from a torrential rain--an important type of miracle in a largely agricultural society.[17] Priests and some of the nobles, the literate elite groups, used the sortes biblicae (a method of divination by selecting biblical verses) to predict the future, while other nobles kept phitonessas or pagan seeresses to do the same.[18]

The Franks, as did most other peoples in the Early Middle Ages, saw the world as a product of largely unknown forces, many of them hostile and almost all of them supernatural. This outlook increased the popularity of the cult of the saints who could be invoked to aid people against these forces.[19] In many cases worship of the saints replaced worship of local pagan deities, and saints took on powers formerly attributed to such deities.[20] The Merovingian kings themselves shared in the tradition of sacred kingship: threads from the cloak of King Guntram (561-593) healed a dying man; and other Merovingians--Clothilde (St. Cloud) for example--became saints.[21] These new elements may have lowered the quality of Christianity from a theological standpoint, but they undoubtedly made it a more popular religion in that it became more widely accepted and contained elements drawn from the popular level of culture and belief.

Such was the nature of the Merovingian Church at the point when Caesarius' ideas and reforms, spread by his sermons, canon law collections and the Vita Caesarii, began to influence it. Despite

the weaknesses noted in organization and structure, the Merovingian Church possessed a certain degree of strength. Growth and reform were possible, but they depended largely upon the initiative of the kings.

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Once Caesarius' sermons and ideas began to circulate in Frankish Gaul, they quickly influenced the pace of reform there. The years following the acquisition of Arles--the first center of ecclesiastical reform in Gaul--by the Franks saw the first in a series of natural and regional councils. In his seventies, Caesarius was unable to attend the Fourth Council of Orléans (541), but the diocese of Arles was represented by three bishops including Cyprian of Toulouse, one of his disciples and an author of the Vita Caesarii.[22] In the following years the archbishops of Arles attended most of the major councils from Orléans (549) to Paris (614).[23] They played an indirect role in shaping the reforms undertaken by the Merovingian Church by continuing to circulate the works and reform ideas of Caesarius.[24] In that way they helped to shape the style and content of Merovingian preaching.

The chief concern of the sixth-century Merovingian episcopate lay in creating a functioning hierarchy. For that reason, few of the Merovingian councils discussed preaching. Episcopal concerns focused largely on repairing the damages done to the ecclesiastical organization by the divisions of the kingdom referred to above and by the civil wars between the rival kings.[25] Many of the canons tried to stop the depradations made by the nobles against church lands and other properties. The strong provisions against such acts made at

the national Council of Paris (614) and supported by King Lothar II (584-629) had to be repeated at the Council of Clichy (626-7).[26] When the kings supported reform, however, some positive steps were taken to improve the quality of religious life.

Only three of the Merovingian kings furnished support for reform. Here too royal reform initiatives could be limited by the frequent divisions of the Frankish realm. On one occasion Kings Guntram and Chilperic could not agree to let their bishops meet at a common synod in Mâcon.[27] This was unfortunate because the regional council of Mâcon (585) became the only sixth-century Frankish synod to discuss the sermon's role in church life, and the additional attendance of Chilperic's bishops would have given it wider jurisdiction than it had. In canon 1 the bishops there assembled decided to warn their flocks to keep Sundays holy:

> We see the Christian people rashly betraying the habit of the Lord's Day and indulging in uninterrupted work just as on regular days. Therefore we decree through this our synodal letter that each one of our priests shall admonish in holy church those people subject to him; and if indeed they agree with the admonition, it shall be to their advantage, if not they shall be subject to penalties defined by our inspiration.[28]

In this canon the bishops limited their choice of sermon topics (. . . admoneat sibi subditam plebem) to warning their people to observe Sunday properly. The synodal letter referred to has not survived, so the arguments used and their sources remain unknown.

King Guntram, the sponsor of the council, approved the idea of a synodal letter intended to improve Sunday observance.[29] He went on however to note the evils of the age (. . . infra regni nostri spatia universa scelera. . . .) and to urge the bishops to

extend the scope of their preaching:

> Therefore to you, holy bishops, to whom by divine mercy has been given the duty of paternal power, our words are first directed, in the hope that you will strive to correct by frequent preaching and to govern with pastoral zeal the people given to you by divine providence. . . . And granted that even without our admonition the cause of preaching belongs particularly to you, we believe you all to share in part in sins if you do not correct the faults of your sons by assiduous reproving, but pass over them in silence. For neither can we, to whom the Celestial King gave the authority and faculty of ruling, evade His anger if we do not have care for our subjects.[30]

Guntram believed that preaching could improve the morals of his people and increase their chances for salvation. The sermons he heard preached by his bishops must have seemed of sufficient value for him to want them made available to a wider audience.[31] Secondly, Guntram felt that he as king also had some sort of responsibility for his subjects' salvation, and ordered his bishops to help him exercise that responsibility by preaching. This attitude, shared by other medieval rulers, would serve as the basis for later reform movements. The Carolingian reforms grew out of a similar belief held by Pepin and Charlemagne.

Guntram did not pursue church reform after Mâcon, nor did his successors contribute much to the reform effort directly. His nephew Childebert II asked the bishops to use sermons to help correct marital crimes such as adultery, but that was the limit of royal support of preaching within the Christian community of the Frankish kingdom.[32] Guntram's other nephew Lothar II (584-629) and Lothar's son Dagobert I (623-639) did support the Church and sponsor councils. For preaching and its support, however, the Merovingian bishops were forced to draw upon their own resources.

The Merovingian Church held few national or regional councils in the first half of the seventh century, and this fact was symptomatic of the anarchy which began to prevail throughout Frankish society during this period. The few bishops who did hold councils attempted to use them to stem the tide of anarchy. Sonnatius of Rheims (c. 605-31) held a synod in 625 in which he urged his diocesan bishops to preach the faith "according to the word of God and the tradition of the holy Roman Church."[33] He asked them to teach by word and example, a concept borrowed from the Regulae pastoralis of Gregory the Great (590-604).[34] This was the last discussion of preaching in the canons for some fifty years. Preaching was not a major concern for bishops worried about their own survival and the survival of their dioceses.

Toward the end of the seventh century came a second wave of reform with five regional councils held between 660 and 680. These councils dealt mainly with the problems of the Church with the aristocrats over church land and sought vainly to shore up a collapsing ecclesiastical structure.[35] In only one was the problem of preaching mentioned. At the Council of St. Jean de Losne held in Burgundy between 673 and 675 the bishops decreed that each of them should preach on Sundays and feast days to provide their flocks with spiritual food.[36] What effects this canon had cannot be known with any certainty, but the influence of this council can be inferred from the Expositio brevis antiquae liturgiae Gallicanae, a work written near the end of the seventh century in Burgundy.[37] The Expositio described the ceremonies of the Gallican Mass in detail and referred

specifically to the homily or sermon taken from the works of the Fathers.[38] Given the relationship of the Expositio to the time and place of the Council of St. Jean de Losne, it was most probably written as a guide for the bishops who attended the council.

Some twenty years after this council the last Merovingian synod was held in the diocese of Auxerre. There would be no further effort at reform until the 740s under the leadership of Boniface.[39] The lack of councils, which promulgated new church laws and enforced existing ones, became a significant element in the decline of the Merovingian Church. In this context, the lack of councils marked an end to the legislation on preaching within Francia until the Carolingian Renaissance. Despite the problems which existed, the existing Merovingian legislation showed that many bishops of the Merovingian Church did support preaching as a means of educating their flocks and improving their conduct. The sermons and preachers of this period can illustrate how these ends were achieved.

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Much of our knowledge of the types of preaching referred to in the Merovingian legislation during this period comes from Gregory of Tours. He reported the various activities of his fellow bishops and their predecessors, but much of his interest centered on secular activities or miracles. He did identify some bishops renowned as preachers but commented upon their activities only in passing. He noted that preaching played a large role in the original conversion of Clovis' followers who converted "post praedicationem sacerdotum." The second generation of Frankish Christians did not compare favorably

to their fathers: "The priests of the Lord were venerated and heard wholeheartedly by that generation; by this one not only are they not listened to, but they are persecuted by them."[40] The Frankish bishops lived in a time in which it was difficult to reprove a congregation safely, that is without receiving physical punishment or exile as a reward for their efforts.

Despite these difficulties some of Gregory's contemporaries continued to preach regularly. One of them, Bishop Nicetius of Trier (527-566), preached daily to his flock, denouncing their sins and urging them to do penance. His sermons were intended for "the instruction of his people, and even for the correction of their king."[41] Lothar I, disliking the bishop's frankness, exiled him from his see, to which he was restored by Sigibert after Lothar's death.[42] Gregory also spoke of Praetextatus of Rouen as having been renowned for the composition of sermons and prayers.[43]

While Gregory did not discuss his own pastoral activities in any detail, his History contains materials which provide examples of the style he might have used when preaching. On one occasion he debated the divinity of Christ with a Jew, and on another the doctrine of the Trinity with a Visigothic Arian.[44] In both of the debates Gregory used simple exegesis of the many Scriptural passages he cited as the basis of his argument.[45] These two examples suggest that Gregory's sermons were short, filled with citations from Scripture and the Fathers, and intended to give his people a sound education in the basic doctrines of the faith. If not highly original, they would have fulfilled the conciliar injunctions to preach and teach.

Another of Gregory's contemporaries who left sermons was the poet Venantius Fortunatus. At the end of his career he became bishop of Poitiers (599-601), and he left two short sermons among the eleven books of his poetry. In one of them he gave a short explication of the Pater noster, intending his congregation to understand and remember the words of the prayer.[46] The second sermon, similar in style, set out the words of the Nicene Creed, based upon an earlier interpretation of the creed by Rufinus.[47] A third sermon, the Expositio Fidei Catholicae Fortunati, was included among his works, but was not his. This sermon, contemporary with Fortunatus' sermons, gave a commentary on the Athanasian Creed and was particularly directed against the heresies of Arius and Sabellius.[48] In these works the emphasis also fell upon simple explanation of doctrine and pastoral education.

The rest of the evidence for preaching within the Merovingian Church can be found in homiliaries dating from the late sixth and the seventh centuries. Two of these came originally from the region of Burgundy and were based upon the sermon collections sent by Caesarius, which circulated throughout Gaul during his lifetime and afterward. The first survived in a fragmentary condition and now contains only eight sermons, two by Caesarius and six by Augustine and other fifth-century African preachers--works used by Caesarius as sources for his own works.[49] The second homiliary was a collection originally intended for popular preaching which in its present form was adapted for monastic usage. Of the twenty-six sermons in the original collection, ten were written by Caesarius including

his Sermo in parochiis necessarius, a popular pastoral sermon during the Early Middle Ages.[50] A third collection, the Homiliary of Fleury-sur-Loire, composed sometime in the sixth century, may have originally been used for preaching. It was based on a collection of Augustine's sermons to which was added one of the collections originally made by Caesarius. In its present form it served as a liturgical homiliary at the monastery of Fleury.[51] Little else is presently known about the compilers of these collections or about their circulation in regions outside of Burgundy.

These sermon collections served as the basis for much of the preaching during the period. The passage from the Expositio brevis referred to above stated that preaching involved reading a homily from one of the Fathers or Doctors, and there is little reason to believe that this was not the case only in Burgundy. Certainly the educational standards of the clergy began to decline after 600, and the decline continued well into the eighth century.[53] As a consequence, there were more illiterate priests who were barely able to recite the liturgy, let alone to compose and deliver sermons. The preaching that took place within the Merovingian Church from 600 to 750 came largely from prepared collections of sermons.

Although a sermon tradition survived within Gaul, the development of preaching after 600 came chiefly from the missionaries who worked in the still partially converted areas of Francia and beyond its northern and eastern borders. These bishops and monks expanded Christianity and used the sermon as their primary means of conversion.

The sermon's history during the final years of the Merovingian period consists largely of their sermons and the records of their preaching activities.

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The activities of the Merovingian missionaries began after the conversion of Clovis. Despite the fact that they were sponsored by the kings, the early missions were sporadic in nature. Sixth-century bishops in northern sees such as Toul and Cambrai destroyed pagan idols and temples.[53] These were largely individual acts and not sustained by continuous action. To the northeast in the territory along the Rhine River the Merovingian kings acted more forcefully. There they established or re-established bishoprics in such centers as Cologne, Trier, and Strasbourg, and staffed them with bishops from Aquitaine.[54] This area was territory conquered from the Alemanni by Clovis, so its rapid Christianization had important political consequences since Christianization would tie the Alemanni more closely to the Catholic Franks.

The combination of religious and political motives--the use of evangelization as a form of social and political assimilation and control--played a major part in the Christianization of Europe during the Middle Ages.[55] In the northeast assimilation was attained before the end of the sixth century when the bishoprics began to be filled by Frankish aristocrats.[56] The conversion of Alemania was reasonably permanent only around the episcopal sees and superficial elsewhere.[57] The region had been brought into the Frankish kingdom, and

this satisfied the kings who let their interest in missionary activities drop for several years.

The next major wave of missionary activity came from the work of outsiders. Columbanus (c. 550-615) arrived in Gaul in 590, the first in a long series of Irish peregrini who would evangelize Gaul and central Europe during the seventh and eighth centuries. They came under the influence of a peculiarly Irish impulse to wander abroad and preach to the pagan peoples they encountered during their travels.[58] Columbanus followed this course, "preaching the gospel in whatever place he went" and "confirming what he taught by preaching through his miracles."[59] Invited by Guntram to Burgundy, Columbanus settled for a while in the monastery he founded at Luxeuil.[60]

Despite his missionary efforts, Columbanus' relations with Guntram's successors grew increasingly worse. Columbanus' problems with the kings resulted from his unceasing attacks on the immorality of the Frankish court, perhaps in sermons preached before the kings, and led to his being exiled in 607 and again in 610.[61] After the second exile he began to travel, planning a missionary trip to Germany which he was unable to make.[62] He finally settled in the Lombard kingdom of Italy, founding a monastery at Bobbio (614) where he died the next year. Luxeuil and Bobbio became important religious and cultural centers, and Columbanus' influence continued to spread long after his death.

As an Irishman his influence on church life in Gaul had ambiguous consequences. The Celtic Church from which he came differed in

a number of practices from the rest of the Western churches. The most obvious difference came over the proper date for the celebration of Easter.[63] Of even greater importance for his work in Gaul was the role of the abbot and monastery in the church life of Ireland. The abbot possessed supreme regional authority in the Irish Church. He governed the parishes under the jurisdiction of his monastery directly as an abbot-bishop, or else controlled the work of bishops and other secular clergy who operated in his monastic territory.[64] So Columbanus, his disciples and the later Irish missionary monks tended to ignore entirely the bishops in whose dioceses they worked. Their activities helped to weaken further the Merovingian ecclesiastical organization already in decline.[65]

This habit of operating outside of the context of the existing organization could also be seen in Columbanus' sermons or Instructiones. The Instructiones were a course of sermons which Columbanus delivered to his monks and used in his missionary endeavors.[66] While he taught basic doctrine such as belief in a trinitarian God and in Christ as the savior of mankind, the sermons stressed cultivation of interior virtues and the ascetic penitential discipline beloved by the Irish.[67] In none of the sermons did he refer to church attendance or services as necessary elements in salvation.[68] In general, the tone and content of these sermons were uniquely Irish, but the style and form showed influences from Caesarius of Arles which Columbanus had acquired in Gaul.[69] Columbanus also read the Regula pastoralis liber of Gregory the Great and asked the pope for a copy of his Homiliae in Ezechielem.[70] Because of his Irish background in which

bishops were subordinated to abbots, Columbanus did not see the need of turning his converts over to the secular hierarchy for continued pastoral care. Thus where Caesarius and Gregory stressed good works and attendance at Mass as necessary conditions for salvation, Columbanus stressed penance and individual spirituality.

Columbanus' legacy to the Frankish Church was twofold. If he and his disciples helped weaken the episcopal structure through their activities, they also founded monasteries which became intellectual centers and bases for later missionary activities.[71] His preaching and emphasis on penance and the ascetic life raised the quality of religiosity among the Frankish nobility, leading to further monastic foundations and the entrance of some of the nobles into the episcopate.[72] While his own missionary activities were limited to eastern Francia--the area of Jura and Vosges Mountains--his disciples and other Irish missionaries evangelized much of modern Switzerland, Austria and southern Germany.[73]

The efforts of these Irish missionaries were important, but their attitudes to the existing church hierarchy minimized their long-term significance. To take Gallus--active in the Bodensee area of Switzerland, 610-c. 630--as an example, he began his career as one of Columbanus' disciples and was left in Switzerland during the journey Columbanus made to Italy.[74] He spoke both Latin and the native language and was able to evangelize a large region through his preaching.[75] Near the end of his career he founded the monastery of which he became the patron--St. Gall--and which remained the center of church life in this missionary district. All of this was done outside of the existing ecclesiastical structure in the area.

Much the same story could be told of the other Irish missionaries. They went to unconverted areas, evangelized a large area through preaching and founded a monastery to serve as a base for their activities.[76] After the death of the original missionary, the area converted usually began to shrink in size. The only peoples who remained actively Christian were those who lived in the territory surrounding the monastery and could attend Mass and hear a sermon. In Irish monasteries this service, which included the laity, was a regular feature and it became standard in the Iro-Frankish monasteries on the Continent.[77] Since the Irish monks and bishop-abbots ignored or fought with local bishops, their monasteries remained outside of the normal ecclesiastical organization. This meant that there was little regularity or continuity in their activities, and that their efforts often resulted in little islands of Christianity set in large seas of still unconverted or only partially converted peoples. These monastic districts with their fierce spirit of independence constituted a major problem for Boniface and the Carolingian reformers when they began to construct an ecclesiastical hierarchy in Germany.[78]

The Irish also helped to inspire a native missionary movement among the Franks which resulted in more missionary preaching and more conversions. Most of the actors in these efforts came from the court of Dagobert I (623-39), who was the last Merovingian king to exercise direct rule over the entire Frankish realm (629-39). He expanded the borders of his kingdom into Germany, and gave much land there and within Gaul to the Church.[79] He took a strong interest in

the Christianization of the lands on his borders, and offered the district of Utrecht to the bishop of Cologne if he would evangelize it.[80] Three men who served as officers at his court became bishops after his death and led the missionary effort in the north of Gaul: Audoenus of Rouen (641-84); Eligius of Noyon (641-660); and Amandus of Maastricht-Liège (630-76).

Audoenus (St. Ouen) worked primarily in his own diocese of Rouen. This internal missionary work was made necessary by the control exercised by the local nobility over rural churches. The nobles appointed priests on the basis of loyalty, not on their religious qualities. Given this control, a reforming bishop such as Audoenus often had to make political alliances with local aristocrats to build or reform parish churches in the countryside.[81] He preached constantly, although his sermons have not survived, built churches in the countryside and sought to root out the last vestiges of pagan religion that survived there.[82] Through such efforts Audoenus and his contemporary Eucherius of Orléans were among the last Merovingian bishops in Gaul to exert any real influence over religious life in the rural areas of their dioceses.[83] After them the effects of the decline of the Merovingian Church began to be felt throughout Gaul.

The careers of the missionary bishops Amandus and Eligius were similar in many respects. Both men received education at the royal court and in Iro-Frankish monasteries after entering religious life.[84] Many of their missionary activities were influenced by the pattern established by Columbanus. Eligius used his see at Noyon as a base

for his efforts, while Amandus founded a monastery at Elnone (later St. Amand) in Flanders which became the center of his operations. Both used monastic foundations to extend Christianity into the rural areas of their dioceses.[85] In this the Franks followed the example of the Irish missionaries.

Eligius and Amandus added a new element of ecclesiastical organization which was often lacking in Irish missionary activities by supporting existing parish churches within their dioceses and building new ones. Eligius travelled throughout his diocese preaching regularly and trying to suppress pagan practices. He attacked worship of old pagan gods, such survivals as ceremonial dances, and games. On at least one occasion Eligius had to suppress pagan games over which a parish priest presided.[86] Both men used regular diocesan visitations to supervise the work of the priests and monks they left to preach in rural areas.[87] They also used relics to establish popular piety around monasteries or parish and vici churches that became the centers of saints' cults. Eligius found the body of Quentin at Vermand, and Pope Martin sent relics and books to Amandus.[88] In these actions both men followed the religious and hierarchical traditions of the Merovingian Church, traditions which had few supporters among their contemporaries within Francia.

In addition to the personal initiative the two bishops showed in their work among the rural areas, they used personal ties to give their efforts additional help and continuity. Eligius knew Amandus and Audoenus from their time together at Dagobert's court.[89] The two missionaries were further connected by the proximity of

their dioceses and the ties among their helpers.[90] Both men had strong connections with the Irish: Eligius received books from Irish monasteries; and Jonas, author of the Vita Columbani, came to Elnone with other monks of Luxeuil to help Amandus at the beginning of his missionary career.[91] These personal contacts established a network of support for the endeavors of the two missionaries.

Eligius and Amandus used preaching as their chief means of conversion and teaching. Both men spoke a Latin which was similar to the common language of the Romance areas of Francia and they ransomed slaves who could be used as translators for those areas where a Germanic vernacular was spoken.[92] Amandus' preaching can be known only through the topics of sermons mentioned in his Vita. They were all simple and direct, covering such topics as the Last Judgment, the need to destroy pagan shrines and the basic teachings of the Church.[93]

Eligius left the remains of two sermons which influenced later missionary preachers. One of these made up chapter sixteen of the Vita Eligii and the other took the form of a letter to Bishop Desiderius of Cahors.[94] Both sermons relied heavily on the works of Caesarius of Arles and Martin of Braga. They began identically: "I ask you, dearest brothers, and with great humility warn you that you should listen carefully with anxious spirits to that which I wish to suggest to you for your own health."[95] Both sermons went on to remind their listeners of the baptismal pact they had made, and of the good works needed to fulfill their vows.[96] The Praedicatio Eligii described at length the terrors of the Last Judgment and the

punishment awaiting those who practiced pagan rites, committed crimes, or failed to do good, while the Vita sermon discussed punishments and rewards in more general terms.[97] The Vita sermon used an ending written by Eligius: "Therefore, brothers, fear Him above all things; remember his mercy to you and never despair of his kindness." The Praedicatio Eligii used an ending taken from Caesarius.[98]

These two sermons formed what would become the "missionary-sermon type" of the eighth century. Although heavily dependent upon the sermon collections circulated by Caesarius, they also showed some original features and modifications of the sources employed in their composition.[99] Preached to the newly converted, the sermons stressed the baptismal vows and catalogued forms of proper and improper behavior. They concluded with a description of otherworldly rewards and punishments designed to convince the new Christians to follow the lines of conduct suggested by the preacher and to avoid returning to pagan practices and beliefs.[100] This type of sermon served as the model followed by the missionaries of the next century who stressed the same themes in their own sermons.

After the deaths of Eligius and Amandus the main impetus behind the Merovingian missionary effort slackened considerably.[101] This slackening was also due to the general decline of the Merovingian Church after 650. On the frontiers of Merovingian Gaul this decline meant a loss of the support and interest which Eligius and Amandus had used to further their own activities.[102] Although the territory converted by the missionaries remained nominally Christian, one of

the prime concerns of the Carolingian reformers would be raising the quality of religious life in these areas.[103]

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Preaching required an educated clergy and an episcopate sufficiently powerful to be able to devote time and resources to preaching and education. The close connection between king and church in Merovingian Gaul meant that the church was powerful when the kings made it so, and Dagobert I was the last effective Merovingian king. His two sons, both minors when he died in 639, ruled halves of his kingdom under the tutelage of their respective Mayors of the Palace. Much of the rest of Merovingian political history would be the long and bloody chronicle of the struggle between rival aristocratic families to gain possession of the Mayor's office and hence control of minor or incompetent kings.[104] This struggle was decided at the Battle of Tertry (687) when Pepin, the Carolingian Mayor of Austrasia (679-714), won ascendancy over the entire kingdom. Members of this family would later direct the rebuilding of the Frankish Church. In the seventh and early eighth centuries, however, the means employed by the Carolingians in their rise to power were instrumental in helping to destroy what remained of the Merovingian Church by wrecking its discipline and secularizing its lands.

The decline in the number of councils after 650 has already been examined. This was one result of the decline of the monarchy, since the kings summoned the national and regional councils of the sixth and early seventh centuries.[105] The last Merovingian councils and synods lacked the authority of earlier assemblages due largely

to the inability of the clerics to gain support from the aristocrats.[106] Attempts were made to draw together collections of canon law, such as the collections of Angers in Burgundy, to stem the rising tide of anarchy in the Church.[107] The reform-minded bishops of Burgundy fought a largely unsuccessful rear-guard action.

The political struggles in the Merovingian realm during the seventh century began to affect the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Bishoprics and monasteries possessed large amounts of land which the noble families used to reward their followers in one of two ways. The Mayors of the Palace now controlled episcopal and abbatial appointments and these were used to reward followers.[108] Since the numbers of these appointments were limited at any given time, the Mayors and other nobles secularized other church lands and gave these out as well.[109] This policy affected church revenues, and drastically lowered the standard of education and religiosity among the Frankish episcopate, since political loyalty was more important in a candidate for a see than clerical ability. It made the interests and identity of the episcopate practically co-equal with those of the aristocracy.[110] There could be little interest in preaching or church reform among such a group.

The pressures upon the Frankish bishops to neglect church interests and ally with the winners in the political struggles increased in the second half of the seventh century. Bishop Praeiectus of Clermont was killed in 676 because he had opposed returning a legacy given to his church.[111] Also involved in this affair was Bishop Leodegarius of Autun. He had supported the man

who had hoped to recover the legacy but who was also an opponent of Ebroin, Mayor of the Palace (665-80) in Neustria.[112] Leodegarius was accused of treason and was blinded and had his tongue cut out. He was later executed in 678.[113] Both men were regarded as martyrs despite their having been involved in political controversies. Some time after the Battle of Tertry, Pepin exiled Bishop Ansbertus of Rouen for having supported his enemies.[114] Ansbertus too became a martyr dying in exile in defense, perhaps, of his church.

The murders and exiles in the seventh century, when combined with lay control of episcopal elections, made a weak ecclesiastical hierarchy even weaker.[115] The large number of Irish missionaries in Gaul added a new element to the weakening of the church structure. They became the gyrovagi, wandering bishops without a fixed see.[116] The Irish "bishops" travelled throughout the north and east of the Frankish kingdom preaching, conferring orders and interfering in the existing parish system wherever their travels took them.[117] This was an additional blow to the episcopal structure of the Merovingian Church which had fairly well collapsed by 700.

By 700 the Merovingian Church was in full decline, but the worst was yet to come. In addition to the civil wars fought between the noble families, the Frankish realm faced invaders from the outside. Much of the south of Gaul was affected by Moslem raiders from Spain: cities and monasteries were destroyed in the Moslem raids and in the wars that followed as the Carolingian Mayors sought to regain control over the region.[118] Burgundy, a center of preaching and reform in the 670s, was similarly devastated by a civil war in

730-3.[119] Entire regions suffered from the effects of these wars which severely weakened the organization, structure and personnel of the churches within them. With the decline of the Church came a decline in preaching which required trained clergy and such resources as libraries and schools. None of these elements could long survive the anarchy and devastation which this period produced.

The situation was not uniformly bleak throughout the Frankish realm. Thanks to the work of Pierre Riché, it is now known that several monasteries in the northern and central areas of Gaul flourished as scriptoria and intellectual centers.[120] However, these centers, along with the sees of the few bishops still interested in reform, were too isolated to affect the course of affairs within Gaul. When church reform came to Francia, it would be the product of people and ideas from outside the realm. The Frankish Church would contribute much to the reforms, but reform came from the top down and was not an entirely native product.

The Merovingian Church and its missionaries exercised a strong influence on the history of the sermon in its early years, producing both preachers and canon law in support of preaching. Although much of this came from the influence of Caesarius of Arles, the Merovingian bishops added several new elements, one of the most important of which was the development of a strong missionary sermon tradition. In these activities the Merovingians combined a native preaching tradition with the missionary zeal of the Irish to produce models for missionary preaching used by later medieval missionaries.

The decline of this church was, perhaps, inherent in its nature as royal church. Strong and active under strong kings who took a positive interest in church affairs, its episcopal structure fell apart in the virtual anarchy which followed Dagobert I. The real strength of the Frankish Church after 650 lay in its monastic communities, in the largely Iro-Frankish monasteries founded by Columbanus and his followers and by the nobles they influenced. It was from the monasteries and their missionary activities that the main contribution of the Frankish Church to the Carolingian reforms and to Carolingian preaching came.

The main thrust of activity which produced the Carolingian reforms came, however, from the Anglo-Saxons Boniface and Alcuin. They drew upon a number of people and ideas from areas on the periphery of the Frankish realm as sources for their own endeavors. From these peripheral areas came people, ideas and institutions crucial to the development of the sermon traditions and preaching ideas which would also help to shape the Carolingian sermon.

CHAPTER II: NOTES

[1]Clovis for example fought the Arian Visigoths in 507/8 to gain territory and to support Catholic orthodoxy. Gregory of Tours, Historiarum libri X, II, 37, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SSrM I, 1: 85-8; and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, The Barbarian West: The Early Middle Ages A.D. 400-1000 (New York, 1962), 71-2.

[2]Wood, "Early Merovingian Devotion," 69-71; and Stancliffe, "From Town to Country," 55-7.

[3]Gregory of Tours, Historiarum libri X, IV, 48, MGH SSrM I, 1: 184; Albert Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, 8th ed., 5 vols. in 6 (Berlin, 1954), I: 200-1; and Franisek Graus, Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger: Studien zur Hagiographie der Merowingerzeit (Prague, 1965), 57-8 and 444-5.

[4]Ulysse Berlière, "L'exercice du ministère paroissal par les moines," RB 39 (1927): 235; and Stancliffe, "From Town to Country," 58-9.

[5]On the problems of the Church in the northeast see Eugen Ewig, "Les missions dans les pays rhénans," RHEF 62 (1976): 38-9; and on the political role of the bishops, see Gregory of Tours, Historiarum libri X, V, 18, and VII, 16, MGH SSrM I, 1: 216-24, and I, 2: 337-8, and Louis Bréhier and René Aigrain, Grégoire le grand, les états barbares et la conquête arabe 590-757, HE, V (Paris, 1947), 368-9. (Hereafter HE, V).

[6]Gregory of Tours, Historiarum libri X, IV, 6-7, 15 and 26, MGH SSrM I, 1: 139-40, 147 and 157-8 for examples involving Clermont, Tours and Bordeaux. See also Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 370.

[7]Karl Ferdinand Werner, "Le rôle de l'aristocratie dans la christianisation de la nord-est de la Gaule," RHEF 62 (1976): 50-1; and Wallace-Hadrill, Barbarian West, 75-6 and 83.

[8]Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 370; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 145-7.

[9]Gregory of Tours, Historiarum libri X, V, 18, MGH SSrM I, 1: 216-8.

[10]Ibid., VII, 16, and VIII, 31, MGH SSrM I, 2: 337-8 and 397-8. For the career of Melanius, ibid., VII, 19, and VIII, 41, MGH SSrM I, 2: 339 and 408. See also Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 338-9.

[11]Gregory of Tours, Historiarum libri X, VII, 17, MGH SSrM I, 2: 338.

[12]Riché, Education and Culture, 266-70; and Ewig, "Les missions," 40.

[13]Elphège Vacandard, "L'idolatrie en Gaule au VIe et au VIIe siècle," Revue des questions historiques 65 (1899): 431-6 and 453-4; and Jacques Le Goff, "Culture cléricale et traditions folkloriques dans la civilisation mérovingienne," AESC 22 (1967): 780-2.

[14]Charles Higounet, "Les forêts de l'Europe occidentale du Ve au XIe siècle," in Settimane, XIII (Spoleto, 1966), 381-3.

[15]Ewig, "Les missions," 37-9; and Imbart de la Tour, Les paroisses rurales, 10-26.

[16]On the origins of the Rogations see Gregory of Tours, Historiarum libri X, II, 34, MGH.SSrM I, 1: 83-4. The festival was used against the plague in Clermont (IV, 5), Lyons (IX, 21) and by Gregory himself in Tours (X, 30), ibid., 138 and I, 2: 441-2 and 525. See also Wood, "Early Medieval Devotion," 66-7; and Le Goff, "Culture cléricale," 785.

[17]Gregory of Tours, Historiarum libri X, IV, 34, MGH SSrM I, 1: 167. Cf. Stancliffe, "From Town to Country," 589 who argued that Christianity offered little to farmers to replace their pagan natural religion.

[18]Gregory of Tours, Historiarum libri X, IV, 16, and V, 16, MGH SSrM I, 1: 149-50 and 210 for the sortes biblicae; and V, 16, ibid., 212 for the phitonessa. See also Vacandard, "L'idolatrie en Gaule," 449-50 for the prevalence of diviners and seers in Merovingian Gaul; and Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 389-90.

[19]Stancliffe, "From Town to Country," 55-7; and Le Goff, "Culture cléricale," 785-7.

[20]Ibid., Higounet, "Les forêts de l'Europe," 384-5; and Graus, Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger, 246-51.

[21]Gregory of Tours, Historiarum libri X, IX, 21, MGH SSrM I, 2: 442; and Graus, Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger, 282-3.

[22]Concilium Aureliense, Conc. Gall. A.511-A.695, 132-141. On the influence of Caesarius on later Merovingian councils see Réné Macaigne, L'église mérovingienne et l'état pontificale (Paris, 1929), 104-7.

[23]Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 322-3.

[24]Provence went into a serious decline after the death of Caesarius and his immediate disciples. There were no more local councils or synods after 533. (Fournier and Le Bras, Histoire des collections canoniques, I: 44-5), and no literary works have survived for the period after 550 (Riché, Education and Culture, 267-8). This once again illustrates the role of individual initiative in the history of the sermon. Despite the sermons and canons on preaching left by Caesarius, none of his successors followed his example.

[25]Carlo de Clercq, La législation réligieuse franque de Clovis à Charlemagne, Université de Louvain, Recueil des Travaux, 2nd series, 38 (Louvain, 1938), 37-42; and Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 370-2.

[26]Ibid., 345-6; and Macaigne, L'église mérovingienne, 107-8.

[27]Gregory of Tours, Historiarum libri X, VIII, 13, MGH SSrM I, 2: 379.

[28]Concilium Matisconense (A.585), c. I: Videmus enim populum Christianorum temerario more die Dominica comtemtui tradere et sicut in privatis diebus operibus continuis indulgere. Propterea per hanc sinodalem nostram epistolam decernimus, ut unusquisque nostrum in sacrosanctis ecclesiis admoneat sibi subditam plebem; et si quidem admonitioni consensum praebuerint, eius proderunt utilitatibus, sin autem, subiacebunt poenis a nobis divinitus definitus. Conc. Galliae A.511-A.695, 239-40.

[29]Guntchramni Regis Edictum: Idcirco huius decreti ac definitionis generalis vigore decernimus, ut in omnibus diebus dominica, in quibus sanctae resurrectione mysterium veneramur . . . nec ulla causam praecipue iurgia moveantur. Ed. Alfred Boretius, MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 11.

[30]Ibid.: Ad vos, ergo, sacrosancti pontifices, quibus divina clementia potestatis paternae concessit officium, imprimis nostras serenitatis sermo dirigitur, sperantes quod ita populum vobis providentia divina commissum frequenti praedicatione studeatis corrigere et pastorale studio gubernare. . . . Et licet absque nostra admonitione ad vos specialiter praedicandi causa pertineat, attamen reliquorum peccatis vos omino credimus esse participes, si filiorum vestrorum culpas non assidua obiurgatione corrigitis sed silentio praeteritis. Nam nec nos, quibus

facultatem regnandi superni regis commisit auctoritatis, iram eius evadere possumus, si de subiecto populo sollicitudinem non habere. MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 11.

[31]There are few sermons surviving from sixth-century Gaul beyond those of Caesarius and Eusebius "Gallicanus." It is difficult to say exactly what Guntram heard. Bishops did preach before the kings when they attended Mass. Gregory of Tours noted that Guntram once stopped Mass rather than hear his enemy, Bishop Palladius, preach. Historiarum libri X, VIII, 7, MGH SSrM I, 2: 375.

[32]Childeberti secundi decretio (596), 2: De praeteritis vero coniunctionibus, quae incestae esse videntus, per praedicationem episcoporum iussimus emendare. MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 15.

[33]Sonnatius of Rheims, Statuta, c. I: 'Sine fide,' teste Apostolo (Hebr. 11), 'impossibile est Deo placere,' ideoque mandamus omnibus ut exacte doctrinam fidei, justa verbum Dei et sancte Ecclesiae Romanse traditionem, teneant sequanturque. Et quicumque pastores sunt quae ad instruendum populum et gregem pertinat discat et sciant, et suos ad officia virtutem excitent. PL 80: 443A. These Statutes, reprinted in Migne, are said to refer to the Synod of 625 reported in Flodoard, Historia ecclesiae Remensis, ibid. 135: 102A-105B. See Clavis Patrum Latinorum, ed. Eligius Dekkers and A. Gaar, 2nd ed., Sacris Erudiri, 3 (Steenbrugge, 1961), n. 1312. (Hereafter Clavis). The author was familiar with Gregory the Great's Regulae pastoralis, which does not prevent their being genuine.

[34]Sonnatius, Statuta, c. XIX: Sint episcopi fideles et assidui verbi Dei dispensatores. In hoc enim eorum charitas dignoscitur si gregem pascant examplo et verbo. PL 80: 445A. For parallels from Gregory see Regulae pastoralis liber I, 2, and II, 3, ibid. 77: 15C and 28B.

[35]Fournier and Le Bras, Histoire des collections canoniques, I: 49-50; and Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 353-6.

[36]Concilium Latunense, c. 18: Hoc omnino decernimus atque sumopere instituimus, ut, quicumque episcopus ecclesie praeesse videtur, omnibus Dominicis diebus, vel sollemnitatibus sanctis plebe sibi comissa praedicatione divina adloquatur et sacrata intentione praevigilet ut gregem sibi comisso alimentis spiritalibus foveat. Conc. Galliae A.511-A.695, 317. See also Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 377.

[37]This work is the subject of much controversy as to its date and location in which it was written. André Wilmart, s.v. "Germain de Paris," DACL VI (Paris, 1924), 1058-65 and 1102, dated the work to 676-725 and stated that it was written in

Autun or Burgundy. His work is based on close examination of the sole manuscript containing the Expositio and will be followed here. See McKitterick, The Frankish Church, 115 and 216 for the views on later dating.

[38]Pseudo-Germanus of Paris, Expositio brevis antiquae liturgiae Gallicanae, De Omelias: Homiliae autem sanctorum quae leguntur pro sola praedicatione ponuntur, ut quicquid Propheta, Apostolus vel Evangelium mandavit, hoc doctor vel pastor Ecclesiae apertiori sermone praedicet, ita arte temperans ut nec rusticitos sapientes offendat, nec honesta loquicitas obscura rusticis fiat. PL 72: 91D-92A. See also Duchesne, Christian Worship, 196-8.

[39]Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 376-7; and Macaigne, L'église mérovingienne, 109.

[40]Gregory of Tours, Historiarum libri X, IV, 48: Illi sacerdotes Domini ex toto corde venerati sunt et audierunt; isti non solum non audiunt, sed etiam persecuntur. MGH SSrM I, 1: 84.

[41]Idem., Vitae Patrum XVII, 2: Quibus de causis pauca loqui placet ad roborandum sacerdotum censuram, vel ad instructionem populi sive ad ipsorum regum praesentium emendationem. PL 71: 1079D-1080A. For his daily preaching see ibid., 1080C.

[42]Ibid., 1080D and XVII, 3, ibid., 1081A.

[43]Historiarum libri X, VIII, 20, MGH SSrM I, 2: 387-8; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 202.

[44]Historiarum libri X, VI, 5 and 40, MGH SSrM I, 2: 269-71 and 310-13 respectively.

[45]On the general level of theology in Gaul (550-700) see Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 377-8.

[46]Venantius Fortunatus, Miscellanea X, 1: Inde retinentes ejus mysteria, et quam multa sint in brevitate collata, propter aedificationem Ecclesiae paucis docemur explicare, quia tunc nobis melius placebunt auditu, cum patuesint intellectu. PL 88: 313C.

[47]Ibid., XI, 1, 345D-346C.

[48]Expositio Fidei Catholicae Fortunati, ibid., 586D-92B, especially 587B-C. See Clavis, 1052, where the work is listed among the Spuria attributed to Fortunatus.

[49]Réginald Grégoire, "Les homéliaires mérovingiens du VIIe-VIIIe siècle," SM 13 (1972): 904-7.

[50]Ibid., 907-915.

[51]Réginald Grégoire, Les homéliaires du moyen âge: inventaire et analyse des manuscrits, Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, series maior VI (Rome, 1966), 8 and 111-31. Here the distinction must be made between the sermonary, a collection of sermons for popular preaching, the liturgical homiliary, a collection of sermons and homilies for use during Mass and the liturgical offices, and the homiliary per se, a collection of sermons and homilies used by monks for private reading and meditation. Often, as in this case of homiliary in n. 50, the distinction is made by the content and provenance of the work in question.

[52]Riché, Education and Culture, 423-6; and Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 378-91.

[53]Vacandard, "L'idolatrie en Gaule," 431-4; and André Joris, "On the Edge of Two Worlds in the Heart of the New Empire: The Romance Regions of Northern Gaul during the Merovingian Period," in Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History III, ed. William Bowsky (Lincoln, Neb., 1966), 34-7.

[54]Ewig, "Les missions," 39-40; and idem., "L'Aquitaine et les pays rhénans au haut moyen âge," Cahiers de civilisation médiévale 1 (1958): 42-5.

[55]Werner, "Le rôle de l'aristocratie," 56-7 and 65-7.

[56]Ibid., 58-61; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 119-22.

[57]Ewig, "Les missions," 41-2; and Werner, "Le rôle de l'aristocratie," 68-9 where he estimates that full conversion came only around 800.

[58]On the Irish pilgrimages see Louis Gougaud, "L'oeuvre des Scotti dans l'Europe continentale," RHE 8 (1908): 22-4; and Kathleen Hughes, "The Changing Theory and Practice of Irish Pilgrimage," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 11 (1960): 143-5.

[59]Jonas, Vitae Columbani abbatis discipluorumque eius libri duo, c. 5: Agebat venerandus vir, ut, quaecumque loca progrederetur, verbum evangelicum adnuntiaret. Erat enim gratum hominibus, ut quod facundiae cultus adornabat, elucubratae praedicationibus doctrina, simul et exempla virtutum confirmabunt. . . . Ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH SSrM IV: 71.

[60]Ibid., c. 6, MGH SSrM IV: 72; Laistner, Thought and Letters, 141-2; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 217-50.

[61]Jonas, Vita Columbani I, 18-19, MGH SSrM IV: 86-9; Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 342; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 264-8.

[62]Columbanus, Epistola IV, iv: Mei voti fuit gentes visitare, et Evangelium eis a nobis praedicare; sed vel modo referente eorum temporum, pene meum tullit inde animum. PL 80: 271D.

[63]Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 260-4. For Columbanus' defense of the Irish custom see his Epistolae I and II, PL 80: 259C-267C, to Gregory the Great and to a Frankish synod respectively.

[64]John Ryan, Irish Monasticism: Origins and Early Development (Dublin, 1931), 299-302; and Wilhelm Levison, "Die Iren und die frankische Kirche," Historische Zeitschrift 109 (1912): 13-15.

[65]Ibid., 13; and Paul Willem Finsterwalder, "Wege und Ziele der irischen und angelsächischen Mission im frankischen Reich," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 47 (1929): 215-6.

[66]See the beginning of Instructio VIII: Ecce nunc de fine vitae dicendum est: jam enim diximus viam esse humanum vitam [n. V], et quam sit dubia et incerta, et non esse quod est, umbrae similitudine monstravimus [n. VI]: similiter, quam improvisa et quam caeca est ante diximus [n. VII], de fine vero vitae nostrae, Spiritu sancto nos adjuvante, noster sermo producendus est. PL 80: 244C. The numbers in brackets refer to the numbers of the sermons in the PL edition to which Columbanus referred.

[67]For the doctrinal preaching Instructio I, ibid., 229C-233A; the cultivation of interior virtues II, iii, 235A-C and IV, iii, 239C-240B; and the penitential teaching (nostrae scholae disciplina) IV, ii, 239A-B. On the sermons' general tone see Laistner, Thought and Letters, 143; and Finsterwalder, "Wege und Ziele," 210-11.

[68]There is a discussion of church attendance and good works in Instructio XV, i, PL 80: 257B but this sermon does not belong to Columbanus, see Clavis, 1119.

[69]The sermons used the endings developed by Caesarius with which Columbanus must have become acquainted in Gaul. Instructiones I, iv, and VIII, ii, PL 80: 233A and 246A. Elsewhere he uses the traditional Irish fondness for wordplay, as in VIII, ii where speaking of heaven he writes " . . . ubi facie ad faciem coelestia videmus, et Regem regum recto regimine regna regententem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, qui vivit et regnat in saecula saeculorum. Amen." Ibid.

[70]Columbanus, Ep. I, v: Legi librum tuum Pastorale regimen continentem stylo brevem, doctrina prolixum, mysteriis refertum, melle dulcius egenti opus esse fateor; mihi idcirco tua sitienti largire, precor opuscula quae in Ezechielem miro, ut audivi, elaborasti ingenio. Ibid., 263B-C.

[71]Riché, Education and Culture, 331-4; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 270-7.

[72]Levison, "Die Iren," 10-12; and Werner, "Le rôle de l'aristocratie," 60-1 and 73.

[73]Jonas, Vita Columbani, I, 27, MGH SSrM IV: 101-2. For the activity of his disciples see ibid., II, 8-9, 121-4 (Eusthasius and Agrestius); and the Vita Walarici abbatis Leuconaensis, c. 11: . . . petiit a beato Columbano, ut licentiam ei praedicandi inter gentes concederet. . . . Ed. Ernst Dümmler, ibid., 164-5. See also Gougaud, "L'oeuvre des Scotti," 25-9; and Levison, "Die Iren," 18-21.

[74]Jonas, Vita Columbani, I, 11, MGH SSrM, IV: 77. On Gallus' career see Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 530; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 316-8.

[75]Walafrid Strabo, Vita Galli, c. 6: . . . non solum Latine sed etiam barbaricae locutionis habaret. Ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SSrM IV: 289. On his conversion of the peoples around the Bodensee see cc. 8-9 ibid., 290-1.

[76]Finsterwalder, "Wege und Ziele," 215-6; Levison, "Die Iren," 15-17; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 347-54.

[77]Ryan, Irish Monasticism, 349-50.

[78]See the works cited in n. 76 and Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 534-41. The efforts of Boniface will be discussed in Chapter III.

[79]R. Barroux, Dagobert, Roi des Francs, Bibliothèque historique (Paris, 1938), 192-5. During his reign the monastery of St. Denis outside of Paris became the royal monastery of France. See also Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 346-50.

[80]Werner, "Le rôle de l'aristocratie," 66-7; and Ewig, "Les missions," 43.

[81]Paul Fouracre, "The Work of Audoenus of Rouen and Eligius of Noyon in Extending Episcopal Influence from the Town to the Country in Seventh-Century Neustria," in The Church in Town and Countryside, 88-90.

[82]Vita Audoini episcopi Rotomagensis, c. 4: Quapropter electus pastor a Domino, praedicator egregrius effectus, tam

verbis quam operibus gregam informans dominicum, ita protegente Domino in religione fidei robratus, Francorum saevissima feritate in mansuetudine vertit et ex sacro fonte mellis dulcidinem temperavit parrochisque suos divino culti consecravit, ut, relicto rito gentilium, sponte se ad Christum iugum vel servitium colla sua subponenat. Ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH SSrM V: 556. See also Vacandard, "L'idolatrie en Gaule," 438-41.

[83] Vita Eucherii episcopi Aurelianensis, c. 6: Coepit dehinc aecclesias excolere, clerum diligere, plebem praedicatione sua corrigere, coenubia . . . diligere. Ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH SSrM VII, 1: 49. Audoenus' successor Ansbertus (684-90) also preached. He was responsible for the canonization of Audoenus, but in 690 was exiled by Pepin of Heristal for suspected political crimes. See the Vita Ansberti episcopi Rotomagenis, 16-17, and 20, ed. Wilhelm Levison, ibid., V: 629-30 and 632-3. See also Fouracre, "The Work of Audoenus," 90-1.

[84] Barroux, Dagobert, 169-70; and Riché, Education and Culture, 330-3.

[85] Vita Amandi episcopi I, c. 13, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SSrM V: 437-8; Joris, "On the Edge of Two Worlds," 435; and Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 528-30.

[86] Vita Eligii episcopi Noviomagensis, II, 20: . . . adiens Eligius vicum, cum ingenti constantia praedicabat, sicut semper consueverat, Dei verbum, abiciendos dumtaxat atque abhominandos esse cunctos daemonum ludos et nefandas saltationes omnesque inanes prorsus reliquendas superstitiones. Ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SSrM IV: 711. The priest of this vicus was the leader of the games which Eligius suppressed with some difficulty, ibid., 711-2. See also Fouracre, "The Work of Audoenus," 80-2.

[87] Vita Eligii, II, 21, MGH SSrM IV: 713; and Vita Amandi I, 20, ibid., V: 443. See also Berlière, "L'exercice du ministère paroissal," 235-6.

[88] Vita Eligii, II, 6, MGH SSrM IV: 697-9; and Martin's letter to Amandus printed in Vita Amandi II, ibid., V: 456. See also Fouracre, "The Work of Audoenus," 86-7; and E. de Moreau, St. Amand le principal évangélisateur de la Belgique (Brussels, 1942), 39-41.

[89] See the Vita Amandi I, 17, MGH SSrM V: 441-2, for the tradition that Amandus recieved his episcopal consecration from Eligius and Audoenus at Dagobert's court. On the ties between the two missionaries in general see Wolfgang H. Fritze, "Universalis gentium confessio: Formeln, Träger und Wege universalmissionarischen Denkens im 7. Jahrhundert," Frühmittelalterliche Studien, 3 (1969): 84-7.

[90]Joris, "On the Edge of Two Worlds," 39-44.

[91]Vita Eligii, I, 12, MGH SSrM IV: 679; and Jonas, Vita Columbani, Praefatio, ibid., 62.

[92]Vita Eligii, II, 33 and 66, ibid., 718 and 733; and Vita Amandi I, 13, ibid., V: 437-8. See also Riché, Education and Culture, 484-5; and de Moreau, Saint Amand, 47-9.

[93]Vita Amandi I, 24-5, MGH SSrM V: 447-8; and de Moreau, Saint Amand, 51-2.

[94]The Vita Eligii was written about 750 but the sermon in c. 16 is closely related to the Praedicatio Eligii de supremo iudicio (the letter-sermon to Desiderius), and may well be genuine, or at least taken from something that Eligius preached. See Clavis, 2094 and 2096. Cf. Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 293, n. 2 for the view that neither sermon belonged to Eligius.

[95]Vita Eligii, II, 16: Rogo vos, fratres karissimi, et cum grandi humilitate admoneo, ut intentis animis auscultare iubeatis, quae vobis pro saluta vestra suggere volo. MGH SSrM IV: 705; and Praedicatio Eligii de supremo iudicio, 1, ibid., 751. The incipit is modified from Caesarius, sermo LVII, 1, CCSL 103, 251.

[96]Vita Eligii, II, 16, MGH SSrM IV: 706-7; and Praedicatio Eligii, 2 and 4-8, ibid., 751 and 752-4.

[97]Ibid., 10-14, 755-58; and Vita Eligii, II, 16, 707-8. See also Vacandard, "L'idolatrie en Gaule," 443-8.

[98]Vita Eligii, II, 16: Illum ergo, fratres, super omnia timete, illum inter omnia adorate, illum ultra omnia amate, ad illius vos misericordiam tenete, de eius clementia numquam desperate. MGH SSrM IV: 708; and Praedicatio Eligii, 20, ibid., 761.

[99]Honoratus Millemann, "Caesarius von Arles und die frühmittelälterliche Missionspredigt," Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft 23 (1933): 15-17. Millemann estimated that Eligius possessed a sermonary containing at least ten of Caesarius' sermons and the De Correctione Rusticorum of Martin of Braga, the latter work to be examined in my next chapter.

[100]See here the discussion of sermon themes in Riché, Education and Culture, 485-8.

[101]Eligius' successor Mommelinus (661-76) was also a missionary who preached. He was aided by Audomarus, Bishop of Boulougne-sur-mer, and Bertinus and his monks of Sithieu, Vitae Audomari, Bertini, Winnochi, 11-12, ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH SSrM V: 760-2.

[102]Ewig, "Les missions," 42-4; and Werner, "Le rôle de l'aristocratie," 70-1.

[103]Joris, "On the Edge of Two Worlds," 44-7.

[104]For this and what follows, see Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 367-76; and Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 349-57.

[105]Ibid., 335-6 and 345-6.

[106]Fournier and LeBras, Histoire des collections canoniques, I: 49-52; and de Clercq, La législation religieuse, 70-4.

[107]On the collection of Angers see Maasen, Geschichte der Quellen, 821-8 and the works cited in n. 106.

[108]Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 364-7 and 376-9; Werner, "Le rôle de l'aristocratie," 60-2; and Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 370-3.

[109]Ibid., 361-2; and James Westfall Thompson, The Dissolution of the Carolingian Fisc in the Ninth Century, University of California Publications in History, 23 (Berkeley, 1935), 15-19.

[110]Hauck referred to the later Merovingian episcopate as a "geistliche Aristokratie," Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 366. See also Eugen Ewig, "Milo et eiusmodi similes," in SB, 430-4.

[111]Passio Praeiecti episcopis et martyris Arverni 29-30, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SSrM V: 242-3.

[112]Ibid., 25-6, 240-1; and Passio Leudegarii episcopi et martyrii Augustodunensis I, 9-10, ed. Bruno Krusch, ibid., 291-3.

[113]Ibid., 29 and 35, MGH SSrM V: 311-2 and 316-7. See also Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 352-5; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 370 and 372-3.

[114]See n. 84 above.

[115]See above nn. 8-10.

[116]Hughes, "Irish Pilgrimage," 145-6; and Gougaud, "L'oeuvre des Scotti," 30-6.

[117]See the Petitio episcopi peregrini ad episcopum proprium: Rogo vos humiliter dirigere per epistolam vestram quid mihi de nostro liceat celebrare officium in parrochia vestra et in ecclesiis vestris, quae in nostro sunt beneficio, si praedicare liceat, si emendare, si corrigere, si erigere ecclesiis, si confirmare aut baptizare, aut poenitentiam dare. . . . PL 89: 855B-C. All too often the gyrovagi failed to ask before beginning these activities.

[118]Riché, Education and Culture, 422-3. He entitled this section of his book "The Destruction of Roman Gaul." See also Archibald R. Lewis, The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society 718-1050 (Austin, 1965): 20-4; and Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 358-60.

[119]Riché, Education and Culture, 423.

[120]Ibid., 427-30. He also noted that the court of the Carolingian mayors became an important administrative center and would be influential in persuading them to favor the church reforms proposed by Boniface, which dealt among other things with the administration of the Frankish Church. Ibid., 439-46.

CHAPTER III

SPAIN, ITALY AND THE ANGLO-SAXONS: 550-750

Historians have often commented upon the international nature of the Carolingian reforms in describing the presence of churchmen and scholars from Visigothic Spain, Italy and Anglo-Saxon England.[1] Few historians, however, go on to discuss the common elements which bound these areas together and connected them with the Frankish kingdom. One such common element was the contribution that people from these areas combined to make to the Carolingian sermon. This contribution consisted of such features as the movement of the works of Caesarius of Arles, the efforts of Gregory the Great to persuade the bishops of the West to preach regularly and the rise of native sermon traditions in Spain and England. These activities helped to produce and to shape the sermon tradition created by the Carolingian reforms.

* * * * *

In 550 the Iberian peninsula contained a number of Christian communities: in the south around Malaga a Byzantine-Catholic church; in the Visigothic kingdom both Catholic and Arian churches; and in the kingdom of the Suevi in the northeast a relatively recent Arian church.[2] The Suevi had been converted from paganism to Arianism in the 480s by Visigothic missionaries.[3] Their conversion to Catholicism became the work of Martin of Braga, a Pannonian who

arrived in Spain about 550 and became abbot of the monastery of Dumio.[4] He used his friendship with the Suevian kings to convert them and became archbishop of Braga (556-79). Only then did he set about converting the mass of the Suevi.[5] Although his conversions were won by preaching, the content of his early sermons has not survived.

As a missionary bishop Martin took great interest in developing the spirituality of his converts. This could be seen in his Formula Vitae Honestae dedicated to the Suevian king Miro (570-83) and long attributed to the Roman author Seneca.[6] In this work he described the four moral virtues: prudence, continence, magnanimity and justice. Martin told the king about justice:

> Therefore if you desire to pursue this [justice], first you must fear God and love God, that you should be loved by God. You will love God, if you will imitate him in this: that you wish to do good to all and harm to none; then all will call you a just man, and they will follow, venerate and love you. To be a just man not only should you not do harm but also you should prohibit harm from being done.[7]

Here Martin tried to explain the abstract Christian virtues in terms which the Suevi could understand and follow. He gave the idea of justice an active quality by making it include not only the personal avoidance of injustice, but also the attempt to prevent others from doing injustice. This was one way in which he tried to guide the spiritual life of his flock from the king on down to the mass of the population. The Formula provides a good idea of the topics Martin used in his sermons to the Suevi.

He also guided his flock by preaching. Canon I of the Second Council of Braga (572) set out what Martin's bishops should preach,

and when they were to do so:

> It is agreed by all bishops and moreover it is fitting that in each church bishops travelling through the dioceses shall first inquire of the clergy how well they know the order of baptism or of the mass and whatever offices are conducted in the church. And if they find things done rightly, thanks be to God; if, however, things are not done well, they should teach the ignorant, and by the same means instruct all that . . . on this same twentieth day [before baptism] the Creed, which is Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentam, shall be taught particularly to all catechumens. After having discussed these matters with their clergy or having taught them, on another day calling together their people to the church the bishops shall instruct them so that they shun the errors of idols or various crimes, that is murder, adultery, perjury, false witness and other deadly sins; or that what they do not wish to have done to themselves, they do not do to others; and that they believe in the resurrection of all men and in the Day of Judgment in which each person shall be received according to his works. And after this, the bishop shall proceed from this church to another one.[8]

Martin's canon placed the entire burden of preaching upon the bishops, suggesting that if he knew of Caesarius' Council of Vaison, he did not approve of the extension of preaching rights to priests. The sermons preached by the bishops were intended to provide a basic understanding of the tenets of the faith, as can be seen in the emphasis on the Creed and in the sermon topics given in the second half of the canon.[9] For those who did not need the catechetical instruction, the sermons would provide reinforcement and correction. The canon would seem to suggest that much of the bishop's preaching in the rural parishes within his diocese came during the preaching tour he was to make in Eastertide. The canon provided the Suevi at least an annual sermon to go along with the scriptural readings in the Mass conducted by the parish priests.

This canon of the Second Council of Braga was the only surviving piece of Spanish conciliar legislation on preaching. It had

wide circulation in Spain as part of a canon law collection known as the Hispana drawn together between 600 and 650, perhaps by Isidore of Seville.[10] As an important piece of preaching legislation, the canon became part of the Catholic legal tradition. Martin's contribution was all the more important since the Hispana collection formed part of the background for the legal reforms of the Carolingian period.[11]

This canon also influenced Martin's only surviving sermon, the De Correctione Rusticorum, written between 572 and 574 for Polemius, one of Martin's diocesan bishops, who had asked for a sermon to reprove the peasants who continued to practice pagan customs.[12] In this sermon Martin explained that the pagan gods such as Jove, Juno and Mars were demons and ministri of the devil who persuaded men to worship them as gods.[13] He used this argument to persuade his flock that the surviving pagan rites were in strict opposition to Christianity and its services.

He went on to explain both the nature of Christ's sacrifice and the pact that Christians make with God in baptism through a discussion of the baptismal questions and responses.[14] The burning of small wax images in honor of sacred rocks, trees and fountains, and the observance of such practices as divination and augury were things which went against the baptismal pact, since all Christians agreed in baptism to renounce such works of the devil.[15] In an interesting passage he compared the sign of the cross and the Christian prayers to magical signs and incantations:

> Therefore whoever despising the sign of Christ's cross shall look for other signs, he shall lose the sign of the

> cross which he accepted in baptism. Similarly he who knows other incantations sought from magicians and witches shall lose the incantation of the holy Creed and the Lord's Prayer which he accepted in the faith of Christ and in him that faith shall perish, because no one can worship God and the devil at the same time.[16]

This passage illustrated the process whereby Christian superstition gradually became substituted for pagan religion. The sign of the cross and liturgical prayer could be used against the unknown forces of this world and against the demons in whose existence there was universal belief. If such ideas tended to lower the quality of Christian belief, they made it much more acceptable on the popular level.

Martin concluded his sermon to the peasants with a call to do penance and an exhortation to do good works such as attending church, keeping Sunday holy and performing works of charity.[17] Martin's sermon owed many of its ideas to Augustine and Caesarius of Arles, because all three shared an interest in making recent converts into good Christians.[18] Other items found in the sermon, such as the equivalence made between pagan charms and Christian prayers, reflected his own ideas and beliefs.

Because these topics were intended for the recently converted, his sermon had a profound influence on the missionary preachers of later generations. Along with the works of Caesarius, it shaped the sermons of Eligius, Pirmin and the Anglo-Saxon missionaries.[19] Martin was well known to Gregory of Tours, and it was through such connections that knowledge of the De Correctione Rusticorum passed northward to the missionaries.[20] His works not only developed a native preaching tradition but influenced areas outside of Spain as well.

After Martin's death in 585, the kingdom of the Suevi became part of the Visigothic kingdom. Two years later, in 587, the Visigoths became Catholic Christians when the Visigothic king Reccared decided to become a Catholic at the behest of his friend, Leander of Seville (589-601).[21] As a consequence of this conversion, according to an anonymous late sixth-century sermon, the now-Catholic clergy gave additional attention to preaching. The sermon, the De Saltationibus Respuendis, which spoke of regular Sunday preaching, also testified to the influence of Martin and of the collections sent by Caesarius to Spain.[22] Martin's influence, however, did not extend very far or endure for very long.

Reccared's conversion also set in train a series of events which would culminate in one of the many early medieval "renaissances." In Visigothic Spain, the renaissance came from the works of Isidore of Seville (601-36), Leander's brother and successor as bishop of Seville.[23] He emphasized clerical education in his works, especially the famous Etymologies which became widely used in the centuries after his death.[24] Isidore's works had only limited effects on the clerical culture in Spain, and its influence on the development of the sermon came largely from his pupils and from the educational ideas he passed on to later generations.[25]

The effects of Isidore's work on the sermon in Spain came largely from the work of his pupil, Ildephonsus of Toledo (656-66). Ildephonsus composed a number of sermons which enjoyed a wide circulation during the Middle Ages.[26] He also wrote or oversaw the collection of the original section of the Homiliary of Toledo, a collection

of sermons for the Sundays and feast days of the liturgical year, intended for popular preaching.[27] This homiliary contained ninety-two sermons, thirty-five of which came from sermons of Caesarius, thirteen from Augustine, and the rest from Gregory the Great, Jerome, other church fathers, Ildephonsus himself and other Spanish authors. The sermons in this collection stressed traditional themes developed by these fathers and examined above. Some of the sermons were written in response to new conditions found in the early medieval west.

Six of the sermons in the Homiliary were designed to be read to help their listeners respond to plagues: "Sermones de clade. Prima die legendus."[28] Western Europe in the sixth century suffered greatly from plagues which particularly ravaged Italy, Gaul and Spain.[29] Bishops in Gaul used the Rogation processions and prayers to try to alleviate the inflictions of these epidemics as was shown in the preceding chapter. The author of the sermons against the plague in the Homiliary chose rather to follow the example given by Gregory the Great in his sermon "Oportet, fratres karissimi, ut flagella Dei. . . ."[30] Gregory advised the people of Rome faced by the plague of 590 to do penance for their sins as a means of relieving themselves of this affliction and used processions and litanies from the stational churches of the city to appeal for God's help.[31]

In the same manner the author of the plague sermons in the Homiliary of Toledo told his flock that the plague came as punishment for sins.[32] The plague was a visitation upon them of God's justice and could only be relieved by confession of sins and doing penance.[33]

If not very sophisticated in a medical sense, this analysis of the plague and its causes gave the people of seventh-century Toledo an explanation of a terrifying unknown force which they could understand. The confession and prayer provided psychological relief, and the charity they were required to give as part of their penance meant practical relief for plague victims. The compilers of the Homiliary made the collection responsive to a wide variety of popular needs.

The sermons of this collection also illustrated the compiler's interest in protecting his flock from the remnants of Arianism in Spain. All of the sermons in the collection had by this time been given one or another of the formulaic sermon endings devised by Caesarius of Arles.[34] The sermon endings created by the compilers of the Homiliary followed this pattern but added certain features to guide the Toledans along the path of trinitarian orthodoxy. Such endings as "Per dominum Ihesum quoaequalem sibi et quoaeternum regnante secum et cum spiritu sancto in saecula saeculorum," or "Qui cum deo patre et sancto spiritu unus deus vivit," were designed to teach proper doctrine to the people hearing the sermons.[35] In the area of doctrine the sermons were adapted along lines which met popular needs.

The Homiliary of Toledo was the last piece of evidence for preaching surviving from the Visigothic Church of Spain. In 711 this Church succumbed to the general disruption of the Visigothic kingdom caused by the conquest of most of Spain by Islamic invaders from North Africa.[36] What remained would be split into two churches.

There was a Mozarabic Church, generally tolerated by Moslem rulers in the conquered areas, and a Visigothic Church in those small kingdoms of northern Spain which remained Christian.[37] From both churches came waves of refugees into Gaul.[38] In the eighth century Theodulph and Agobard, who would become bishops in the Carolingian Church, also made this journey. They would bring with them important parts of the preaching and legislative heritage of the Visigothic Church. Through their efforts this heritage became part of the Carolingian reforms and helped to create the sermon used in implementing them.

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The importance of Italy in the history of the sermon from 500 to 750 has already been seen in the travels of Gregory the Great's works to Gaul and Spain. The role played by Italians in the origins of the Carolingian sermon was, however, larger and more complicated than the simple transmission of influential codices. The Italians also produced new ideas and institutions in support of preaching, which began with the work of Benedict of Nursia (c. 480-c. 550).

Between 520 and 529 Benedict founded the monastery of Monte Cassino.[39] On the site of the monastery was a temple dedicated to Apollo which Benedict converted into an oratory. He also preached to the people who lived around Cassino and converted them to Christianity.[40] These two actions, founding a monastery and then converting the people around it, illustrated the ambiguous nature of Benedict's order. Although as monks they were to withdraw from the world, the

nature of his Rule and his own example insured that the Benedictines would always be an important part of early medieval life.

This ambiguity could be seen in the chapter of the Rule devoted to the work the monks were to do. Much of this chapter described the physical work necessary to sustaining life in the monastery, but it also mentioned reading as part of the opus Dei to be done by the monks.[41] The Rule nowhere mentioned libraries or the copying of books, although it made other references to books and reading.[42] In order to fulfill the founder's commands as regards reading, the Benedictine monasteries possessed scriptoria and many of them became important centers of studies.[43]

The same ambiguity of purpose could be seen in Benedict's attitude toward the monks' role in pastoral work or as missionaries. His own example pointed the way for other Benedictines who wished to engage in pastoral activities, and the chapters of the Rule describing the role of priests in the monastery also left the question of involvement in pastoral activities open. Chapter LX stated that priests must ask more than once to enter the monastery to prove their devotion to a different form of spiritual life, and that they must agree to observe the discipline of the Rule.[44] If they continued to exercise their priestly duties, they were not to be given a special role in the monastery out of reverence to their priesthood.[45] In a like manner chapter LXII commanded that any of the monks who became ordained should not become proud, but should follow the abbot's orders and apply themselves even more carefully to following the Rule.[46]

There was nothing in the Rule which prevented ordained monks from carrying out pastoral or missionary work as long as such activities were approved by their abbot. Traditionally, most monasteries were placed in remote areas so that the monks would have less interference with their meditations. Therefore it should not be surprising to see Benedictines doing pastoral work among peoples not served by bishops or priests from Benedict's time onward.[47] The interest in cultural activities combined with the propensity for missionary work made Benedict's Rule extremely popular in Europe. It spread to Gaul where, in several monasteries, it was combined with the Rule of Columban to form what was known as the Mixed Rule.[48] Monasteries with this form of monastic rule, such as Corbie, became very active in missionary work.[49]

Benedict was not the founder of monasticism in the West, since such figures as John Cassian and Honoratus of Lérins had a clear priority of at least a century. He could be said to have refounded it because, after the monastic legislation of the Carolingians, his Rule became the basis for western monasteries. One reason for the widespread acceptance of Benedictine monasticism, besides the popularity of the Rule, was the association of Benedict with Gregory the Great's Dialogues. Another reason could be found in Gregory's use of Benedictine monks as missionaries in the evangelization of Anglo-Saxon England. This mission was an important part of Gregory's contribution to the development of the sermon.

Gregory the Great (590-604) came to the papacy from a monastic milieu which may have acquainted him with the potential of the

Benedictines as missionaries. He left the monastery which he founded to enter papal service first as papal representative (apocrisarius) to the imperial court in Constantinople and later as secretary to his predecessor Pelagius II.[50] Upon the death of Pelagius during the plague of 590 Gregory was elected pope, and one of his first concerns was in dealing with the effects of the plague. He handled this problem by preaching to the Romans--a pastoral style that typified many of his concerns as pope.[51]

Shortly after his election Gregory wrote the Pastoral Rule modeled after a monastic rule but intended to serve as a guide to preaching for bishops.[52] This work examined the relationship between how a preacher lived and the doctrine he taught, the virtues which a preacher should cultivate, and faults he should try to overcome.[53] The preacher should conduct himself so that his life became an example of the things he taught because examples were easier to follow than words.[54] Gregory saw the sermon as a teaching device for those unable to read the works of the faith for themselves. He took the same attitude toward pictures and works of art in a letter to Bishop Serenus of Marseille in which he objected to Serenus' policy of destroying the paintings and images in his churches.[55]

The concern with teaching could also be seen in book three of the Pastoral Rule. In it Gregory set out in thirty-eight chapters how the preacher should appeal to the different sorts of peoples, moods and conditions among his flock.[56] He concluded this section of the Rule with a warning to make the sermon's meaning clear to its audience and with suggestions on how the preacher could use his voice

effectively.[57] This guide to preaching found an appreciative audience throughout western Europe. The Pastoral Rule was used in Spain and Gaul during Gregory's lifetime and it continued to have a strong influence on medieval preaching for centuries.[58]

Gregory's ideas on preaching were further developed in his Homilies on the Gospels. Gregory delivered these sermons in the stational churches of Rome during the feast days and saints' days of 591-2. In them he stressed traditional themes of the types developed by Augustine and Caesarius. The importance of good works in the scheme of salvation, for example, received a major emphasis.[59] He also used the Homilies to state his beliefs concerning the importance of preaching. In a sermon delivered to a gathering of bishops he stated that the preacher's words of exhortation made the mind a dwelling place for God, and warned those who did not preach that they would have to account for their silence when they came to be judged.[60] Many of these ideas about preaching were similar to statements made by Caesarius. It remains difficult to determine how well Gregory knew the sermons which Caesarius wrote.[61]

One idea certainly original to Gregory was the idea of a universal audience for preaching, by which he meant that preaching should be extended to the unconverted peoples of Europe. He developed this idea in his sermons for the Ascension and Pentecost. In the first of these, commenting on the text "Preach the Gospel to all Creatures," Gregory compared preaching to the sowing of seeds and stated that there could be no abundance of faith in the world if the seeds of preaching were not sown.[62] In speaking of the gift of

tongues which the Apostles received from the Holy Spirit, he asked: "What does this miracle mean if not that holy Church, filled with the same Spirit, would be a voice speaking to all peoples?"[63] From his belief in the need to preach the Gospel to the unconverted came his later interest in missionary work.

Gregory edited the Homilies on the Gospels in 593 and sent them as a sermonary to Bishop Secundinus of Taormina in Sicily. They also enjoyed a wide circulation throughout Europe.[64] Sending copies of his works to other bishops was only part of Gregory's pastoral concerns. In his letters to bishops he urged them to preach or exhorted those who did preach to continue in their efforts.[65] His Pastoral Rule, the Homilies on the Gospels and his exhortations in the letters broke new ground for preaching. His exegesis served as a model for other authors who followed his methods to extract moral and spiritual teachings from Scripture to pass on to their flocks.[66] Gregory's sermons and the Pastoral Rule also encouraged the bishops to move beyond Scripture as the sole source for material to be used in sermons.[67] Gregory himself employed stories from lives of saints and his own experiences to illustrate the moral teachings of his sermons.

Gregory combined all of these efforts in the mission he sent to England in 596-7. He chose a party of Benedictine monks headed by Augustine as missionaries, because once settled in England they could build monasteries to serve as bases for their conversion work.[68] The organizing genius behind this mission was Gregory. He arranged for ransomed Anglo-Saxon slaves and Frankish priests to serve as translators and assistants for the missionaries.[69] Gregory

also wrote letters to the Frankish rulers and bishops commending Augustine and his party and asking their aid for the missionaries.[70]

The missionaries won their converts largely through the strength of their preaching. Bede made this clear in his Ecclesiastical History when he described the efforts of Augustine and his party.[71] Little can be known directly about the content of their preaching as no sermons by Augustine of Canterbury or his early successors have survived. As sources for sermons, they took the Pastoral Rule and Gregory's Homilies on the Gospels to England with them to serve as a basis for their own preaching.[72] Gregory sent the missionaries liturgical vessels and manuscripts, among which were the sermons of Augustine of Hippo.[73] So at least two sources for the missionary sermons can be known, and it can be said with some certainty that the missionaries' own sermons emphasized teaching articles of faith and moral exhortation in the tradition of the sources they used. Following the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons by preaching, centers of study which educated the Anglo-Saxons in the Christian culture of continental Europe were established in the Benedictine monasteries founded by Augustine and his successors. By 700, Anglo-Saxon England developed a flourishing church.[74]

Gregory kept in close contact with events in England and offered advice to Augustine when problems arose. The papal oversight gave authority to missionaries and insured a flexibility on matters of liturgy and doctrine which would make Christianity more appealing to the Anglo-Saxons.[75] In a similar manner, he continued to write to the Frankish bishops with whom he had established contact during

the mission to England and offered them advice on improving the conduct of church life in Gaul.[76] Gregory was one of the few popes in the Early Middle Ages to exercise the moral authority of the papacy in an effective manner.

Gregory the Great made several important contributions to the development of preaching and the sermon. His Pastoral Rule provided both an explanation of why a bishop should preach and a guide for sermon topics and delivery. His Homilies on the Gospels became influential models used by other preachers throughout Europe. The mission to England extended the influence of his works and created a church which launched its own missionary movement back to the continent in the eighth century. He may also have influenced the homiliary movement which began in Italy shortly after his pontificate.

The formation of sermon collections to be used by other bishops and priests originated, as far back as the evidence goes, with Caesarius of Arles.[77] In Rome, perhaps inspired by the sermonaries Caesarius sent throughout Europe, similar collections were made in the sixth century. A collection of the sermons of Pope Leo I was created in the 550s and served as the basis for the use of Leo's sermons in later homiliaries.[78] Sometime between 590 and 636 a new collection was made which was used by the priests of St. Peter's in Rome for lections during the night offices and for sermons during Mass. The sermonary of St. Peter's contained a large number of sermons written for the cycle of feast days of the liturgical year of which 115 sermons now survive.[79]

The chief source for the compiler of the collection was the sermons of Leo I: forty-six pieces of the collection were taken from his works. Augustine and other African bishops provided twenty sermons and five of Caesarius' sermons were used. The compiler based his collection on the sermons of those of his predecessors known for their contributions to popular preaching. None of Gregory the Great's sermons were used in this collection, but this was probably due to the fact that his sermons were sent out as complete sermonaries and were not used individually.[80] The sermonary of St. Peter's came into existence to provide the type of preaching which Gregory wanted in all the churches in the Christian world, and may have been a response to his call for more preaching.

Early in the eighth century Archbishop Felix of Ravenna (707-17) collected the works of his distant predecessor, Peter Chrysologus, into a single volume. He intended these works to be used by his bishops and priests for their pastoral work.[81] This collection circulated widely and it became the basis for use of Peter's sermons by the Carolingians.[82] By the middle of the eighth century a number of these collections were known in Italy. At about this time, however, the homiliary movement branched out into a new and primarily monastic direction.

The new thrust came from the activity of Alan of Farfa, a monastic scribe and later abbot (761-70) of the monastery of Farfa. He composed a massive homiliary divided into two sections for the winter and summer cycles of the liturgical year and intended to provide sermons for use as lections for the monastic liturgical offices.[83] This

collection was not intended for popular preaching nor were the similar collections based upon it.[84] Although Alan's work and other such homiliaries may have served as sources for popular preachers, they were written for monastic usage. While the seventh-century collections added to the stock of materials available for pastoral work, the works of Alan of Farfa and his successors in the eighth century were not written to be used for popular preaching.

* * * * *

The activities and works of the Italians came to have a major role in the Carolingian reforms largely through the activities of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries who reactivated a reform trend in the Frankish Church. Gregory helped to found the Anglo-Saxon Church with Benedictine monks using his sermons to work the conversions of the people of England. In the eighth century Anglo-Saxon Benedictines returned to the continent to serve as missionaries, bringing with them Gregory's works. There they encountered the native sermon tradition shaped largely by Caesarius of Arles. Out of their activities came the beginnings of reform and the basis for the Carolingian sermon.

The Anglo-Saxon missionary movement began in the 690s, less than a hundred years after the foundations of Christianity in England had been laid. The impulse behind this missionary activity came largely from the inspiration of the Irish peregrini and the Anglo-Saxons' knowledge of the work of Eligius and Amandus in Flanders.[85] After some abortive beginnings, the first missionary to begin in earnest was Willibrord, who went to Frisia in 690.[86]

The Frisian enterprise actually began around 685 when Pepin of Heristal defeated the Frisians and their Duke Radbod, who had been raiding along the northern borders of the Frankish realm. Wishing to prevent further trouble, if not to dominate Frisia, Pepin sought to Christianize the Frisians.[87] The Carolingian mayors inherited this policy of combining political and religious motives in conversion from the early Merovingian kings.[88] As missionaries Pepin sent Wulframm of Sens and a group of monks from Fontanelle to Frisia in 687/8. Their work had some success among the Frisians, but they failed to convert Radbod when Wulframm told the Duke that even if he converted, his ancestors would still suffer eternal torment for worshipping idols.[89] Not too surprisingly, Radbod lost interest in the new religion and, with his opposition, conversions began to decline.

Willibrord's work differed from Wulframm's in two important respects. First of all, he created an organized church among the Frisians, first in the areas under Frankish control and after Radbod's death in 719 in all of Frisia.[90] The Anglo-Saxons did not have the disrespect for hierarchical forms that, for example, the Irish missionaries had. Willibrord's hand was strengthened considerably as leader of a Frisian church when during a trip to Rome in 696 he was appointed archbishop of Utrecht by Pope Sergius I.[91] Like the Irish, Willibrord founded monasteries and used an existing monastery at Echternach as his "base" before erecting his see at Utrecht. Unlike them, he tied the activities of his monasteries firmly into the structure of the ecclesiastical hierarchy which he erected in Frisia.[92]

Another difference between the missions of Wulframm and of Willibrord centered around the Anglo-Saxon approach to missionary preaching. The Anglo-Saxons concentrated on stressing the power of the Christian divinity and the positive virtues of Christianity.[93] Although their sermons refuted pagan ideas and practices with verbal confrontations based on scriptural knowledge, they were sufficiently flexible to avoid such problems as Wulframm fell into with Radbod.[94] Alcuin inserted a sermon in the Vita Willibrordi which, if not actually spoken by Willibrord, reflected the style of preaching he used.

In this sermon purportedly given to Duke Radbod, Willibrord told the Duke that he must give up worshipping idols, believe in Christ and accept baptism which would wash away his sins and allow him to possess eternal glory at the end of his life on earth.[95] In this particular instance Willibrord avoided any discussion of Radbod's ancestors, the topic which had caused such difficulty for Wulframm. The Anglo-Saxon missionary preachers always accentuated the positive, emphasizing the power of God and Christ to do things for the faithful in this life and to reward them in the next. They were especially fortunate in that their native language allowed them to speak directly to the Frisians and most of the Germans, while the Irish and the Franks had either to learn new languages or employ interpreters.[96]

Willibrord's career as archbishop of Utrecht (696-739) was a successful one in terms of conversion and organization of a church in Frisia. His contemporaries at home noted his accomplishments with approval.[97] In part these accomplishments became possible

because of the successive waves of reinforcements coming from England.[98] Willibrord's Frisian Church became a training ground for the future evangelization of Germany. Among the assistants who helped Willibrord in the early 720s was the Anglo-Saxon Winfrid, better known as Boniface.[99]

Boniface (675-754) entered the religious life in the Benedictine monastery of Nhutscelle (Nursling) in his native Wessex. There he acquired a sound education and impressed his contemporaries with his knowledge of secular and religious culture.[100] He also preached to the people of the area surrounding the monastery who admired his eloquence and zeal.[101] With this education and the experience he acquired in Frisia, he was well-prepared to begin his missionary labors in Germany.

These labors began with a preaching tour in Hesse in 722. After some initial successes, he went to Rome where Pope Gregory II consecrated him bishop and papal legate to Germany.[102] The association with the papacy helped Boniface greatly since the moral authority of the popes now supported his actions.[103] Gregory II also helped him by writing letters commending him to the existing bishops in Germany and to Charles Martel.[104] The work of the missionary would now be supported on a local level, and behind him would stand not only the moral authority of the pope but also the political and military influence of the Frankish mayors.

Boniface encountered a number of other missionaries operating in territories adjacent to his own, and from their works can be gained some idea of his own missionary preaching. None of his own sermons

have survived, but most of his conversions were obtained by preaching.[105] His letters illustrated his knowledge of Gregory the Great's Pastoral Rule, as well as the sermons of Bede and Caesarius.[106] While he became acquainted with the works of Gregory and Bede in England, he acquired his knowledge of Caesarius' works on the continent.[107] These works were the chief sources for his sermons, and some idea of the topics upon which he preached can be had from the letter sent to him by Bishop Daniel of Winchester in 723-4.

In this letter Daniel advised Boniface to show the pagans the falseness of their religious beliefs by pointing out the many conflicting legends concerning the births of their gods and goddesses.[108] When setting forth Christian beliefs on the creation of the world and the future life, he should do so in a moderate way comparing Christian reason to pagan superstition.[109] Conversion through persuasion typified the Anglo-Saxon approach to missionary preaching. Boniface should also stress the power and majesty of the Christian God compared to the pagan deities who were powerless to punish the missionaries who despised them, to make their worship grow, or to reward their followers with better lands.[110]

To gain a further idea of the contents of Boniface's preaching, the works of his contemporaries must be examined. Pirmin, the most important missionary outside of the group of Boniface's assistants, operated in Alemannia, to the south of Hesse. He came to the region from the Visigothic kingdom and enjoyed the support or, at least, the approval of Charles Martel for his evangelizing activities.[111] He founded the monastery of Reichenau to serve as a base for his

missionary labors around Lake Constanz, and when he was driven from that area retired to the Palatinate. There he founded the monasteries of Murbach and Hornbach, and continued his efforts to spread Christianity until his death in 753.[112] Pirmin, much like the Irish missionaries, had little to do with the existing ecclesiastical structure he found in his missionary districts.

His pastoral concern with teaching correct Christian doctrine and practices could be seen in his one surviving work, the De singulis libris canonicis Scarapsus, a long sermon preached to the recently baptized.[113] The sermon began with a vivid restatement of the Creation and man's fall, and the career, death and resurrection of Christ.[114] Pirmin listed and explained both the Nicene Creed and the baptismal questions and responses, following closely the De correctione Rusticorum of Martin of Braga.[115] His ideas on penance which involved private confession of sins and the use of good works as a means of atonement combined the views of the Irish and Caesarius of Arles.[116] Pirmin warned his converts against retaining certain pagan customs and rites, and carefully explained the new Christian practices they were to follow. The sermon concluded with a careful recapitulation of the ideas and practices Pirmin had set out.[117]

This sermon had a wide influence for both the eighth-century missionaries and the Carolingian reformers. Seven of the nine manuscripts in which it has survived were late eighth- or ninth-century sermonaries, showing the Scarapsus' value as a teaching device for newly-converted Christians.[118] Pirmin's sermon also had a close

connection with two sermons attributed to the Anglo-Saxon missionaries for which it served as a model.

The first of these, called Necessarium est after its opening words, followed the pattern of the Scarapsus in describing the Creation, the fall of mankind and Christ's death which offered the chance of salvation for all.[119] After this the sermon's author listed the sins and pagan practices which would cause his congregation to suffer the torments of Hell, and the qualities and practices which would allow them to enter Heaven.[120] A second sermon from approximately the same period as Necessarium est used similar images to correct the conduct of the recently converted.[121] Both of these sermons can be used as examples of the type of preaching with which Boniface and his helpers converted the people of Germany and educated them in Christian doctrine and practices.

Additional preaching materials were sent to Boniface by the popes or compiled by the Anglo-Saxons who settled as bishops in Germany after the initial work of conversion. Gregory III (731-41) sent two letters which were to be read as sermons to the peoples of Hesse and Thuringia and the Saxons.[122] In the letter to the Hessians and Thuringians Gregory warned them against pagan magical practices which they had given up in their baptismal vows.[123] The Anglo-Saxons also began to collect local materials to serve as sermonaries for the continued education of their newly-converted flocks. The so-called "Homiliary of Burchard of Würzburg," although written some thirty years after his death in 753, showed the interest of the new bishops in adapting the works of Caesarius as a means for the pastoral

education of their people. Of the thirty-seven sermons in this collection, thirty-three were written or edited by Caesarius.[124] Boniface and the other Anglo-Saxon missionaries combined their native sermon tradition with the works they discovered on the continent to provide missionary preaching designed to educate fully the converts they made.

Boniface's preaching activities were helped by the efforts he made to create new ecclesiastical organizations in the missionary districts and to reform existing structures. Boniface and his helpers had evangelized widely in Hesse and Thuringia, and had begun the Christianization of the Saxons.[125] In these regions he found some existing Christian foundations upon which he built the ecclesiastical organizations designed to ensure the continued pastoral care of his converts and their connection to Rome since he was also a papal legate.[126] His first efforts in this regard were intended to bring some order to the already existing church in Bavaria.

In Bavaria Boniface reformed and restructured the individual churches created by successive waves of Irish and Frankish missionaries. These churches were governed by a number of bishop-abbots controlling small flocks from monastic centers. The churches served small communities of Christians, but they had no relations with a central hierarchy which would direct and support their activities.[127] Some of these churches were active in their own right in missionary and pastoral work. Regensburg, Augsburg and Freising had developed and maintained ties with the northern Italian centers of Milan and Aquileia.[128] Most, however, had declined from the original level of

activity of their missionary founders. To correct this situation, Boniface in 739 organized the Bavarian Church around the episcopal sees of Salzburg, Freising, Regensburg and Passau, with Salzburg as the metropolitan see.[129] Boniface retained supervisional authority over this church, and his efforts resulted in the first Bavarian Synod held in 743.[130]

Boniface had to compromise with the Duke of Bavaria and the Bavarian clergy to install his reforms. In Thuringia, which lay to the north and had no strong ruler in authority, he found no similar problem. There he erected a metropolitan see at Würzburg in which he installed his co-worker Burchard.[131] Other sees were created at Buraburg, Erfurt and later at Eichstatt, and these new creations were confirmed by Pope Zachary.[132] In this manner Boniface ensured regular pastoral care and preaching for the Thuringians. The Hessian converts he had made came under the supervision of already existing Frankish episcopal sees at Mainz and Cologne.[133] This connection with the Frankish Church opened a new series of opportunities and problems for Boniface.

The Frankish bishops had survived the decline of Merovingian royal power by using their landed wealth to maintain themselves as aristocrats or by allying with various rivals for the office of Mayor of the Palace. The rise to authority of the Carolingian mayors meant that the mayors controlled the Frankish episcopate through simony, appointment of followers to episcopal sees and the network of political alliances with other bishops.[134] Charles Martel had supported Boniface's work in Germany, but he opposed attempts to

reform the Frankish Church because such attempts would interfere with his control of bishops and church lands. After his death in 741, Boniface was able to use the mayor's political control of the episcopate to his own advantage by persuading the new Frankish mayors Pepin and Carloman to support reform and preaching.

The immediate result of the support given Boniface by the Frankish mayors was the Council of Leptine or Estinnes (742/3). He had complained to Pope Zachary that the Franks had not held a council for some sixty or eighty years.[135] To correct this situation, the acts of the Council (preserved in the capitulary of Carloman who sponsored it) provided for yearly synods to be held by all bishops.[136] Boniface urged strict episcopal supervision of the ecclesiastical conduct of priests and ordered the bishops to make an annual tour of their dioceses to confirm baptisms and to preach with the help of their parish priests.[137] This canon showed the low expectations Boniface had for the Frankish clergy: they were expected to know only the order of baptism and the Mass and the Creed. Similar provisions were made in the Council of Soissons (744), sponsored by Pepin, and the Frankish Synod of 745.[138] Pope Zachary aided the organizational efforts Boniface made by sending the <u>pallium</u> symbolic of metropolitan power to the bishops of Rouen, Rheims and Sens.[139] Boniface thus created an ecclesiastical hierarchy in Germany, and he helped to recreate one in Gaul.

The creation of an institutional structure for church life was also necessary to control heretical or fraudulent clerics. In 744 Boniface encountered two of the wandering priests, the <u>gyrovagi</u>,

operating in Germany. Aldebert, a Frankish priest who claimed to be in possession of new books of Scripture, and Clement, an Irish bishop who taught that with the Harrowing of Hell all could be saved whether baptized or not, were sent to Rome to be judged by Pope Zachary.[140] Both men posed a threat to the faith of the recently converted Germans, especially Aldebert who set up crosses at which he was worshipped as a saint. The activities of these men showed how important the constant supervision furnished by a functioning hierarchy could be in protecting the Christian community from imposters and heretics.

The summit of Boniface's achievement as a reformer came in the Frankish Synod of 747. The acts of this synod were described in a letter he sent to Archbishop Cuthbert of Canterbury. They dealt in the main with organization and discipline. Boniface set out a simple pattern of discipline based on the authority of the metropolitan bishops and ultimate direction from the popes.[141] Each bishop should travel every year through his diocese "to confirm and teach the people, both to investigate and prevent pagan observations: diviners or sortilegers, augury, phylactery, incantations and all pagan superstitions."[142] Preaching still meant teaching, and it centered around correcting pagan practices and improving the quality of Christian life among a still semi-pagan Christian community.

This Frankish synod inspired a similar council held at Cloveshoe in England later in the same year.[143] The Council of Cloveshoe permitted priests to preach, reviving the action of Caesarius at the Council of Vaison.[144] Priests and bishops alike were expected

to preach each Sunday and feast day and to be able to preach and teach the Creed and the words of the Mass in the vernacular.[145] The ideas of this council influenced a number of Boniface's later co-workers and clerics who would come to the court of Charlemagne. It also illustrated the far-reaching influence of Boniface's reform efforts in Francia and Germany.

Boniface's career ended in a series of unfortunate incidents. Created archbishop of Mainz by Zachary in 751, he was now bound by the organizational patterns he had helped to create.[146] Boniface still faced opposition to his reforms from Frankish bishops who were protected from correction by their alliances with the mayors.[147] Other opponents, such as Virgil of Salzburg, were able to evade his authority by appealing to the popes--another reform Boniface had instituted and one which caused him increasing frustration.[148] Nearing the end of his life and seeing the course of his reforms slowed considerably, Boniface sought permission from Stephen II (752-7), the fourth pope he had served, to return to Frisia as a missionary.[149] There in 754 he was martyred by a band of Frisians.[150]

The career of Boniface had important consequences for the Frankish realm. Through his missionary activities he increased the growth of Christianity within Germany and gave that region a common culture with the rest of Francia. The monasteries he founded--Fulda, Fritzlar and Hersfeld--became important cultural and religious centers for the growth of Christianity within Germany.[151] His reform activities re-invigorated the Frankish Church and laid a foundation upon which the Carolingian reformers would build.[152] In Germany he

created an ecclesiastical framework which the Carolingians would inherit and improve upon.

Beyond these efforts Boniface and his co-workers brought together most of the materials and ideas which would shape the Carolingian sermon tradition. Drawing together the works of such predecessors as Caesarius, Martin of Braga and Gregory the Great, the missionaries wrote sermons designed to convert and teach the peoples of their missionary districts. Their sermons provided a sound education in the most basic principles of Christianity and were intended either to prepare the adult catechumen for baptism or confirm the already baptized in their faith. They served equally well in missionary districts or in established dioceses where religious culture had lapsed after a period of neglect. Both purposes would serve Carolingian missionaries in later years.

Boniface's disciples, especially Lul, his successor at Mainz (754-84), kept his memory and the reform spirit he represented alive and active in the years after his death. Their efforts, and the arrival of other Anglo-Saxons who knew of his work, ensured that his legacy would become an important part of the Carolingian reforms.

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The first part of this study of the Carolingian sermon has traced its origins, which began in Gaul where the sermon survived as a teaching device due to the bishops from Lérins. Caesarius of Arles further ensured the sermon's survival by reshaping the sermon tradition he had inherited from Augustine and the Lérinese bishops and creating a sermon which in form, style and content could be

called medieval. In connecting the sermon to church reform and distributing copies of hiw own works and those of other authors, he gave the sermon a wider audience throughout Europe.

Caesarius' sermons influenced the preaching tradition found in the Merovingian Church. During the period of its strength, bishops preaching from sermonaries or their own works used the sermon to educate their flocks and improve the spiritual life of their monks. Merovingian missionaries fashioned sermons capable of converting pagan peoples on the borders of the Frankish realm. When the Merovingian Church fell into a period of decline, new development of the sermon took place in areas from which would come the missionaries who would revive religious life in Francia through a combination of reforms and preaching.

These areas on the periphery of Francia saw important additions to the early medieval sermon tradition. In Visigothic Spain, Martin of Braga added to the material used by future missionaries and strengthened the connection between the sermon and reform legislation. Benedict in Italy created an order of monks who would become important as cultural figures and missionaries, whether or not cultural and missionary activities were among his original intentions. Gregory the Great wrote an important treatise on the theory and practice of preaching and set a new style of exegesis in his sermons. He sent Benedictine monks equipped with his work to convert the Anglo-Saxons. The efforts of all of these forerunners of the Carolingians came together in the missionary and reform activities of Boniface and his co-workers.

Dear ...

Each of these regions and peoples contributed important elements to the shaping of the Carolingian sermon. The Carolingian Renaissance has long been recognized as an international phenomenon, drawing on all regions of Europe for its vitality and diversity.[153] In the same manner clerics from Visigothic Spain, Anglo-Saxon England, Italy, Germany and Francia helped a Frankish king create both the Carolingian reforms and the sermon intended to implement the reforms among the Frankish people.

CHAPTER III: NOTES

[1]See, for example, Philippe Wolff, The Awakening of Europe, The Pelican History of European Thought, 1, trans. Anne Carter (Baltimore, 1968), 40-4; and Laistner, Thought and Letters, 192-3.

[2]Riché, Education and Culture, 174-6; Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 233-5; and Gustav Schnürer, Church and Culture in the Middle Ages I: 350-814, trans. George J. Undreiner (Patterson, N.J., 1956), 206-9.

[3]According to recent work by E. A. Thompson, "The Conversion of the Spanish Suevi," 80-1.

[4]Laistner, Thought and Letters, 117; Schnürer, Church and Culture, 206; and Claude W. Barlow, Martini Episcopis Bracarensis Opera Omnia, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, 12 (New Haven, 1950), 2-3.

[5]Thompson, "The Conversion of the Spanish Suevi," 88-9.

[6]Schnürer, Church and Culture, 206-7; and Barlow, Martini Opera Omnia, 204-6.

[7]Martin, Formula Vitae Honestae, 5: Quisquis ergo hanc sectari desideras, time prius deum et ama deum, ut ameris a deo. Amabis enim deum, si illum in hoc imitaberis, ut velis omnibus prodesse, nulli nocere, et tunc te iustum virum apellabunt omnes, sequentur, venerabuntur et diligent. Iustus enim ut sis, non solum non nocebis, sed etiam nocentes prohibebis. Ed. Barlow, ibid., 246.

[8]Concilium Bracarense Secundum, c. I: Placuit omnibus episcopis atque convenit ut per singulas ecclesias episcopi per dioceses ambulantes primum discutiant clericos, quomodo ordinem baptismi teneant vel missarum, et quaecumque officia in ecclesia peraguntur. Et si recte quidem invenerint, Deo gratias; sin autem minime, docere debeant ignaros, et hoc modis omnibus praecipere, ut . . . in quibus viginti diebus omnino catechumeni symbolum, quod est Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, specialiter doceantur. Postquam ergo haec suos clericos discusserint vel docuerint episcopi, alia die convocata plebe ipsius ecclesiae doceant illos, ut errores fugiant idolorum vel diversa crimina, id est homicidium, adulterium, periurium, falsum testimonium et reliqua peccata mortifera, aut quod nolunt sibi fieri non faciunt alteri, et ut credant resurrectionem omnium hominum et diem iudicii, in quo unusquisque

secundum sua opera recepturus est. Et sic postea episcopus de ecclesia illa profiscatur ad aliam. Ed. Barlow, ibid., 118-9.

[9]These topics are related to, but not entirely dependent upon, the list of sermon topics suggested to his bishops by Caesarius. See sermo I, 12, CCSL 103: 8-9.

[10]Maasen, Geschichte der Quellen, 710-29; Barlow, Martini Opera Omnia, 87-8; and Clavis, 1790.

[11]Fournier and Le Bras, Histoire des collections canoniques, I: 68-9 and 100-7 for the later importance of the Hispana in the Carolingian reform movement. See also Laistner, Thought and Letters, 121-2.

[12]Martin, De Correctione Rusticorum, 1, ed. Barlow, Martini Opera Omnia, 183.

[13]Ibid., 7-8; 186-9. See also J. N. Hillgarth, "Popular Religion in Visigothic Spain," in Visigothic Spain, 23-4; and Laistner, Thought and Letters, 118.

[14]Martin, De Correctione Rusticorum, 13 and 15, Martini Opera Omnia, 192-4 and 196-7.

[15]Ibid., 16: Nam ad petras et ad arbores et ad fontes et per trivia cereolos incendare, quid est aliud nisi cultura diaboli? Divinationes et auguria et dies idolorum observare, quid est aliud nisi cultura diaboli? . . . Ecces ista omnia post abrenuntiationem diaboli, post baptismum facitis et, ad culturam daemonum et ad mala idolorum opera redeuntes, fidem vestiam transitis et pactum quod fecistis cum deo disruptis. 198. As did Caesarius, Martin painted a vivid picture of the torments of Hell awaiting those who did these things and failed to do penance for them. Ibid., 14, 194-6.

[16]Ibid.: Quicumque ergo, contempto signo Crucis Christi, alia signa aspicit, signum crucis, quod in baptismum accepit, perdidit. Similiter et qui alias incantationes tenet a magis et maleficis adinventas, incantionem sancti symboli et orationis dominiae, quae in fide Christi accepit, amisit et fidem Christi inculcavit, quia non potest et deus simul et diabolus coli. 199-200. See also Hillgarth, "Popular Religion," 24 and 53-5.

[17]Martin, De Correctione Rusticorum, 17 and 18, Martini Opera Omnia, 200-3. See also Laistner, Thought and Letters, 118-9.

[18]Millemann, "Caesarius von Arles," 13-4; and Barlow, Martini Opera Omnia, 163-4. Martin used a sermon ending taken from Caesarius: De Correctione Rusticorum, 19, ibid., 203.

[19]See n. 100, Chapter II above, and Barlow's discussion of Martin's influence, Martini Opera Omnia, 165-8.

[20]Gregory of Tours, Historiarum libri X, V, 37, MGH SSrM I, 1: 243.

[21]Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 231-3; and Schnürer, Church and Culture, 202-4.

[22]De Saltationibus Respuendis: Non debemus mirari, dilectissimi, quod fidei preconio fratrum devotio cotidiana crescat quod cum sermone dominico christiana disciplina proficiat. Ed. Jean Leclercq, "Sermon ancien sur les danses déshonnêtes," RB 59 (1949): 200. Its sources are discussed by Leclercq, ibid., 196. See also Clavis, 1164 on the dating of this work.

[23]Laistner, Thought and Letters, 119-21.

[24]Schnürer, Church and Culture, 215-7; Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 242-5; and Riché, Education and Culture, 294-301.

[25]Riché stated that Isidore's work, although intended to improve clerical education, "touched but few clerics" in his own time. Ibid., 303.

[26]Robert Maloy, "The Sermonary of St. Ildephonsus of Toledo: A Study of the Scholarship and Manuscripts," Classical Folia 25 (1971): 145-67. For the distribution of his sermons see ibid., 287-301. On Ildephonsus' place in the church in Spain see Riché, Education and Culture, 355-6; and Laistner, Thought and Letters, 167-9.

[27]The contents of the Homiliary of Toledo are described in Grégoire, Les homéliaires du moyen âge, 162-79. At some later date twenty-six other sermons were added to the collection, ibid., 180-5. See also Hillgarth, "Popular Religion," 24-6.

[28]Homiliary of Toledo, nos. 57-62, in Grégoire, Les homéliaires du moyen âge, 172-3.

[29]Georges Duby, The Early Growth of the European Economy: Warriors and Peasants from the Seventh to the Twelfth Century, trans. Howard B. Clarke (Itahca, N.Y., 1974): 12-13.

[30]Homiliary of Toledo, no. 61, in Grégoire, Les homéliaires du moyen âge, 173. This sermon was first copied down by a deacon of Gregory of Tours and appeared in his Historiarum libri X, X, 1, MGH SSrM, I, 2: 479-81, where he dated it to 590. It also appears among Gregory the Great's letters. See Gregory the Great, Registrum Epistolarum, XIII, 2, ed. Paul Ewald and Ludwig Hartmann, MGH Epp. II: 365-7. (Hereafter Registrum). Gregory the Great's works were well known to Spanish authors due largely to his friendship with Leander of Seville, see ibid., I, 1, MGH Epp. I: 56-8; and Riché, Education and Culture, 275.

[31]Gregory the Great, Registrum, XIII, 2, MGH Epp. II: 365 and 366-7.

[32]Homiliary of Toledo, no. 57: Inguinalis etenim pestilentiae plaga que hucusque a longe nobis et nuntiata peccatis nostris ingruentibus iam vicinat. Ed. Grégoire, Les homéliaires du moyen âge, 214. See also no. 58, ibid., 218; and no. 59, ibid., 220. These sermons appear in Grégoire's Appendix 2.

[33]Homiliary of Toledo, no. 57: Morbos pavescimus, medicamina requiramus. Actendite ergo consilia angelorum, exquirite remedia profetarum. Angelus enim ad Tobiam loquens dicit: 'Bona est oratio cum ieunio et elemosina, quoniam elemosina a morte liberat et ipsa purgat peccata et facit invenire vitam aeternam.' (Tob. 12: 8-9). Ed. Grégoire, ibid., 215. See also Hillgarth, "Popular Religion," 25.

[34]See the works cited in nn. 79-80 of Chapter I.

[35]Homiliary of Toledo, nos. 58 and 60, ed. Grégoire, Les homéliaires du moyen âge, 219 and 223. See also Amos, "Caesarius of Arles," 16-17.

[36]Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 263-7; and Schnürer, Church and Culture, 438-41.

[37]Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 270 and 275-6.

[38]Riché, Education and Culture, 360 and 368.

[39]Schnürer, Church and Culture, 438-9; and Laistner, Thought and Letters, 91-2.

[40]Gregory the Great, Dialogorum Libri IV, II, viii: Illuc itaque vir Dei perveniens, contrivit idolum, subvenit aram, succendit lucos, atque in ipso templo Apollonis oraculum beati Martini ubi vero ara ejusdem Apollonis, fuit oraculum sancti Joannis contruxit, et commorantem circumquaque multitudinem praedicatione continua ad fidem vocabat. PL 66: 152A-B. The second book of the Dialogues is printed in PL 66 as an introduction to Benedict's Rule.

[41]Benedict, Regula, c. XLVII, ed. Basilius Steidle (Beuron, 1963), 156-70.

[42]Jean Leclercq, The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture, trans. Catharine Misrahi (New York, 1974), 16-18: and Riché, Education and Culture, 119-21.

[43]Ibid., 336; and Schnürer, Church and Culture, 169-70 and 361-5.

[44]Benedict, Regula, c. LX: Si quis de ordine sacerdotum in monasterio se suscipi rogaverit, non quidem citius ei assentiatur; tamen, si omnino persisteterit in hac supplicatione, sciat se omnem Regulae disciplinam servaturum nec aliquid ei relaxibitur. . . . Ed. Steidle, 180.

[45]Ibid.: Et si forte ordinationis aut alicuius rei causa fuerit in monasterio, illum locum adtendat, quando ingressus est in monasterium, non illum qui ei pro reverentia sacerdotii concessus est.

[46]Ibid., c. LXII: Si quis abbas sibi presbyterum vel diaconi ordinarii petierit, di suis elegat qui dignus sit sacerdotio fungi. Ordinatus autem caveat elationem aut superbiam; nec quidquam praesumat nisi quod ei abbate praecipitur, sciens se multo magis disciplinae regulari subdendum. Ed. Steidle, 184. See also Schnürer, Church and Culture, 173-4.

[47]Berlière, "L'Exercice du ministère paroissal," 229-31.

[48]Schnürer, Church and Culture, 305-6; and Riché, Education and Culture, 335-6.

[49]Ibid., 430-1.

[50]Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 21-3; and Schnürer, Church and Culture, 336-7.

[51]Gregory of Tours, Historiarum libri X, X, 1, MGH SSrM I, 2: 470; and see the works cited in n. 30 above.

[52]Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 26-7; and Laistner, Thought and Letters, 106-7.

[53]Gregory the Great, Regulae pastoralis liber, I, praefatio: Nam cum rerum necessitas exposcit, pensandum valde est culmen quisque regiminis qualiter veniat; atque ad hoc rite perveniens, qualiter vivat; et bene vivens, qualiter doceat; et recte docens, infirmitatem suam quotidie quanta consideratione cognoscat, ne aut humilitas accessum fugiat, aut perventioni vita contradicat; aut vitam doctrina destituat; aut doctrinam praesumptio extollat. PL 77: 13A-B.

[54]Ibid., II, 3: Sit rector operatione praecipuis, ut vitae viam subditis vivendo denuntiet, et grex qui pastoris vocem moresque sequitur, per exempla melius quam per verba gradiatur. PL 77: 28B.

[55]Idem, Registrum XI, 10: Aliud est enim picturam adorare, aliud picturae historia, quid sit adorandum, addiscere. Nam quod legentibus scriptura, hoc idiotis praestat pictura cernentibus, quia in ipsa ignorantes vident, quod sequi debeant, in ipsa legunt qui

litteras nesciunt; unde praecipue gentibus pro lectione pictura est. MGH Epp. II: 270. See also Riché, Education and Culture, 489-90.

[56]Gregory the Great, Reg. Past., III, 1-38, PL 77: 50C-123D. See also F. Holmes Dudden, Gregory the Great: His Place in Life and Thought, 2 vols., (London, 1905), I: 234-7.

[57]Gregory the Great, Reg. Past., III, 39 and 40, PL 77: 124A-C and 124C-126A.

[58]The letters of Licinianus of Carthagena (Gregory the Great, Registrum I, 41a, MGH Epp. I: 58) and Columbanus (Ep. I, v, PL 80: 263B-C) testify to its use in Spain and Gaul. For the further diffusion of this work see Dudden, Gregory the Great, I: 239-41; and Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 27-8.

[59]Gregory the Great, XL homiliarum in Evangelia libri duo, I, iv, 5: Ipsum vestri operis testem quaerite quem judicem sustineatis. Occulta nunc bona vestra esse videat, ut ea retributionis suae tempore in publico ostendat. Sicut carni vestrae, ne deficiat, cibos quotidie praebetis, sic mentis vestrae quotidiana alimenta bona sint opera. PL 76: 1092B. See I, vi, 6, ibid., 1098A-C; and I, xi, 1, ibid., 1115B for similar examples.

[60]Ibid., I, xvii, 2: Praedicatores enim suos Dominus sequitur, quia praedicatio praevenit, et tunc ad mentis nostrae habitaculum Dominus venit, quando verbis exhortationis praecurrunt, atque per haec veritas in mente suscipitur. And 3: Vos pro nobis petite, ut dignu vobis operari valeamus, ne ab exhortatione lingua torpeat, ne postquam praedicationis locum suscepimus apud justem judicem nostra nos taciturnitas addicat. PL 76: 1139B and 1139C-D.

[61]Many of the sermons used the endings developed by Caesarius, but these endings may have been added to the sermons by Carolingian scribes during the period when they became standard for all sermons. See PL 76: 1081, n. "d."

[62]Gregory the Great, Hom. in Evang., II, xxix, 2: Sed cum discipulos ad praedicandem Veritas mittit, quid aliud in mundo facit, nisi grana seminis spargit? . . . Neque enim in universo mundo tanta fidelium messis exsurget, si de manu Domini super rationalem terram illa electa grana praedi cantium non venisset. PL 76: 1214C. The full lection on which the sermon was based is Mark 16: 14-20, ibid., 1213B. On this and what follows see Fritze, "Universalis gentium confessio," 108-10.

[63]Gregory the Great, Hom. in Evang., II, xxx, 4: Audistis etenim quia Spiritus sanctus super discipulos in igneis linguis apparuit, omnium que linguarum scientiam dedit. Quid scilicet hoc miraculo designans, nisi quod sancta Ecclesia, eodem Spiritu repleta, omnium gentium erat voce locutura? PL 76: 1222C.

[64]Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 24-5; and Dudden, Gregory the Great, I: 253.

[65]Gregory, Registrum II, 52 (to Dominicus of Carthage) and III, 12 (to Agnellus of Terracina): Tua praedicatione qui litteras nesciunt, quid divinitus praecipitur, agnoscant. MGH Epp. I: 156-7 and 172.

[66]Henri du Lubac, Exégèse médiévale: les quatre sens de l'écriture, Théologie: études publiées sous la direction de la faculté de théologie S. J. de Lyons-Fouvière, 41-2 and 59, 2 parts in 4 vols. (Paris, 1959-64), II: 426-35; and Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, v: 28-30. Gregory's Homilies in Ezekiel had an important role in the development of medieval exegesis, but were not much used for popular preaching after Gregory delivered them in 593. See Dudden, Gregory the Great, II: 18-22.

[67]A. J. Macdonald, Authority and Reason in the Early Middle Ages, The Hulsdean Lectures, 1931-2 (London, 1937), 65-6.

[68]Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 280-2; Riché, Education and Culture, 314-6; and Schnürer, Church and Culture, 345-7. Although Gregory opposed the use of monks in pastoral work, his selection of Benedictine monks as missionaries led to a modification of his original position. See Berlière, "L'Exercice du ministère paroissal," 232-4.

[69]Gregory the Great, Registrum VI, 10 (ransomed slaves), and VI, 49 (to the Frankish kings Theoderic and Theudebert): Quibus etiam iniunximus ut aliquos secum e vicino debeant presbyteros ducere, cum quibus eorum possint mentes agnoscere et voluntates ammonitione sua, quantum Deus donaverit, aduivare. MGH Epp. I: 388-9 and 424. See also Richard E. Sullivan, "The Papacy and Missionary Activity in the Early Middle Ages," Medieval Studies 17 (1955): 52-3.

[70]See for example the letters to Theoderic and Theudebert, their mother Queen Brunhilde, and to Vergilius of Arles, the papal vicar of Gaul, Gregory the Great, Registrum VI, 49, 57 and 51, MGH Epp. I: 424-4, 431-2 and 426-7. See also the works cited in n. 68 above, and Sullivan, "The Papacy and Missionary Activity," 55-8.

[71]Bede, Ecclesiastical History of the English People, I, xxvi, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1969), 76.

[72]J. D. A. Ogilvy, Books Known to the English, 597-1066, Mediaeval Academy of America Publications, 76 (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 149-52. See also the account given by Bede of Gregory's works in Ecclesiastical History, II, i, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 126-7.

[73]Ibid., I, xxviiii, 104, and Ogilvy, Books Known to the English, 91-2, for the introduction of the Italian manuscript tradition of Augustine of Hippo's sermons to the Anglo-Saxons.

[74]Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 298-301; Schnürer, Church and Culture, 358-62; and Laistner, Thought and Letters, 149-53.

[75]Sullivan, "The Papacy and Missionary Activity," 105-6.

[76]For example, Gregory the Great, Registrum IX, 218, MGH Epp. II: 205-10 written to the Franks in 599 asking them to purge a long list of abuses from their churches; and ibid., VI, 6, MGH Epp. I: 384-5 written to King Childebert in 595 asking him to end simony in the Frankish Church. See also Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 34-5 and 342-3.

[77]Caesarius, sermo II: . . . admonitiones simplices parochiis necessarias in hoc libello conscripsimus, quas in festivitatibus maioribus sancti presbyteri vel diacones debeant commissis sibi populis recitare. CCSL 103: 18. This "sermon" is actually the preface to one of Caesarius' sermon collections.

[78]Antoine Chavasse, "Le calendrier dominicale romain au VIe siècle. L'épistolier et l'homéliaire prégrégoriens," Recherches des sciences religieuses 41 (1953): 122.

[79]Giuseppe Löw, "Il piu antico sermonario di San Pietro in Vaticano," Rivista di archeologia cristiana 19 (1942): 182-3; and Chavasse, "Le calendrier dominicale," 115-6. The surviving elements of this collection are reconstructed from a ninth-century manuscript by Reginald Grégoire, "L'homéliaire de Saint-Pierre au Vatican," SM 13 (1972): 236-255. The remarks on the sources of the collections made above come from the list of sermons in Grégoire's article.

[80]Gregory the Great, Hom. in Evang., Praefatio, PL 76: 1077A-1078A. See also the works cited in n. 64 above.

[81]Felix of Ravenna, Prologus ad sermones S. Petri Chrysologi: Proinde, dilectissimi, tanti pastoris intenta et anxia mente scripta legimus, et ardenti desiderio ulnisque spiritualibus amplectamur: quatenus fructum laboris in nostrae mentis cellaria recondentes, simul cum eo magnificae laudis gloria perfruamur, et praemia aeterni muneris capiamus. Hoc humilis praesul Felix, de pauperculi cordis cellario, sermones legentibus exiguum obtulit munus. PL 89: 360D. On Felix as an author, see Riché, Education and Culture, 414.

[82]Gottfried Böhmer, Petrus Chrysologus, Erzbischof von Ravenna, als Prediger (Paderborn, 1919), 13-14.

[83]Edoardo Hosp, "Il sermonario di Alano di Farfa," Ephemerides liturgicae 50 (1936): 381-2; and Grégoire, Les homéliaires du moyen âge, 17-21. For a description of the contents of Alan's homiliary see ibid., 27-70.

[84]This includes the homiliaries of Agimond and Egino of Verona. See Hosp, "Il sermonario," 375-6.

[85]Wilhelm Levison, England and the Continent in the Eighth Century, The Ford Lectures, 1943 (Oxford, 1946), 44-5; and Fritze, "Universalis gentium confessio," 82-3.

[86]Bede, Ecclesiastical History, V, x, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 480; and Alcuin, Vita Willibrordi archiepiscopi Traiectensis, 5, ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH SSrM VII: 120-1.

[87]Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 356-7; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 406-7.

[88]Werner, "La rôle de l'aristocratie," 70-1; and, on the Frankish political backing of the Frisian mission, Richard E. Sullivan, "Early Medieval Missionary Activity: A Comparative Study of Eastern and Western Methods," Church History 23 (1954): 20-1.

[89]Ps.-Jonas, Vita Vulframni episcopi Senonici, 9, ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH SSrM V: 668.

[90]Levison, England and the Continent, 62-3; Theodor Schieffer, Winfrid-Bonifatius und die christliche Grundlegung Europas (Freiburg, 1954), 98-101; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 409-11.

[91]Alcuin, Vita Willibrordi, 5, MGH SSrM VII: 122; and Sullivan, "The Papacy and Missionary Activity," 70-1.

[92]Heinz Löwe, "Pirmin, Willibrord und Bonifatius: Ihre Bedeutung für die Missionsgeschichte ihrer Zeit," in Settimane, XIV (Spoleto, 1967), 252-3; and Schieffer, Winfrid-Bonifatius, 134-5.

[93]Löwe, "Pirmin, Willibrord," 254-5.

[94]Ibid.; and Richard E. Sullivan, "Carolingian Missionary Theories," Catholic Historical Review 42 (1956/7): 275 and 280-1.

[95]Alcuin, Vita Willibrordi, 11: Cuius ego servus hodie tibi testificor, ut ab antiqui erroris vanitate, quam coluerunt patres tui, tandem aliquando respiscas, et credens in unum Deum omnipotentem, dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, et vitae fonte baptizatus, abluas omnia peccata tua et, proiecti omni iniquitate et iniustitia, deinceps novus homo vivas in omni sobrietate, iustitia et sanctitate. Hoc faciens, cum Deo et sanctis eius gloriam possidebis sempiternam. MGH SSrM VII: 125.

[96]Richard E. Sullivan, "The Carolingian Missionary and the Pagan," Speculum 28 (1953): 714-5.

[97]Bede, Ecclesiastical History, V, xi, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 486.

[98]Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 412-3.

[99]Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 537-8; and Schnürer, Church and Culture, 388-9 and 391.

[100]Willibald, Vita Bonifacii archiepiscopi, 2, ed. Georg Pertz, MGH SS II: 335. See also Riché, Education and Culture, 375-6; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 420-4; and Schieffer, Winfrid-Bonifatius, 103-9.

[101]Willibald, Vita Bonifacii, 3: In tantum enim scriptuarum exarsit desiderio, ut omni se intentione earum imitatione et auditione saepius coniungeret, et quae ab doctrinam populorum conscripto sunt, ipse quippe populis mira eloquii disertudine et sollertissima parabolarum adsertione efficaciter praedicando retexiut; cui tale discretionis temperamentum inerat, ut et viger correptionis mansuetudo, et viger praedicationis mansuetudini non deerat; sed quem zelus accenderat vigoris, mansuetudo mitigabat amoris. MGH SS II: 337.

[102]Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 538-9; Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 432-4; and Levison, England and the Continent, 72-3.

[103]Friedrich Prinz, "Abriss der kirchlichen und monastischen Entwicklung des Frankenreiches bis zu Karl dem Grossen," in KGLN, 4 vols. (Dusseldorf, 1965), II: 288-9; and Sullivan, "The Papacy and Missionary Activity," 73-5.

[104]Boniface, Epistolae 17 and 20, ed. Michael Tangl, Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1955), MGH Epp. Sel. I: 30-1 and 34.

[105]Willibald, Vita Bonifacii, 8, MGH SS II: 344-5.

[106]Boniface, Ep. 78: . . . praedicantes maiori ac minori, diviti et pauperi omne consilium Dei, omnibus gradibus vel etatibus, in quantum Deus donaverit posse, oportune, inportune, eo modo quo sanctus Gregorius in libro pastorali conscripsit. Ed. Tangl, MGH Epp. Sel. I: 169. For his use of Bede and Caesarius see Epp. 91 and 50, ibid., 207 and 85 respectively.

[107]Ogilvy, Books Known to the English, 103-4.

[108]Boniface, Ep. 23, MGH Epp. Sel. I: 38-9.

[109]Ibid.: Haec et his similia multa alia, quae nunc enumerare longum est, non quasi insultando vel inritando eos, sed placide ac magna obicere moderatione debes. See also Sullivan, "Carolingian Missionary Theories," 276.

[110]Boniface, Ep. 23: Hoc quoque inferendum: Si omnipotentes sunt dii et benefici et iusti, non solum suos remunerant cultores, verum etiam puniunt contemptores. Et si haec utraque temporaliter faciunt, cur ergo parcunt Christianis totum pene orbem ab eorum cultura avertentibus idolaque evertentibus. Et cum pisi, id est Christiani fertiles terras vinique et olei feraces ceterisque opibus habundantes possident provincias, ipsis autem, id est paganis, frigore semper rigentes terras cum eorum diis relinquerunt, in quibus iam tamen toto orbe pulsi falso regnare putantur. MGH Epp. Sel. I: 40.

[111]Gall Jecker, "St. Pirmins Erden--und Ordensheimat," Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchensgeschichte 5 (1953): 11-15 and 24-5; and Theodor Mayer, "Bonifatius and Pirmin," in SB, 459-61.

[112]Riché, Education and Culture, 436-7; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 323-7.

[113]This work may not have been written by Pirmin. Only one of the nine manuscripts containing it attribute it to Pirmin. Jean-Paul Bouhot ("Alcuin et le 'De catechizandus rudibus' de saint Augustin," Recherches Augustiniennes (1980): 181-4) argues for a date for the Scarapsus sometime after Pirmin's death on this basis. I am using the traditional attribution of the Scarapsus to discuss preaching materials used at the time.

[114]Pirmin, De singulis libris canonicis Scarapsus, PL 89: 9031A-1034B.

[115]Ibid., 1034C-D and 1035B-1036B. See also Barlow, Martini Opera Omnia, 198-202.

[116]Pirmin, Scarapsus: Sed unusquisque cum fide recta ad sacerdotem, sicut jam supra dictum est, confessionem puram indonet, et veram poenitentiam agat; et quod male fecit perfecte defleat, et justus laboribus eleemosynis et bonis operibus se emendet; et caveat ut amplius non peccet. . . . PL 89: 1044A. See also Millemann, "Caesarius von Arles," 21-2; and Paul Lehmann, "Dicta Pirminii," in Erforschung des Mittelalters: ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze, 5 vols. (Stuttgart, 1959-62), IV: 146-7.

[117]Pirmin, Scarapsus, PL 89: 1041B-1043A and 1047A-1050C. See also Löwe, "Pirmin, Willibrord," 258-60.

[118]Lehmann, "Dicta Pirminii," 146; and, for a list of the manuscripts, Bouhot, "Alcuin et le 'De catechizandus rudibus,'" 181.

[119]Wilhelm Scherer, "Eine lateinische Musterpredigt aus der Zeit Karls der Grossen," Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum 12 (1865): 436-39. The sermon edited by Scherer appears on pp. 436-441 of this article. (I wish to thank Professor John Contreni of Purdue University for providing me with a copy of this article.) The sermon has also been attributed to Nicetas of Remesiana. See John J. Contreni, The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its Manuscripts and Masters, Münchener Beiträge, 29 (Munich, 1978), 133-4 and n. 54.

[120]Scherer, "Eine lateinische Musterpredigt," 439-41.

[121]Levison, England and the Continent, Appendix X, "Venus, A Man. From An Unpublished Sermon," 306-7 and 308-12. This sermon followed the pattern of the Scarapsus, but was based on the sermons of Caesarius and Gregory the Great giving it a clearer connection to the Anglo-Saxon missionaries. See ibid., 308.

[122]Boniface, Epp. 21 and 43, MGH Epp. Sel. I: 35-6 and 68-9.

[123]Ibid., 43: Vos autem, karissimi, qui in nomine Christi baptizati estis, Christum induitis! (Gal. 3:27), abstinete et prohibete vosmet ipsos ab omni cultu paganorum, non tantum vosmet ipsos conigentes, karissimi, sed et subditos vestros. Divinos autem vel sortilegos, sacrificia mortuorum seu lucrorum vel fontium auguria vel filacteria et incantatores et veneficos, id est maleficos, et observationes sacrilegas, quae in vestis finibus fieri solebant, omnino respuentes atque abicientes tota mentis intentione ad Deum convertamini. MGH Epp. Sel. I: 68. Gregory took his list from the "canon" of pagan practices established by Caesarius, sermo L, 1, CCSL 103: 234.

[124]Germain Morin, "L'homéliaire de Burchard de Wurzbourg," RB 13 (1896): 97-9 and 110-11. Morin believed the homiliary to be a descendant of one of the collections Caesarius distributed throughout Europe. On Burchard and the homiliary see also Alfred Wendehorst, Das Bistum Würzburg, Teil 1, Die Bischofsreihe bis 1254, Germania Sacra (Berlin, 1962), 21-3.

[125]On the mission to the Saxons which had few results see Kurt Dietrich Schmidt, "Bonifatius und die Sachsen," in SB, 240-2; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 466-8.

[126]Heinrich Büttner, "Christentum und Kirche zwischen Neckar und Main im 7. und frühen 8. Jahrhundert," in SB, 372-3 and 377-8. On the motives behind Boniface's organizational activities see Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 539-41 and Sullivan, "The Papacy and Missionary Activity," 75-8.

[127]Schieffer, Winfrid-Bonifatius, 93-4; and Levison, "Die Iren," 17-18 for Salzburg and Bishop Virgil.

[128]Ernst Klebel, "Zur Geschichte des Christentums in Bayern vor Bonifatius," in SB, 393-5 and 398-9.

[129]Boniface, Ep. 45, MGH Epp. Sel. I: 72. See also Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 470-2; and Schnürer, Church and Culture, 400.

[130]Boniface, Ep. 45, MGH Epp. Sel. I: 73, and for the acts of the Synod of 743, ed. Albert Werminghoff, MGH Conc. I: 1-4. See also Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 474-5. The acts dealt mainly with episcopal elections and the status of the clergy in Bavarian law.

[131]Wendehorst, Das Bistum Würzburg, 18-20; and Georg Wilhelm Sante, "Bonifatius, der Staat und die Kirche," in SB, 216-7.

[132]Schieffer, Winfrid-Bonifatius, 200-2; and Boniface, Epp., 52-3, MGH Epp. Sel. I: 92-5.

[133]Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 522-3.

[134]Sante, "Bonifatius, der Staat und die Kirche," 202-5; and Ewig, "Milo et eiusmodi similes," 422-29 and 439-40.

[135]Boniface, Ep. 50, MGH Epp. Sel. I: 82.

[136]Karlmanni Principis Capitulare, c. 1, MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 25. See also Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 365; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 493-5.

[137]Karlmanni Principis Capitulare, 3, MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 25.

[138]For Soissons see Capitulare Suessonense, 1, ibid., 28-9; and for the Synod of 745 Boniface, Ep. 60, MGH Epp. Sel. I: 121-3.

[139]Ibid., 57, MGH Epp. Sel. I: 102-5. See also Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 504-5; and Levison, England and the Continent, 62-4.

[140]Boniface, Ep. 59, MGH Epp. Sel. I: 110-12. See also Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 515-19; and Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 366. The two men were condemned by the Roman Synod of 745, the acts of which are found in Ep. 59 cited above.

[141]Boniface, Ep. 78: . . . sancto Petro et vicario eius velle subici; sinodum per omnes annos congregare; metropolitanos pallia ab illa sede querere et per omnia precepta sancti Petri canonice sequi desiderare, ut inter oves sibi commendatas numeremur. MGH Epp. Sel. I: 163. See also Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 523-3. Boniface also decreed that each bishop should hold

a yearly synod and set up a line of disciplinary appeal from bishops to metropolitans to the popes. Ep. 78, MGH Epp. Sel. I: 164.

[142]Ibid.: Statuimus, ut singulis annis unusquisque episcopus parrochiam suam sollicite circumeat, populum confirmare et plebes docere, et investigare et prohibere paganas observationes, divinos vel sortilegos, auguria, filacteria, incantationes vel omnes spuricitias gentiles. MGH Epp. Sel. I: 163-4.

[143]Levison, England and the Continent, 85-6 on the relationship between the two councils.

[144]Council of Cloveshoe, c. VIII: Ut presbyteri indesinenter reminiscant, ad quod Divina ordinatione prae ceteris promoti sunt . . . pro injuncta scilicet sibi Divinitas officio reminiscant: id est, in ammonendo et corripendo atque exhortando subjectos ut pariter et exemplis et hortamentis illorum alii, ut decet, ad Dei famulatum semper incitentur. Eds. Arthur W. Haddan and William Stubbs, Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland, 3 vols. in 4 pts. (Oxford, 1869-1871), III: 365.

[145]Ibid., X and XIV, Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, III: 366 and 367. See also Pride, "Ecclesiastical Legislation," 239-40.

[146]Boniface, Ep. 88, MGH Epp. Sel. I: 201-2. See also Sante, "Bonifatius, der Staat und die Kirche," 221-2.

[147]Boniface, Ep. 87, MGH Epp. Sel. I: 194-201, a letter in which he complained to Zachary about the opposition he met from Milo of Trier and other bishops. See also Ewig, "Milo et eiusmodi similes," 417-19.

[148]Boniface, Epp. 68 and 80, MGH Epp. Sel. I: 140-2 and 172-80. On Virgil, Archbishop of Salzburg (757-784), see Laistner, Thought and Letters, 184-5 and Riché, Education and Culture, 438-9.

[149]Boniface, Ep. 109, MGH Epp. Sel. I: 234-6. This involved yet another controversy between himself and the bishop of Cologne over jurisdiction of Utrecht and the Frisian missionary district. See also Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 547-9.

[150]Schieffer, Winfrid-Bonifatius, 272-3.

[151]Riché, Education and Culture, 433-5; and Sullivan, "Early Medieval Missionary Activity," 24.

[152]Levison, England and the Continent, 95.

[153]Riché, Education and Culture, 497-9.

PART TWO

THE NATURE OF THE CAROLINGIAN SERMON

The career of Boniface as apostle of Germany and reformer of Gaul had important consequences for both the sermon and the idea of reform. His preaching and reforming efforts had the effect of uniting the three strands of preaching traditions and of linking the teaching powers of the sermon to the concept of improving the spiritual life of the masses. As a result of his activities, Boniface had an important role in the origins of the Carolingian sermon. His career was also important as an example to the Carolingians of how the sermon should be used.

As we have seen in the first part of this study, few early medieval bishops and priests carried out the traditional pastoral obligation of preaching. The reasons for their failure to preach reflected such factors as declining standards of clerical education and ability, the role of clerics as secular administrators and personal unwillingness or inability. In the face of these factors it is clear that regular preaching could only be obtained within some larger context, such as the efforts of a reformer interested in preaching or the activities of a missionary campaign. The importance of the Carolingian period in the history of the sermon came in part from the fact that Charlemagne provided his clergy with two contexts in which preaching was essential.

Royal interest in and leadership of a major religious reform movement provided the first of these two contexts. Reform of the Frankish Church began during the reign of Pepin as a means of correcting ecclesiastical problems and abuses which had plagued religious life in Gaul during the seventh century and the first half of the eighth century. Charlemagne transformed this early reform movement into a programmatic reform of all aspects of religious life with the promulgation of his capitulary Admonitio generalis in 789. The Admonitio generalis and subsequent legislation gave the sermon a crucial role as a teaching device and a means of communication for the Frankish Church. Charlemagne and his bishops noted in the legislation how important the sermon would be to the success of the reforms at the level of the populace: it would be impossible for the reforms to achieve their purpose without sufficient preaching to educate the people in the reform ideas and practices.

Charlemagne's reform ideas came in part from needs generated by the expansion of the Frankish state between 770 and 800. This expansion also generated a second context within which preaching played a major role. The new peoples brought into the Frankish realm--Saxons, Avars and other peoples in the East--were not Christians. Religious and political motives made their conversion to Christianity an important part of Carolingian policy with the result that missionary enterprises under royal sponsorship produced a number of preachers, sermons and new ideas about preaching.

Within both of these contexts preaching relied heavily on royal support for its effectiveness. Charlemagne appointed bishops,

oversaw their activities and provided them with resources necessary for the training of subordinate clergy. The reform movement and the missionary activities were tied closely to the strength and stability of the Carolingian state: when the state began to fall apart after the 830s, the reform and missionary movements also began to lose momentum. As a result, the period of preaching activity in the Frankish Church can be dated within narrow limits to the years between 780 and 825.

The two tasks undertaken during these years of teaching reformed religion to the people and converting the pagans produced a large body of original sermons. There has been to date no large-scale examination of these sermons. The sermons used as sources in the present study have been grouped together to facilitate identification of authorship or, where the author cannot be identified, of the location where they were written. In this way an answer can be obtained to the questions of who preached and where preaching became a regular part of religious life. Other types of evidence can help answer these questions. In addition to authorship of sermons, involvement in missions, promulgation of preaching legislation, participation in other aspects of the reforms and vitae evidence can indicate those bishops involved in the preaching movement. Along with knowledge of the conditions of preaching--how preachers were educated and when and in what languages sermons were preached--answers to these questions provide the only way in which we can understand how well equipped the Carolingian clergy were to meet the demands placed upon them by the reformers.

CHAPTER IV

THE CAROLINGIAN REFORMATION AND THE SERMON: 750-950

Boniface had linked the sermon to both his missionary work and his efforts at church reform. His reforms, however, depended for implementation in Francia upon the support of the Carolingians, first as mayors, and then as kings. At his death, the reforms had achieved only a limited result within Francia. The growing adherence of the Carolingians to the idea of church reform, however, would change this situation rapidly. Pepin supported reform insofar as it improved the church and did not threaten his own control over it. Charlemagne took the reforms even further: he sought not only to improve the liturgy and the ecclesiastical hierarchy as had his father but also to reform the lives of the individuals over whom he ruled. In this latter connection the sermon became a vital part of the reform movement as a vehicle for communicating reform ideas and practices to the Frankish people. The Carolingian sermon was an integral part of the Carolingian Reformation of Charlemagne.

What made the reforms work during Charlemagne's reign was the support he gave them through legislation, appointment of reform-minded bishops and provisions made for schools and resources which would help produce capable preachers to carry the message of the reformers to the people. The reform legislation and its ties to the sermon will be examined in this chapter, and the personnel and

educational supports will form the subject of Chapter VI. The legislation provided a framework for shaping the production and content of sermons, and, as the legislation and surviving sermon literature illustrated, many clerics associated themselves whole-heartedly with both the reforms and the preaching movement generated by the reforms.

Despite the activity during Charlemagne's reign, the reforms and the sermons failed to achieve their purpose of improving religious knowledge and moral conduct among the populace. Although this failure was the result of many factors, one of the most notable was the course of events during the reign of Louis the Pious which saw the ending of the reform movement as conceived by Charlemagne and the beginning of the end of the Carolingian Empire. In addition to examining the reform legislation and its ties to the sermon and preaching, this chapter will also briefly survey the context in which those ties were created and gradually dissolved. The period between 770 and 825 saw the greatest production of Carolingian sermons. That this period also coincided with the greatest production of reform legislation was more than mere coincidence as the following examination of the reforms and the legislation concerning the sermons will show.

* * * * *

Although the Carolingian dynasty had controlled the Frankish realm since 687, the family assumed the throne of the Franks only when Pepin the Short dethroned the last Merovingian and took the throne in 751. Pepin had many ties with the Anglo-Saxon missionaries: he had been baptized by Willibrord, and was anointed at his coronation by Boniface.[1] It was, however, Pepin's brother and co-mayor,

Carloman, who did the most to support reform in Francia, and when he retired to Monte Cassino in 747 the cause of church reform lost a powerful ally.[2] Pepin took little interest in reform during his years as Mayor of Neustria because of his dependence upon a secularized church for political support. For the same reason he refused to allow an increase in the number of metropolitan archbishops, a measure which effectively ended the Bonifatian reform of the Frankish Church.[3]

The reform movement survived and even increased in scope during Pepin's reign as king. The new thrust of reform was due in large part to the growing alliance between the Frankish kings and the popes after 754 when Stephen II sought help from the Franks against the Lombards.[4] Although Frankish rulers would occasionally oppose individual popes, the status of the Church improved in Francia as a result of the connection Pepin formed with the papacy. After 754, new reform synods were held, beginning at Ver in 755.[5] Much of the reform under Pepin centered on improving the liturgy of the Frankish Church. Little is known about the exact dates of adoption of these reforms. They are most usually judged by their results seen in Charlemagne's reign and by mentions made of them in later legislation.

After 754 the Roman form of chant was introduced into Francia by Chrodegang of Metz (743-66).[6] He brought the new form of chant back with him from Rome after receiving archepiscopal consecration from Stephen II. His consecration illustrated that Pepin's prejudices against metropolitans were gradually being overcome. Also during Pepin's reign the Gallican liturgical usage began to be

supplemented by a Roman usage known as the eighth-century "Gelasian."[7] Most of the liturgical manuscripts containing guides to the Mass from this period came from Frankish scriptoria.[8] The reform of the liturgy helped to solidify Frankish contacts with Rome and served as a basis for later reform under Charlemagne. The liturgy served both as a major form of religious life and as a vehicle for the sermon. These liturgical reforms would therefore help to provide Carolingian sermons with a more effective setting.

The Frankish Church remained very much a national church firmly under royal control, just as it had been under the stronger Merovingians. The authority of the kings gave force of law to the canons of the councils which was a necessary condition for enactment of reforms given the lack of a unified structure in the Frankish episcopate.[9] The councils during Pepin's reign devoted little attention to preaching and the sermon or to lay spirituality in general.[10] Although canon fourteen of the Council of Ver made Sunday worship obligatory, for the most part legislative support for the sermon during Pepin's reign came from the older Austrasian reform councils sponsored by Boniface and Carloman.[11]

The one exception to the neglect of preaching in Pepin's reign came from the Rule for canons written by Chrodegang of Metz, one of the leading spirits behind the reforms undertaken in this period.[12] He wrote the Regula canonicorum for the governance of the clergy connected with his cathedral church of St. Stephen in Metz. In chapter twenty-four of his Rule he noted that the canons were neglecting to hear confessions and preach in the stational churches of the city

and the suburban vici churches assigned to them.[13] To correct this problem he ordered his canons to preach at least twice a month in the churches assigned to them: they were to read sermons from prepared collections. Chrodegang also ordered the priests of St. Stephen to preach as substitutes for their bishop if he could not be present.[14]

The preaching to be done by the lesser clergy was carefully controlled: they were to read tractates or homilies of the fathers. The works that they read must have come from either a cathedral scriptoria in Metz or from the collaboration of the monastery of Gorze in furnishing sermonaries.[15] However, it was not enough simply to order sermons to be read. Additional effort had to be expended to supply texts for the preachers. None of the collections of Metz from this period have survived, so it cannot be known whether or not these sermonaries differed from the collections used by the Anglo-Saxons. Chrodegang's Rule provided for regular preaching from the cathedral clergy, and in 789 Charlemagne ordered it to be used by all of the bishops of his realm.[16]

Just as there was little legislation concerning preaching from the reign of Pepin, so few original sermons used at this time have survived. The older sermonaries made by Augustine, Caesarius, Gregory, and the Merovingian and Italian bishops still circulated in Francia, as did the sermons and sermonaries used by the Anglo-Saxon missionaries. The existence of these works is illustrated by the many eighth- and ninth-century manuscripts of them described in Lowe's Codices Latini Antiquiores and the modern editions of these works. One of the few preachers whose works can be dated to this period was

Ambrosius Autpertus, a monk and priest of the monastery of St. Vincent in Volturno in Italy, who preached to the laity surrounding the monastery.[17] His only surviving popular sermon, On Cupidity, was similar to the missionary sermons discussed in Chapter III in that it consisted of long scriptural passages explained in a simple manner, and it offered the laity only a basic conception of spiritual life based on simple belief and church attendance.[18]

The reign of Pepin (751-69) had several important consequences for the Frankish Church. Frankish bishops began to develop their own ideas of reform based on the work of Boniface and the influence of Rome which had been made strong by Pepin's ties to the popes. To a large extent the early reforms concerned only the hierarchy and liturgy. There was little effort to develop a wider vision of reform which embraced both cleric and layman as, for example, Caesarius had created for the people of Arles. This lack of attention to the laity could be seen not only in the legislation but also in such sermons as the one by Ambrosius Autpertus referred to above. The most important consequence of Pepin's reign was the fact that the reforms he enacted would cause pressure to be brought on his successors for ever more reform. This pressure would lead to the Carolingian Reformation under Charlemagne.

* * * * *

The reign of Charlemagne (joint king with his brother Carloman 768-71; king of the Franks 771-800, and emperor 800-814) has long remained one of the most complicated periods of early medieval history. While most events of this period are fairly well known, the motivations

behind them and the difference between the royal and imperial periods have given rise to a welter of conflicting views and interpretations.[19] From the standpoint of reform, however, the events of his reign, while still complicated, have become somewhat easier to follow.

In the first phase of his reign (768-785), Charlemagne followed very closely the pattern of reform ideas established by Pepin. His first capitulary supported church reform, although it largely restated the capitulary which his uncle Carloman had issued in 742 to confirm the decrees of Boniface's German synod. Chapter seven of Charlemagne's capitulary ordered the same yearly tour of the diocese to be made by each bishop that Boniface had supported.[20] The preaching described by the capitulary still emphasized the missionary ideas of teaching basic articles of belief and prohibiting pagan practices. There was as yet nothing new or special in this.

The decades of the 770s and 780s saw a great deal of activity throughout the Frankish realm--most of it military and political. In 772 the first of the wars that would lead to the conquest of Saxony began, and in 774 the Frankish involvement in Italy became permanent when Charlemagne conquered the Lombard kingdom whose ruler Desiderius threatened the security of Rome. An invasion of Spain in 778 meant the acquisition of lands south of the Pyrenees, and in 788 Charlemagne deposed his cousin Duke Tassilo of Bavaria and incorporated his state into the Frankish realm. The tremendous expansion of Charlemagne's kingdom, however, brought with it a large number of administrative problems.

The expansion of the Frankish Church in this period was also spectacular. The Franks acquired the already existing ecclesiastical organizations in Italy, Bavaria and the Spanish March and created a regular organization in Saxony. New parishes sprang up in both Francia and the areas acquired by conquest where bishops, abbots and lay lords built churches on estates in the new territories.[21] Reform of the church, which as a national church was virtually inseparable from the state, had to be taken into account in the administrative reforms.[22] There was always a sense in which Charlemagne counted on ecclesiastical leaders to serve as secular administrators, so reform of the church would also provide a large pool of talented administrators.

Other pressures and ideas caused Charlemagne to consider reform in more than an administrative sense. In 774, as a result of his involvement in Italy, Hadrian I gave him a copy of the canon law collection known as the Dionysio-Hadriana.[23] This collection served as the basis for revival of canon law in the Frankish kingdom, all the more so when the Dionysio-Hadriana was reconciled with Gallic and Spanish canons to form a number of combined collections.[24] Once the Carolingian clergy became acquainted with the ecclesiastical ideas contained in this legislation, they began to desire the implementation of these canons. Thus, the Dionysio-Hadriana became an important inspiration for the later programmatic reform capitularies--the first sixty canons of the Admonitio generalis, for example, came directly from this collection.

Another source of inspiration was the Palace School. This too originated in part from the Italian campaign of 774, when Charlemagne brought the masters Peter of Pisa and Fardulphus back to Francia with him.[25] Between 776 and 783 he acquired a number of masters whose backgrounds gave Carolingian culture its international tone. The new scholars and clerics would draw upon their native ecclesiastical traditions to help shape the course of the Carolingian reforms. These included Paul the Deacon and Paulinus, later archbishop of Aquileia (787-802), from Italy; Alcuin from England; Theodulph, later bishop of Orléans (788-818), from Spain; and the Franks Riculf, later archbishop of Mainz (787-813), and Hildebald, later archbishop of Cologne (791-819) and court chaplain.[26] Many of these figures would later help to implement the reforms from positions within the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Charlemagne also received appeals from individuals within his realm encouraging him to undertake a general reform of the church. An Irishman Cathuulf in 775 sent him a letter listing Charlemagne's achievements and telling him that they were God's blessings to him for which he should give thanks.[27] The letter went on to suggest that as king he had special responsibilities:

> Therefore my king you must always remember God your king with fear and love, since you are in his place over all the limbs of His body to protect and to rule, and an account must be rendered on the Day of Judgment even by you. And the bishop is in second place, he is, so to speak, in the place of Christ. Therefore you should reflect diligently between yourselves on how to establish the law of God upon His people. . . .[28]

Cathuulf urged Charlemagne to accept the responsibilities of Christian kingship and advised him to take counsel with his bishops and abbots

to "renew the laws and destroy injustice."[29] Charlemagne received similar advice in a letter from Paulinus of Aquileia written sometime between 786 and 788.[30]

In addition to the canon law revival, the assembling of the Court School and the pressures from clerics, there were elements added by Charlemagne himself which would determine the nature of church reform in the Frankish realm. As he began to recreate the parts of a central administration for his realm, he depended heavily upon the clergy. The written documents he used were set down by clerics from the royal chapel who formed a sort of proto-chancery.[31] Sometime in the 780s, most probably between 785 and 789, he took the old Frankish office of missus and transformed it into an institution designed to provide regular oversight for the kingdom. The missi dominici involved secular and religious officials--counts, abbots, and bishops--who transmitted Charlemagne's wishes to their districts and reported back to him on conditions within them.[32] They would oversee and help to implement later reforms in the various regions of the Carolingian state.

The final force which led Charlemagne toward church reform was his own spirituality. Einhard reported that he enjoyed hearing religious works read, especially Augustine's City of God.[33] Exactly what Charlemagne derived from this work has long been debated.[34] His personal piety and respect for religious ideas were, however, undeniably strong components of his personality and world-view.[35] In addition, Charlemagne was slowly being taught to regard himself as the typos of a biblical king or Christian emperor. Pope Hadrian

referred to Charlemagne as a new Constantine, and Alcuin gave him the nickname David.[36] Charlemagne's strong personal interest in religion and the religious life came together with the steps toward religious reform he had already taken and the demands made by clerics for more reform to produce the Admonitio generalis of 789.

Before such an all-embracing program of reform could be undertaken, the institutions which would direct reform activities had to be created and staffed with clerics who would support the goals of reform. The length of time it took to carry out these preliminary steps helps to explain the twenty-year gap between Charlemagne's first reform capitulary of 769 and the Admonitio. Other explanations of this twenty-year delay involve such factors as the failure of Charlemagne to see the need for additional reforms until 789, or the pressures put upon him by political and military affairs.[37] The most likely explanation, however, is that Charlemagne and his advisors saw clearly that effective reform could not be achieved without a functioning ecclesiastical hierarchy to supervise the implementation of reform legislation.

Throughout his reign Charlemagne used legislation and control of episcopal appointments to provide bishops who were both competent administrators and capable spiritual guides for the Frankish Church. The creation of metropolitan sees to administer the bishoprics in their respective archdioceses would be completed only in 813. By 789, however, Charlemagne himself had appointed all but three of the bishops in those sees which were, or were to become, metropolitan sees. The creation of a functioning ecclesiastical organization

which would direct and promote religious reform thus became the first important step toward an overall reform of the Frankish Church.

With the appointments of Arn of Salzburg (785), Paulinus of Aquileia (786), Riculf of Mainz (787) and Theodulph of Orléans (788), most of the leading episcopal actors in the reforms took their places. In many ways Charlemagne created a new Frankish Church between 771 and 814. He saw himself as the chief bishop of this church and controlled it strongly through control of episcopal appointments, use of the capitularies and oversight of the councils.[39] With bishops in place whom he could trust to carry out his wishes and with the beginnings of an ecclesiastical hierarchy established, he could now turn his attention to a larger vision of reform which included both the clergy and the laity.

In addition to the reasons already discussed, the Admonitio generalis came from Charlemagne's desire to follow the example of the biblical King Josias who also reformed the "church" of his day.[40] Just as Josias had rebuilt and repaired the Temple in Jerusalem, so now did Charlemagne propose to restructure Christianity in the Frankish realm. Following the examples of Josias, David and Constantine to whom he had been so often compared, Charlemagne, like Caesarius before him, would now attempt to reform the Frankish Church on the model of the Roman Imperial Church. The Admonitio generalis provided the blueprint for this program.

The capitulary can be divided into two sections. The first of these, chapters one through fifty-nine, provided the laws of ecclesiastical discipline to which the Frankish clergy should now adhere,

and each chapter was supported with the relevant canons from the Dionysio-Hadriana.[41] Many of these chapters reinforced Charlemagne's restoration of hierarchical discipline, but the majority were intended to set standards of clerical behavior.[42] The approach to programmatic reform came in the second section, chapters sixty to eighty-two.

Both groups of chapters covered a variety of topics. While individual chapters may reflect the interests and advice of the clerics and counselors with whom he consulted, Charlemagne directed and approved the overall program.[43] His interests centered around improving the quality of the clergy so that they in turn could improve the quality of religious life for all of the Frankish people. Hence his interest in clerical education, which was designed to improve the individual cleric's capacity for reading and understanding Scripture and other sacred writings.[44] The subject which lay at the base of his attempts to reform popular religion, however, was preaching and the sermon.

For the reforms to have any effect on the great mass of the population, some means of communication had to be used which would not only restate the provisions of the capitulary but would also explain the meanings of those provisions in understandable terms. So, in the words of Walter Ullmann, the sermon became the means of "effecting the rebirth of Carolingian society" through instruction and education.[45] An early chapter in the second section, buttressed by scriptural citations in place of the canons from the Dionysio-Hadriana, showed Charlemagne's desire to secure regular preaching on Sundays and feast days in the Frankish Church.[46] In a succeeding

chapter clerics were told to preach on the evils of hatred, envy, avarice and greed.[47] The interest he took in the topics of sermons showed how Charlemagne hoped to use preaching to improve the spiritual lives of his people.

His interest in preaching was made even clearer in the eighty-second chapter, itself written in the form of a sermon.[48] The chapter contained Charlemagne's program for preaching which he ordered his bishops and their priests to follow. They were to preach belief in the triune God who created all things and to stress the orthodox view of the Trinity.[49] The preachers should also describe the incarnation of Christ and His death and resurrection, and tell their people that Christ would sit in majesty to judge each person according to his merits, sending the wicked to eternal flames with the devil and the just to eternal life. They were also to preach the resurrection of the dead.[50] The capitulary also listed the capital sins taken from Galatians 5:19-21 and told the bishops to warn their people that those guilty of such crimes could not gain the kingdom of Heaven.[51] A list of virtues which were necessary for salvation followed. The list included such things as love of God and neighbors, and charity and confession of sins.[52] The chapter concluded with a warning that the day of the false prophets, predicted in Scripture, might be at hand, so that sound preaching was necessary to prepare the Frankish people to resist such false prophets.[53]

The themes set forth in chapter eighty-two of the Admonitio generalis described a very basic religious knowledge, yet an amount of knowledge which not many people in the Frankish kingdom possessed

by 789. The themes were things in which Charlemagne wanted his people instructed for the sake of their salvation. He also commanded that they should memorize the Creed and Lord's Prayer and be able to sing the Gloria Patri and the Sanctus.[54] He depended upon his bishops' preaching to provide the people with additional breadth and depth of knowledge beyond these basic terms.

Preaching was a subject very much on Charlemagne's mind in the latter half of the Admonitio generalis. Indeed the sources he drew upon for the themes in chapter eighty-two were either liturgical materials connected with sermons or sermons themselves. One source was the Nicene Creed from which the second, third and fourth paragraphs were drawn.[55] Another source could have been one of the missionary sermons--the Scarapsus of Pirmin, for example--which discussed all of the topics upon which Charlemagne asked his bishops and their priests to preach. It should be noted that he specifically referred to presbyteral preaching, reviving in this capitulary the permission given by Caesarius at the Council of Vaison to priests to read prepared sermons.

The Admonitio generalis provided the Frankish Church with a basis for reform not only of ecclesiastical institutions and personnel, but of the lives of the people as well. To reach his people Charlemagne depended upon the sermon. That was why it played such a prominent role in the Admonitio, and why it would continue to enjoy much attention in the rest of his legislation. He had already commanded the bishops in the conquered areas of Saxony to preach in order to bring the Saxons into the Christian community.[56] Now he wanted

the sermon to be used to improve the spiritual lives of all the people of his realm.

Charlemagne's interest in church reform came in part from the idea that a ruler had responsibility for his subjects' actions, even for their salvation in the Christian scheme of things. Many of his actions following the promulgation of the Admonitio had the effect of reinforcing this sense of responsibility. Charlemagne took the powers of guidance of the Church and moral exhortation traditionally reserved for the popes to himself, telling Pope Leo III that the pope's role was to pray for Charlemagne's success.[57] Although the Admonitio served as the main instrument of reform down to 802, the imperial coronation in 800, whatever else it meant, only served to reinforce his responsibilities.[58] In 802 his subjects took a new oath of fidelity to him as emperor. Charlemagne stated that those who swore the oath should strive to preserve the laws of God--and, hence, the reforms--because the emperor could not be everywhere to care for and discipline each individual.[59] The oath itself had great importance because it formed the personal tie between the ruler and his subjects.[60] The oath ceremony of 802 had even greater significance in that it made permanent Charlemagne's own ties to reform and to the sermon as a means of carrying out his spiritual responsibilities.

The degree of importance he gave to his new sense of religious responsibility for his people could be seen in the capitularies issued to the missi between 802 and 811. The missi had supervisional authority over the bishops in their missiatica, and part of their duties lay in seeing that the emperor's commands were carried out.[61]

Charlemagne ordered his missi to insure that bishops and priests preached regularly on Sundays and feast days.[62] The missi examined the clergy to insure that sermons covered the desired topics, such as the Creed and Lord's Prayer, and the proper action to take in times of plague.[63] The missi also insured that parish priests--who had been given a limited right to preach by the Admonitio generalis--possessed the books they would need in their labors: sermonaries and copies of the canons and Gregory the Great's Pastoral Rule.[64] Finally, taking an idea from Gregory's Rule, they examined the lives of the clergy since leading a Christian life was preaching by example.[65]

These capitularies formed a major element in the reform of the Frankish Church. Usually promulgated in the annual Frankish assemblies, they gave the full force of royal law to the reforms. The involvement of the Frankish people in the assemblies provided further evidence of how seriously Charlemagne regarded his responsibilities to his subjects.[66] Although questions have been raised recently concerning the nature of the capitularies,[67] there can be little doubt that they served as expressions of law, and, as such, were to be obeyed by the clerics.[68]

The final contribution Charlemagne made to reform and preaching legislation came in the five church councils he summoned in 813. He ordered councils to be held in Mainz, Rheims, Tours, Chalôns-sur-Saone, and Arles. After they had met, he had the canons collected for the palace archives in Aachen from where a capitulary digesting the material of the councils was issued.[69] This action came when Charlemagne,

realizing after a series of illnesses that he had not much longer to live, wished to put the affairs of his church in order.[70] The personal interest he took in these five councils could be seen in the conventus held at Aachen following the councils, and the documents issued in connection with it. The five cities chosen meant that almost all of the bishops of the empire, or their representatives, would be participating in the deliberations of one or another of the councils.

The bishops assembled in these councils recognized the role played by Charlemagne in assembling the councils and furnishing the motivating force behind them. This recognition was made formal in statements of praise for the emperor in the prooemia attached to the acts of each council.[71] These councils, like all similar assemblies, promulgated canons pertaining to a wide variety of matters with which the church was concerned. One matter with which all five councils dealt in some detail was preaching. The bishops of the councils called for regular preaching.[72] On the question of preaching, the bishops were greatly influenced by the ideas of Gregory the Great. Following the example of Charlemagne's earlier capitularies, the bishops expected each bishop and priest to be familiar with the Pastoral Rule.[73] Also following the lead of the capitularies, the reform councils of 813 set out topics which preachers were expected to cover in their sermons. Most of these topics were general in nature, such as the eight principal vices, but the legislation mentioned items which the bishops of each region felt were important.[74] Only at the Synod of Arles, the city of Caesarius, was presbyteral

preaching permitted. The synod used a canon which was virtually a restatement of canon II of the Council of Vaison.[75]

The one area in which new ground was broken--or rather previously unmentioned practice was confirmed in the legislation--was preaching in the vernacular. Canons of the Councils of Rheims and Mainz ordered bishops to preach "in their own languages," or "so that the common people could understand."[76] Canon XVII of the Council of Tours spelled the matter out more clearly in a way which neatly summarized Charlemagne's own views on preaching:

> It is to be seen to by all of us that each bishop has homilies containing the necessary admonitions which shall educate the people subject to him so that they can understand the Catholic faith: the perpetual reward of the good and the eternal damnation of the evil; the future resurrection and last judgment; and which deeds can merit blessed life and which can exclude them from it. And let each bishop strive to translate these same homilies openly into the rustic Roman tongue or into Theodeutsch, so that all the people can understand what is said.[77]

This canon showed the importance for the Carolingian reformers of communicating the elements of Christianity to the mass of the Frankish people. The liturgical reforms begun by Pepin and continued by Charlemagne had been too successful in that they resulted in an ecclesiastical Latin which could no longer be understood by the common people.[78] The bishops at Tours put into the legislation a means of insuring that the message of the sermons could be understood by all. The phrase episcopus omelias habeat showed too that the bishops felt originality of composition was not as important as making sure that regular preaching was carried out. It did not matter whether bishops and priests composed their own sermons or read prepared works; what mattered was that their flocks heard sermons regularly.

The five councils met in May and June of 813. Later that year, as Einhard noted, a synod (conventus) was held at Aachen from which two documents were issued. One of these, promulgated by the bishops of the synod, both permitted priests to preach and approved of preaching in the vernacular.[79] The second was a capitulary of Charlemagne's in which he also ordered preaching to be done so that the people could understand it.[80] This capitulary may not have been an original document and it has often been dismissed on this count.[81] However, it showed Charlemagne's approval of the actions taken by the bishops, and placed the force of his authority behind the acts of the councils.

Charlemagne desired to improve the religious life of his people by improving their knowledge and understanding of Christian doctrine and practices, and their moral conduct in this world. He did this in imitation of past kings and emperors, and in the belief that he would thereby fulfill his own obligation as king and emperor to assure his people's salvation. The legislation examined thus far described what the people were to be taught. The repeated commands for regular preaching provided a means of insuring that these beliefs, practices and standards of conduct would be communicated to them. The reform movement, and the preaching movement it generated, began with the Admonitio generalis and the Saxon capitulary, and was gradually extended to the entire empire by succeeding pieces of legislation.

The legislation in the capitularies and from the councils of 813, along with appointment and support of reform-minded bishops, constituted Charlemagne's chief contributions to the reform of the Frankish Church. These items gave a new shape to that church over

the period 789-825, the period of the Carolingian Reformation. The important dates of this reformation, as Albert Hauck long ago noted, were 769, 789, 802 and 813.[82] The first of these dates marked the beginning of Charlemagne's adherence to reform, while the last three saw stages in the development of a comprehensive reform of the Frankish Church and people.[83] His desire for reform meant a prominent place for the sermon as a means of providing the Christian education necessary to implement it.

* * * * *

Yet the legislation, important as it was, was far from being the limit of Charlemagne's contributions to reform. Following the example he set in the capitularies and obeying his command that synods be held by bishops at least once a year, the Carolingian episcopate began to produce legislation supporting reform and the use of the sermon. The actual implementation of the Carolingian reforms depended greatly upon the cooperation of the episcopate. The efforts of the bishops in synods and episcopal statutes illustrate how they carried out Charlemagne's program of reform.

Ecclesiastical legislation on preaching came from two separate types of documents, the acts of regional councils, such as the councils of 813, and the acts of diocesan synods. The chief difference between the two types was that conciliar legislation involved the deliberations of a group of bishops while synodal legislation and episcopal statutes were generally the work of a metropolitan for his diocesanal bishops or of a bishop for his parish priests.[84] The two terms "council" and "synod" became almost synonymous during the ninth

century; however, the fact that many such assemblies were held reflected the increased power given each bishop to regulate his own section of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.[85] For the most part, the bishops used their increased administrative powers to support the royal program of reforms. Many of the provisions within the episcopal legislation helped to illustrate this support, because they repeated commands concerning preaching that Charlemagne had made in the capitularies.[86] This can best be illustrated by examining first the councils and then the episcopal and synodal statutes.

To a large degree the church within the old boundaries of the Frankish kingdom was governed between 789 and 813 by the provisions of the Admonitio generalis. Because the Admonitio governed church life in Francia, the first reform councils were held outside of Francia in Italy and the Germanic areas.[87] An example of this was the Council of Frankfurt (794), which had as its chief function preparing a response to the Adoptionist heresy flourishing in northern Spain.[88] The preoccupation with this trinitarian heresy could be seen in the canon on preaching which ordered bishops and priests to preach and explain orthodox trinitarian faith, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed to all.[89]

The remainder of the reform councils which promulgated preaching legislation were held in conjunction with or by bishops who directed the Avar mission (792-805).[90] This mission would result in the conversion of the peoples in Carinthia and Bohemia and the creation of ecclesiastical organizations in both areas. The bishops who met on the banks of the Danube in 796 had as their first concern

that the new converts be won over by preaching the Gospel rather than through threats and force.[91] These were the ideas of Alcuin and Arn of Salzburg, who did not approve of the methods used to convert the Saxons because such methods resulted in revolts against the Franks and their religion.

Other reform councils held between 796 and 800 in the eastern part of Charlemagne's realm dealt more directly with preaching and extended the reforms of the Admonitio to Italy and Bavaria. The acts of the Council of Friuli (796/7), presided over by Paulinus of Aquileia, had a close relationship to Charlemagne's capitulary. They set out the life which each priest should lead and the qualities (such as love, chastity and so on) which the preacher's life should illustrate by example to lend force to his sermons on those themes.[92] The list of sermon themes Paulinus gave his bishops and priests included both abstract virtues--such as love of neighbors--and their practical applications--in this case good works and charity.

The councils presided over by Arn of Salzburg contained similar materials. In his Pastoral Instructions, issued at the Council of Reisbach (798), he told his bishops to preach regularly so that they might instruct their flocks in the Catholic faith and admonish those who needed correction.[93] They were to oversee the activities of their priests to make sure that the priests were instructed and could preach capably in their own right.[94] The emphasis which Arn placed on the traditionem Romana ecclesiae also illustrated how the interest of Charlemagne in modelling the beliefs and liturgy of the Frankish Church after those of Rome extended itself to the regional councils.[95]

Charlemagne's involvement in the affairs of his churches also included sending an agenda for the three councils held at Reisbach, Freising and Salzburg in 800. Not surprisingly, these councils also included a provision demanding preaching along the lines laid down in the Admonitio.[96]

Conciliar legislation confirmed the reforms established by Charlemagne and helped to emphasize the fact that he was interested in a re-formation of Christian life. That is, inspired by the works of the fathers--or, at least, what he knew of them--he wanted to model the lives of his subjects on the pattern of Christianity in the fourth and fifth centuries. The legislation helps explain his interest in typology and his interest in Augustine's City of God.[97] This belief in the superiority of the Patristic Age held by Charlemagne and the reformers gave a definite shape to both the content of the reform legislation and the sermons which came from it. Just as the legislation was modelled after the earlier councils digested by the Dionysio-Hadriana, so too did the sermons of Augustine and Caesarius serve as models and guides to Carolingian preachers.

The nature of the reforms was also made clear in the detailed attention given them in the synodal legislation and episcopal statutes. Due to the widespread diffusion of the reform movement throughout the Frankish realm, some thirty-four of these statutes have survived, with perhaps more to be discovered.[98] The statutes for the most part provided additional legislation on preaching, illustrating the agreement of many Carolingian bishops that regular preaching would provide their flocks with the correct religious knowledge necessary for their

salvation.[99] The primary sources of preaching legislation came from the statutes which followed the Admonitio of 789 and those which followed the councils of 813. In each case the episcopal statutes adapted the provisions of the more important pieces of legislation to their own particular jurisdictions.

The synod held by Theodulph of Orléans (c. 797) illustrated how the bishops attempted to encourage their priests to preach. He told his priests:

> We urge you to be prepared to teach the people. Those who know Scripture, let them preach Scripture: those who do not know it, at least let them say this, which should be well known, to the people: that they should turn away from evil and do good; that they should seek peace and follow it because the eyes of God are on the just and His ears open to their prayers; and so on. Therefore no one can excuse himself that he does not have a tongue with which he can teach something.[100]

His priests, as he ordered in a second synodal statute, were to preach each Sunday, and to teach their people to avoid evil deeds and to cultivate love of God and their neighbors in terms of what has come to be called the Golden Rule.[101] By including topics for sermons, taken largely from the Admonitio, in his admonitions to his priests, Theodulph provided guidance along with his demands for more preaching.

In an episcopal statute for the church of Basel, Hatto of Basel (802-22) told his priests to preach by word and example, "so that the Creator can be understood by all His creatures."[102] Here again, the chief concern expressed by the reformers was that the Frankish people be able to understand and carry out their religious duties. Hatto, in accordance with this desire for better religious knowledge, ordered that each priest be able to explain the Lord's Prayer and

Creed in Latin and in the vernacular tongue.[103] In a canon that may have been prompted by an on-going problem in his diocese, Hatto commanded that his priests preach by word and example against usury, money-changing and money-lending.[104] The sermon could also be used as a means of correcting local problems.

The remainder of the episcopal statutes were promulgated after the reform councils of 813, some well after them indeed. The year 825 makes a good dividing point between reform councils and mere imitations. After 825, for reasons which will be examined later, the statutes which discussed preaching with but few exceptions drew their canons verbatim from earlier sources.[105] By and large the statutes which contributed new ideas about preaching, which were not already found in the councils of 813, followed the attitudes toward preaching established by the councils.

In these episcopal canons, priests were expected to be able to preach in the vernacular, or at least "in a tongue which their hearers understand."[106] One canon, in a statute attributed to Boniface to give it additional authority, even threatened to remove priests who could not conduct baptisms, catechism and confessions in the native tongue.[107] The priests were told to preach from Scripture, and to stress the Creed and Lord's Prayer in their sermons since these provided the key to salvation.[108] They could use prepared sermonaries--the Forty Homilies on the Gospel of Gregory the Great was particularly mentioned--and were advised to ask someone learned in Scripture to write out the things they did not understand so that their flocks could comprehend

them.[109] These statutes kept faith with the reformers' desires for communication of religious knowledge to the masses.

One other form of ecclesiastical document helped bishops to secure regular preaching. This was the clerical examination, drawn up for the two annual visitations of the parishes by the bishop.[110] One was held at Lent to investigate the priests' clerical abilities, including the content of sermons and devotion to regular preaching, and the other marked the official visitation and preaching tour of the bishop. In addition to the episcopal visitations, the missi also examined clergy at Charlemagne's command.[111] If the examinations did not contribute an extensive amount of new legislation supporting preaching, at least they furnished a safe-guard which bishops could use to monitor the preaching activities of their priests. While the formal examination was an old idea, the Carolingians used it as another institution to support reform and preaching.[112]

Taken together the capitularies, "national" councils, regional councils and episcopal statutes formed an impressive body of legislation on preaching. They all manifested the ideas of Charlemagne and his circle of advisors on reform and the importance of the sermon as a vehicle for communicating the reformed religion to the Frankish people. On the basis of this legislation and the activities performed to implement it, one can speak of a Carolingian Reformation lasting from 789 to about 825. The concept of a reformation effectively ties together a major part of Charlemagne's perceptions of his royal and imperial power, and many of his administrative and political activities served to further the cause of reform. The Carolingian

Renaissance, well established in the historiography of the period, came only as a by-product from the educational legislation designed to improve the religious culture of the clergy.[113]

* * * * *

The Carolingian Reformation created by Charlemagne did not long survive his death, at least not in the form he set out in his legislation. The initial date, 789, was easily determined by the Admonitio generalis, but why state that the reformation began to collapse about 825? Reform legislation continued to be issued well into the 870s, and one of the leading reformers, Rabanus Maurus, served as archbishop of Mainz from 847 to 856. The determination of 825 as a terminal date for the reforms can only be justified by examining the fate of the reforms under Louis the Pious and his successors. The main course of reform was only as strong as the rulers who supported it.

Louis the Pious (814-40) came to the imperial throne with many advantages that his father had not had. His brothers had all died before 814. Their deaths left no one with whom the Frankish realm had to be divided. When his reign began, the empire was more or less at peace, and reasonably united by the institutions created by his father. By the time of his death in 840, it had suffered two civil wars and was seeing the beginning of a third. The royal reform movement, begun by Charlemagne, did not survive these upheavals. It had effectively ended by 825. All that remained thereafter were the responses to the reform ideas by individual bishops in different parts of the three Frankish states which replaced Charlemagne's empire.

Although Louis changed and extended the nature and direction of the imperial reform movement, to a large degree its ending was more a result of circumstances than it was a result of Louis' own character and spirituality. He had been raised in Aquitaine, where he ruled as sub-king, under the tutelage and influence of the famous reforming abbot, Benedict of Aniane. His character reflected an affinity with monastic life and spirituality which caused him to regard both the nature of his imperial power and the course church reform should follow in a different way than Charlemagne. If Charlemagne regarded himself as chief bishop of his realm, Louis regarded himself as chief abbot of an imperial community which he hoped to place on a monastic model.[114] By 820, therefore, the nature of imperial reform changed completely: Louis and Benedict illustrated in two councils of Aachen (816 and 817) that their interests lay chiefly in monastic reform.[115]

The events of Louis' reign between 814 and 820 had other effects for the reform movement which were even more destructive. In 818 Bernard, Louis' nephew, and other Frankish nobles and bishops were involved in a revolt. Louis deposed Bernard and had him blinded, and the effects of this act caused his death. Other suspected participants in the revolt, including Bishop Theodulph of Orléans, were exiled. After the death of Benedict in 821, Louis came under the influence of new advisors and felt that he should atone for his nephew's death, which he did in a ceremony of public penance at the assembly at Attigny in 822. This was not widely perceived as the act of a strong ruler. Further evidence of perceived weakness could be seen

in a canon of the Council of Attigny, held as part of the assembly, in which he noted that some of his nobles were not attending Mass and were establishing and expelling priests from parish churches without episcopal consent.[116] These acts were not condemned explicitly nor were penalties proposed against them, they were just noted. While Louis may have felt that his taking cognizance of such faults would suffice to correct them, his failure to act more decisively could well be interpreted as a sign of weakness. This canon may be said to symbolize the problems of Louis' reign, since his actions rarely produced the ends he hoped to achieve by them.

While Louis' zeal for reform could not be denied, his problems were further compounded by the debate over the unity of the empire. In 817 he proposed to make his eldest son Lothair emperor after his death. Lothair would then exercise an imperial authority not much less than the authority Louis himself possessed, while the two younger sons, Pepin and Louis the German, would have sub-kingdoms and a limited sovereign power within them. The clergy wholeheartedly supported this action, believing that the best interests of the church lay in a unified empire which could protect its rights and promote reform.[117] This arrangement was shattered when Louis remarried after the death of his first wife in 818 and had a fourth son, the future Charles the Bald, in 823. When a new settlement had to be made to accommodate Charles, the result was civil war as Frankish nobles and bishops seized this opportunity to work for their own advantages.

Those bishops who believed in a unitary empire took the side of Lothair, and in 830 Louis was deposed, to be restored the next year

when Lothair's brothers turned against him.[118] In 833 the process was repeated with exactly the same results. Louis regained his throne in 834 and held it until his death in 840.[119] The damage had already been done, and after three years of bitter fighting (840-843) there were three kingdoms--East Francia, West Francia and Lotharingia--erected out of the empire Charlemagne had created.[120] To complete the disaster, the 840s marked the beginnings of continuous large-scale raiding of western Europe by the Vikings, who were able to sail up Frankish rivers and loot towns, manors and monasteries with virtual impunity. This raiding continued from the 840s to the 920s, and was only one part of a tripartite series of invasions. In the 860s the Islamic peoples of Spain and North Africa attacked Carolingian Europe from the south and in the 890s the Magyars began raiding from the eastern steppes.

These events affected nearly every aspect of ninth-century life, and by weakening the ecclesiastical institutions created by Charlemagne they had a severe impact on the idea of church reform. The results can be seen by examining what remained of the conciliar legislation on reform and the supervisional power given the bishops. In both areas civil wars, the political break-up of the Carolingian Empire and the new invasions meant an end of the programmatic reform and some new beginnings.

In Louis' reign councils and capitularies between 814 and 825 for the most part ignored the sermon, concentrating instead on monastic reform. Where mention of the sermon occurred, it generally followed the lines laid down in the legislation of Charlemagne. At the

Council of Attigny mentioned above, Louis called upon the bishops to preach regularly and to furnish schools where correct doctrine could be taught to those who preached.[121] This was similar to the measures Charlemagne had taken in both content and style.

After 825 both general conditions and the power of the Church to control its own affairs began to change rapidly, and this change could first be seen in the councils of 829. For a number of reasons--Louis' loss of control over events, the problems in the Church, and the tension over the new settlement of the empire--four councils were held in 829 of which the Council of Paris was most representative.[122] The changes came in the format of the acts of this council. Instead of the short direct canons promulgated under Charlemagne, the acts of Paris were divided into chapters which went on for thousands of words and cited long passages from the fathers to support their basic points.[123] The same features appeared in the Council of Aachen (836) which repeated at length and with the same citations the provisions from Paris.[124] This council withdrew from priests their limited right to preach,[125] a provision which would be ignored by later legislation. These councils did not attempt to discuss the problems resulting from war and disunity. Instead, the legislation dealt exhaustively with minor problems of religious and civil life over which the bishops and even the emperor no longer had any control.[126]

Most of the real troubles resulted from the loss of royal and imperial power consequent upon the civil wars and invasions. Ultimately the bishops were unable to prevent the fragmentation of political and even religious unity as the nobles came to enjoy an

ever-increasing amount of power.[127] The power of the local lords over not only their proprietary churches (Eigenkirche) but also all churches and monasteries in their districts increased during the reign of Louis the Pious. When his sons used church lands to reward followers during the wars from 840-3, the bishops began once more to lose control over the personnel and resources of their dioceses.[128]

Charlemagne himself had a foot in each camp on the question of Eigenkirche. He recognized their existence--and possessed not a few on his own estates--but strongly supported the right of the bishops to supervise all of the activities of the priests attached to them.[129] Indeed without such supervisory powers his reforms would have been meaningless over a large stretch of his realm. Such royal support for the bishops was either not forthcoming or meaningless after 840. By 900 many, if not most, of the rural clergy had become the vassi of the local noble where he did not own their churches outright.[130] Between 840 and 900 the episcopate found itself in the same situation which had prevailed in the seventh-century Merovingian kingdom: bishops were forced to act as secular nobles or to ally themselves with the nobles to protect their positions. This was the very situation which the Carolingian reformers had sought to overcome.

The legislation after 840 reacted to the new conditions in two ways. Within Francia itself where the dislocations had their greatest effects, the bishops tried to use councils and sermons to restore some sort of order. An example of this was the Council of Ver (844) held by Bishops Ebroin of Poitier and Wenilo of Sens. The acts of the council were addressed to Charles the Bald whom the bishops asked

to come to peace with his brothers so that he might restore his realm with peace and good faith.[131] According to the second canon of the council, Ebroin and Wenilo hoped to use the sermon to restore those who despised church discipline to a sense of righteousness, but this must have been a forlorn hope.[132] As the canon itself stated, the bishops hoped to do this as often as was possible (quantum possible est) suggesting that, with the disruptions, their time was occupied with other things.

The bishops attempted to articulate elaborate claims for themselves to direct Frankish society. Their claims and their inability to solve the problems of civil war were responsible in part for a remarkable series of forged decretals and charters. The best-known work of this group was the collection produced in the name of Isidore Mercator, the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals.[133] Bishops whose churches suffered greatly put forth extravagant claims in terms of property and rights.[134] Since there was no way of enforcing these claims, it did not matter at the time how far these flights of fancy ran. The authors of these collections had the same sense of loss of power felt by the seventh-century Burgundian authors of the Collection of Angers, and, ultimately, their works were equally ineffectual.

The situation was not uniformly bleak throughout the remains of the Carolingian Empire. Germany, for example, remained reasonably peaceful until the arrival of the Magyars in the 890s. In Mainz Rabanus Maurus, a pupil of Alcuin and well known as abbot of Fulda for sermons and works on clerical education, became archbishop (847-856).[135] He kept alive through his letters, councils and example

the work of the reformers. The second canon of the first Council of Mainz (847) summarized the reformers' position on preaching, topics of sermons and use of the vernacular.[136] Rabanus as both abbot and archbishop avoided the political controversies of the age and criticized those bishops who became involved and neglected their flocks.[137]

Reform legislation was also promulgated in the mid and late ninth century. Beginning in 826, under Pope Eugenius II, the papacy made a limited entry into the field of church reform. Since the days of Gregory the Great the popes--with the exception of the popes connected with Boniface--had not involved themselves in really exerting the legal and moral authority of the papacy to support preaching and reform. In canons of the Council of Rome (826) Eugenius ordered bishops to preach and to suspend illiterate clergy from their priestly offices until such time as they acquired an education.[138] With the exception of the third canon of the Roman Synod of 853, presided over by Leo IV, which repeated exactly canon III of Eugenius' council, this was the limit of papal action in behalf of preaching.[139] It remains difficult to determine why the papacy failed to become more directly involved with the pastoral life of the various national churches outside of Italy, but such was the case until the reform movements of the eleventh century.

The Carolingian rulers continued to support preaching, although fewer councils were held and, given the unsettled conditions of the time, it would be difficult to determine how much influence the legislation actually had. Lothair and his son Louis presided over a council at Ticino (850) in which they ordered bishops to preach on Sundays and

feast days so that they might open to the people the treasure of the Scriptures.[140] A second council at Ticino was held in 876 on the occasion of Charles the Bald's election as emperor. Canons of this council called for bishops and priests to preach and for the laity, whether in cities or in the countryside, to attend services regularly.[141]

Legislation on preaching continued to be issued in fits and starts during the remainder of the ninth century and throughout the tenth century. However conditions continued to change. In 911 the Carolingian line came to an end in Germany and during the tenth century Carolingians fought a losing battle for the crown in France. Much of the later legislation, including the Libri synodalibus causis of Regino of Prum, could more properly be considered part of the Ottonian period.[142] To a large degree the so-called "Ottonian Renaissance" came about when Otto and his advisors repeated certain actions and attitudes of Charlemagne.[143] But the legislation which created the Carolingian sermon had already been promulgated, and the later legislation's main value was as possible testimony to the sermon's use. The paucity of later legislation also served to underline the gradual destruction of Charlemagne's reform movement in the anarchy which prevailed from 825 to 911.

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The legislation surveyed in this chapter formed the legislative background for the Carolingian sermon. The basic form and content of sermons were set out in the eighty-second chapter of the Admonitio generalis of 789, which laid down the main lines of the Carolingian

Reformation. What the sermon was to contain was further elucidated in the capitularies and councils of the period 789-825. The authors of the sermons followed these guidelines and added contributions of their own. As will be seen in the following chapters, the sermons were responsive to the desires of the Carolingian reformers.

These desires were carefully explained in the Admonitio and the imperial capitularies of 802. Charlemagne and his advisors took seriously the responsibility they felt for their subjects' salvation and hoped to use reform of the Church and the sermon as a means to that end. The sermon became a teaching device, a function it had traditionally fulfilled, and a vehicle for communicating explanations of the reformed religion to the people. The need felt by the reformers for communication could be seen in the constant commands for regular preaching and the attention given in 813 and afterward to vernacular preaching.

The sermon, according to the legislation, was to aid in "the rebirth of Carolingian society,"[144] an idea that has come under recent attack.[145] Yet Charlemagne took a strong interest in the idea of the spiritual regeneration achieved according to Christian views of baptism. This can be seen in the baptismal inquest of 811/2, a circular letter sent to his bishops to inquire how candidates for baptism were prepared and how the ceremony itself was performed.[146] The date of this inquest so close to the councils of 813 would strongly suggest that the ultimate aim of Charlemagne's legislation was reform of the spiritual life of his people, even if his own statements to that effect had not survived.

This chapter has examined the purposes for which the sermon was intended, and the types of material which the reformers wished it to contain. In succeeding chapters it will be seen how far the sermons succeeded in carrying out the goals set for them, in terms of the conditions of preaching within the Carolingian world and the contents of the sermons themselves.

CHAPTER IV: NOTES

[1]Alcuin, Vita Willibrordi, c. 23, MGH SSrM VII: 132; and Einhard, Annales, s.a. 750, ed. Georg Pertz, MGH SS I: 139. See also Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 12-14; and Schnürer, Church and Culture, 446-7.

[2]Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 536-7.

[3]Boniface, Ep. 86, MGH Epp. Sel. I: 192-3; and Bréhier and Aigrain, HE, V: 367-8.

[4]Stephen came to Francia to appeal to Pepin for help against the Lombards who had taken Ravenna and were threatening Rome. He re-anointed Pepin and his sons, and this began the papal alliance with the Franks which would end in Charlemagne's virtual usurpation of the ecclesiastical fundtions of the pope. See Louis Halphen, Charlemagne et l'empire carolingien, L'évolution de l'humanité, 32 (Paris, 1947), 27-34; and Arthur Kleinclausz, Charlemagne (Paris, 1934), 2-3.

[5]Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 37-9; and Emile Amann, L'époque carolingienne, HE, VI (Paris, 1947), 25-8. (Hereafter HE, VI).

[6]Cyrille Vogel, "La réforme liturgique sous Charlemagne," in KGLN, II (Düsseldorf, 1965), 217; and Duchesne, Christian Worship, 102.

[7]Charlemagne, Admonitio generalis (789), c. 80, MGH Cap. Reg. Franc. I: 61, where Charlemagne, describing his own liturgical reforms, speaks of the work of genitor noster Pippinus rex. See also Vogel, "La réforme liturgique," 218-9; and Duchesne, Christian Worship, 102-3.

[8]Cyrille Vogel, Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du culte chrétien au moyen âge, Bibliotheca degli Studi Medievali, 1 (Spoleto, 1966), 310-22.

[9]Jean Chélini, "La pratique dominicale des laïcs dans l'église Franque sous le règne de Pepin," RHEF 42 (1956): 164-5. Louis Duchesne stated: "The Frankish Episcopate, except when a king or the Pope took the direction of it, was an acephalous episcopate." Christian Worship, 103.

[10]Chélini, "La pratique dominicale," 168-71.

[11]Concilium Vernense, c. 14, MGH Cap. Reg. Franc. I: 136. See also Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 24; and Chélini, "La pratique dominicale," 164.

[12]On Chrodegang see Riché, Education and Culture, 444-5; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I: 491-2. Hauck called him Boniface's successor in the Frankish Church, ibid., II: 57-8.

[13]Chrodegang, Regula canonicorum, XXIV: . . . venimus ad **matricolarios tam domi, quam et in suburbanis, quia non, secundum institutionem antiquae Ecclesiae, eorum esset conversatio, sed sub** magno quodam periculo, et neglegentia, et, ut ita dixerim, absque praedicatione et confessione erant in quodam securitate positi, neque ad domum ad stationem publicam ad audiendum verbum Dei veniebant, neque in reliquas stationibus, sed erant omnes sedentea unusquisque in loco suo. PL 89: 1117D-1118A.

[14]Ibid.: . . . constituimus ut bis in mense per totum annum . . . omnes matricularii tam qui in domo sunt quam illi qui per caeteras ecclesias infra civitatem vel vicis matriculas habent, ad conventum statutum omnes in ecclesia in domo veniunt . . . tunc veniens episcopus, si in aliis utilitatibus occupatus non fuerit, et jubeat legere lectionem de tractatibus, vel homilias sanctorum Patrum congruas, quae aedificent audientes, et doceant eos viam salutis, qualiter ad vitam aeternam Deo auxiliante perveniant. Dicta tertia, si episcopus non venerit, tunc presbyter custos ecclesiae sancti Stephani in vices illius juxta capacitatem suam et legat et doceat eos viam salutis, et videat omnino presbyter, ut hora constituta, si episcopus non venerit, non praetereat et hoc adimpleat. . . . PL 89: 1118A-B. See also Anton Linsenmayer, Geschichte der Predigt im Deutschland von Karl der Grossen bis zum Ausgange des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts (Frankfurt, 1969), 7-8; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 67-8.

[15]There had been a flourishing episcopal school at Metz during the sixth and seventh centuries when it was one of the Merovingian centers of government. The school which Chrodegang developed specialized in teaching Roman chant. Riché, Education and Culture, 282-3; and idem, Les écoles et l'enseignement dans l'occident chrétien de la fin du Ve siècle au milieu du XIe siècle, Collection historique (Paris, 1959), 67-8 and 103.

[16]Admonitio generalis, c. 73, MGH Cap. Reg. Franc. I: 59. See also François L. Ganshof, "L'église et le pouvoir royal dans la monarchie franque sous Pépin III et Charlemagne," in Settimane, VII (Spoleto, 1960), 112-3.

[17]Jacques Winandy, "L'oeuvre littéraire d'Ambroise Autpert," RB 60 (1950): 93-4.

[18]Ambrosius Autpertus, De Cupiditate, 14-15, ed. Robert Weber, Ambrosius Autpertus Opera pars III, Corpus Christianorum continuatio medievalis, XXVIIB (Tournhout, 1979), 977-80. See also Chélini, "La pratique dominicale," 172-4.

[19]See, for example, D. A. Bullough, "Europae Pater: Charlemagne and His Achievement in the Light of Recent Scholarship," English Historical Review 85 (1970): 59-105. The most recent approach at a synthesis for the Carolingian period came in the four volumes of studies issued by the International Exposition at Aachen in 1965, KGLN, ed. Wolfgang Braunfels, 4 vols. (Düsseldorf, 1966).

[20]Charlemagne, Capitulare primum (769), c. 7: Statuimus, ut singulis annis unusquisque episcopus parrochiam suam sollicite circumeat, et populum confirmare et plebs docere et investigare, et prohibere paganas observationes divinosque vel sortilegos aut auguria, pylacteria, incantationes vel omnes spuricitias gentilium studeat. MGH Cap. Reg. Franc. I: 45: See Karlmanni Principis Capitulare, c. 5, ibid., 25 and Chapter III, n. 137.

[21]Imbart de la Tour, Les paroisses rurales, 89-91 and 92-3; and Chaume, "Le mode de constitution," 65 where he noted that Auxerre between 711 and 900 acquired sixty new parish churches.

[22]Étienne Delaruelle, "Charlemagne et l'église," RHEF 39 (1953): 178-9; and Ganshof, "L'église et le pouvoir royal," 96-8.

[23]De Clercq, La législation religieuse, 172-6; and Amann, HE, VI: 344-5.

[24]Fournier and LeBras, Histoire des collections canoniques, I: 104-6; and Maasen, Geschichte der Quellen, 848-52 for the Dacheriana, one of the more important collections formed in this manner.

[25]Riché, Écoles et enseignement, 68-9; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 173-4.

[26]On the personnel of the Palace School see ibid., 133-4 and 161-73; Eleanor Shipley Duckett, Alcuin, Friend of Charlemagne (New York, 1951), 104-7; and François L. Ganshof, "Charlemagne," in The Carolingians and the Frankish Monarchy: Studies in Carolingian History (London, 1971), 19.

[27]Cathuulfus, Epistola ad Carolum Magnum, Epistolae variorum Carolo Magno regnante scriptae, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Epp. k. a. II: 502.

[28]Ibid.: Memor esto ergo semper, rex mi, Dei regis tui cum timore et amore, quod tu es in vice illius super omnia membra eius custodire et regere, et rationem reddere in die iudicii, etiam per te. Et episcopus est in secundo loco, in vice Christi tantum est.

Ergo considerate inter vos diligenter legem Dei constituere super populum Dei. . . . MGH Ep. k. a. II: 503. On the letter in general see Halphen, Charlemagne, 208-9; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 121-2.

[29]Cathuulfus, Epistola: Sed bonum vero consilium cum sapientibus tuis, ini consilium, pone concilium, maxime cum timentibus Deum. Et ex illis elegeris per civitates et per monasteria et per omnem regum tuum leges renovare et iniustia distruere. MGH Ep. k. a. II: 504. On Cathuulf's theory of kingship derived from an Irish source see ibid., 503 and Laistner, Thought and Letters, 144-6.

[30]Paulinus, Epistola ad Carolum Magnum: Expedit tibi, venerande princeps, ut exerceas presules ad sanctuarum scriptuarum indagationem et sanam sobriamque doctrinam, omnem clerum ad disciplinam . . . omnes generaliter ad sanctitatem . . . omnes generaliter ad prudentiam, iustitiam, fortitudinem, temperentiam pacem et concordiam. MGH Ep. k. a. II: 527.

[31]François L. Ganshof, Frankish Institutions under Charlemagne, trans. Bryce and Mary Lyon (New York, 1970), 20-1.

[32]Ibid., 23-6; and idem, "Charlemagne's Programme of Imperial Government," trans. Janet Sondheimer, in The Carolingians, 67.

[33]Einhard, Vita Caroli Magni, 24, ed. Georg Pertz, MGH SS II: 456.

[34]Compare Gerhard Ladner, "Die mittelalterliche Reform-Idee," 54 and n. 109 with Janet Nelson, "On the Limits of the Carolingian Renaissance," in Renaissance and Renewal in Christian History, ed. Derek Baker, STC, 14 (Oxford, 1977), 68-9.

[35]Heinrich Fichtenau, The Carolingian Empire, trans. Peter Munz (New York, 1964), 33-6 and 100-1; and Delaruelle, "Charlemagne et l'église," 197-8.

[36]Hadrian to Charlemagne, Codex Carolinus, Ep. 60: . . . quia ecce novus christianissimus Dei Constantinus his temporibus surrexit, per quem omnia Deus sanctae suae ecclesiae beati apostolorum principis Petri largiri dignatus est. Ed. Wilhelm Gundlach, MGH Epp. k. a. I: 587. Alcuin referred to Charlemagne by the nickname David throughout his letters. One typical reference can be seen in Ep. 41: Cuius exima filiorum nobilitate in salute mundi, de virga flos campi et convallium floriut Christi, qui istis modo temporibus ac eiusdem nominum, virtuti et fidei David regem [i.e. Charlemagne] populus suo concessit rectorem et doctorem. Ibid., II: 84. See also Epp. 145 and 148, ibid., 231-5 and 237-9.

[37]Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 295-6; and McKitterick, The Frankish Church, 1-2.

[38]The list of Charlemagne's metropolitan sees is contained in his testament, Einhard, Vita Caroli Magni, 33, MGH SS II: 461. See also Kleinclausz, Charlemagne, 225-6; and Ganshof, "L'église et le pouvoir royal," 111-2.

[39]Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 119-22; Delaruelle, "Charlemagne et l'église," 178-81; and Ganshof, "L'église et le pouvoir royal," 96-8.

[40]Ad. gen., Prooemium: Nam legimus in regnorum libris, quomodo sanctus Iosias regnum sibi a Deo datum circumeundo, corrigendo, admonendo ad cultum veri Dei stutuit revocare: non ut me eius sanctitate aequiparabilem faciam, sed quod nobis sunt ubique sanctorum semper exempla sequenda, et, quoscumque poterimus, ad studium bonae vitae in laudem et in gloriam domini nostri Iesu Christi congregare necesse est. MGH Cap. Reg. Franc. I: 54. On Charlemagne's use of the model of Josias see Halphen, Charlemagne, 209; and Delaruelle, "Charlemagne et l'église," 181-4. McKitterick, The Frankish Church, 2-3 used a similar analysis, but claimed it as original to her work.

[41]Ad. gen., Prooem.: Quapropter et nostros ad vos direximus missos, qui ex nostri nominis auctoritate una vobiscum corrigent quae corrigenda essent. Sed et aliqua capitula ex canonicis institutionibus, quae magis nobis necessaria videbantur, subiunximus. MGH Cap. Reg. Franc. I: 53. See also Ganshof, "L'église et le pouvoir royal," 120-1.

[42]For example, Ad. gen., c. 14: Episcopis. In concilio Laudicense necnon in Affricano praecipitur, ut monarchi et clerici tabernas non ingrediantur edendi vel bibendi causas. MGH Cap. Reg. Franc. I: 55. This was a canon intended to improve clerical conduct, and the citation of precedents from the Dionysio-Hadriana can also be seen.

[43]Ibid., Prooem.: Considerans pacifico piae mentis intuitu una cum sacerdotibus et consiliariis nostris. . . . MGH Cap. Reg. Franc. I: 53. The councilors were an informed group of advisors at the court, see Ganshof, Frankish Institutions, 21-2. On Charlemagne's desire to effect an overall reform of the Frankish Church see Ullmann, The Carolingian Renaissance, 9-10; and Vogel, "La réforme liturgique," 219-21.

[44]Ad. gen., c. 72, MGH Cap. Reg. Franc. I: 60. See also Pride, "Ecclesiastical Legislation," 240-2; and Duckett, Alcuin, 121-2.

[45]Ullmann, The Carolingian Renaissance, 36-7. For a critique of Ullmann's concept of rebirth see Nelson, "Limits of the Carolingian Renaissance," 54-5.

[46]Ad. gen., c. 61: Omnibus primo omnium, ut fides catholica ab episcopus et presbyteris diligenter legatur et omni populo praedicetur, quid hoc primum praeceptum est domini Dei omnipotentis in lege: 'audi, Israel, quia dominus Deus tuus Deus unus est. Et ut ille diligatur ex toto corde et ex tota mente et ex tota anima et ex tota virtute nostra.' (Deut. 6:45) MGH Cap. Reg. Franc. I: 59.

[47]Ibid., c. 66.

[48]It begins with a sermon-like incipit: Sed et vestrum videndum est, dilectissimi et venerabiles pastores et rectores ecclesiarum Dei, ut presbyteros . . . ; and ends with a sermon formula: Pax praedicantibus, gratia oboedientibus, gloria domino nostro Iesu Christi. Ibid., c. 82, MGH Cap. Reg. Franc. I: 61-2.

[49]Ibid.: 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, substantium et maiestatem in tribus personis Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. MGH Cap. Reg. Franc. I: 61.

[50]Ibid.: 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. Item diligenter praedicandum est de resurrectione mortuorum, ut sciant et credant in iisdem corporibus premia meritorum accepturos.

[51]Ibid., MGH Cap. Reg. Franc. I: 61-2.

[52]Ibid.: Sed omni instantia ammonete eos de dilectione Dei et proximi, de fide et spe in Deo, de humilitate et patientia, de benignitate et misericordia, de elimosinis et confessione peccatorum suorum, et ut debitoribus suis secundum dominicam orationem sua debita dimittant: scientes certissime, quod qui talia agunt regnum Dei possidebunt. MGH Cap. Reg. Franc. I: 62.

[53]Ibid.: Et hoc ideo diligentibus iniungimus vestrae caritati, quid scimus temporibus novissimis pseudodoctores esse venturos. . . . Ideo, dilectissimi, toto corde praeparemus nos in scientia veritatis, ut possimus contradicentibus veritati resistere. . . .

[54]Ibid., c. 70, MGH Cap. Reg. Franc. I: 59. See also Laistner, Thought and Letters, 194-5.

[55]Compare the material cited in nn. 48 and 49 with the version of the Creed in the Prooemium of the Council of Friuli (796-7), c. XII, MGH Conc. II, 1: 193. This council, held by Paulinus of Aquileia, was inspired by the provisions of the Admonitio, as will be shown.

[56]Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae (785), c. 18: Ut in dominicis diebus . . . omnes ad ecclesiam recurrant ad audiendum verbum Dei et orationibus vel iustie operibus vacent. MGH Cap. Reg. Franc. I: 69.

[57]Charlemagne (Alcuin), Ep. 93, in Alcuini Epistolae, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Ep. k. a. IV: 137-8. See also H.-X. Arquillière, L'augustinisme politique, 2nd ed., L'église et l'état au moyen âge, 2 (Paris, 1955), 163-4; Amann, HE, VI: 77-81; and Fichtenau, Carolingian Empire, 60-1.

[58]Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 107-114. There is an extensive literature on this subject which is not cited here. The interpretation of the imperial title and its meaning is that of Ganshof as will appear in the notes to follow.

[59]Capitulare missorum generale (802), c. 3: Primum, ut unusquisque et persona propria se in sancto Dei servitio secundum Dei preceptum et secundum sponsionem suam pleniter conservare studeat secundum intellectum et vires suas, quia ipse domnus imperator non omnibus singulariter necessarium potest exhibere curam et disciplinam. MGH Cap. Reg. Franc. I: 92. See also Ganshof, "Charlemagne's Programme of Imperial Government," 59-60; (who called the capitulary as a whole a major attempt at a "spiritual, religious renovatio." Ibid., 70); Halphen, Charlemagne, 210-12; and Amann, HE, VI: 83.

[60]Charles E. Odegaard, "Carolingian Oaths of Fidelity," Speculum 16 (1941): 284-5 and 290-1; and Ganshof, "Charlemagne," 21-3.

[61]Idem, "L'église et le pouvoir royal," 122-3 and 128-9.

[62]Cap. miss. gen., c. 10: Ut episcopi et presbiteris secundum canones vibant et itaque caeteros doceant. MGH Cap. Reg. Franc. I: 93; Capitula a sacerdotibus proposita (802), c. 4: Ut omnibus festis et diebus dominicis unusquisque sacerdos evangelium Christi populo praedicet. Ibid., 106; Capitula de examinandas ecclesiasticis (802), c. 4: Similiter et in doctrina populorum et in officio praedicandi necnon et confessione peccatorum, qualiter eos agere doceant. . . . Ibid., 110; Capitulare missorum Aquisgranense primum (810), c. 6: Ut ipsi sacerdotes unusquisque secundum ordinem suum praedicare et docere studeat plebem sibi comissam. Ibid., 153; Cap. miss. Aquisgranense secundum (810), c. 2: De praedicatione per singulas parroechias. Ibid., 154; and Pippini capitulare Italicum (801-810), c. 1: Volumus atque ammonemus, ut episcopi suum in omnibus iuxtra

vire peragere studeant ministerium in parrochiis eorum, et ut praedicationem et confirmationem ibidem expleant. Ibid., 209. See also Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 215-17.

[63]Capitulare missorum item speciale (802), c. 29: Ut fides catholica ab episcopis et presbyteris diligenter legatur et omni populo praedicetur. Et dominicam orationem pisi intelligant et omnibus praedicent intelligendam, ut quisque sciat petat a Deo. MGH Cap. Reg. Franc. I: 103; Capitula in diocesana quadam synodo tractata (803/4), c. 1: Inprimis, ut sacerdos Dei de divina scriptura doctus sit et fidem Trinitatis recte credat et alios doceat et suum officium bene possit implere. Ibid., 236; and Cap. miss. Aquis. primum, c. 5: Ut sacerdotis admoneant populum ut aelemosinam dant et orationes faciant propter diversas plagas quas assidue pro peccatis patimur. Ibid., 154.

[64]Cap. de exam. eccles., c. 10: Ut canones et librum pastoralem necnon et homelias ad eruditionem populi diebus singulis festivitatem congruentiam discant. Ibid., 110; Interrogationes examinationis (post 803), c. 6: Homelias orthodoxorum patrum quomodo intellegitis vel alios instruere sciatis. Ibid., 234; and Quae a presbyteris discenda sunt (805?), c. 12: Omelias dominicis diebus et sollemnitatibus dierum ad praedicandum canonem; . . . . Ibid., 235.

[65]Cap. de exam. eccles., c. 5: Super omnia autem de eorum conversatione et castitate, quomodo formam et exemplum praebeat christianus. Ibid., 110; and Capitula tractanda cum Comitibus Episcopis et Abbatibus (811), c. 10: De vita et moribus pastorum nostrorum id est episcoparum, qui populo Dei non solum docendo sed etiam vivendo exemplum bonum dare debent. . . . Ibid., 161.

[66]François L. Ganshof, Recherches sur les capitulaires (Paris, 1958), 20-5 and 31-2. The Frankish capitularies had force of law throughout the realm until 829. Ibid., 17.

[67]Nelson, "Limits of the Carolingian Renaissance," 56-8; and McKitterick, The Frankish Church, 19-20.

[68]Ganshof, "L'église et le pouvoir royal," 120-1; and Amann, HE, VI: 83.

[69]Einhard, Annales, s.a. 813: Concilia quoque iussu eius super statu ecclesarium corrigendo per totam Galliam ab episcopis celebranda sunt, quorum unum Mogontici, alterum Remis, tertium Turonis, quartum Cabillione, quintum Arelati congregatum est, et constitutionem, quae in singulis factae sunt, collatio coram imperatore in illo conventu habita; quas qui nosse voluerit, in supradictis quinque avitatibus invenire potent, quamquam et in archivio palatii exemplaria illarum habeantur. MGH SS I: 200. On the councils in general see Halphen, Charlemagne, 217-19; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 217.

[70]Fichtenau, Carolingian Empire, 179-80 and 183.

[71]Concilium Arelatense, Prooemium, MGH Conc. II, 1: 248-9; Concilium Remense, Prooem., ibid., 254; Concilium Moguntinense, Prooem., ibid., 259; Concilium Cabillonense, Prooem., ibid., 274; and Concilium Turonense, Prooem., ibid., 286. See also Ganshof, "L'église et le pouvoir royal," 102-3.

[72]Conc. Rem., c. XIIII: Ut episcopis diligentius operam dent doctrinae lactionique divinae incumbant, id est canonicis libris et opusculum patrum, et verbum Dei omnibus praedicent. MGH Conc. II, 1: 255; Conc. Cabillon., c. I: Decrevimus iuxta sanctorum canonem constitutionem et ceterarum sanctuarum scriptuarum doctrinam, ut episcopi assidui sint in lectione et scrutentur misteria verborum Dei quibus in eclesia doctrinae fulgore splendeant, et verborum Dei, alimentis animas sibi subditas saciare [satiare?] non cessant. . . . Ibid., 274; and Conc. Turon., c. IIII: Sollicite studeat unusquisque gregem sibi commissam sacra praedicatione, quid agere quidve vitare debeat, informare. Ibid., 287.

[73]Conc. Rem., c. X: Lectae sunt sententiae libri pastoralis beati Gregori, ut pastores eclesiae intellegerunt, quomodo ipsi vivere et qualiter sibi subiectos debeant ammonere. . . . Ibid., 255; Conc. Cabillon., c. I: Canones quoque intelligant et librum beati Gregorii papae de regula pastorali et secundam formam ibidem constitutam et vivant et praedicent. Ibid., 274; and Conc. Turon., c. III: Nulli episcopi liceat canones aut librum pastoralem a beato Gregorio papa editum, si fieri potest, ignorare, in quibus se debet unusquisque quasi in quadam speculo assiduae considerare. Ibid., 287.

[74]See for example Conc. Rem., c. XIII: Ventilata est ratio octo principalium vitiorum, et unusquisque diversitatem illorum sciret et ab illis Domino auxiliante se intellegeret custodire et aliis praedicare. Ibid., 255. Other topics were listed in Conc. Cabillon., cc. X and XXXVII, ibid., 276 and 281; and Conc. Turon., c. IIII, ibid., 287.

[75]Conc. Arelat., c. X: Providimus enim pro aedificatione omnium ecclesiarum et pro utilitate totius populi, ut non solum in civitatibus, sed etiam in omnibus parroechiis presbyteri ad populum verbum faciant, ut et bene vivere studeant et populo sibi ammiso praedicare non neglegant. Ibid., 250. See Chapter I, n. 47 above.

[76]Conc. Rem., c. XV: Ut episcopi sermones et omelias sanctorum patrum prout omnes intellegere possent, secundum proprietatem linguae praedicare studeant. Ibid., 255; Conc. Mogunt., c. XXV: De officio praedicationis: si forte episcopus non fuerit in domo sua aut infirmus est aut alia aliqua causa exigente non valuerit, numquam tamen desit diebus dominicis aut festivitatibus qui verbum Dei praedicet iuxta quod intellegere vulgus possit. Ibid., 265.

[77]Conc. Turon., c. XVII: Visum est unanimitati nostrae, ut quilibet episcopus habeat omelias continentes necessarias ammonitiones, quibus subiecti erudiantur, id est de fide catholica, prout capere possint, de perpetua retributione bonorum et aeterna damnatione malorum, de resurrectione quoque futura et ultimo iudicio et quibus operibus possit promereri beata vita quibusve excludi. Et in easdem omelias quisque aperte transferre studeat in rusticam Romanum linguam aut Thiotiscam, quo facilius cuncti possint intellegere quae dicuntur. Ibid., 288. See also Werner Betz, "Karl der Grosse und die Lingua Theodisca," in KGLN, II: 301-3. The question of preaching in the vernacular will be considered at length in Chapter VI.

[78]Ferdinand Lot, "À quelle époque a-t-on cessé de parler latin?" Bulletin du Cange, 6 (1931): 150; and Auerbach, Literary Language, 119-21 and 262.

[79]Concordia Episcoporum, c. X: De constituendis presbyteris et de eorum praedicatione et de habendis omeliis patrum et secundam eorum doctrinam ad praedicandum ut omnibus placuit, sicut in capitulare dominico [see n. 79] et in conventu Turonensi statutum est. MGH Conc. II, 1: 298.

[80]Capitula e canonibus excerpta, c. XIIII: De officio praedicationis, ut iuxta quod intellegere vulgus possit assiduae fiat. Ibid., 296.

[81]De Clercq, La législation religieuse, 71 called it "une composition très banale." See also ibid., 70-2.

[82]Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 295-6.

[83]On the nature of these reforms see Delaruelle, "Charlemagne et l'église," 185-7; and Ullmann, The Carolingian Renaissance, 18-20.

[84]Odette Pontal, Les statuts synodals, TSMAO, 11 (Tournhout, 1975), 21-2.

[85]Ibid., 82; and Amann, HE, VI: 80-2.

[86]Ganshof, "L'église et le pouvoir royal," 102-3 and 106-8.

[87]Delaruelle, "Charlemagne et l'église," 180-1.

[88]On the Adoptionist problem see Amann, HE, VI: 137-41; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 309-14. Further connection of this controversy with preaching will be examined in Chapters VI and VII.

[89]Capitulare Francofurtense, c. XXXIII: Ut fides catholica sanctae trinitatis et oratio dominica atque symbolum fidei omnibus praedicetur et tradatur. MGH Conc. II, 1: 169.

[90]On the Avar mission see Amann, HE, VI: 191-4; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 457-80. It will be examined as part of the overall Carolingian missionary effort in Chapter VI.

[91]Conventus Episcoporum ad Ripas Danubi: Post baptismum vero docendi sunt servare omnia Dei mandata, quibus pie et iuste in hoc saeculo vivere debeant. Ipsa vero praedicantium doctrina non esset violenta humanoque pavenda timore, sed benigna, suadebilis et cum dulcedine inrorata. . . . MGH Conc. II, 1: 175.

[92]Conc. Foroiul., c. II and c. XIII: Nos autem, qui sacerdotes vocamur, debemus populus nobis subiectum et praedicando verbis in omni bono et faciendo quae docemus exemplis instruere, in caritate, in castitate, in humilitate, in continentia, in modestia, in vigiliis, in ieuniis et oratione, in religione, in elemosinis, in hospitalitate, in quantum vires permittunt. . . . Ibid., 190 and 195.

[93]Concilium Rispacense, Arnonis Instructio Pastoralis, c. XI: In hoc semper episcopus debet gregem suum admonere, ut fidem rectem teneat, resurrectionem sanctam credant, in hoc non dubitent; nec cesset admonere, ut frequent hoc videant, ut aliquis, qui pro amore non se corrigit, ut timorem penarum timeat. Sic emendet in omnibus. Ibid., 200.

[94]Ibid., IIII: Et hoc consideret episcopus, ut ipsi presbyteri non sint idothae, sed sacras scripturas legant intelligant, ut secundum traditionem Romanae ecclesiae possint instruere et fidem catholicam debeant ipsi agere et populos sibi comissos docere. . . . Ibid., 198.

[95]Vogel, "La réforme liturgique," 219 and 220-1.

[96]Concilia Rispacense, Frisingense, Salisburgense, Acta ad concilium Rispacense pertinata: Carolus gratia Dei eiusque misericordia donante rex et rector regni Francorum et devotus sancte ecclese defensor et humilis adiutor I. Episcopi predicare debent de sancta trinitate, incarnatione domini nostri Jesu Christi, extremo iudicio et resurrectione. MGH Conc. II, 1: 213.

[97]Amann, HE, VI: 345; and Fournier and Le Bras, Histoire des collections canoniques, I: 93-4. See also nn. 33 and 34 above.

[98]Guy Devailly, "La pastorale en Gaule au IXe siècle," RHEF 59 (1973): 23-4. To his list should be added the statute edited by Robert Amiet, "Une 'admonitio synodalis' de l'époque carolingienne. Étude critique et édition," Mediaeval Studies 26 (1964): 12-82.

[99]Jean Gaudemet, "Les statuts épiscopaux de la première décade du IXe siècle," Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Toronto, 1972, Monumenta Iuris Canonici, series C: Subsidia, 5 (Vatican City, 1976), 307-8; and Amann, HE, VI: 82.

[100]Theodulph, Capitula ad presbyteros parochiae suae, c. XXVII: Hortamur vos paratos esse ad docendas plebes. Qui scripturas scit, praedicet Scripturas: qui vero nescit, saltum hoc, quod notissimum est, plebibus dicat: Ut declinant a malo et faciunt bonum (Ps. 23:15): inquirent pacem, et sequantur eam, quia oculi Domini super justos, et aures ejus ad preces eorum etc. Nullus ergo se excusare poterit, quod non habeat linguam, unde possit aliquem aedificare. PL 105: 200A-B.

[101]Idem, Capitulare ad eosdem: Commonendi sunt ut diebus Dominicis pro captu ingenii unusquisque sacerdos ad plebem sermonem praedicationis faciat, primum admonens plebem ut invicem se diligant, charitatem fraternitatis habeant, diligant Dominum plus quam se, proximum tanquam se, deinde ut ab omni malo opere abstineant, et quod sibi nolunt fieri ab aliis, hoc illi aliis non faciant, et quod volunt ut sibi homines faciant; haec eadem faciant illis. Ibid., 209D-210A.

[102]Hatto, Capitulare Basileensis Ecclesiae, c. I: Primo, omnium discutenda est sacerdotum fides, qualiter credant et alios credere doceant: ubi et exempla proponenda sunt, quatenus a creatura Creator quantulumque possit intellegi. Ibid., 115: 11A.

[103]Ibid., c. II: Secundo, jubendum est ut Oratio Dominica, in qua omnia necessaria humanae vitae comprehenduntur, et Symbolum apostolorum, in quo fides catholica ex integro comprehenditur, ab omnibus discatur tam Latinum quam Barbarice, ut quod ore profitemus, corde credatur et intelligatur.

[104]Ibid., c. XVII: Septimo decimo, ut ipsi sacerdotes verbo et exemplo omnibus praedicent, ut nullas usuras accipiant, nec sescupla, nec speciem pro specie. Ibid., 13C.

[105]See for example the Statuta synodalia ecclesiae Remensis (c. 827), ibid., 132: 405C-408B; Capitula Herardi archiepiscopi Turonensis (858), ibid., 121: 763B-774B; and Rodulph of Bourges, Capitula (866), ibid., 119: 703B-726A.

[106]Statut diocésain du manuscrit de Vesoul, c. XIII: Nullus sit presbyter qui in ecclesia publice non doceat in lingua quam auditores intelligant. Ed. De Clercq, La législation religieuse, 371.

[107]Statuta quaedam sancti Bonifacii . . . promulgata, c. XXVIII: Nullus sit presbyter qui in ipsa lingua, qua nati sunt, baptizandos, abrenuntiationes vel confessiones aperte interrogare non studeat, ut intelligus quibus abrenuntiant, vel quae confitentur; et qui taliter agere dedignatur, secedat de parochia. PL 89: 822D-823A. See McKitterick, The Frankish Church, 72 and nn. 1-3 for the dating of this statute.

108'Admonitio synodalis,' c. 40: Unusquisque vestrum quantum sapit plebi suae de evangelio vel apostolo die domenico vel festis diebus annuntiet. Ed. Amiet, "Une 'admonitio synodalis,'" 51; Vulfradus of Bourges, Epistola pastoralis (c. 870): Fidem quoque rectam (quod est fundamentem omnium virtutem) corde firmiter tenete, et ore praedicate. . . . PL 121: 1137C; Hincmar of Rheims, Capitula presbyteris (852), c. I: Ut unusquisque presbyterorum expositionem Symboli, atque orationis Dominicae, juxta traditionem orthodoxorum Patrum plenius discat, exinde praedicando populum sibi commissuna sedulo instruat. Ibid., 125: 774A; and Statuta Bonifacii, c. XXV: Annuntient etiam presbyteri omnibus fidelibus sibi subjectis Symbolum et Orationem Dominicam memoriae commendare, ut fide et oratione, sancto Spiritu illustrante, salventur. Ibid., 89: 822D.

109Waltcauld of Liège, Statut diocésain, c. 11: Omelias de dominicis diebus et solumnitatibus sanctorum ad praedicandum. Ed. De Clercq, La législation religieuse, 365; Hincmar, Capitula, c. VIII: Homilias quadraginta Gregorii quisque presbyter studiose legat, et intelligat. . . . PL 125: 774D; and Statut de Vesoul, c. 13: Si vero ipse verba manifeste explicare non poterit, petat sibi ea a doctore transcribi qualiter apte legat quod qui audiunt intelligent. Ed. De Clercq, 371. Much of this legislation is digested in Devailly, "La pastorale," 31-3 and McKitterick, The Frankish Church, 50-70.

110E. Vykoukal, "Les examens de clergé paroissal à l'époque carolingienne," RHE 14 (1913): 86-93; and Noël Coulet, Les visites pastorales, TSMAO, 23 (Tournhout, 1977), 21.

111See n. 61 above. Among the episcopal statutes cited here, that of Hatto of Basel is closest in form to an episcopal examination. See nn. 101-3 above and Vykoukal, "Les examens," 93-5.

112Coulet, Les visites, 21-2. See Chapter III, n. 8 for the visitation legislation of the Council of Braga, 572.

113The educational legislation will be examined in Chapter VI. The point made here is this: there was no "Renaissance," in the sense of reviving classical texts and forms for their own sake, until the time of Charles the Bald (840-77). See Riché, Education and Culture, 498-9; and idem, Écoles et enseignement, 76-9.

114Amann, HE, VI: 201-3; Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 488-9. For the ways in which Louis' affinity for the monastic life influenced his view of how the empire and church should be governed, see Thomas F. X. Noble, "The Monastic Ideal as a Model for Empire: The Case of Louis the Pious," RB 86 (1976): 243-44 and 246-50; and Peter R. McKeon, "The Empire of Louis the Pious," ibid., 90 (1980): 50-62.

115Halphen, Charlemagne, 231-3; and Amann, HE, VI: 255-62. The council of 816 produced Benedict of Aniane's Rule for cathedral

canons. In the same manner as Chrodegang's Rule, Benedict also required the canons to preach: Concilium Aquisgranense, c. CXXIII. MGH Conc. II, 1: 401.

[116]Concilium Attiniacense, c. V: De potentibus, qui ad praedicationem venire nolunt, et idcirco multi eos imitantes vel sequentes ad audiendum verbum divinum non veniunt, qui interdum **etiam familiam suam his diebus, quibus ad** audiendum verbum divinum **venire debuerant, servitiis propriis detinent.** Nonnulli **etiam ex ipsis presbyteros absque consensis episcopi in ecclesiis constituunt vel expellunt.** Ibid., II, 2: 472.

[117]Halphen, Charlemagne, 320-2; and Amann, HE, VI: 220-1.

[118]Ibid., 217-18; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 506-9.

[119]Halphen, Charlemagne, 279-89; and Amann, HE, VI: 219-24.

[120]Halphen, ibid., 305-17.

[121]Conc. Attin., cc. II and III, MGH Conc. II, 2: 471. See also Pride, "Ecclesiastical Legislation," 471.

[122]Amann, HE, VI: 216.

[123]Concilium Parisiense, IIII, ii, MGH Conc. II, 2: 611-2. This particular canon cited Gregory's Pastoral Rule and Pomerius' De vita contemplativa to support the idea that a preacher's life should be led in accordance with the doctrine he preached.

[124]Concilium Aquisgranense, II, i-xii, ibid., 708-710.

[125]Ibid., III, v: Presbiterorum vero, qui praesunt ecclesiae Christi et in confectione divini corporis et sanguinis consortes cum episcopis sunt, ministerium esse videtur, ut in doctrina praesint populis et in officio praedicandi nec in aliquo desides inventi appareant. 711-12.

[126]Amann, HE, VI: 256-8; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 731-2.

[127]Imbart de la Tour, Les paroisses rurales, 225-9; and Fournier and Le Bras, Histoire des collections canoniques, I: 121-2.

[128]Janet L. Nelson, "Charles the Bald and the Church in Town and Countryside," in The Church in Town and Countryside, 105-6. Fournier and Le Bras (Histoire des collections canoniques, I: 123) saw the bishops as "une aristocratie dépossedée qui lutte contre une aristocratie pourvue." See also Thompson, Dissolution, 41-5.

[129]Cap. de exam. eccles., c. 12, MGH Cap. Reg. Franc. I: 116. See also Ganshof, "L'église et le pouvoir royal," 114-16.

[130]Imbart de la Tour, Les paroisses rurales, 303-4.

[131]Concilium Vernense, Prooemium: . . . redistis ad pacem cum fratribus vestris . . . ut qui maximas res vestras discordia pene dilapsas videtis, concordia et fide adjustorio relevatas cito aspiciatis. PL 119: 611A.

[132]Ibid., c. II: . . . quaesumus ut scelerum patratores et apostolicae disciplinae contemptores, missis a latere vestro probatae fidei legatis, absque respectu personarum, et excaecatione munerum, coerceantur, et otio nobis, quantum possibile est, concesso, sermo Dei praedicando, fructifiet, et canonum reverenda auctoritas debitum in omnibus vigorem obtineat. 613C-614A.

[133]Amann, HE, VI: 354-7; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 538-42.

[134]Fournier and Le Bras, Histoire des collections canoniques, I: 132-7.

[135]Amann, HE, VI: 300; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 638-40.

[136]Concilium Moguntium I, c. II: Cum igitur omnia concilia canonum qui recipiuntur sint a sacerdotibus legenda et intelligenda, et per ea sit eis vivendum et praedicandum; necessarium duximus, ut ea quae ad fidem pertinent, et ubi de extirpandis vitiis et plantandis virtutibus scribitur, hoc ab eis crebo legitur, et bene intelligatur, ut in populo praedicatur. Et quilibet episcopus homilias necessarias admonitiones, quibus subiecti erudiantur: id est de fide catholica, prout capere possint: de perpetua retributione bonorum, et aeterna damnatione malorum, de resurrectione quoque futura, et ultime judicio, et quibus operibus possit promereri beata vita, quibusve excludi. Et ut easdem homilius quisque aperte transferre studeat in rusticam Romanam linguam, aut Theotiscam, quo facilius cuncti possint intellegere quae dicuntur. Mansi, Concilia XIV: 903C-E. Rabanus drew heavily upon the Council of Tours, c. XVII for his material, see n. 76 above.

[137]Rabanus Maurus, Epistola 36: Multo enim melius est laborare episcopum in doctrina verbi dei ob salutem animarum sibi commissarum, quam in disponendis et definiendis civilibus questionibus et vanis hominum contemtionibus vacare, qui propter terrenam cupiditatem lites rixasque incessanter movent, et unusquisque in his alterum superare contendit. Ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Ep. k. a. III: 471-2. See also Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 644-5.

[138]Concilium Romanum, cc. III and IIII, MGH Conc. II, 2: 568.

[139]Synodus Romana, c. III. Mansi, Concilia, XIV: 1003A.

[140]Synodus Regiaticina, c. V: Ut episcopi canonicas scripturas, et sancta dogmata jugi meditatione discutiant, et presbyteris ac clericis suis subtilius tractando, et differendo occultos sacrarum litterarum thesau os aperiant, populis vero juxta ipsorum capacitatem dominicis et festis diebus verbum praedicationis impendere non negligant. Ibid., 931C-D.

[141]Concilium Regiaticina, c. VII: Ut episcopi secundum sacram jussionem Domini Nostri Jesu Christi praedicationem per se, vel per suos congruenter exerceant, et Presbyteros suos ut similiter faciant instruere procurent. And c. VIII: Ut Saeculares et fideles laici diebus festis, qui in Civitatibus sunt, ad publicas stationes occurant; et qui in villulis et possessionibus sunt ad publicam officium in Plebem festinent. Ibid., XVIIA: 327A.

[142]Pontal, Les statuts synodaux, 39-40; and Coulet, Les visites pastorales, 22 and 46.

[143]See, for example, the articles in "Symposium on the Tenth Century," ed. Lynn White, Jr., Medievalia et Humanistica 8 (1952): 3-29.

[144]This is a phrase from Ullmann's The Carolingian Renaissance, 36.

CHAPTER V

CAROLINGIAN SERMON LITERATURE

One sign of the response of the Carolingian clergy to the call of the reformers for more preaching was the production of a large number of original sermons. To this day it remains difficult to determine exactly how many sermons were produced because the bulk of the sermons are still to be found unedited in the manuscript libraries of Europe. Some of the sermons and sermonaries have been edited or, in the case of the sermonaries, have had their contents described in journal articles. In order to better understand the dimensions of the available sermon literature, the sources examined and used for this study have been catalogued in this chapter. This makes the first time that a large body of Carolingian sermons has been identified as reliable sources for a history of popular preaching.

Bringing the sermons together as a body is also a first step toward identifying preachers and areas of preaching activity. Accordingly, the sermons and sermonaries employed in this chapter have been classified in groups reflecting authorship and purpose. In this way, identification of the sermons not only measures response to the reformers' demands for preaching, it also serves as a means of determining who supported the preaching movement and where compliance with the legislation on preaching was achieved.

ANNEXE A

It is impossible at present to state how many original Carolingian sermons are extant. Catalogues of manuscripts for the major libraries of Europe describe many eighth-, ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts which contain sermons or sermonaries. Since only a few of these manuscripts have been edited, the contents of the majority of them cannot be known in detail. Recently descriptions of the contents of a few Carolingian sermonaries have been published in journal articles. While this allows us to identify the sermonaries and to have a rough idea of the contents of individual sermons, it remains necessary to go back to the manuscripts to study their contents closely. From the manuscripts listed in catalogues and the content analyses, we come to the edited sermons and sermonaries. Some of the editions are found in the collections of sources such as J.-P. Migne's Patrologia latina, while others must be sought for in journal articles and monographs. In order to use sources which are reasonably available to anyone interested in early medieval sermons, this study is based mainly on the edited sermons and sermonaries and those sermonaries which have had their contents described in published articles.

As a result of the researches conducted for the present study, some 970 original sermons in the form of individual sermons and sermonaries have been located. These sermons were written in a two-hundred year period between 750 and 950, and they represent only a proportion of the sermons known to exist in catalogued but unedited manuscripts. By comparison, an examination of the Clavis Patrum Latinorum reveals that only about 475 original sermons were written in continental Europe between 500 and 750, and Caesarius of Arles

wrote 236 of them. As physical evidence alone, the body of Carolingian sermons provides important proof that many clerics sought to carry out the demands of the reformers for more preaching. Of the 970 Carolingian sermons located, 235 were found either in editions or manuscripts which could be conveniently employed in this study. The 235 sermons will be used as the basis for remarks on the content of Carolingian sermons in succeeding chapters. Although these sermons form a limited sample of the total body of Carolingian sermons, they are a representative sample in terms of content, the dates when they were written and locations where they were written.

The sermons to be examined in this chapter were intended for popular preaching (praedicatio ad populum). These sermons were to be preached to the Frankish people on Sundays and feast days, or to be preached in the missionary districts to pagans or the newly converted. Modern historians have become better acquainted with homiletic collections used for monastic purposes than with these popular sermons as a result of works such as Grégoire's Les homéliaires du moyen âge and Barré's Les homéliaires carolingiens. It will therefore be necessary to distinguish between popular sermons and the other homiletic materials produced during the Carolingian period in order to justify excluding some of the better-known, but monastically oriented, collections of homiletic materials. Some sermons were intended for use in monastic communities either for the liturgical ceremonies of the monasteries or for use in private meditation. Defining and separating the two types of sermons is essential to justify including some sermons and sermon collections while excluding others on the

basis of the purpose for which they were written and the uses to which their contents could be put.

Much of the sermon literature used in this examination has been discovered only in the last thirty years. Additional sermons and sermonaries continue to be discovered on an almost yearly basis. The remarks in this chapter can both serve as a preliminary guide to the body of known Carolingian sermons and help future researchers relate their finds to existing sermons or sermonaries.

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Sermons were known by a variety of terms in the Carolingian period. As will be seen in the works examined below, these terms included sermon (sermo), homily (homilia), tract (tractatus), preaching (praedicatio) and oration (oratio).[1] The last of these terms was used very rarely and had come by the ninth century, if not earlier, to designate prayers. More importantly, the first four of these terms were used interchangeably and without any regard to a particular purpose for which a given work was written. Some modern historians have tried to distinguish between sermons as works written for popular preaching and homilies as works written for monastic purposes. But such a classification does not provide an adequate distinction between the two forms.

Ultimately the distinction between popular sermons and monastic sermons has to be based upon the content of a given work. Works written for monastic usage were of two types: liturgical collections and collections used for private meditation. The first of these two types included the Homiliary of Paul the Deacon, commissioned by Charlemagne

between 786 and 800. In the Epistola generalis, used as a preface in many manuscripts of this homiliary, Charlemagne ordered Paul to prepare a collection of homilies and other lessons to be read at the night office (Nocturns) in monastic churches.[2] The night office was a liturgical service consisting of several chanted psalms, prayers and lessons (readings from Scripture, sermons and other religious works). It was held at about 2:00 A.M. and was attended by few, if any, of the laity.[3] Paul's homiliary came from the desire to improve the readings at what was primarily a monastic liturgical service, and in its original form had no connection with popular preaching.

Its purpose can also be seen from its content. Some of the sermons Paul used came from the works of fathers noted for their popular preaching, such as Ambrose, Augustine, Leo, Maximus of Turin and Gregory the Great.[4] Use of these works and the fact that Paul's own prologue to the homiliary did not mention the night office specifically have caused some historians to argue that this homiliary was used for popular preaching.[5] Unfortunately for such arguments, however, Paul's collection also contained materials specifically adapted for the night office lessons, such as lessons taken from Biblical passages and other lessons drawn from Augustine's City of God and Eusebius' Church History.[6] Until a definitive edition of this homiliary brings together the various manuscripts containing it, the most that can be said is that individual manuscripts might have been used for popular preaching.[7]

A second collection used for monastic liturgical usage was the so-called Homiliary of Alcuin, "discovered" by Germain Morin in 1892. What he actually found was a twelfth-century manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latins, 14302) from the monastery of St. Victor in which someone had written in a fifteenth-century hand "Omelie Alcuini de dominicis diebus per anni circuli et de quibusdam aliis diebus."[8] Morin later retracted his claim for Alcuin's authorship, and the manuscript was still later identified as an interpolated version of the Homiliary of Heiric of Auxerre.[9] Heiric's homiliary, as will be seen below, was intended for private meditation and contained material and exegesis too complicated and abstruse for use in popular preaching. The contents of these sermons have not stopped continued attempts to claim this manuscript as a source for popular preaching and to revive the now thoroughly discredited identification with Alcuin.[10]

The homiliaries of the Auxerre masters represented a second form of monastic homiletic materials. Haimo, Heiric and Remigius, each man in turn master of the school of St. Germanus of Auxerre between 840 and 920, wrote homiliaries to be used for study and private meditation by monks.[11] The homilies in these collections were marked by a new style of exegesis involving complicated and carefully worked out explications of Scripture written in an almost philosophical language.[12] The Auxerre exegesis made these collections ideal for study and meditation, but somewhat beyond the grasp of the average layman. Other collections also written for private meditation were the Collectiones epistolarum et evangeliarum de tempore et de sanctis

of Smargdus of St. Mihiel and the homiliary composed for the Emperor Lothair by Rabanus Maurus.[13] All of these authors were important figures in ninth-century religious life, but only Rabanus Maurus went on to become involved in the popular preaching movement.

One quality which united these various homiliaries was the fact that each came from and was intended for a monastic milieu. The homilies in these collections stressed exegesis commenting extensively on selected passages of Scripture and were written to play an important part in the devotional life of Carolingian monks.[14] Where such exegetical material can be found, the collection in question was not used for popular preaching. It can be eliminated. In a similar manner it is possible to identify sermons and sermonaries which were used for preaching to the populace.

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The legislation examined in the previous chapter called upon bishops and priests to provide moral exhortation and doctrinal instruction for the Frankish people. A popular sermon can therefore be identified by the themes it treated and the materials it used in making a particular point. Although popular sermons employed exegesis, such sermons used exegesis to illustrate a moral lesson or to provide a scriptural sanction for a particular item of doctrine. Exegesis served popular preachers as a means to an end rather than an end in itself. In the area of popular preaching, content alone can provide the basis of identification. While the collections examined in this section formed an important part of the history of the sermon during

the Carolingian period, other sources must be examined to study the history of popular preaching.

The popular sermons and sermonaries to be examined in the remainder of this chapter will be divided into three groups. The first group will include those works whose author is known. Knowledge of authorship is very important because it allows the sermons to be connected with preachers and areas in which preaching took place. Therefore, authorship helps to illustrate where and how the reforms took hold.

The second group will include anonymous sermonaries and individual sermons which can also be localized in so far as eighth-, ninth- and tenth-century manuscript exemplars of them have survived. This group will be the most difficult to place in any sort of context, since it includes individual anonymous sermons which were often taken from manuscripts dating two or three centuries after the initial work of composition.

The final group consists of two small sub-groups: sermons in the vernacular and sermons inserted into the <u>vitae</u> of Carolingian saints. Each of these types of sermon testified to an important aspect of the reforms: the vernacular sermons to the importance of communication of ideas and the efficacy of the canons of the Councils of 813 on vernacular preaching; and the saints-lives sermons to the importance preaching was given within the Church. Additional points of interest raised by the sermons examined in this chapter will be treated in more detail in Chapters VI and VII.

Among the earliest identifiable popular sermons left by Carolingian bishops was a pastoral sermon preached on an episcopal visitation by Paulinus of Aquileia. This sermon survived in a late manuscript version among other works by Paulinus. Inclusion of this sermon in this particular manuscript allowed its editor, Jean Leclercq, to identify it by the common use of themes and expressions between the known works of Paulinus and the hitherto unknown sermon.[15] The work itself contained several features which underlined Paulinus' interest in pastoral activities beyond his letter of concern to Charlemagne and the legislation discussed in the previous chapter. Paulinus spoke to the flock of the parish he visited of his desire to see them at least once a year, and he expressed the hope to be able to return and teach them more thoroughly on another occasion.[16] This sermon is one of the few surviving examples of what Carolingian bishops preached on their annual visitations, and it shows that same concern for teaching correct doctrine that Paulinus' legislation expressed.

Closely allied to the visitation sermon of Paulinus was a synodal sermon preached by Theodulph of Orléans on the occasion of the issuance of one or the other of his capitularies to his parish priests.[17] This sermon summarized and introduced Theodulph's legislation on preaching, and it gave that legislation a greater emphasis with his personal appeal for more preaching.[18] Theodulph spent much of his time at Charlemagne's court, but his sermon illustrated that he was well able to administer his diocese despite long absences. He also left the De omnibus ordinibus hujus saeculi, a sermon for popular preaching addressed to various classes of people within his flock.[19]

Alcuin also left three sermons ad populum, which were written for public celebrations of saints' days. Two of these sermons were added to the vitae he wrote for Willibrord and Vedastus. As he told Archbishop Beornrad of Sens for whom he wrote the Vita Willibrordi: "I have added a homily to the beginning of this little book, in hope that it is worthy of being preached to the people by your venerable mouth."[20] The sermon written in honor of Vedastus was also attached to the Vita Vedati written by Alcuin.[21] The Vita Richarii, on the other hand, was written to be preached in its entirety to commemorate a visit of Charlemagne to Angilbert's monastery of Centulum (St. Riquier) on Easter Day, 800.[22] As will be shown below, later authors adapted other works of Alcuin including some of his letters into sermons. These three works were his only direct contributions to the pool of sermons used by the reformers.

A sermon which may have been written by Theodulph was Charlemagne's capitulary, the Missi cuiusdam admonitio of 802.[23] This "capitulary" was another example of how the interest in preaching began to influence style. Chapter eighty-two of the Admonitio generalis had been written in the form of a sermon. In this case, the instructions in this capitulary, which the missi were to give the people, were also written in the form of a sermon for them to preach on their tours of inspection.[24] Preaching was not too grave an imposition for the missi, as the three-man teams of missi generally included a bishop or abbot.

Alcuin's influence continued after his death in 804 in the works of his many pupils. One of these pupils, an Anglo-Saxon named

Candidus-Wizo, was tentatively identified with the Bishop Candidus of Maestricht by Germain Morin. He left two sermons in honor of St. Servais, but these sermons remain unedited since their discovery ninety years ago.[25] Another pupil, who escaped the obscurity that enveloped Candidus, was Rabanus Maurus. Archbishop Haistulf of Mainz (813-26) asked him to prepare a sermonary which could be used for popular preaching as Rabanus noted in the preface to the collection:

> In accordance with your commands, most blessed father, I have composed sermons for preaching to the people on all subjects in which it is necessary for them to believe; that is first how they should observe the principal feasts of the year . . . then we have made preaching for them on various types of virtues--that is on faith, hope and charity, on chastity, continence and other types of virtues--how they please God by acquiring and holding these, and how they can gain eternal life in heaven with the holy angels. Following these we have adjoined other sermons on various errors and vices. . . .[26]

The collection which Rabanus composed for Haistulf consisted of seventy sermons arranged in just that manner: principal feasts; virtues; and vices.[27] Rabanus' sermons were original in the sense that while he used many sources, the themes, arrangement and much of the content came from his own mind.[28]

Rabanus' sermonary can be compared to the sermonary composed by Abbot Lantperhtus of St. Michael of Mondsee for Hildebald of Cologne between 811 and 819. Hildebald held the title of abbot of Mondsee from 803 until his death in 818, but Lantperhtus served as actual head of the community from 811 to 819. Lantperhtus' sermonary was written for popular preaching <u>per anni circulo</u>, but only the sermons for the summer half of the liturgical year have survived from

the original collection.[29] Each of the seventy sermons had between two and five sources upon which Lantperhtus drew heavily, but he showed a high degree of originality in the way in which he abbreviated his sources, mixed them together and added short passages of explanation or moral exhortation to give the collection a clear pastoral intent.[30] Since this collection has not yet been edited, it remains virtually inaccessible, a sad fate for such an important Carolingian sermonary.

Lantperhtus' sermonary was one of the last identifiable works written by or for someone with a direct tie to the circle of reformers around Charlemagne. The bishops of Louis the Pious have little representation in the known works, and few of the anonymous collections and individual sermons date from Louis' reign. Agobard of Lyon (816-41) was the only bishop to have left a sermon. Its extreme length, twenty-one columns in Migne which would take fifty-five minutes to read aloud (the average sermon took twenty-five to thirty minutes to deliver), may explain why he had no reputation as a popular preacher.[31] Agobard did have an interest in preaching. The magister of his episcopal school in Lyon, Florus (825-60), left florilegia with which Florus educated preachers. Some of these contained sermons which may have been used by the clergy in Agobard's diocese.[32]

One reason for this lack of sermons and preaching material after 825 was the ongoing political and military crises faced by Carolingian Europe. Despite these problems, however, in some areas preaching activities continued and even flourished for brief periods. One of these areas was Laon, a center of some consequence under the

later Carolingians, which possessed a school, the manuscripts of which have been recently studied by John Contreni. Martin Scotus, a Laon master, used sermons in his teaching. He left one manuscript which contained a collection of sermons which he may have used for pastoral work.[33] Further studies of such works (including similar florilegia by Florus and Abbo of St. Germain) would help clarify the questions of who preached and how preachers were educated in the Carolingian world, as will be seen by a preliminary examination of these works in the following chapter.

One sermon which should not have existed at all, according to contemporary legislation, was a popular sermon on St. Judocus by Abbot Lupus of Ferrières (841-862). As will be seen in Chapter VI, Carolingian emperors devoted no little attention in their legislation to keeping monks from exercising a pastoral role. Lupus' sermon is only one proof that the emperors did not altogether succeed in this regard. Edited by Wilhelm Levison, this sermon was preached on December 13, sometime between 850 and 860 at a church near St. Josse-sur-Mer, and contains references to the invasions of that part of Francia by the Normans, called pirates by Lupus.[34] This was one of the few sermons from this period which commented directly on current affairs. The remaining identifiable sermons from the ninth and early tenth centuries dealt mainly with celebrations of saints' days. Bishop Odo of Beauvais (861-880) left a sermon on Saint Lucianus, and Radbod of Utrecht composed sermons in honor of three saints.[35] These four sermons, along with the sermon by Lupus, demonstrated the

lack of regular preaching by underlining the fact that only a special occasion in the life of a local church would produce a sermon.

The tenth century saw the revival of much of the Carolingian legislation on preaching, and authors of tenth-century sermons also followed established patterns in composing their works. Abbo, monk and priest in the congregation of St. Germain-des-Près (c. 860-c. 930), composed a florilegium at the request of Bishops Froterius of Poitier and Fulrad of Paris. It contained five formal sermons and 145 other pieces to be used as texts for the different Sundays and feast days of the liturgical year.[36] Abbo composed this work with popular preaching clearly in mind because, as Jean Leclercq noted, he wrote in a simple style which was practically a Latin transcription of the vulgar tongue and he explained words and phrases not readily understandable.[37]

More traditional in form and style were the sermons and fragments of Bishop Atto of Vercelli (924-60). Some eighteen sermons and fragments have survived from his sermonary per circulum anni.[38] Atto's sermons compare favorably in style and content with the sermons of Rabanus Maurus, and in some cases they used common sources when treating a similar theme.[39] The sermons of Atto came at the end of the Carolingian period properly speaking, but the influence of Carolingian sermons lasted long beyond 950.

This survey of Carolingian sermons and collections, the authors of which are known, can claim some degree of exhaustiveness. The works here examined came from various points within the period 750-950 and from Italy, Germany, Francia and Frisia in location. One

hundred ninety-three sermons were represented in the descriptions in this section. One hundred twenty-five of them were original to their authors, and 123 of these will serve as part of the basis for the rest of this study. The anonymous collections and sermons which form the subject of the next section will be more difficult to place, but, insofar as this is possible, it will be seen that they too were representative of the period as a whole.

* * * * *

The question of authorship was not a problem which caused great concern for medieval writers. In some cases authors deliberately tried to pass their works off as the works of others: Caesarius of Arles sent out collections of his own sermons under the name of Augustine, and not until Germain Morin's edition of his works were scholars able to identify the corpus of his sermons. In other cases compilers of sermon collections at a loss for the name of the author of a particular sermon ascribed it to one of their favorite fathers, or to someone by whom it could have been written. More often than not, authors were credited with sermons in the manuscripts which cannot belong to them, and the student of a particular collection is forced to conclude that they belong to that most prolific medieval author, "anonymous."

This problem of authorship became particularly important in two nineteenth-century debates over sermonaries attributed to Boniface and Eligius. The first of these sermonaries, the Pseudo-Boniface collection, was identified as belonging to Boniface by two ninth-century manuscripts which bore his name.[40] This identification was

accepted into the nineteenth century until studies of the sermons' contents and sources showed that they were composed after Boniface's death.[41] The collection of fourteen sermons drew upon the works of Caesarius, Augustine, Gregory, Gennadius, and the missionary sermon Necessarium est.[42] An additional source for sermo I of this collection was the Admonitio generalis, since the items Charlemagne desired his preachers to discuss in their sermons are treated point by point in the body of this sermon.[43] This collection, written by a bishop for his pastoral work, came from northern Francia or Germany and was probably composed between 795 and 825.[44]

The Pseudo-Eligius collection has presented even more problems to students of the sermon literature. Although long attributed to Eligius of Noyon-Tournai (d. 660), Elphége Vacandard established that these sixteen sermons came from the Carolingian period, but only after a sharp debate with François Plaine.[45] The use of sources by the author of this collection has made it difficult to determine just when within the Carolingian period it was written. Most of the sermons used works of Caesarius of Arles and the Scarapsus Pirminii, but homilia X used works which either belonged to Ratramnus of Corbie (d. 868) and Remigius of Auxerre (d. 908), or served as sources for those writers.[46] Honoratus Millemann, re-examining the question later, showed that beyond the use of Alcuin (d. 804) and some Carolingian formulae, it was impossible to attribute sources to the later Carolingian authors.[47] He dated the collection to sometime between 800 and 860. Three of the sermons were written for feasts early in the liturgical year (Christmas, the Purification,

and Lent), eight for the feast of the Lord's Supper in Eastertide, one for the reconciliation of public penitents, and four for dominical preaching.[48] This would suggest a collection written by a bishop for pastoral work, with a variety of sermons for use during the annual visitation and confirmation ceremonies which took place in Eastertide. With only the one late manuscript, it is impossible to locate the collection geographically.

A third collection of fourteen sermons from northern Italy was edited by Paul Mercier. These were short simple sermons written in accordance with the Carolingian legislation on preaching for the pastoral needs of a ninth-century congregation.[49] The author of this collection employed a wide variety of sources including sermons of Bede, Gregory, Augustine, Caesarius, the Ambrosian missal and a letter of Charlemagne to Alcuin on the proper designation of the Sundays in Lent.[50] As Mercier noted in describing the sources, the author of the sermons used the works of his predecessors in a highly original way, changing and adapting earlier works to meet his own needs and to fit the framework of his own thoughts and style. This collection was written between 801 (the date of Charlemagne's letter) and 845 in the diocese of Milan or Turin, but the author has not yet been identified on stylistic or other grounds.[51]

Two collections, which are related by their ties to the Celts in Europe and by their use of exegesis, came to light in the 1930s. The first of these, the "Catéchèses celtiques," a collection of fourteen sermons written originally near the end of the eighth century, were discovered in a tenth-century manuscript examined by André

Wilmart.[52] These sermons were written to provide preachers with sermons for the Gospel text of the day. The number of glosses (in a Celtic language) on certain words suggests that another of their purposes was to provide Latin schema for sermons in a Celtic area, most probably Brittany.[53] Although the sermons were exegetical in nature--i.e., each sermon commented closely on a given Gospel text--they all ended on notes of moral exhortation urging the hearer to apply the lessons from Scripture to his or her own life.[54] The sermons helped illustrate the effects of the revival of preaching on an area such as Brittany which lay on the borderlands of Carolingian Europe.

The second group of Celtic sermons from a ninth-century manuscript in the library of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter was described by Pierre David.[55] He identified the twenty-seven sermons in this manuscript as monastic conferences. This identification was based upon the sermons' use of exegesis and upon the use in one sermon of the expression princeps ecclesiae, a term David believed to have meant abbots and which came from an Irish monastic context.[56] Several problems, however, arose from David's description of this group of sermons. The first was the fact that the Cracow sermons were only a large excerpt of a group of thirty-three sermons as shown by a complete exemplar in a ninth-century Corbie manuscript.[57] Secondly, David's dependence upon the phrase princeps ecclesiae (i.e., abbot) to prove a monastic or even Irish origin becomes questionable when the same phrase was used by Agobard of Lyon to refer to bishops.[58] These thirty-three exegetical sermons were most likely drawn up in

a monastic center under Irish influences near the end of the eighth century, but, as was the case with the "Catéchèses," were used for popular preaching as their content and moral exhortational endings show.

The five collections examined above all contained original sermons. Although these sermons used many sources, they were all original in reflecting the guiding thought and style of their authors. The next group of sermonaries to be examined consisted for the most part of sermons drawn entirely from the works of earlier writers. They contained less material original to the composers of the collections. In these works the composers showed a certain originality and even audacity in their use of sources. While the Carolingians had great respect for the works of their predecessors, they were not in the least hesitant about changing and adapting those works to meet their own needs.

This process of combining original material and creatively adapting old material can be seen in a group of related sermonaries written in the first quarter of the ninth century which originated in the dioceses of Salzburg or Bavaria, and which seem to owe much to the influence of Arn of Salzburg. The oldest of these, a Carolingian sermonary discovered by Jean-Paul Bouhot and Georges Folliet, helped to uncover common connections among all five of the sermonaries. Bouhot found a collection of seventy-nine sermons (fifty-two of which remain unedited). Later manuscript finds by Folliet proved to be part of a larger sermonary consisting of 145 sermons for the feast days and Sundays of the liturgical year.[59] This

sermonary employed many sources, the most recent of which were a letter of Alcuin and chapters of his Liber de virtutibus et vitiis. All of the ninth-century manuscripts came from the region over which Arn exercised metropolitan authority. Individual sermons in these collections used the works of Arn's close friend and co-worker Alcuin as sources. The Sanctoral of the sermonary honored Rupert, who evangelized Salzburg, and Amandus, patron of the monastery of which Arn was abbot before he became bishop of Salzburg.[60] This collection, which remains unedited and therefore virtually inaccessible, can be safely dated to the time of Arn, and located to the area of the archdiocese of Salzburg.

Another collection related to the Bouhot/Folliet sermonary was discovered by Raymond Étaix in a twelfth-century manuscript.[61] This was another sermonary per circulum anni which originally consisted of 119 sermons: of the 106 which remain in the manuscript, seven were added later from the Sermonary of St. Père de Chartres (to be examined below). The Beaune sermonary had common links with the Bouhot/Folliet sermonary and with two other collections of Bavarian origin, and from these ties Étaix suggested that they all derived from the known desires of Arn of Salzburg to provide regular preaching within his diocese.[62] The other two collections to which these sermonaries were related were the Pseudo-Bede sermonary and the Bavarian Homiliary.[63] These collections are all unedited except for one copy of the 1627 edition of the Pseudo-Bede collection now in the British Library. All five need further study and good editions before they can be widely used by students of the sermons.

The twelfth-century scribe who copied out the manuscript of the Beaune sermonary added to it seven sermons from the St. Père de Chartres sermonary. This collection took its name from a manuscript from the monastery of St. Père. The manuscript, one of four surviving exemplars, was rendered almost entirely illegible by bombing during World War II.[64] With the exception of three sermons found in common with another early collection, all of the remaining manuscript witnesses are eleventh century or later. Henri Barré dated this collection of seventy-seven sermons in its original form to the first half of the ninth century and noted that its contents provided preachers with models for popular preaching based chiefly on the sermons of Caesarius of Arles.[65]

The St. Père sermonary was related to another collection, the Newberry Library Homiliary, by three sermons common to each.[66] The Newberry Homiliary, as Barré noted, showed many signs of Visigothic influence and was written somewhere in Languedoc in the first half of the ninth century.[67] Common use of sermons between the St. Père and Newberry sermonaries linked the St. Père collection to one of the few known surviving popular preaching collections from the southern part of Francia.[68] Until the preaching resources of Lyon and the other southern episcopates are properly studied, little can be known about the episcopal church in the south and its part in the execution of the Carolingian reforms.

Most of the collections examined above originated in Germany. Four other collections had a similar origin and help illustrate the wide spread of preaching materials as a result of the reform

legislation promulgated between 789 and 825. A collection of sermons put under the name of Augustine was written at Fulda in the early ninth century, and to it was added a short collection of ascetical pieces taken from the works of Ephrem, making its ultimate purpose somewhat obscure.[69] The Homiliary of Burchard of Wurzburg, examined in Chapter III, was written in the last quarter of the eighth century and was based on an earlier collection which connected it with the Anglo-Saxon missionaries who evangelized the area.[70] A sermonary with even older origins was the Wolfenbüttel collection analyzed by Réginald Grégoire.[71] This collection was a ninth-century copy of one of the collections per circulum anni sent out by Caesarius of Arles containing mainly sermons of Augustine, other African writers and his own works.[72] This sermonary was so well assembled in the sixth century for the purpose of popular preaching that it met ninth-century spiritual needs with little adaptation necessary.

Finally a collection drawn up in Switzerland in the late eighth or early ninth century will complete this survey of sermonaries known through editions or printed descriptions. The collection of Einsiedeln, now split between two manuscripts, formed a large sermonary written around 800 in an Alemannic or Rhaetian center.[73] This collection may have come from the library of Bishop Remedius of Chur (800-820), a friend of Alcuin, from which only a few fragments have otherwise survived.[74] A partial edition of this collection was published in 1910. The sermons printed illustrated the pastoral intent of this collection since many of the sermons discussed such

items as pagan practices and the tithe. The sermons were based mainly on the works of Caesarius and Augustine.[75]

These anonymous collections illustrate both the strengths and weaknesses of studies on the Carolingian sermons. The strengths come from the fact that these collections are representative of the larger body of sermonaries. The sermonaries came from all regions of Carolingian Europe and, in themselves, testified to the tremendous response evoked by the legislation on preaching, especially in north Italy and the German regions of the Carolingian Empire. The weaknesses are shown in the fact that many of the comments made about these collections have to depend upon descriptions and not editions. The works surveyed here represent only the small tip of an enormous iceberg, as anyone who has examined catalogues of European manuscript libraries can readily appreciate. Further studies in the manuscripts and sermons are badly needed to increase knowledge of both the sources available and their content.

These same conditions applied to the small number of single or isolated sermons from manuscripts of the Carolingian period which have been published. The first of these to be examined came from the Einsiedeln manuscript discussed above and was called the Sermo de sacrilegia by its editor after the main concern of its twenty-seven sections.[76] This was a sermon modelled closely after the works of Caesarius of Arles and was delivered to newly-baptized Christians to remind them of the pagan practices they were to abjure:

> Whoever speaks pagan songs of incantations upon the holy Creed or Lord's Prayer; or whoever charms mute beasts or men for either good or evil; or whoever sings against serpent bites or against worms in gardens and other crops

> and does any other such thing, this person is not a Christian, but rather a pagan.[77]

The Sermo de sacrilegia had many points of similarity in terms of style and content with two "parochial sermons" of the late eighth century discovered by Germain Morin. Both came from manuscripts of a much later period, which made it difficult to determine their place of origin in Carolingian Europe, although Morin believed they came from Alemannia.[78] These three sermons each illustrated the stage at which the Carolingian clergy sought to convert their flocks from paganism. The three sermons also illustrate the process whereby some pagan practices became Christianized, becoming parts of the body of rural superstition some elements of which still survive today.

Also from the missionary period came six sermons which together formed a pre-baptismal catechism and were edited by J. M. Heer.[79] The sermons were arranged together in the form of a missionary catechism entitled Ratio de catechizandus rudibus, adiectis sermonibus de X praeceptis, de respuendis idolis, de deo solo colendo, de deo, a work of six chapters, i.e., six sermons or the schema for six sermons.[80] Heer believed the author of this work to have been a monk of St. Emmeran in Regensburg who wrote this work around 800 for the Saxon mission or, more probably, the Avar mission, and who based his system of catechesis on the ideas of Alcuin.[81] Since the author employed the idea of a parallel between the Decalogue and the two roads which lead to Heaven and Hell, Heer stated that the author must have known a Latin version of the Didache or the Teachings of the Apostles.[82]

That a Latin version of the Didache, much adapted and altered into sermon form, was known to the Carolingians has been argued by Joseph Schlect. He found this Latin version in an eleventh-century manuscript along with other pieces from the Carolingian period and believed that, in this form, the Didache sermon dated from the ninth century.[83] The Latin Didache became another type of sermon designed to provide catechetical instruction for those about to be baptized, or to reinforce the behavior of newly-baptized Christians. The Carolingians used all sorts of materials to provide sermons to meet these two needs.

The next works to be considered represented a different stage in Christian formation and dealt with other themes. A sermon which dealt with sexual relations and proper observance of the Sabbath came from a manuscript containing works of Boniface.[84] This sermon criticized those who observed the Sabbath too literally, telling them:

> By this means [by not observing the Sabbath literally] the Jews are shamed; you see, our dearest sons, because the Lord labored on the Sabbath, and because we are Christians, we ought not to observe the Sabbath according to the letter. As Christians we should observe the Sabbath in this manner: to abstain from thefts, frauds, false swearings, blasphemies, from illicit things, from accepting gifts beyond what we are due, and from quarrels.[84]

This curious passage suggested that the author's anti-Jewish feelings overcame him, or that he was trying to get around legal provisions for Sunday observance to permit his flock to work the fields on that day. More orthodox in their teachings were the Homilia de decimis et de jejunio and the sermo de conscientia.[86] The first of these discussed the need for regular payment of tithes for the benefit of

the poor and set out the times and customs of the fasts of the liturgical year, while the second treated the dangers of speaking loosely and the many sins that could result from such actions. These three sermons illustrated the type of preaching done in a more settled church.

Finally, some notice must be taken of another synodal sermon, the so-called homily of Leo IV. This sermon, known as Fratres presbyteri after its incipit, came from the ninth century and became one of the most popular Carolingian creations because of its summation of pastoral duties.[87] It can be dated to some point between 800 and 850 because of its reflection of the dispute over penitential books (813-820) and its connection with Hincmar's Capitula.[88] This sermon enjoyed a great popularity as a text for opening councils and synods, and was used often throughout the following centuries for that purpose. Although not a sermon for preaching ad populum, this sermon, like the synodal sermon of Theodulph, contributed to popular preaching through its exhortations to clergies gathered at synods to preach.

As was the case with the anonymous collections surveyed above, these anonymous individual sermons represent only the number of all such sermons which have been edited or described. How many more single sermons from the period 750 to 950 still exist undiscovered in the various manuscript repositories in Europe and elsewhere cannot even be estimated. These edited anonymous collections and sermons contribute a further 106 sermons to serve as part of the basis for the remarks on preaching and the contents of sermons in the next two chapters. While this group of sermons forms a fairly representative

sample, one can only regret the inaccessibility of the further 735 sermons contained by those sermonaries as yet unedited.

* * * * *

The last section of this survey of the literature can lay some claim to exhaustiveness. Carolingian vernacular sermons, as monuments of the early development of modern European languages, have been important subjects of study for over a century. In a similar manner the work of the Bollandists and other scholars on saints' lives has made much of the eighth-, ninth- and tenth-century hagiographical literature accessible for modern study. While the work done in these fields can by no means preclude further discoveries, it does allow the claim to be made here that the examples of each type of sermon given are all that are presently known to exist.

Vernacular sermons have a particular interest, since by rights none of them should have survived at all. To use an argument which will be developed more fully in the next chapter, legislation which called for vernacular preaching in reality called for priests to make oral vernacular translations of written Latin sermons. Sermons, then, were written out and transmitted in Latin, the language of the liturgy and of scholarship, and the only vernacular material which we <u>should</u> find are glosses on difficult or strange words in sermons, which have survived in relative abundance.[89] That entire sermons and large fragments in the vernacular have survived can only be attributed to one of those fortunate accidents that allows some sources to survive while others perish.

The only Old French sermon to have survived to the present is a draft of a sermon on Jonah given at St. Amand between 937 and 952. The text has survived in mutilated form, missing a proper beginning and containing some lacunae. The content consists largely of borrowings from a commentary by Jerome in Latin, with the preacher's comments on Jerome's text in Old French.[90] The sermon compared the condition of the people around St. Amand who suffered from the raids of the Normans to that of the people of Nineveh for whom Jonah interceded, and advised the people to fast for their sins to relieve their present difficulties.[91] This is the sole surviving witness to Old French in the sermon literature from this period; indeed, the next earliest sermons in a French vernacular came from around 1120.[92]

The best known of the surviving German vernacular sermons is the Exhortatio ad plebem Christianum which has survived in three versions: a Latin schema; a version in a Bavarian dialect; and a version in a Franconian dialect.[93] This was an exhortational sermon designed to arouse people to a more proper understanding of their religious obligations by demanding that they memorize the Creed and the Lord's Prayer and teach these to their children:

> How can anyone call himself a Christian who neither can say nor has memorized these few words of faith [the Creed] which is salvation, and the Lord's Prayer, which Our Lord himself created for praying? Or how can someone stand as sponsor for the faith of another, who does not know the Creed himself? . . . And he who neglects to teach these things to his children will have to explain why on the day of Judgment.[94]

This was a pastoral sermon for preaching on Sundays which otherwise lacked a liturgical feast. Its concern with religious education shows how the ideas of the reformers travelled down from the councils to the

texts of sermons. The versions in two dialects suggest that it saw wide usage in ninth-century Germany.

A collection of fragments which were written at Murbach, but which found their way to Mondsee were placed into a manuscript containing a bilingual version of the De Fide Catholica of Isidore of Seville. The three sermons involved consist of large fragments of De vocatione gentium--a work on the value of prayer in Gentile languages--a German version of Augustine's sermo LXXVI and fragments from an unidentified sermon.[95] The connection of these fragments with Mondsee may indicate their role in the sermon activities of Hildebald and Lantperhtus. Two other ninth-century German sermons were the "Allerheiligen predigt" and the sermon on Matthew 20:1.[96] These sermons, both in a Saxon dialect, came from the time when the Saxons, having been converted by a combination of brute force and persuasion, became part of the Christian community of Carolingian Europe.

One other collection of vernacular texts which deserves to be examined here consists of the pieces known as the Weissenburg Catechism. This collection consisted of a translation and commentary on the Lord's Prayer, a list in Latin and German of the principal sins, and German translations of the Apostle's Creed, the Athanasian Creed, and the Gloria in Excelsis.[97] These pieces taken together formed a response to the commands made by Chralemagne in chapters seventy and eighty-two of the Admonitio generalis that his people learn the Creed and the Gloria and that they be taught which sins would exclude them from Heaven.[98] The explication of the Lord's

Prayer and the Athanasian Creed could well have been used as sermons, as Caesarius had done in his own works.[99] If not used directly as sermons, these texts in the Catechism at least furnished materials upon which ninth-century preachers could draw for their sermons.

The last of the types of sermon literature from the Carolingian period to be considered here are the sermons found in other kinds of literature. Three of these are sermons found in saints' lives, and a fourth came from the Poem in Honor of Louis the Pious written by Ermoldus Migellus.[100] These four creations all had in common the fact that they commemorated one aspect or another of the Frankish missionary effort: Willibrord among the Frisians; Lebuin among the Saxons; and Ebbo of Rheims among the Danes. The value of these works lay in the fact that they reflected current ideas of what a missionary sermon should contain. While not real sermons in themselves, they gave a contemporary reflection of Carolingian missionary ideas.[101]

The last two sub-groups of this survey of Carolingian sermon literature provide an additional six sermons which will serve as parts of the evidential base for later chapters. Taken with the materials available for use from the collections and sermons examined in earlier sections of this chapter, these six sermons form part of a total of 235 edited sermons readily available for study. These sermons, as has been discussed above, came from various times and different locations within the Carolingian world from 750 to 950. As such they form a representative sample which should give due weight to further remarks on preaching and the sermon.

As individual pieces of physical evidence, these sermons tell us a great deal about preaching during the Carolingian period. The majority of the collections and individual sermons were written between 780 and 825, and these dates coincide exactly with the period of production of the reform legislation. When royal support of the reforms began to slacken after 825, fewer sermons were produced. This confirms the importance of royal leadership and support for both the reforms and the preaching movement. Among the authors of sermons were such figures as Alcuin, Theodulph of Orléans, Paulinus of Aquileia and Rabanus Maurus, and Hildebald of Cologne had a sermonary written for him. These individuals also contributed legislation, built schools or participated in missionary activities in support of the reforms, and the sermons help to confirm their adherence to reform.

The anonymous sermonaries illustrate the importance of Germany in the preaching movement. With the exception of the two "Celtic" collections, the St. Père and Newberry sermonaries and the fourteen homilies from northern Italy, all of the anonymous collections described above originated somewhere in Germany. Most of them can be connected to the archdiocese of Arn of Salzburg, a noted reformer who also headed the missionary work in the former Avar lands. The vernacular materials also testify to the efforts undertaken to bring new peoples into the Christian community which the reformers were trying to build. This sample of sermons and sermonaries provides valuable information about who preached and where preaching became a part of religious life.

As large as this sample is, it is less than a third of the total (735) of sermons known but not available in accessible editions or unedited altogether. Beyond this number is the possibility of yet further discoveries of Carolingian sermons and sermonaries. The last word on the sermon and preaching in Carolingian Europe is far from being written, although material newly edited or discovered will probably only provide additional depth to our current knowledge.

This chapter was written to accomplish three purposes: to survey the existing Carolingian sermon literature; to examine the various types of that literature available; and to point to the great need for more editions and studies of the known sermons and collections. As the next two chapters illustrate what the sermons can tell us about life in the ninth and tenth centuries, the sermons' value as sources will become more apparent. Despite the amount of source material now available, an increase in the amount of source material available can only help to increase our knowledge of Carolingian religious life.

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CHAPTER V: NOTES

[1]Christine Mohrmann, "Praedicare--Tractare--Sermo: essai sur la termonologie de la prédication paleo-chrétienne," La Maison-Dieu 39 (1954): 100-107; and McKitterick, The Frankish Church, 89-92.

[2]Epistola Generalis: Denique quia ad nocturnale officium compilatas quorundam casso labore, licet recto intuitu, nainus tamen idonee repperimus lectiones . . . atque earundem lectionem in melius reformare tramitem mentem intendimus. MGH Cap. Reg. Franc. I: 81.

[3]On the night office see Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1933), I: 44-5 and 51-63.

[4]Homiliary of Paul the Deacon, Prooemium: In nomine omnipotentis Dei incipiunt omeliae sive tractatus beatorum Ambrosii, Augustini, Hieronimi, Leonis, Maximi, Gregorii et aliorum catholicorum et venerabilium patrum, legendi per totius anni circulum tam in singulis dominicis diebus quamque et in religius divinis festivitatibus . . . . Ed. Grégoire, Les homéliaires du moyen âge, 76.

[5]See for example McKitterick, The Frankish Church, 102-5.

[6]Homiliary of Paul the Deacon, nos. 15, 29 and 32, in Grégoire, Les homéliaires du moyen âge, 81 and 83. See also Friedrich Wiegand, Das Homiliarium Karls des Grossen auf seine ursprüngliche Gestalt hin untersucht, Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche, Band 1, Heft 2 (Leipzig, 1897), 83-7.

[7]Until a new edition appears to replace the interpolated one found in PL 95: 1059-1566, the best guide to Paul's Homiliary is the list of its contents in Grégoire, Les homéliaires du moyen âge, 77-114.

[8]Germain Morin, "L'homéliaire d'Alcuin retrouvé," RB 9 (1892): 492. The inscription referred to is found on f. 143v, and on f. 1r is also found the inscription "Omelie Alcuini." I have also examined this manuscript.

[9]Henri Barré, Les homéliaires carolingiens de l'école d'Auxerre: authenticité--inventaire--tableaux comparatifs--initia, Studi e Testi, 225 (Vatican City, 1962), 45 and 78-9.

[10]McKitterick, The Frankish Church, 106-7.

[11]For a detailed analysis of the contents and various manuscripts of these three homiliaries see Barré, Les homéliaires carolingiens, 32-139. Haimo's homiliary, under the name of Haymo of Halberstadt, is found in PL 118: 9-816, and the homiliary of Remigius in PL 131: 865-932.

[12]Barré, Les homéliaires carolingiens, 139-42.

[13]Smaragdus' Collectiones are found in PL 102: 13-552; and the Lothair homiliary in ibid., 110: 135-468. This survey of homiliaries is by no means exhaustive, and centers on the major collections whose authors are known. For other monastic homiliaries of the Carolingian period see Barré, Les homéliaires, 3-6.

[14]As examples of why these works were unsuitable for popular preaching see the complicated etymological derivation of gehenna in Haimo's homilia CXVIII: Compositum autem nomen est gehenna, ex ge et ennon, quia vallis gratuita interpretatus. Fuit enim vallis filiorum Ennon juxta Jerusalem, ubi propter scelus idolotariae multa jacuerunt cadavera mortuorum. Et ideo ubicunque nomen gehenna pouitur, inferni poena designatur. PL 118: 632A. The collection composed by Rabanus for Lothair contained simple exegesis of texts for the major feasts, e.g., homilia IV: Surrexit non est hic. Non est hic dicitur per praesentiam carnis, qui tamen nusquam decrat per praesentiam majestatis. Ibid., 110: 142B. Both were intended to be used for individual spiritual formation in readings or private meditation.

[15]Jean Leclercq, "Bref discours pastoral attribuable à Paulin d'Aquilée," RB 59 (1949): 157-8. The sermon comes from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latins 2738, s. XII (St. Denis of Rheims), folios 45-56. (hereafter references abbreviated as Paris, BN lat. and f. or ff. for folio(s).) Its incipit and explicit are "Quantum de nostre anime ...//... internum in nobis vivat iudicaturus, ipso adiuvant qui vivit et regnat Deus per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen." Ibid., 159-60.

[16]. . . voluntas nostre erat, ut ad vos visitandos, etsi non frequenter, certe vel annos singulos veniremus. Sed necessitas temporis impedimentum facit desideriis nostris. Deo tamen gratias agimus qui, licet post longus tempus veniremus, incolumes vos invenire mereamur; et ideo, quia de communi corporum sanitate gaudemus, de animarum salute, que vera solus est, quantum Deo minus contulit loquamur. Ed. Leclercq, ibid., 159.

[17]It is remarkable that this sermon, printed in PL 105: 206B-208A between the two synodal statutes, has been so long overlooked. The incipit and explicit are "Dilectissimi fratres, sanctissimi consacerdotes .../.../... Omnipotens Deus vos proficere faciat in opere bono, dilectissimi fratres." (Incipits and explicits for other works in the PL will not be given here unless they are not to be found in Marco Vattasso, Initia Patrum aliorumque scriptorum

ecclesiasticorum latinorum ex Migne Patrologie et alii, Studi e Testi, 16-17, 2 vols. (Vatican City, 1906-1908). I do not know any of the mss. which contain Theodulph's works. (The abbreviations ms. and mss. will stand for manuscript and manuscripts respectively.)

[18]Theodulph, Synodal Sermon: Discite fidem catholicam, praedicate diligentissime, et eam populo praedicate, unusquisque in ecclesia vestra. . . . PL 105: 206C.

[19]Theodulph, De omnibus ordinibus, ibid., 280C-282B.

[20]Alcuin, Vita Willibrordi, Praefatio: Unam quoque priori libello superaddidi omeliam, quae utinam digna esset tuo venerando ore populo praedicari. MGH SSrM VII: 114. This homily, edited by Wilhelm Levison, appears as c. 32 of the Vita, ibid., 138-41; and a list of the mss. containing it is furnished by him as part of the introduction.

[21]Alcuin, Homilia in die natali sancti Vedasti pontificis ad populum, PL 101: 678C-681A. A list of mss. containing this work is found in the introduction to Alcuin's Vita sancti Vedasti episcopi Atrebastensis, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SSrM III: 403-4. Krusch did not re-edit the Homilia for the MGH.

[22]Alcuin, Vita Richarii confessoris Centulensis, ed. Bruno Krusch, ibid., IV: 383. For the mss., see ibid., 381-2.

[23]Missi cuiusdam admonitio, MGH Cap. Reg. Franc. I: 238-40. This work is found in Paris, BN lat. 4613, s. IX, f. 91v along with the Admonitio generalis and the Capitulare missorum generale of 802, and in ms. 22 of Bibliothèque abbatiale of La Cava. Its incipit and explicit are "Ammonitionem domni Caroli imperatori .../.../... Deus vos conservet, dilectissimi fratres."

[24]Arquillière, L'augustinisme politique, 166-7; and De Clercq, La législation religieuse, 226-7.

[25]Germain Morin, "Un saint de Maestricht rendu à l'histoire," RB 8 (1891): 176-9 and 182. These works appear in London, British Library, Harleian ms. 3034, s. VIII/IX, ff. 58v-96v, but I know nothing further about them.

[26]Rabanus Maurus, Homiliae de festis praecipuis, item de virtutibus, Praefatio: Jussionibus tuis obtemperans, beatissime Pater, sermonem confeci ad praedicandum populo, de omnibus quae necessaria eis credidi; hoc est, primum qualem observantiam deberent habere in festivitatibus praecipuis quae sunt in anni circulo . . . deinde texuimus praedicationem illis de diversis speciebus virtutem, id est, de fide, spe, et charitate, de castitate, continentia, et caeteris speciebus virtutum, qualiter

eas appetentes et custodientes Deo placerent, et vitam aeternam in coelis cum sanctis angelis percipere possunt. Postea vero alium adjunximus sermonem de variis errorum et vitiorum. . . . PL 110: 9A-B.

[27]The collection is printed in ibid., 10A-134D. The mss. are listed in Barré, Les homéliaires carolingiens, 13 and n. 48.

[28]On Rabanus' sources see Rudolf Cruel, Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter (Hildesheim, 1879), 63-5.

[29]Henri Barré, "L'homéliaire carolingien de Mondsee," RB 71 (1961): 78-80. The manuscript from which Barré took his description is Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Handschrift lateinische 1014 (Rec. 3326), 811-819 (St. Michael of Mondsee). The collection is analyzed in ibid., 91-107. This sermonary served as the basis for the Bavarian Homiliary (to be described in the next section), and if an edition of this sermonary is to be made the winter sermons of the liturgical year will have to be recovered from it.

[30]See for example Barré's nos. 104, based on four passages from a sermon by Bede and long passages from sermons of Gregory and Caesarius, and 109, based on passages from Bede, three sermons from the Homiliary of Alan of Farfa, sermons of Epiphanius and Caesarius, and with an original ending. Ibid., 98-9.

[31]Agobard, Sermo exhortatorius ad plebem de fidei veritate et totius boni institutione, PL 104: 267C-288A. The only ms. I know of is Paris, BN lat. 2853, s. IX, ff. 172-87.

[32]Célestin Charlier, "Une oeuvre inconnue de Florus de Lyon: la collection 'De Fide' de Montpellier," Traditio 8 (1952): 82-6 and 93. Charlier describes ms. H308 of the Bibliothèque municipale of Montpellier, s. XI, containing thirty-nine short works (including seven sermons) designed to explicate the Creed. On Florus' activities as a teacher see Alan Cabaniss, "Florus of Lyons," Classica et Medievalia 19 (1958): 215-9.

[33]Contreni, The Cathedral School of Laon, 130-3. The ms. in question is Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 265, s. IX (Notre Dame de Laon), which contained sermons on the Creed and the sermon Necessarium est among other writings with a pastoral application.

[34]Wilhelm Levison, "Eine Predigt des Lupus von Ferrieres," in Aus rheinischer und fränkischer Frühzeit (Düsseldorf, 1947), 561-4. The ms. containing this sermon is London, British Library, Royal MS. 8.B. XIV, s. XI, ff. 131v-134v, ibid., 559-60. For the reference to the Normans: Piratae, id est praedones maritimi, maximam partem Christianorum crudelissime trucidaverunt et trucidant inpune. Ibid., 563.

[35]Odo of Beauvais, Sermo in sanctum Lucianum, PL 134: 1111D-1126A; and Radbod, Sermo de sancti Switbero, ibid., 132: 547B-549C; Sermo de vita sancta virginis Christi Amelbergae, ibid., 549D-554C; and Homilia de sancto Lebwino, ibid., 554C-555A.

[36]For the sermons, Abbo of St. Germain, Sermones quinque, ibid., 761A-778A. The rest of the florilegium is analyzed in Jean Leclercq, "Le florilège d'Abbon de St. Germain," Revue du moyen âge latin 3 (1947): 115-38. The ms. containing this collection is Paris, BN lat. 132-3, s. X (St. Germain-des-Près). The five sermons are used in the present study.

[37]Leclercq, ibid., 116-7.

[38]Atto of Vercelli, sermones, PL 134: 833B-860A.

[39]Cf. Rabanus, hom. XXI, PL 110: 567C-D on eclipses, with Atto's sermo III, ibid., 134: 836C. Both used Martin of Braga and Isidore's Etymologiarum libri XX to explain natural phenomena.

[40]Bouhot, "Alcuin et le 'De catechizandus rudibus,'" 184-91 for the mss.: Paris, BN lat. 10741 (olim 205), s. IX/X; Vatican, Reginensis latinus 214, s. IX/X, ff. 119-120v and Paris, BN nouvelles acquisitions lat. 450, f. 1r (fragments of a second ms. version of the sermons from 10741). The fifteenth sermon is found in Melk, Stiftsbibliothek 597 (Q. 52), s. XI, ff. 114-5; Vatican, Palatinus lat. 485 (Lorsch pre. 875), f. 91; and Munich, Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek, clm. 6264, s. XI (Freising), f. 102r, ibid., 10. Bouhot believes that sermons I-XIV, PL 89: 843C-870A belong together, while sermon XV, ibid., 870A-872A was written at an earlier date.

[41]Cruel, Geschichte der deutschen Predigt, 13-5. The debate over authorship is summarized by Löwe, "Pirmin, Willibrord," 259 and n. 178.

[42]For the sources of the Ps.-Boniface sermons see Cruel, Geschichte der deutschen Predigt, 16-23; and Bouhot, "Alcuin et le 'De catechizandus rudibus,'" 185 and 190-1.

[43]Ps.-Boniface, sermo I, De fide recta, 2, PL 89: 844D-845B. The passage in question, too long to be reprinted in full here, discusses the nature of the Trinity at length, and treats the points raised by the Ad. gen., c. 82 in the order they were given.

[44]The involved trinitarian material mentioned in the note above suggests that the collection was written after the Council of Frankfurt (794) which dealt mainly with the Adoptionist heresy. The terminus ad quem comes from the use of the missionary sermon Necessarium est which in turn suggests a connection with a missionary center in Germany established by the Anglo-Saxons. As a response to the Admonitio the fourteen sermons of the original collection must

have been written during the period in which the reforms flourished, i.e., 795-825.

[45]Elphège Vacandard, "Les homélies attribuées à saint Eloi," Revue des questions historiques 64 (1898): 471-80; François Plaine, "Nouvelle remarques sur les homélies attribuées à saint Eloi," ibid., 65 (1899): 235-42; and Vacandard, "Réponses aux remarques de Dom Plaine," ibid., 234-55. The homilies are printed in PL 87: 593B-654B, and the only ms. I know of is Vatican, Reg. lat. 75, s. XI, from which the edition in Migne was taken.

[46]Vacandard, "Les homélies," 477-8; and idem., "Réponses," 251-4.

[47]Millemann, "Caesarius von Arles," 17-9.

[48]Homiliae I, II and III; IV, V, VI, VIII, X, XI and XIII; VII; and IX, XIV, XV and XVI respectively.

[49]Paul Mercier, XIV homélies du IXe siècle d'un auteur inconnue de l'Italie du nord, Sources chrétiennes, 161 (Paris, 1970), 11-25. The sermons are edited with a French translation in ibid., 150-231; and for the mss. see ibid., 85-103. As Mercier noted, the collection is strongly related to a larger collection in Turin, Bibliotheca nazionale, F II 20, s. X-XI (Bobbio), which so far remains unstudied, ibid., 127-44.

[50]Ibid., 45-59.

[51]Ibid., 78-84.

[52]André Wilmart, "Catéchèses celtiques," in Analecta Reginensia, Studi e Testi, 59 (Vatican City, 1933), 29-30 for the ms. Vatican, Reg. lat. 49, s. X, ff. 1-53v. The sermons are edited in ibid., 34-112. A more complete edition of these sermons, promised by R. E. McNally, has not yet appeared.

[53]Ibid., 31-2; and Paul Grosjean, "A propos du manuscrit 49 de la reine Christine," AB 54 (1936): 115-6. Grosjean believed that the sermons had an Irish origin, but that they were written down in ms. 49 in a Breton center (Redon or Landevennec) for popular preaching.

[54]See e.g., Wilmart's sermo VII: Adventus quoque III magorum cum III muneribus ab oriente venientium nos docere venire per babtismum in fidem trinitatis sancta cogitatione et verbo puro atque opere perfecto; sic inveniemus Ihesum Christum. "Catéchèses celtiques," 78-9.

[55]Pierre David, "Un recueil de conférences monastiques irlandaises du VIIIe siècle: notes sur le manuscrit 43 de la bibliothèque du chapitre de Cracovie," RB 49 (1937): 62-5 and 88-9. The ms. in question is Cracow, Bibliotheca capitulare 43, s. IX (c. 800),

(Northern Italy), ff. 5-100. I have seen a microfilm at the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes in Paris.

[56]The term came from a selection from sermo X he printed in ibid., 77-8, and 86-7 for his commentary.

[57]The complete collection is found in Paris, BN lat. 13408, s. IX (St. Pierre de Corbie), ff. 1-104v, on which see Barré, Les homéliaires carolingiens, 6. Selections from the collection are in the Cracow ms.; Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek, Augiensis CXVI, s. IX, ff. 34-178; Paris, BN lat. 13768, ff. 25-60v, and 72-83v, s. IX (St. Pierre de Corbie); and Orléans, Bib. mun. 341, s. IX (Fleury-sur-Loire), ff. 380-9. I wish to thank Raymond Étaix for his kindness in drawing up a list of these mss., and Jean-Paul Bouhot for discussing the nature of the sermons with me. This collection is unedited, although I hope to prepare an edition at a later date. For this study, references will be made to Paris, BN lat. 13408, an analysis of which can be found in Appendix A below.

[58]Agobard, Liber contra judicium Dei, PL 104: 267A, and note "a" by Stephen Baluze: De Ecclesiae principibus, id est, episcopus. Sic enim vocantur episcopi a veteribus et ab ipsis pontificibus Romanis, et dictum est ad Lupus Ferrariensem.

[59]Bouhot, "Un sermonnaire carolingien," Revue d'histoire des textes 4 (1974): 187-202; and Georges Folliet, "Deux nouveaux témoins du sermonnaire carolingien récemment reconstitué," REA 23 (1977): 181-98, for analyses of their finds. The mss. involved directly are Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. p. th. q. 15, 811/2-836 (Freising); Munich, clm. 14445, s. XI (St. Emmeran Regensburg); Munich, clm. 6310, s. IX[1] (Freising); Munich, clm. 14418, s. IX (St. Emmeran Regensburg); Udine, Bibliotheca archivescovile 4, s. IX (Salzburg or Southern Bavaria); and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 56, s. XII. Other mss. in which fragments of this collection appear are cited by Bouhot, "Un sermonnaire," 216-8.

[60]One ms., Würzburg, M. p. th. q. 15, has been identified by Bernhard Bischoff as having come from Freising at the time of Bishop Hitto (811/2-836), Folliet, "Deux nouveaux témoins," 156. The two sermons are Folliet's nos. 32 and 36, ibid., 194-5.

[61]Raymond Étaix, "Le sermonnaire carolingien de Beaune," REA 25 (1979): 106-7, for a description of the ms. Paris, BN lat. 3794, s. XII. His analysis of the contents and edition of short pieces are found in ibid., 107-21 and 136-45.

[62]Ibid., 132-6.

[63]The Pseudo-Bede collection was published in 1627 by Johannes Gymniches in Cologne, and the sole known version of this edition is in the British Library. It consisted of 124 sermons arranged per circulum anni and its mss. are Munich, clm. 14410 and

14472, s. IX (St. Emmeran); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 427, s. IX; Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, Q52, s. IX-X; Cologne, Dombibliothek 47, s. X; Avranches, Bib. mun. 29, s. X (Mont-St.-Michel); Trier, Stadtbibliothek 216, s. XI (St. Simeon) from which Gymniches' edition came; and Munich, clm. 6264, s. XI (Freising), Barré, Les homéliaires carolingiens, 9. The Bavarian Homiliary was composed in the first half of the ninth century for the cathedral of Salzburg or Augsburg. Its oldest mss. exemplars are: Munich, clm. 3833, s. IX (Augsburg Cathedral); Paris, BN lat. 17301, s. IX (St. Martin des champs--from so. Germany); and Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Patr. 156 (B.I. 4), s. IX (Bamberg Cathedral). For the many other mss. and extracts see idem, "L'homéliaire de Mondsee," 85-91. The Bavarian Homiliary in turn was related to the Mondsee Homiliary.

[64]The mss. are Chartres, Bib. mun. 25, s. X-XI, ff. 119-62 (St. Père de Chartres); Cambridge, Pembroke College 25, s. XI (St. Edmund Bury); Cambridge, St. John's College 42, s. XII (Worcester?), ff. 13-62v; and extracts are found in London, British Library, Royal 5E XIX, s. XI-XII, ff. 21-37; Paris, BN lat. 3794, s. XII (the Beaune sermonary), ff. 18-31; and Chicago, Newberry Library 1, s. IX, ff. 168-70. See Barré, Les homéliaires carolingiens, 17-8 and 19-24 for a list of incipits and analysis of sources. For a discussion of some materials found in the St. Père sermonary, see McKitterick, The Frankish Church, 107-9.

[65]Barré, Les homéliaires carolingiens, 24-5. An edition of this work has been promised by Rosamond McKitterick.

[66]Maurice P. Cunningham, "Contents of the Newberry Library Homiliary," Sacris Erudiri 7 (1955): 267-73 for the ms. Chicago, Newberry Library 1, s. IX (olim Cheltenham 1326); and ibid., 275-99 for an analysis of contents.

[67]Barré, "Sermons mariales inédits 'in Natalis Domini,'" Marianum: Ephemerides Mariologiae 25 (1963): 51-4.

[68]Although called a homiliary, the Newberry collection contains many works used for popular preaching including a version of the Scarapsus Pirminii, Cunningham, "Contents," 290-6.

[69]Graziano di San Tereso, "Ramenta patristica I. Il florilegio pseudo-agustiniano palatino," Ephemerides Carmelitensis 14 (1963): 195-241; and "II. Ephremiana," ibid., 432-53. The ms. Vatican, Palat. lat. 556, s. IX (Fulda). The sermons may have been used by a monk of Fulda in the Saxon mission of Abbot Sturmi.

[70]Morin, "L'homéliaire de Burchard," 97-9. The Homiliary is Würzburg, Universitätsbib., M. p. th. f. 28, s. VIII^2, and is related to Munich, clm. 29047, s. VIII^1, which contained six sermons found in the so-called Codex Burchardi.

[71]Grégoire, "La collection homilétique," 260-1 for the ms. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek 4096, s. IX (SS. Peter and Paul of Weissenburg), and 266-86 for the contents.

[72]Ibid., 262-5.

[73]On this ms. and its origin see Elias A. Lowe, CLA VII: Switzerland (Oxford, 1956), no. 875, and Bernhard Bischoff, "Frühkarolingische Handschriften und Ihre Heimat," Scriptorium 22 (1968): 308. The mss. are Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek 199 (368), ff. 431-526; and 281 (886), ff. 1-178.

[74]For the remains of Remedius' library see Lowe, CLA VII: nos. 1006, 1007, 1011 and 1013. Lowe's no. 1007 is a fragment of a homiliary.

[75]Paul Piper, "Superstitiones et paganiae Einsidlenses," in Mélanges offerts à M. Emile Châtelain, 15 avril 1910 (Paris, 1910), 299-310. Piper described the twenty-three sermons in ms. 281 (886) in a very cursory fasion, but did not at all examine ms. 199 (368).

[76]Sermo de sacrilegia, ed. C. P. Caspari, reprinted in PL Supplementum 4, ed. Adalbert Hamman (Paris, 1967), 969-73. The incipit and explicit are "Fratres karissimi! Admonitio divina cessare non debet ...//... et oracionem dominicam dicentes, pergite securi, ipso adiuvante, qui vivit et regnat in secula seculorum. Amen." The sermon is found in Einsiedeln, Stiftsbib. 281 (886), s. VIII/IX, ff. 37-42.

[77]Ibid., 14: Quicumque super sanctum simbulum et orationem dominicam carmina aut incantationes paganorum dicit, in animalibus mutis aut in hominibus incantat, et prodesse aliquid aut contra esse iudicat; et qui ad serpentes morsos vel ad vermes in orto vel in alias fruges carminat et quodcumque aliut faciat, iste non christianus, sed paganus est. PLS 4: 971.

[78]Germain Morin, "Textes inédits relatifs au symbole et à la vie chrétienne," RB 22 (1905): 515-9 and 519-23. Sermo I came from ms. Verdun, Bib. mun. 64, s. XII (St. Airy), ff. 99v-100v; and its incipit and explicit are "Fatres (sic) karissimi, rogo vos humilitate ...//... et post ea peiores sunt quam. . . . [The end is missing.] Sermo II came from Munich, clm. 12612, s. XII (Ranshofen 12--St. Pancratius), ff. 54v-56, and its incipit and explicit are "Debetis primum, karissimi fratres et sorores ...//... vel mandata sua servantibus."

[79]M. M. Heer, Ein karolingischer Missions-Katechismus: Ratio de Cathecizandus Rudibus und die Tauf-Katechesen des Maxentius von Aquileia und eines Anonymous in Kodex Emmeran. XXXIII saec. IX, Biblische und patristische Forschungen, 1 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1911), 77-88. The ms. is Munich, clm. 14410, s. IX (St. Emmeran E33), ff. 85-97.

[80]Ibid., 77; and Bouhot, "Explications du rituel baptismal," 296. For arguments that the Ratio chapters were not used as sermons see Sullivan, "The Carolingian Missionary," 719 and n. 96.

[81]Heer, Ein karolingischer Missions-Katechismus, 42-9. Since the author of the Catechisms came from Regensburg and used Alcuin's letters as the source of his ideas on catechesis, one can readily believe that this was another work prepared for the Avar mission led by Arn of Salzburg.

[82]Ibid., 18-22.

[83]Didache ton dodeka apostolon. Doctrina XII apostolorum, ed. Joseph Schlect (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1890), 2-5. The ms. of this version is Munich, clm. 6264, s. XI (Freising olim 64), ff. 102v-103. It is transcribed and edited with a facing Greek version in ibid., 7-10 and 11-24. The incipit and explicit are "Viae duae sunt in saeculo ...//... perrenies ad coronam per Dominum Iesum Christum regnantem et dominantem cum Deo Patre et Spiritu sancto in saecula saeculorum. Amen."

[84]Sermon on Vices and the Sabbath, PL 89: 819A-821B. The ms. is Vatican, Palat. lat. 542, s. IX. This work is printed in the PL among the works of Boniface.

[85]Ibid.: Etiam pro hoc erubescant Judaei; videtis, charissimi nobis, quia Dominus pro hoc Sabbato operabatur, quia nos qui Christiani sumus, secundum litteram Sabbatum observare non debemus. Christiani enim Sabbatum observare ita debemus: abstinere nos a rapinis, a fraudibus, a perjuriis, a blasphemiis, ab illicitis rebus, a munere accipiendo super innocentes, a jurgiis. 821A.

[86]Homilia de decimis et de jejunio, ed. Stephen Baluze, PL 129: 1261C-1262D. I do not know the ms. from which Baluze took this sermon, but he stated that it came from "aevo Caroli Magni." Roger E. Reynolds, "The Pseudo-Augustinian 'Sermo de Conscientia' and the Related Canonical 'Dicta sancti Gregorii papae,'" RB 81 (1971): 316-7. The mss. are Paris, BN Nouv. Acq. lat. 452, s. IX (Salzburg); Vatican, Reg. lat. 407, s. IX; and Munich, clm. 6314, s. IX (Freising). The incipit and explicit are "Fratres estote fidelibus in omnibus ...// ... ut per ipsam mereamur salvari."

[87]Homilia Leonis IV, PL 115: 670A-673C. The sermon is published in no less than ten places in Migne, and attributed to everyone between Pope Eutychius (3rd century) and Bishop Robert Pullus (12th century). The editions and mss. are described by Paul Willem Finsterwalder, "Die sogenannte Homilia Leonis IV, ihre Bedeutung für Hinkmar's Capitula und Reginos Inquisitio," Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte kanonistische Abteilung 58 (1938): 640-3 and 646-51.

[88]Ibid., 656-7 and 660-5.

[89]Elias von Steinmayer and Eduard Sievers, Die althochdeutschen Glossen, 5 vols. (Zurich, 1968 reprint of 1879-1922 edition), II: 41, 81, 177, 262, 265, 305, 318; IV: 322; and V: 24 and 28. The Old High German "tagaspraha" or "day's speak" for homily, ibid., I: 222, evolved into predigt which like the French prédication came from praedicatio.

[90]Guy de Poerck, "Le sermon bilingue sur Jonas du ms. Valenciennes 521 (475)," Romanica Gandensica 4 (1956): 33-5 and 38-53 for an edition and commentary. The ms. is Valenciennes, Bib. mun. 521 (475), s. X (St. Amand), no foliation. There is no real incipit as the beginning is considerably mutilated and the text ends ". . . sanctis gloriosus Deus per eterna secula seculorum."

[91]Ibid., 45 and 57-9; and Michel Zink, La prédication en langue romane avant 1300, Nouvelle bibliothèque du moyen âge, 4 (Paris, 1976), 21-3.

[92]Ibid., 23.

[93]Elias von Steinmayer, ed., Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1963 reprint of 1916 edition), 49-51 for editions of all three versions. The mss. are Kassel, Landesbibliothek, Ms. Theol. 4° 24, s. IX (Fulda), ff. 13v-15; and Munich, clm. 6244, s. IX (Freising), ff. 144v and 145v (Latin text), and 145 and 146 (Bavarian text). The incipit and explicit of the Latin text are "Audite, filii, regulam fidei ...//... nec aliter possumus veniam consequi delictorum."

[94]Exhortatio ad plebem Christianum: Quomodo enim se christianum dicit, qui pauca verba fidei, qua salvandus est, etiam et orationis dominicae, quae ipse dominus ad orationem constituit, neque dicere neque vult in memoria retinere? Vel quomodo pro alio fidei sponsor existat, qui hanc fidem nescit? . . . Et qui hanc filiolum suum docere neglexerit, in die iudicii rationem redditurus erit. Ibid., 50.

[95]Karl Müllendorf and Wilhelm Scherer, Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem 8-12 Jahrhunderts, 3rd ed., 2 vols. (Berlin, 1964 reprint of 1892 edition), I: 210-6, 216-21, and 221-5. The ms. is Vienna, Nationalbibliothek 3093, s. IX (St. Michael of Mondsee), ff. XXVII-XXX, XXXVII-XL, and XXXVII. The fragments will not be used in the later parts of this study.

[96]Ibid., I: 233-5; and Linsenmayer, Geschichte der Predigt, 53-5. The mss. are Düsseldorf, Landes- und Stadtbibliothek, codex B80 4°, s. IX/X, f. 153r; and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bib., Weissenburg 91, s. IX (Weissenburg), ff. 155v-158v. Linsenmayer noted that the sermon on Mt. 20:1 was based on Gregory's Hom. in Evang., XIX, ibid., 55.

[97]Von Steinmayer, Sprachdenkmäler, 29-38. These works are found in the Wolfenbüttel ms. referred to in the note above, ff. 149v-155v.

[98]See Chapter IV, nn. 50 and 53.

[99]See e.g., Caesarius, sermones III and CXLVII, CCSL 103: 20-1; and 104: 602-4.

[100]Vita Lebwini Antiqui, c. 6, ed. A. Hofmeister, MGH SS XXX, 2: 794; Hucbald of St. Amand, Vita Sancti Lebwini presbyteri et confessoris, c. XII, PL 132: 888D-889D; Alcuin, Vita Willibrordi, c. 11, MGH SSrM VII: 125; and Ermoldus Nigellus, Carmina in honorem Hludowici, IV, vv. 1909-1993, ed. Edmond Faral, Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge, 14 (Paris, 1932), 146-8.

[101]On these works and their value as sources see Sullivan, "The Carolingian Missionary," 714-5; and idem, "Carolingian Missionary Theories," 274-5.

CHAPTER VI

PREACHERS AND PREACHING IN THE CAROLINGIAN WORLD

Preaching in the Early Middle Ages must have been a difficult undertaking for many bishops and priests. For priests in particular, preaching required an education somewhat beyond the simple abilities to read and write in order for the preacher to be able to understand and interpret the material in the sermons he delivered. A preacher also needed access to a library of written works which would furnish source materials or prepared sermons to be read by those clerics incapable of composing their own works. Producing a body of clerics capable of preaching therefore required the investment of a great deal of time and resources by bishops who had to improve, or in some cases create, the schools and the scriptoria required to train and support preachers. Despite these difficulties, the large body of sermon literature surveyed in the previous chapter illustrates a willing response by most of the Carolingian clergy to the demands in the legislation for regular preaching.

The reformers' demands for preaching and the expansion of Carolingian military and political power into areas previously un-Christianized gave rise to new needs and opportunities for preaching. The same factors also called forth changes in the conditions of preaching by demanding a larger number of clerics sufficiently competent to use the texts required for preaching and to turn those texts

into a vernacular language. The problems which these demands visited upon the bishops of Carolingian Europe were manifold, and it would be naive to suggest that as a simple consequence of the reform legislation, regular preaching was instituted throughout Charlemagne's realm. Yet, for many areas and individuals sufficient evidence has survived in the form of sermons, legislation and records of preaching activities to suggest that the reformers' commands were carried out. One of the tasks of this chapter will be to examine that evidence in order to answer the questions of who preached and where regular preaching was carried out.

If a bishop wrote sermons or if his vita described his preaching ability, then a good case could be established for his involvement in the preaching movement. Much of the material to be examined in this chapter can provide only indirect proof for episcopal involvement. Such activities as the issuing of legislation on preaching, establishing schools at which preachers could be trained, commissioning sermons and sermonaries, or serving in the missionary enterprises can be considered forms of indirect proof. Although they do not testify directly that a particular bishop preached, they may be used--especially when more than one such indirect proof applied to a bishop--as indications that he was involved in the preaching movement. Another type of indirect proof can be found in the letters of Alcuin who wrote to many of the Carolingian bishops exhorting them to preach. The fact that he wrote such letters would not in and of itself constitute proof that their recipients preached. When one considers that Alcuin wrote his letters on preaching only to those bishops involved in the reforms,

in the missionary activities or in both, then they become another indication of preaching activity.

Other aspects of preaching activity to be examined here will include the Carolingian missionary efforts and the part played by monks and monasteries in the popular preaching movement. Both aspects will help shed further illumination on the question of who preached, and point out the role of preaching in the missionary endeavors of the Carolingian Church. The reforms provided one context in which preaching was to take place, and the missionary activity provided another. Not surprisingly the greatest number of sermons and sermonaries came from those dioceses where the bishops directed and the clergy participated in the missions. This was a case where training clerics for one form of preaching activity (missionary work) paid large dividends in providing clerics able to participate in another form of preaching activity (regular dominical preaching in those same dioceses).

The monks engaged both in pastoral care in the churches on monastic lands and in missionary work in territories conquered by the Carolingians, and monastic scriptoria were brought into service to prepare texts for preachers in the secular clergy. These activities supplied aid, although an aid which was not altogether welcome, to a hard-pressed secular hierarchy.

Finally, the conditions of preaching in the Carolingian world will be examined. The demands for regular preaching required that some thought be given to clerical education, and here too the legislation, both capitular and conciliar, tried to meet this need. Beyond the legislation, however, there were pastoral manuals designed

to be used in educating preachers. In introducing these, the present study hopes to fill the gap left by our inability to determine what was taught in episcopal schools. The questions of when the sermons were preached and how they were preached (i.e., in what language) will also receive treatment here. Just as the previous chapter showed the response made to the reform legislation in terms of the physical evidence of the surviving sermons, this chapter will measure similar responses in human terms by examining the preachers and their activities.

* * * * *

In examining the question of who preached in Carolingian Europe, primary attention must be paid to the role of Alcuin as Charlemagne's advisor and unofficial "Minister of Religion." He contributed to the ongoing reform of the liturgy by refining a version of the Gelasian sacramentary which enjoyed wide circulation throughout Francia, and helped to bring the Frankish liturgy in line with the Roman.[1] He influenced the royal legislation on education from his position as head of the Palace School and member of the circle of royal advisors referred to in various pieces of legislation.[2] Alcuin's most important contribution to the preaching movement came from his relationships with the reforming bishops, most of whom either were his pupils at the Palace School (782-96) or at the monastery of St. Martin's at Tours (796-804) or were his close friends at the court of Charlemagne. As will be seen in a later section, he was also responsible for a preaching mission sent to the south of Francia and to the Spanish March to deal with the Adoptionist heresy. During the early stages

of the Carolingian Reformation, Alcuin stood at or near the center of most of its major accomplishments.

As a result of his close connections with so many friends and pupils, Alcuin wrote many letters and some 400 of these have survived. The letters reflected his interest in preaching and the other aspects of the reforms, and most of them were written to his friends and pupils. The fact that an individual bishop received one or more of these letters does not in itself prove that the recipient was a dedicated reformer and preacher. The argument can be made, however, that the letters Alcuin wrote encouraging bishops he knew well as friends or pupils to preach can be taken as signs that the recipients were probably involved in the preaching movement. For most of the bishops to whom he wrote, Alcuin's letters confirm other evidence of their involvement in preaching activity.

Even before he came to the Frankish court in 782, Alcuin already had close connections with the Anglo-Saxons who held positions in the Frankish Church. He was related to Willibrord of Utrecht and to Willehad, a missionary in Frisia and later in Saxony where he became bishop of Bremen (788-9).[3] He had become acquainted with the successors of Willibrord and Boniface, Gregory of Utrecht and Lul of Mainz, and one of his pupils from York, Beornrad, was abbot of Echternach and would later become bishop of Sens (782-97).[4] During his early years at the court, he became acquainted with Paulinus, Arn, Theodulph, and Hildebald of Cologne, all of whom also served there.

During his years at court and as abbot of St. Martin of Tours, Alcuin had a large number of pupils, an impressive number of whom went on to become bishops. The list included Riculf of Mainz (787-813); Ricbod of Trier (791-809); Liudger of Münster (802-809); Amalar of Trier (809-16); Candidus/Wizo of Maestricht--all of whom were appointed by Charlemagne. Louis the Pious later appointed Samuel of Worms, Aldric of Sens, Moduin of Autun and Rabanus Maurus.[5] What role Alcuin played in their appointments cannot be determined with certainty, but it was probably sufficient that they had been pupils and thus known to Charlemagne who watched over the Palace School and controlled all episcopal appointments.[6] Since they were pupils of Alcuin, he could count on their supporting the reforms which he was in the progress of enacting and on their support of preaching in their dioceses.

The relationships with his friends and pupils reflected Alcuin's importance in the formulation and execution of the reforms, and these men and others were the recipients of his numerous letters in which he furthered his ideas on the importance of preaching. He wrote to his friends and pupils that they should preach often to help their flocks, as he told Paulinus:

> First reveal heaven to your people by a devotion to preaching. Return to the example of Christ who went to towns, villages and farms to evangelize, and who was not even ashamed to enter the houses of publicans and sinners for an opportunity to preach.[7]

Preaching was also the chief means whereby a bishop could acquit himself of his pastoral obligations and so provide for his own salvation, as Alcuin stated to an anonymous English bishop: "This is your work,

holy lord, this is your reward, this is your eternal praise and glory: that you should preach the word of God with great faithfulness to all people."[8] In these letters Alcuin continually exhorted his friends and pupils to preach regularly.

He was also willing to provide more concrete help for those interested in preaching than the general advice he offered in the letters. Alcuin often recommended to priests and bishops that they use Gregory's Pastoral Rule as their guide for pastoral activities.[9] He also showed himself willing to explain obscure passages of Scripture to his friends and pupils, using his knowledge to further understanding for others.[10] In his later years Alcuin wrote homilies and vitae for his friends on request: the Vita Willibrordi for Beornrad of Sens; the Vita Vedasti for Abbot Rado of St. Vaast (790-815); and the Vita Richarii for Angilbert of St. Riquier.[11] Even his letters served as texts for the sermons of other authors. Some writers used collections of letters which were either put together by their recipients or assembled by Alcuin himself as sources for their sermons.[12] Through his exhortations, through the chain of connections he built through the letters, and through his writings, Alcuin stood at the center of the preaching movement which developed out of the reforms.

Alcuin was very interested in developing lay spirituality, as were many of the other reformers. One sign of this interest could be seen in the sermons described above which he wrote to be preached to a popular audience, and another sign was the Liber de virtutibus et vitiis written for Wido, Count of the Breton Marches.[13] The work was to serve Wido as a guide (manualem) on how best to live so as to

prepare himself for Heaven. In that respect it was similar to the Liber exhortationis written by Paulinus of Aquileia for Duke Eric of Friuli.[14] The independent chapters of Alcuin's book on virtues and vices lent themselves to the sermon style, and they too found their way into sermonaries.[15] In the area of developing piety and spiritual zeal among the laity, his concerns matched those of the other reformers.

Alcuin's role in the reforms--especially his position as master of the court school--and his letters had the further significance of identifying other preaching activists through the contacts he made in his letters. Some of the activists, such as Theodulph and Arn, left other evidence of their involvement in preaching, but Alcuin's letters provided an additional view of their activities.[16] For other bishops, such as Remedius of Chur and Nifridius of Narbonne, the letters served as a confirmation of their preaching activities which otherwise left few remaining traces.[17]

The "circle of Alcuin" included most of the bishops active in the reform movement between 785 and 804. There were the bishops in Germany to whom he wrote about the Saxon mission, Riculf of Mainz, Willehad, and Ricbod of Trier.[18] He also wrote to Charlemagne, the royal treasurer Megenfrid, and the bishops who lead the mission to offer advice and ideas on the Avar mission.[19] Leidrad of Lyon and Nifridius, who served on the preaching mission against Adoptionism, received letters, as did other bishops whose connections with the reforms were less clear, such as Peter of Milan (784-805) and Ragenbert of Limoges (791-816).[20] This "circle" also included

Alcuin's pupils Beornrad, Amalar, Candidus, Rabanus Maurus and Aldric of Sens, all of whom had some connection with preaching.[21] Alcuin not only exercised influence on the reform legislation, but also played an important role through his works, advice and exhortations in seeing the reforms executed. His connections to other reformers served in important ways to help answer the question of who preached in the Frankish Church.

Alcuin's letters to and relationships with these bishops serve as confirmatory evidence of their involvement in preaching. Theodulph, Candidus/Wizo, Paulinus, Remedius and Rabanus Maurus all left sermons or sermonaries of their own. Liudger and Willehad both preached to the Saxons as missionaries, and Leidrad and Nifridius preached in the Adoptionist-dominated areas. They all can be safely identified as preachers. Riculf, Ricbod and Arn were heavily involved in both the reforms and in missionary work, and they very probably preached and encouraged preaching in their dioceses. As for the other recipients of his letters, all that can be said is that they too may have preached. Since Alcuin's students would have spent years hearing his ideas on preaching directly from him, it is most probable that they preached. Despite the fact that he wrote sermons, it cannot be determined from his writings whether or not Alcuin himself preached. Since he became neither a priest nor a bishop, it is not likely that he did.

Other bishops who may have preached can be identified by different sources. Hildebald of Cologne had an interest in building up the number of sermonaries possessed by his church as shown by the

sermonary written for him by Lantperhtus.[22] In addition to his participation in the Council of Mainz (813), Hildebald's activities included providing at least one other sermonary to Cologne which contained his ex voto: "Codex Sancti Petri Sub Pio Patre Hildibaldo Scriptus."[23] Using the same types of evidence, it can be argued that the bishops of Augsburg, Freising and Regensburg participated in the preaching movement because of the number of manuscripts of sermonaries which came from those places, most of which were written in the scriptoria of these cathedrals.[24] These bishoprics were all under the control of Arn, archbishop of Salzburg, and all participated in the Saxon and Avar missions. In fact most of the bishops identified as preachers were involved in one or both of the missions, showing how the impulse to train clerics as preachers and to provide them with sermons to spread Christianity to border areas could also pay dividends in providing preachers for the missionaries' own dioceses. The same sermonaries could be used for missionary work or regular Sunday preaching by the priests of the diocese.

Bishops who preached in the more settled areas of Francia during the period 785-825 are not so easily identified. Beyond the known sermons or preaching activities of Theodulph, Leidrad and Agobard, and the bishops of Sens (Beornrad and Aldric), little direct evidence for preaching has survived. From some of the bishops of Francia legislation on preaching has survived. This group included Gerbald of Liège (787-809) and his successor Waltcauld (810-836), Hatto of Basel (802-822), and the four bishops who directed the councils of 813 within Francia, John of Arles (c. 811-819), Fova of

included providing at Index
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Scriptus." [illegible] evidence, it can be argued

Chalon-sur-Saône (813-837), Wulfarius of Rheims (800-816), and Joseph of Tours (807-813).[25] Since no other evidence survives to indicate how stringently the bishops enforced this legislation on preaching, the existence of this legislation provides only indications of probable preaching activity.

Other indications of episcopal concerns with preaching are even more tenuous in nature. The Rule of Chrodegang may have been followed under his successors to secure regular preaching in Metz, and the sermonary written at St. Père-des-Chartres may have genuine connections with the bishops of Chartres.[26] Therefore, bishops of Metz and Chartres between 789 and 885 may be regarded among the group who possibly preached or promoted preaching. Without much-needed studies on the schools and libraries of the various Carolingian centers, it is impossible to go much further in answering the question of who preached. With such studies, it will become possible to connect sermon manuscripts with particular centers and thus to increase the number of bishops who can be identified with the preaching movement.

After 825 the number of known preachers declined dramatically. Only from the diocese of Mainz has any solid evidence for regular preaching survived and that comes largely from the letters of Rabanus Maurus. Haistulf, archbishop of Mainz (813-826), had asked Rabanus to write a sermonary which he apparently used in carrying out his pastoral duties.[27] During the episcopate of Otgar (826-847), Rabanus prepared copies of his work for Humbert of Würzburg (832-842), who had previously been a chorepiscopus under Otgar, and for Reginarius and Aistulph, bishops somewhere in Thuringia.[28] When Rabanus became

archbishop of Mainz in 847, he continued this tradition of supporting preaching, and his works help to identify the recipients of his sermonaries as preachers. Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims (845-882) promulgated legislation on preaching, and his own works contain many references from sermons.[29] Although a number of later bishops--Waltherius of Orléans (869-891), Herardus of Tours (855-869), Isaac of Langres (859-880) and Riculf of Soissons (889-90)--also issued legislation on preaching, much of their legislation consisted of canons repeated verbatim from earlier collections, making it more difficult to assess their interest in preaching.[30]

The sermons which have survived from the period after 830 seem by their content to confirm the rarity of regular preaching on Sundays and feast days. The sermon preached by Lupus and the Valenciennes Old French sermon came from a desire to respond to invasions by the Normans.[31] The sermons by Odo of Beauvais and Radbod of Utrecht were in honor of saints, and Abbo of Fleury produced his florilegium at the request of two bishops.[32] Taken together these sermons suggest that between 830 and 920 little regular preaching took place and that it took some special occasion such as an invasion or saint's day to produce a sermon. None of these later sermons contained the basic moral and doctrinal teachings which characterized the sermons written between 789 and 825, which further indicates the special nature of these late sermons. Not until the time of Atto of Vercelli had conditions returned to even a near similarity with those of the high point of the Carolingian reforms.[33] Atto,

however, could be placed more properly in the Ottonian period than in the period of the Carolingian reforms.

This discussion of who preached and who may have preached has concentrated to this point on the bishops. The reform legislation specified that priests should preach, and, if the reforms were to be truly successful, regular preaching in each parish depended upon presbyteral preaching. Almost no evidence of any sort has survived to indicate to what degree the parish priests became involved in the preaching movement. All that remains are the canons ordering priests to preach, the visitation statutes which bishops used to check up on the activities of priests, and the hundreds of original sermonaries and copies of collections of older works which priests may have read to their flocks on Sundays and feast days. In the final analysis only two priests can be identified positively as preachers: the Bavarians Gamelbert and Rathard. The evidence for their preaching activities will be examined below in the discussion of preaching and sainthood. It would be impossible to determine whether this lack of evidence reflects a lack of preaching activity by priests or the failure of sources describing their activities to survive.

The reformers' desires for more preaching called forth a great amoung of preaching activity by the Carolingian bishops. In turn, the preaching activity left two important traces on the ways in which the bishops expressed themselves and the ways in which they thought about religious life. The preaching movement and the interest in sermons began to influence other types of writing styles and even shaped the definition of sainthood in at least part of the Frankish

Church. One instance of this influence was what could be called the impact of the sermon style. As noted above in Chapter IV, the eighty-second chapter of the Admonitio generalis, the document which initiated the programmatic reform movement under Charlemagne, was written, unlike the preceding eighty-one chapters, in the form of a sermon.[34] This was one of many examples of substance influencing style, something which also occurred in the writing of Theodulph of Orléans' second diocesanal statute, an episcopal capitulary written in sermon form.[35] Alcuin, in a letter written to Charlemagne in 796 on the Avar mission, turned his advice on the conduct of the mission into a sermon-like exhortation.[36] It would be fair to say that the preaching movement influenced the writing style of the leading reformers, and this should not be too surprising given the tremendous amount of work they put into reshaping the sermon traditions they received to meet their own needs.

Indeed, Carolingian clerics reshaped almost the entire body of patristic and early medieval Latin sermons. Much of our knowledge of the works of pre-Carolingian authors is derived from eighth-, ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts, many of which were prepared to meet the needs of Carolingian preachers. Carolingian writers took the sermon endings created as a teaching device by Caesarius of Arles and added them to texts of sermons written by his predecessors.[37] They began the custom of taking sermons of Gregory the Great, which had previously circulated in separate collections, and adding them singly or in groups to their own sermonaries.[38] They adapted their material freely to produce sermons to meet the educational and spiritual needs

written, were the previous seventy-one chapters, in the form of

of ninth-century congregations, so it should be only natural that this activity influenced other forms of writing.

The activities of Carolingian preachers also influenced the life of the Frankish Church at large in the ways in which they regarded sainthood. Until regularized by the reform councils of 813, the process of canonization in the Carolingian period remained very informal: it required only an elevation or translation of the saint's relics and the production of a vita.[39] To control this process the Council of Mainz decided that elevation to sainthood also needed approval from the ruler and an episcopal synod.[40] Before the process was regularized preaching, especially missionary preaching, played a major role in qualifying a candidate for sainthood during the eighth and ninth centuries.

Four missions to the largely pagan peoples brought into the Frankish state contributed a number of saints to the Frankish Church. From the later stages of the Frisian mission came two bishops of Utrecht: Gregory (754-776) and Fridrich (820-838), who was grandson of Radbod, the last duke of the Frisians.[41] The Saxon mission produced saints in Bishops Willehad of Bremen (787-789), Liudger of Münster (802-809), Lul of Mainz (754-789), the monk Lebuin (d. 773) and Abbot Sturmi (774-779) of Fulda.[42] The later missions had a smaller representation as the Avar mission produced only Bishops Virgil of Salzburg (765-784) and Paulinus of Aquileia, and both men would have been regarded as saints without involvement in the mission.[43] The mission to the Danes and Swedes did well in this regard, producing saints in Bishops Ansgar (834-865) and Rimbert (865-888)

of Hamburg-Bremen.[44] All of these men participated in major missionary efforts of the Frankish Church, and their preaching was one reason for their achieving sainthood.

Beyond the missionaries few of the Carolingian reformers made their way into the ranks of the saints. Some bishops in the northern part of Francia, such as Gerold of Evreux (787-860), Hariolfus of Langres (769-785), Remigius of Strasberg (776-783) and Hildegrim of Châlons-sur-Marne (802-827), did achieve sainthood, as did the Bavarian priests Gamelbert (d. 800) and Rathard (beatified, d. 815).[45] In the vitae of these saints, preaching played a role, which helps to identify even more preachers. By contrast, the only individuals involved directly in the reforms to be honored with contemporary vitae were Alcuin, who became the object of a private cult, and Rabanus Maurus.[46]

The vitae of the saints discussed above came from the northern part of Charlemagne's empire, and they can be contrasted to vitae from Aquitaine where different conditions prevailed. The region had been devastated in wars led by Pepin and Charlemagne against Dukes Waifar and Hunold in which Pepin and Charlemagne sought to re-establish Frankish supremacy over what had become a virtually independent state within a state. The church re-established in Aquitaine was monastic in nature, and bishops had little independent power.[47] This fact was clearly reflected in the vitae where sanctity was a quality connected with the monastic life. Even in the episcopal vitae preaching and pastoral care played little part in establishing sanctity.[48] By contrast it can be seen that the preaching movement

created by the reform legislation influenced the idea of sanctity in those areas of the north where a degree of regular preaching was obtained.

This first stage in the attempt to answer the question of who preached in the Frankish Church has raised as many questions as it has answered. Given the state of our evidence, however, a more complete answer is not yet possible. The material presented here, along with what we know of the legislation and the manuscripts, does allow some suggestions to be made. The larger number of Frankish bishops between 789 and 825 carried out the wishes of Charlemagne regarding reform.[49] The canons from councils and synodal statutes which were modelled after similar provisions in the capitularies and imperial councils of 813 illustrated how important Charlemagne's leadership was in gaining acceptance for the reforms.

A certain amount of coordination was achieved for large-scale preaching efforts due to the fact that the articulation of the reforms coincided with a missionary effort on three fronts: Bohemia and Carinthia, Saxony, and Frisia. The bishops who directed the missionary activities also turned their efforts to securing regular preaching in their own dioceses. Thus we have the visitation sermon of Paulinus and the sermonaries connected with Arn of Salzburg, the vitae evidence, the sermonaries written for Hildebald and Haistulf, and the vernacular material from Germany, and the vitae evidence and legislation from the bishoprics of Utrecht and Liège. The activity engendered by the missions carried over into the dioceses of the bishops who led them.

That other bishoprics outside of the missionary districts participated in the preaching movement we know from the evidence surviving concerning Lyon, Theodulph of Orléans, the St.-Père sermonary, and the fourteen homilies from northern Italy. It was in the areas away from the missionary fields, however, that efforts to secure regular preaching depended most upon the dedication and abilities of individual bishops. The presence of a missionary district provided additional incentive for a bishop to produce trained preachers. It was in areas where this additional incentive was lacking that the reforms were most likely to be ignored. After 825 the royal missionary efforts came to an end, except for the mission of Ansgar, and the Frankish Church began to suffer from the effects of civil war and invasions as did the other Carolingian institutions. After 825 the reforms and preaching fell upon hard times, and they were both now totally dependent upon the capabilities of individual bishops until attempts at restoration were made by the successors of the Carolingians. To continue the examination of who preached and where preaching took place, however, it is necessary to look at the missions and Carolingian preaching, and then to look at the role of the monks in the preaching movement.

* * * * *

The missions under Charlemagne differed greatly from the earlier Anglo-Saxon missions in that they generally followed military victories. While the Anglo-Saxons and other early missionaries usually tried to secure the political and military protection of a powerful prince, once they entered the district they were evangelizing, they

were basically on their own. The Carolingian missionaries became part of the political and religious establishment set up to pacify the conquered areas. Although the conditions in which they worked had changed, the Carolingian missionaries used the same methods of preaching and persuasion as had their Anglo-Saxon predecessors. This similarity of method was not too surprising since some of the older participants in the Saxon mission--e.g., Sturmi and Willehad--had served under Boniface.

The Carolingian royal missionary enterprise began in 772 with the conquest of Saxony in which the Heresburg fortress and the Irminsul cult center were destroyed. The initial victory was anything but permanent since Charlemagne faced revolts led by Widukind in 778, 782-5, 793 and 795-7 with the final pacification of Saxony coming only in 797.[50] Hostilities between the Saxons and Franks made things difficult for the missionaries, but by 810 the organization of a Saxon Church was an accomplished fact.[51]

Attempts at the conversion of the Saxons had been in train before the military campaigns began. Lebuin, an Anglo-Saxon missionary, preached to the Saxons between 753 and 770 with only limited success, and his efforts were a continuation of the abortive mission Boniface had attempted in the 740s.[52] Although some conversions were made by the missionaries, the repeated rebellions of the Saxons meant that ultimate success depended upon the political and military force brought to bear upon the Saxons by Charlemagne. The Saxons seem to have had a highly organized religion of their own with such Germanic deities as Wotan and Thor and a national deity called Saxnote around

whom resistance to the Christian Franks was organized by Widukind.[53] Part of the problem was the rejection by the Saxons of Frankish political control and the imposition of tithes, a point Alcuin referred to when drawing lessons from the Saxon experience to apply to the Avar mission.[54] The nature of Frankish aims in Saxony--i.e., total domination and assimilation of the Saxons--meant that the use of force was inevitable.

The problems which the missionaries faced were reflected in the vitae of the missionary saints. The missionaries went among the Saxons and preached, bringing about conversions, and then built churches and monasteries.[55] Little remains of the preaching activity connected with the Saxon mission: the sermon in the Vita Lebuini antiqui (written after the fact) suggested that the missionaries followed the simple catechetical pattern established by Boniface.[56] This preaching was conducted under almost impossible conditions. The missionaries were forced to rebuild their churches and regroup their flocks as a consequence of the different rebellions.[57] It remains difficult to say how important missionary preaching was in effecting the conversion of the Saxons when legislation such as the Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae (785) threatened them with death for burning churches, killing priests or participating in pagan ceremonies.[58] In the final analysis, such punishments and the repeated resettlements of Saxons who rebelled probably contributed more to the conversion of Saxony than preaching did.

The effects of preaching achieved more important results when the missionary districts were organized into different episcopates

where a regular ecclesiastical life was established. In the vitae, the promotion of the missionary to a bishopric was a recognition of success and the beginning of a new period in his career.[59] In Germany during the more settled period after 795 a number of the sermons and collections referred to in Chapter V were written. The sermonary written for Haistulf of Mainz by Rabanus Maurus and the collections assembled by Hildebald of Cologne illustrated how quickly the converted areas were brought into the pattern of life established by the Frankish Church and the reformers.

While the Saxon mission and campaigns were in progress, two other preaching missions began. The first of these received its direction from the court, chiefly at the hands of Alcuin, and was directed against the people in southern Gaul and northern Spain who followed Adoptionism.[60] The leaders of this movement, Bishops Elipandus of Toledo and Felix of Urgel, were not active after 798, and the main threat of Adoptionism had been dealt with by the Councils of Frankfurt (794) and Friuli (796). By 800, however, the number of people who remained "infected" by this heresy was deemed sufficiently great for Charlemagne and Alcuin to commission Bishops Leidrad of Lyon and Nifridius of Narbonne, along with Abbot Benedict of Aniane, to travel throughout the Pyrenees to convert the Adoptionists back to orthodoxy.[61] As texts for their preaching, the three men were to use Alcuin's Adversus Elipandus libri IV, copies of which he sent to them.[62]

This mission enjoyed great success. It began in the spring of 800, and by late June Alcuin reported that the missionaries were

working in the western part of the Pyrenees area and were "extinguishing and removing this most evil declaration of infidelity."[63] A short time later he stated that the mission had been a complete success "converting some 20,000 among whom were bishops, priests, monks, men and women."[64] It is unfortunate that so little information regarding the mechanics of this mission has survived since it was one of the few occasions in which conversions, or reconversions, were achieved without force.[65] This mission also illustrated the weakness of the episcopal church in Aquitaine, since its personnel came from dioceses outside of Aquitaine proper.

The last missionary enterprise conducted during Charlemagne's reign resulted, as did the Saxon mission, from a military victory, in this case over the Avars in 791/2.[66] This initial success was followed by a second victory and the looting of the famous Ring in 795. The events of 795 led to Carolingian control of the Avar lands in Carinthia and Pannonia and the organization of a mission in the following year. Advance planning and organizing was to be the key to this mission, and the leading figure in making preparations was Alcuin.[67] He wrote to the bishops directing the mission, Paulinus and Arn, urging them to convert the peoples of Carinthia by preaching, and not to impose heavy tithes upon them. As he told Arn:

> And be a preacher of piety not an exactor of tithes, because a new soul ought to be fed on the milk of apostolic piety with which it will grow, get healthy, and be strong enough to accept solid food. Tithes, it is said, subverted the faith of the Saxons. Who would impose a yoke on the necks of the ignorant, which neither we nor our brothers could bear? Therefore we should trust in the faith of Christ to save souls through belief.[68]

Alcuin believed strongly that the imposition of tithes on the Saxons had been a cause of the frequent revolts against the Franks and their religion.

He had more positive methods for converting the Avars than those which were used in Saxony, and he developed his ideas in a letter written to Charlemagne. The Avars should be taught the immortality of the soul and its future judgment, along with the sins and virtues which would bring future punishments and rewards. Then they should be instructed in the Trinity, in the life and passion of Christ whose resurrection promised eternal life for all who followed His teachings, and they should again be reminded that this future resurrection would bring a judgment for all peoples. So instructed, they would be prepared for baptism.[69] This instruction could be accomplished by preaching to groups of catechumens or through individual instruction. Preaching after baptism would provide continuing Christian education:

> At this opportune time the Gospel precepts ought to be given [to a new convert] through the activity of sedulous preaching, by which he shall grow to be a perfect man, and he shall be made both a dwelling worthy of the Holy Spirit and a perfect son of God in works of charity, just as our heavenly Father is perfect; who lives and reigns in perfect trinity and blessed unity, God and Lord world without end, Amen![70]

Alcuin wanted this mission to succeed, and he felt that preaching would be more useful over the long term than force would be.

The ideas on preaching which Alcuin developed at the court were ably carried out in the field by his friend Arn of Salzburg. Arn obeyed Charlemagne's command to evangelize Carinthia by preaching, and he organized a Carinthian church under a Bishop Theoderic.[71] To carry out this mission Arn used clerics from all over his archdiocese.

Berowulf of Würzburg (768/9-800) was responsible for building and staffing some fourteen churches among the Slavs. Monks from St. Polten, Tegernsee and Mondsee served as missionaries, and Arn also used chorepiscopi from Salzburg and Passau as missionaries.[72] Arn's work succeeded so well that, despite a minor revolt in 802-3, the Carinthian Church was holding councils of its own under a Christian king, Priwina, by the 850s.[73] Much of this success was due to careful local planning and the participation of a wide number of Arn's subordinates.

Planning for the Avar mission began at the Council ad ripas Danubii in 796, in which post-baptismal instruction through preaching was emphasized, and continued in the Council of Reisbach of 798, where Arn issued his Instructio pastoralis.[74] The canons of these councils were drawn up with two ends in mind: to improve the level of the clergy at home, while at the same time employing others from the pool of improved clergy as missionaries. Here too the concentration on preaching for the missionary district paid dividends in terms of increased attention to preaching in Arn's local dioceses. The diocese of Freising, for example, saw both the production of the Missions-Katechismus, edited by Heer, written for the missionary work in Carinthia, and the creation of a number of sermonaries which could be used either by the missionaries or the parish priests of the diocese for regular dominical preaching.[75] The part played by Paulinus of Aquileia in this mission was less well documented, but his endeavors also began with the Council of Friuli (796). This council was held to improve conditions in Aquileia and prepare a body of clerics for

participation in the Avar mission. Beyond the bare fact that he was involved in the conversion of the Avars, however, no trace of Paulinus' missionary activities has survived.

The role played by monks as missionaries continued to flourish in the Avar mission. It was probably in order to aid the missionary activities of the monastery of Mondsee that the monks of Murbach in Alsace sent the collection now known as the Mondsee Fragments--sermons and other works translated into the vernacular--to Mondsee.[76] The monk-missionaries helped in the conversion of the peoples of Carinthia and established parishes there, although these were taken from them once a secular hierarchy was established.[77] The success of the Avar mission came from the energies of Arn of Salzburg, who relied very much upon preaching as his chief means of conversion. This was to be the last successful Carolingian missionary enterprise.

Louis the Pious sent the last mission under royal sponsorship in 822 into Denmark as a means of preventing the Norman raids that were beginning to plague his empire. He sent Ebbo of Rheims, Halitgar of Cambrai, and Willerich of Bremen as missionaries to Denmark, and they were accompanied by Harald, a pretender to the Danish throne.[78] Should Harald, the pretender, be able to gain the Danish throne, he would be a useful ally for Louis and greatly aid the process of Christianizing the Danes. It was on the occasion of their departure that Louis supposedly spoke the "missionary sermon" of advice to Ebbo which Ermoldus Nigellus recorded in his poem In Honor of Louis the Pious.[79] This "missionary sermon" stressed the importance preaching should have in converting the Danes to Christianity. Norman invasions

disrupted this mission, and the project was abandoned for some ten years. When a new northern mission was attempted in 832, Ebbo was no longer in favor and was replaced by the missionary-monk Ansgar.

Ansgar entered monastic life at Corbie and was one of the monks who left for the new foundation of Corvey in Saxony. In the new location he became head of the school and also preached to the people who came to the monastery's church.[80] This early training was similar to that other missionary-monks, including Boniface, had received.[81] When the call for volunteers came in 832, Ansgar answered it and received consecration as bishop of Hamburg at the hands of Pope Gregory IV to gain additional authority.[82]

From 832 to about 845 Ansgar's mission prospered. He redeemed Danish captives to use as evangelizers among their compatriots, and he erected a cathedral church, monastery and small library in Hamburg.[83] Hamburg served as the base for his missionary journeys into Denmark and initially these proved successful in winning converts. He emphasized preaching as the chief means of conversion, and his disciple Rimbert reported brief fragments of his teaching showing that, as earlier missionaries had done, Ansgar used the themes of the Last Judgment and the power of God to persuade the Danes to convert:

> "If," he said, "you wish to pray, pray and make your vows to the Lord God Almighty, who reigns in heaven and whom I serve with a pure conscience and right faith. He is the Lord of all and all are placed within His will, nor is there anyone who can resist it. If therefore you seek His aid with all your heart, you will not feel the force of His omnipotence in the future."[84]

Such arguments were very much in the Carolingian missionary tradition.

Ansgar's mission began with great optimism; after all, he had the support of Louis the Pious and the papacy.[85] As the Carolingian Empire weakened under the strain of invasions and civil war, that support failed, and Ansgar's missionary efforts came to an end in 845 when the Danes killed his converts and burned his churches.[86] He spent the remainder of his life ministering to the needs of his diocese of Hamburg. This marked the end of Carolingian missionary activities.

On the whole the missionary work done by the Carolingian clergy fitted in very well with the spirit of the reforms. The missionaries tried to bring new peoples into the Carolingian Christian community through persuasion and then to provide them with a regular church life under the direction of an ecclesiastical hierarchy, precisely what the reformers were doing for the rest of the Carolingian world. In both cases preaching played a major role as a teaching device and a means of communication. So this missionary activity testified to the popularity of the sermon and helped answer the questions of who preached and where preaching took place in the Carolingian Church.

* * * * *

The participation of Carolingian monks and abbots in the preaching activities generated by the reforms has been the subject of much controversy. Some measure of their involvement has already been seen: they served as missionaries in all of the Carolingian missionary districts; and Alcuin wrote his sermons on saints to be preached ad populum for three different abbots. On the other hand much of the Carolingian legislation on monasticism strove to keep monks and nuns in

their monasteries and to place parishes under monastic control within the secular episcopal hierarchy. However, the monks became too important as a source of educated preachers to be completely shut out of the preaching movement, and they continued to serve as missionaries and parish priests despite the legislation.

Charlemagne began the attempt to remove monks from pastoral work by making Chrodegang's Rule standard throughout his kingdom in the Admonitio generalis. The Rule had the effect of organizing cathedral clergy into a semi-monastic body which prevented outsiders, i.e., monks, from serving cathedrals in their places. He continued efforts at excluding monks from secular activities at various points during his reign.[87] Bishops also made strong efforts to remove rural parishes from monks, only permitting them to serve in the churches of the monastic villae.[88] Louis the Pious went even further in the reform councils of 816 and 817 which completely reorganized monastic life throughout the empire. By 836 Louis' Council of Aachen had forbidden monks to engage in any secular or ecclesiastical affairs whatsoever.[89] Faced with these and other pieces of legislation, historians such as Joseph Semmler have agreed that the monks played only an accidental role in pastoral work and preaching.[90]

At the same time the legislation denied pastoral work to monks, it also demanded from the bishops the production of trained preachers. One of the major problems presented to bishops by the reforms was the fact that they were suddenly required to produce a large number of educated priests competent to serve the parishes under their control. While sufficient evidence on the number and nature of the inferior

clergy has not survived to allow a definite statement, there has been general agreement that recruitment of competent clerics was insufficient even during the period of greatest reform activity (789-825).[91] Despite the legislation, monk-priests continued to serve the pastoral needs in rural areas around monasteries where no priests could be found.[92] After 840 when civil war and invasions made the recruitment of competent priests even more difficult, bishops such as Rabanus Maurus surrendered to necessity when they allowed monks to administer parishes with the consent of bishops and under episcopal supervision.[93]

Much of the pastoral attention of the monk-priests was focused on parishes in and around some of the great monasteries. The land acquired by the monasteries contained villages and their churches, and where the latter did not exist, the monks built them. St. Germain-des-Près owned thirty-six churches, St. Remi of Rheims thirteen and St. Germain of Auxerre ten.[94] The increase in landed estates corresponded in many of the major houses with an increase in the number of ordained monks.[95] Monks of St. Germain-des-Près and St. Gall served as priests for their monastic Eigenkirchen as could be seen in polyptiques and charters.[96] In the face of legislation intended to keep them in the cloister, monk-priests continued to serve the pastoral needs of parishes into the tenth and eleventh centuries.[97]

Even where the monks lost parishes to bishops, the sources suggest that bishops were interested only in what they themselves could control and not in total divestiture. In a dispute between Bishop Vitalis of Bologna and Abbot Anselm of Nonantula over the rights of the church of St. Mammae, Charlemagne decreed that the abbot could

make appointments and that the bishop's sole right was that of ordaining the new priests.[98] Abbot Amalardus of Hornbach complained to Archbishop Riculf of Mainz that one of his parishes had been wrongfully taken from him by Bernarius, bishop of Worms.[99] When Mondsee and Tegernsee lost parishes to the bishop of Freising, the sources suggest that the parishes involved were in Bavaria, and that both monasteries kept their parishes in Carinthia for at least the first half of the ninth century.[100]

Some indication of how the monks performed their pastoral duties may be preserved in Paris, BN lat. 13378, s. IX (olim St. Germain-des-Près 101). This manuscript, which contained twenty-eight sermons taken from the works of Augustine, Maximus of Turin, Caesarius and Ildefonsus arranged for the principal feasts of the liturgical year, was an ideal sermonary for a monk-priest.[101] Its size (93 by 140 millimeters) made it easily portable for a monk on a preaching tour of monastic Eigenkirche, and it is significant that monks of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century preaching orders carried sermonaries of a similar size to assist them in their preaching duties.[102] Given the greater accessibility of written works and education in a monastery, it would have been easier for a monk-priest to meet the requirements of the reformers for preachers than it would for his secular colleague.

Besides their direct participation in the preaching movement, monks, and even nuns, served in supporting roles for the secular clergy. Many monasteries, such as Tours under Alcuin and Fridugisius, Fleury, Corbie, Fulda, Lorsch, Reichenau and St. Gall, were famed

Bradshaw Stanzi of Tenure

Fully taken from him by Bernardus, Bishop of

centers of book production.[103] Each of these centers produced sermonaries in addition to works more suited to the educational and devotional tastes of the monks themselves. The nuns of Chelles copied books for the library of Hildebald of Cologne, and Arn, who had been abbot of St. Amand before becoming bishop of Salzburg in 785, brought monks with him to establish a scriptorium in Salzburg.[104] Bishops who required that their priests possess sermonaries and guides to the Mass must have often relied upon the services of monastic scriptoria to produce the necessary volumes.

The monastic centers of Carolingian Europe played important roles in furnishing missionaries, priests and publishing houses to help in carrying out the desires of the reformers. It remains difficult to assess the full measure of monastic participation, since when monks helped to carry out legislation on regular preaching, they were in violation in many areas of other legislation which regulated their position in church life. Although it would be impossible to identify specific monk-preachers beyond the known missionary saints, as has been seen above the monk-priests did parish work. In certain areas of the Carolingian Empire they were responsible for the extension of reformed Christianity into the countryside.

Although we can identify many bishops who preached, the preaching activities of most of the Carolingian episcopate and the monks of the Carolingian world have left only tentative records behind them. Charlemagne made a determined effort to use his control of ecclesiastical appointments as a means of insuring the implementation of reform. His appointment of such figures as Paulinus, Theodulph,

Arn, Hildebald and Riculf illustrated this. The bishops in turn showed their support by producing sermonaries and legislation to provide enforcement of preaching on the local level; indeed, the bishops' willingness to involve themselves in the preaching activities made the difference between success and failure.

There probably can be no final answers to the questions of who preached and where preaching took place. From the material examined above, it can be said that preaching activity was greatest in Germany and northern Italy, thanks mainly to the presence of two adjoining missionary districts in Saxony and Carinthia. There was much activity along the northern border of the empire--the Rhine river area and Frisia--which carried over into northern Francia. Preaching activity in these areas is also confirmed by the surviving sermon evidence. In the southern regions of Francia outside of the dioceses of Orléans, Tours and Lyons, neither legislation nor sermon sources have survived. From this evidence, as from the legislation, the indications of preaching activity are strongest for the period 789 to 825 with only scattered individual references for the rest of the period. With this we shall leave the question of who preached and take up the conditions of preaching in the Frankish Church.

* * * * *

Understanding the conditions of preaching in the Carolingian world involves discussions of the problems of how preachers were trained, when sermons were preached and in what language sermons were delivered. If some Carolingian bishops neither preached nor involved themselves in preaching or reform activities, then blame for their

inactivity should not be placed on difficulties inherent in preaching. The Carolingians produced a large body of sermons to help the clergy preach. They also developed a variety of methods for educating new preachers and providing what we might call "continuing education" for serving clerics. The context of the sermon was the Mass itself, and all of the secular clergy were expected to be able to say Mass. The reformers attempted not only to require regular preaching on Sundays and feast days, but also to bring that task within the competence of all the clergy.

In a similar manner they also sought to ensure that the clergy would preach in a language which the common people would understand. The legislation required vernacular preaching, and, to achieve this end, many religious texts and some sermons were translated into the vernacular. Most clerics, however, could reasonably be expected to turn written Latin sermons into oral vernacular preaching by sight translations of the texts. The Carolingian reformers took great pains to ensure that the preaching demands of the legislation could be carried out by the clergy, and where they foresaw problems, the reformers attempted to provide educational or language tools to aid the clergy in their preaching endeavors.

Education occupied a central place in Charlemagne's ideas on religious reform from the very beginning. The Court School had been established before the reforms were put forward, and in two chapters of the Admonitio he laid down orders for the education of priests and for the establishment of schools in monasteries and cathedrals.[105] The two chapters placed responsibility for the education of priests

on the bishops. The schools, from the description of the subjects to be taught in them, were intended to educate boys for the clergy. Charlemagne's interest in education was practical in nature. He desired to create new patterns of religious life and institutions--in this case, schools--which would ensure the continued existence of a trained clergy into the future.[106] This same concern could be seen in the Epistola de litteris colendis, a capitulary sent to Abbot Baugulf of Fulda, copies of which were sent to all the bishops and abbots in the Carolingian state. This capitulary ordered the erecting of schools in all monastic and episcopal centers.[107]

Charlemagne pursued the problem of education in his instructions to the missi, requiring them, as was discussed in Chapter IV above, to inquire minutely into the supervision given to priests by their bishops. Some degree of his interest in education could be seen in canon three of the Council of Chalon-sur-Sâone (813) in which schools were ordered to be built "just as the lord Emperor Charles, a man of singular gentleness, fortitude, prudence, justice and temperance, has ordered."[108] Royal legislation on schools continued into the reign of Louis the Pious, most notably at the Council of Attigny.[109] As a result of the civil wars and Viking invasions of the 830s, no overall royal policy on education could be followed. Education once more became solely the product of local initiative without the royal support which had made it successful during Charlemagne's reign.[110]

Many of Charlemagne's bishops showed themselves quite willing to involve themselves in education on the local level. Theodulph of Orléans told his priests to establish schools per villas et vicos and

ordered them not to extort fees from parents beyond what they could willingly give.[111] Priests in the diocese of Orléans could send their relatives who wished to become clerics to the cathedral school or to any of a number of monastic schools showing that the diocese was well prepared to meet Charlemagne's requirements.[112] Educational legislation also came from Arn of Salzburg and the author of the Vesoul statute, while Leidrad of Lyons reported to Charlemagne on his success in establishing schools.[113]

The work of the Carolingians in creating schools is well known, but the ways in which preachers were educated still needs to be examined. One method involved using a text specifically designed for that purpose. Alcuin recommended Gregory the Great's Pastoral Rule, and Charlemagne's legislation pursued this by ordering bishops and priests to possess copies.[114] This work, written to guide clerics in the styles and manner of preaching, was held in high regard by the Carolingian clergy. As we have seen, Gregory's Pastoral Rule taught would-be preachers how to adapt the contents of their sermons to the various spiritual needs of the people to whom they preached. The Pastoral Rule was intended by the reformers to teach the clergy how to implement the spirit of the reforms through preaching.

Another such text which achieved great popularity was Rabanus Maurus' De clericorum institutione written in 819 for Haistulf of Mainz.[115] This work was written with the resources of the library of Fulda, and it illustrated the type of education which a monastic or cathedral school could provide for the Carolingian clergy.[116] Rabanus treated a number of subjects which he thought of use to the

future cleric. He explained in Book III which dealt with preaching that it was necessary to be able to preach to people in their own language because the preacher was not speaking to the learned but rather to those who were untaught.[117] He set down rules for exegesis, the explication of passages of Scripture. Rabanus told preachers to make doctrinal points from obscure passages clear by using explanations drawn from parallel passages. Where no parallels existed, the preacher should use the context of the passage to explain it. As a last resort, preachers should use their own judgment guided by orthodoxy.[118] Suppose, to use Rabanus' example, a preacher wanted to interpret the words of John's Gospel "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God. . . ." This would present problems for people newly converted who had only recently learned that God came before all other created things. The preacher would know by the rules of faith that God was the creator of all things, and that the passage should be explained in this manner: in the beginning was God and the Word was with God. These rules of exegesis allowed preachers to interpret Scripture without raising problems for the faith of their flocks.

Rabanus also summarized Book III of Gregory's Pastoral Rule in one long chapter, providing a clear precis of material which must have been heavy going for ninth-century priests.[119] Gregory's Rule and the De clericorum institutione could be read by individual clerics on their own, or they could be used by the masters of the cathedral schools as the bases for lectures to students on how preaching should be done. Since the two works were divided into many small chapters, they could be used equally well in either method. These

were the formal texts called upon to aid in the education of Carolingian preachers.

The masters of the cathedral schools used sermons and florilegia (collections of short extracts from sermons and other works) to educate future preachers. A manuscript used by Martin Scottus of Laon included sections on the Trinity, clerical life, and matrimony. Martin employed eight sermons and other selections to illustrate his ideas.[120] Florus, master of the cathedral school of Lyon, also prepared teaching collections for the education of clerics which included sermons. His collection De Fide was designed to explicate the Creed and examine various christological controversies.[121] Abbo of St. Germain-des-Près also prepared a collection consisting of five sermons and 145 shorter pieces which included explanatory passages on words and phrases which might cause confusion.[122] The masters who prepared these florilegia would use them to lecture to students on the materials which the various selections represented. The sermons which these florilegia contained could be used as models to illustrate how sermons should be prepared. Although these three masters worked in the period 830-920, their methods can be taken to illustrate teaching methods used by earlier Carolingian masters since educational needs and standards remained constant throughout the ninth century.

In addition to the set texts and florilegia, some Carolingian pastoral manuals have also survived from the ninth century. The pastoral manuals were written for, and used by, bishops whose activities would preclude a return to formal schooling to improve their

preaching abilities. One of these (Paris, BN lat. 10612, s. IX) illustrates how such a manual was organized.[123] The collection begins with two short works which listed the orthodox councils and explicated the Nicene Creed (ff. 2-15). It continues with Pseudo-Gregory the Great's commentaries on the four Gospels (ff. 15-81), and includes a number of short pieces on clerical duties and exegesis (ff. 81-124). The collection also contains fifteen model sermons from Augustine, Caesarius and others (ff. 124-155) and concludes with a short treatise on orthography (ff. 155-157v). The pieces were written by the same hand and there was no sign of later interpolations, which supports the idea that this was a collection prepared for the use of some bishop. This belief received further confirmation from the discovery of a second copy of the manual in Cologne (Dombibliothek LXXXV (olim Darmstadt 2086), s. IX).[124]

A second pastoral manual is found in Paris, BN lat. 2328, s. IX (St. Martial de Limoges), which contains works with more of an exhortational approach than the previous manual does.[125] This manual begins with an almost complete version of Isidore of Seville's Sententiae (ff. 2-79v). It continues with Alcuin's Liber de virtutibus et de vitiis, chapters of which were used as sermons in Carolingian sermonaries, an exegetical work De lapidibus et gemmis and Alcuin's epitaph (ff. 80-96v). There follows the seven "Catholic Epistles," a short work on baptism and an expositio missae (ff. 97-115v). The manual concludes with eight sermons which included works by Augustine and Caesarius, and the Vitae sanctae Marinae (ff. 115v-124v).

These pastoral manuals provided a sort of continuing education for bishops whose pastoral duties included preaching.[126] This can be seen from the contents of the manuals. Both of them contained works on exegesis which would help a bishop interpret Scripture and take from it passages to be used as illustrations in sermons (the Ps.-Gregory commentaries in 10612, and Isidore's Sententiae in 2328). The second manual contained Alcuin's Liber de virtutibus et de vitiis, chapters of which could also be used by a bishop as sources for his sermons or as sermons in their own right. Finally, both provided examples of sermons used for popular preaching. The bishop could either model his own sermons after these examples or, if pressed for time, read one of the sermons at Mass. These manuals, along with the set texts and the florilegia of the masters, illustrated the variety of materials and methods which the Carolingians could employ to educate their preachers.

A bishop's involvement in education required a great deal of time and resources, as did training masters and furnishing a scriptorium and library. Bishops also had to provide their priests with several books among which were a sacramentary, lectionary, antiphonary, psalter, sermonary and one or two others depending on the canon in question.[127] A book of some 150 folio pages took on the average two or three months to copy and required the skins of about nineteen sheep or calves.[128] Despite the difficulties and expense, many bishops built strong collections as Arn did at Salzburg, and some priests were able to collect sizeable collections of books (i.e., ten to twenty).[129] The expense involved in education provided

yet another reason why the reforms and the preaching movement they generated had such a short duration throughout the Carolingian Empire as a whole. As civil wars and invasions involved region after region, bishops would have other uses for their resources. A preaching clergy depended upon book production and schools, and when these were no longer available, the reform movement became increasingly fragmented, as did the empire which produced it.

* * * * *

Just as reformers relied upon schools, texts and manuals to educate their preaching clergy, so too they relied upon the sermon to educate the great mass of the populace. This reliance gives rise to the questions of when and how the people received this education, or, in other words, when and in what language did they hear sermons.

It has been generally accepted that sermons were preached during the Mass on Sundays and feast days, whether by the bishop in his cathedral or by the priest in his parish church.[130] This traditional view is supported by the physical evidence of the legislation and the sermons. The capitularies connected the Mass with preaching as early as 785 and other references can be found as the legislation continued to come out.[131] Legislation ordering priests to possess sermonaries connected their use to Sundays and feast days, providing another tie between the sermon and the Mass.[132] Episcopal statutes repeated similar provisions linking the sermon and the Mass.[133] The clearest statement of all came in an anonymous episcopal statute:

> We order that each of your priests on two or three of the weekly Sundays or feast days of the saints shall strive to teach the people subject to you the healthful doctrine from the Holy Scripture in the church assigned

> you after the Gospel has been read, and to order the people that no one shall leave the church before the blessing of the priest or deacon, that is "Blessed by the Lord" or "Go, the Mass is ended," is spoken.[134]

The Carolingian legislation was written with the idea clearly in mind that sermons would be preached at Mass after the Gospel.

The sermons themselves reflected this fact. Many Carolingian sermons began with references to the Gospel lesson for the day, such as "Audivimus, fratres charissimi, cum sacrum legeretur evangelium . . ." or "Lectio evangelica quam audistis, fratres. . . ."[135] Some sermons were edited from manuscripts which contained the Gospel text to which the sermons referred, and also mentioned the celebration of the Mass explicitly.[136] Others referred to the Gospel text in the middle of the discussions to underline points being made.[137] These sermons, all of which were intended for popular preaching, would have been meaningless outside of their intended context of the canon of the Mass.

However, Milton Gatch has questioned this accepted view and argues that the legislation did not define what was meant by preaching nor did it specify the liturgical setting for the sermon. He also argues that Carolingian expositiones missae made no reference to the sermon, and, in making this claim, Gatch referred particularly to the Liber officialis of Amalarius.[138] For these reasons he believed that the Carolingian popular preaching came only from a type of parish sermon known as the Prone, which was connected with parochial prayers and announcements and could be detached from the setting of the Mass. For these reasons, Gatch believed that we do not actually possess any Carolingian sermons used for popular preaching. Since nothing resembling a Prone has survived from the Carolingian period, he argued

that no Carolingian popular sermons now exist in the manuscripts which have survived.[139]

Upon closer examination Gatch's argument loses a great deal of its force. He used only secondary works to support his ideas about the Prone. Those works described the Prone as any sermon used for popular preaching in the Mass after the Gospel lection. In addition, those same works pointed out that, as a parish sermon, the Prone became prominent only in the parish system developed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[140] The term Prone has also been used to describe the sermons of Caesarius of Arles.[141] Gatch's notion of a Carolingian Prone in the form of a parish sermon delivered independently of the Mass simply has no support in the secondary works he used. In addition, the word Prone cannot be found in any contemporary documents.

His close reliance on the treatise of Amalarius (the Liber officialis) also fails to support his argument. Amalarius, who had been bishop of Trier (809-814), left the secular clergy and returned to the monastic life in 814. When he wrote out the third version of his Liber officialis in 831-3, he was living as a member of the congregation at Corbie and used as his main source Roman liturgical works which he regarded as having more authority than those which circulated in Francia.[142] The Liber officialis provided a description of a monastic Mass in which the sermon would have no place. The congregation of Corbie would have heard sermons in the multiple lessons of the Night Office, and the Roman liturgy upon which Amalarius based his work dropped any mention of the sermon after

the time of Gregory the Great.[143] These are two basic reasons for Amalarius' "reticence on the subject of preaching" which have nothing at all to do with Prones.

Despite Gatch's objections, it remains safe to say that sermons were preached during the Mass in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries. The legislation stated that sermons were to be preached on Sundays and feast days, while the sermons showed that their authors set them clearly in the liturgical framework of the Mass.

* * * * *

Another reason why Gatch refused to believe that the Latin sermons we possess today saw use in preaching came from the conciliar legislation on the vernacular. Although he did not discuss the problem directly, he saw "the relative lack of vernacular preaching texts" as yet another reason to believe in the existence of an extra-liturgical sermon or Prone.[144] The surviving vernacular sermon evidence has already been examined in Chapter V of this study, but here we will examine how the vernacular was used and why so few vernacular sermons have survived.

Charlemagne's empire was essentially trilingual as shown by canon XVII of the Council of Tours. Written in the purified Latin spoken by the clergy, it advised preachers to be able to translate their sermons in the rustic Roman language or in Germanic so that all could understand the words.[145] The actual problem faced by the Carolingians was even greater because each of the vernaculars, the rustica romana lingua and theotica, possessed numerous dialectical subdivisions, some of which differed as much from one another as

each of the larger divisions did.[146] Fortunately for the reformers this problem of language found its solution in another aspect of the reforms.

Charlemagne and the other reformers had as one of their chief desires the reform of the liturgy and of the text of the Bible.[147] In purifying the language of the liturgy, however, the reformers removed it irretrievably from the development of the Romance or proto-Romance vulgar tongues.[148] This necessarily meant that all clerics who learned Latin, particularly those clerics from Germanic areas, would learn it as a foreign language, and once they had learned Latin, they would be bilingual. People who learned Latin in the Carolingian period did so by studying the Latin grammars of Priscian and Donatus, and they also used glossaries (long word lists) for the development of vocabulary.[149] Thus the clergy acquired grammatical and vocabulary skills which could also be applied to their native tongues.

Some indication of how this application was achieved has been preserved in the many Latin-German glossaries that have survived from the eighth and ninth centuries.[150] Word lists have been found containing translations of words from the Old and New Testaments along with a variety of ecclesiastical terms.[151] From the glossaries came the words which could be used in translating creeds, baptismal vows, religious tracts and sermons. But why were so few sermons translated into the vernacular?

Part of the answer can be found in the nature of the surviving glossed materials. It has long been suggested that most vernacular preaching came from sight translation of Latin sermons or schema for

sermons.[152] Some evidence that such preaching took place could be found in the German glosses on sermons by Augustine, Caesarius, Gregory and others.[153] The Abrogans gloss, so called after its initial word, has been attributed to Bishop Arbeo of Freising (764-84), who wrote the gloss to explain to a vernacular audience some words in his sermons.[154] These glosses explained difficult or unusual words in the sense of canon XIII of the episcopal statute of Vesoul which advised priests to seek help from the learned in such matters.[155] Additional confirmation for sight translation preaching can also be found in the bilingual sermon from Valenciennes. This sermon consisted of notes for a sermon in which the author quoted from Jerome's commentary on Jonah in Latin, and wrote out his own additions in Old French.[156]

Following this line of argumentation the surviving vernacular sermons in the Old High German dialects came into existence for a specific reason. They were all written in missionary centers: the Exhortatio ad plebem Christianum at Fulda and Freising and the Mondsee fragments at Murbach from where they went to Mondsee.[157] Not all of the missionaries who worked in Germany were native to the area, so these sermons were written for their benefit until such time as they could acquire sufficient fluency in the local vernacular to carry out their preaching duties. At the same time these same centers produced a variety of catechetical literature in the vernacular, explaining the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Gloria in the people's language.[158]

Therefore, it seems reasonable to conclude that bishops and priests who learned Latin as a second language were capable of rendering able translations of sermons which came to them in Latin. Sermons remained in written form in the language of the liturgy and scholarship out of respect for tradition and as a result of the educational activities of the Carolingians which re-emphasized Latin. The Carolingian clergy were capable of translating highly abstract religious works, such as the De Fide of Isidore of Seville.[159] Bishops and priests with even lesser skills could have translated sermons of Caesarius and Gregory without much difficulty. In this manner the religious knowledge prescribed by the reformers came to the people for whose benefit the reforms were undertaken.

In this examination of preachers and preaching in the Carolingian world, emphasis has been placed on two general problems: who preached and the conditions of preaching. The question of who preached will not ever be fully resolved, but the tentative conclusions drawn here have served to illustrate certain points. The period of greatest activity came between 789 and 825, dates also confirmed by the presence of legislation, and sermons and sermonaries. After the civil wars and invasions began in the 830s, only sporadic preaching activity was testified to by any of the sources. During the period of greatest activity preaching left traces in all parts of the Carolingian world except Aquitaine, with those traces being greatest in Germany, northern Italy and the northern parts of Francia respectively. Germany benefitted in this regard from being the center of Carolingian missionary activities in Saxony and Carinthia.

From examining the conditions of preaching, we have seen that the Carolingians possessed in theory sufficient educational resources and skills to produce as many trained preachers as needs demanded. In actuality education on the local level depended upon the willingness of each bishop to use his resources for that purpose, a willingness which became increasingly rare after the 830s. Priests who received training in Latin could use the language skills so acquired to turn Latin sermons from sermonaries into the vernacular. These vernacular versions could then be delivered at Mass on Sundays and feast days to educate the populace. In the areas of the Carolingian world where some degree of regular preaching was obtained, these sermons were instrumental in giving the common people even a rudimentary idea of Christianity. The themes of the sermons and their contents, the materials of Christian education, will be the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER VI: NOTES

[1]Duckett, Alcuin, 170-9; and Levison, England and the Continent, 158-9. See also Vogel, "La réforme liturgique," 224-30.

[2]For his role in influencing the educational provisions of the Admonitio see Duckett, Alcuin, 121-2; and Laistner, Thought and Letters, 194-5. On the later legislation, especially the De litteris colendis to Baugulf of Fulda, see Riché, Écoles et enseignement, 70-2; and Luitpold Wallach, "Charlemagne's De Litteris Colendis and Alcuin," in Alcuin and Charlemagne: Studies in Carolingian History and Literature, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, 32 (Ithaca, N.Y., 1959), 209-11.

[3]Duckett, Alcuin, 15; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 399-401.

[4]Duckett, Alcuin, 34-6; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 130-3.

[5]Ibid., 129, 151-3, 156-7 and 186-7; Arthur Kleinclausz, Alcuin, Annales de l'université de Lyon, 3rd ser., 15 (Paris, 1948), 49-50; and Levison, England and the Continent, 165-6.

[6]Wolff, The Awakening of Europe, 44-8; Laistner, Thought and Letters, 197-201; and Kleinclausz, Alcuin, 64-5.

[7]Alcuin, Ep. 28: Aperi tibi celum primum per praedicationis devotionem. Ad exemplum Christi recurre; qui per civitates, castella, vicos, villas evangelizando iter agebat, etiam et domus publicanorum vel peccatorum propter occasionem praedicationis non abhorruit intrare. MGH Epp. k. a., II: 70. See also Epp. 4, 10, 83, 104, 114, 116, 124, 128, 255 and 260, ibid., 29-30, 36, 126, 150-1, 167-8, 171, 182-3, 190-1, 412-3 and 418; and Kleinclausz, Alcuin, 114-16.

[8]Ibid., 89: Hoc est, domine sanctae, opus vestrum, haec est merces vestra, haec laus et gloria vobis sempiterna, ut praedicetis verbum Dei omni personae cum magna fiducia. Ibid., 133. See also Heinz Hurten, "Alkuin und der Episkopat im Reiche Karls des Grossen," Historisches Jahrbuch 82 (1962): 39-40.

[9]Alcuin, Ep. 39 (to an unknown bishop): Lege diligenter, obsecro, evangelia Christi, libros quoque alios canonicae auctoritatis. Sed et pastoralem beati Gregorii papae saepissime perscrutare. His aepulis animam tuam pasce, ut habeas, unde aliquos quoque reficere

valeas. MGH Epp. k. a., II: 83. See also Epp. 113, 116 and 124, ibid., 166, 171 and 182; and Hurten, "Alkuin und der Episkopat," 26; and Kleinclausz, Alcuin, 118.

[10]See, for example, his letter to Charlemagne on Mt. 26:25, Ep. 126, MGH Epp. k. a., II: 208-9.

[11]Duckett, Alcuin, 198-200. These works are discussed in Chapter V above.

[12]For use of Alcuin's letters as sermons see Bouhot's sermon nos. 41-3 and 46, "Un sermonnaire carolingien," 195-6; and sermo V, 2-3, ed. Mercier, in XIV homélies du IXe siècle, 176-180. On early ninth-century collections of Alcuin's letters see Wallach, "On the Origin of the Manuscript Collections of Alcuin's Letters," in Alcuin and Charlemagne, 271-3.

[13]Alcuin, Ep. 305, MGH Epp. k. a., II: 464-5 for the dedicatory epistle to Wido; and PL 101: 613-638C. This work consists of thirty-five chapters, the first twenty-six on virtues and good works, the next thirteen on vices, and the last chapter summarizing the whole with an explanation of the four cardinal virtues.

[14]Alcuin, Ep. 3-5, MGH Epp. k. a., II: 464. For Paulinus' work, Liber exhortationis ad Heiricum, PL 99: 197-282. See also Wallach, "Alcuin on Virtues and Vices," in Alcuin and Charlemagne, 232-6; and Kleinclausz, Alcuin, 220-2.

[15]See Bouhot's sermon nos. 23, 25, 34, 44, 45 and 47, "Un sermonnaire carolingien," 192-6 and 205. Rabanus Maurus also used various chapters of the Liber as sources for his sermons, Wallach, "Alcuin on Virtues and Vices," 240-3.

[16]To Theodulph Alcuin wrote Epp. 192 and 225; to Arn Epp. 10, 59, 66, 107, 112-3, 150, 156, 179, 184-6, 194-5, 207-8, 218, 227, 239, 242-3, 252-4, 258-60 and 264-8, MGH Epp. k. a., II. These letters provided a running commentary on Arn's activities, especially Epp. 107, 112-3 and 184 which discussed his missionary endeavors.

[17]Letters to Remedius, Epp. 76-7, 263 and 310; to Nifridius, Epp. 206 and 303. Nifridius was one of the participants in the preaching mission against Adoptionism of 800/801 which will be examined below.

[18]Letters to Riculf, Epp. 4, 25, 26, 35 and 212; to an unknown bishop about Willehad, Ep. 5; and to Ricbod, Epp. 13, 49, 78 and 191. His pupil Liudger was also a missionary in Saxony. See also Duckett, Alcuin, 130-2 and 142-3; and Kleinclausz, Alcuin, 126-31.

[19]Letters to Charlemagne, Ep. 110; to Megenfrid, Ep. 111; to Paulinus of Aquileia, Epp. 28, 60, 86, 95-6, 99 and 139; and to Arn of Salzburg (see above n. 16). See also Kleinclausz, Alcuin, 132-5.

[20]Letters to Leidrad, Epp. 141, 200-1; to Nifridius (see above n. 17); to Peter Epp. 83 and 190; and to Ragenbert Ep. 298.

[21]The evidence here is widely varied. Beornrad received Alcuin's Vita Willibrordi and the homily connected with it, Alcuin, Ep. 120, MGH Epp. k. a., II: 174-5. Amalar, as bishop of Trier, received a letter from Charlemagne commending him on his work and urging him to further efforts, Amalarius Epistolae 3: Ceteris vero gradibus, id est presbiteris diaconibus et omni clero vel plebi tue tibi commise, inter tuam parrochiam conmorantibus, cum omni devocione predicare et docere viam veritatis studeas. Ed. Ernst Dümmler, ibid., III: 244. Rabanus Maurus wrote a sermonary for Haistulf of Mainz and as bishop of Mainz in his own right issued legislation on preaching. Aldric left no sermons or legislation, but did have a reputation as a preacher, Gesta Aldrici a discipulis ejus scripta, II: Lingua quoque in lecione posita, et exhortator omnium bonorum operum, plebique florentissimae salutaria praedicans fidei catholicae et apostolicae, immaculate conservare perenniter sua monita salutaria praedicans, corda fidelium corroborans, orthodoxae fidei semulator ac defensor fortissimus. . . . PL 115: 33C-D. Candidus left three sermons, discussed in the preceding chapter.

[22]Barré, "L'homéliaire carolingien," 78-80; and see above Chapter V at nn. 29-39.

[23]Phillipp Jaffé and Wilhelm Wattenbach, Ecclesia metropolitanae Coloniensis codices manuscripti (Berlin, 1874), 71. This provides a description of Cologne, Dombibliothek 171 (Darmstadt 2153), s. IX, a short sermonary of ninety-seven ff.

[24]George Halm, et al., Catalogus codicum latinorum bibliothecae regiae Monacensis, 2 vols., in 7 parts (Munich, 1867-1880), I, 3: 77, 80, 93, 110-11, and 12 for Freising; III, 2: 124 for Augsburg; and II, 2: 157, 168, 176, 178, and 184-5 for Regensburg. The references here are to ninth-century mss. containing sermons for popular preaching. For other mss. from these three locations, see above Chapter V, nn. 59, 63 and 93.

[25]For Gerbald and Waltcauld see DeClercq, La législation religieuse, 352-66; for Hatto, PL 115: 11A-16B; and for the councils of 813 DeClercq, La législation religieuse, 232-3, 240 and 244.

[26]For Chrodegang's Rule and its provisions for preaching by canons of the cathedral churches see Chapter IV above at nn. 13-14; the sermonary of St. Père-des-Chartres is connected to Chartres by a tenth-century ms., and its further origins are unknown, see Barré, Les homéliaires carolingiens, 17-25.

[27]Rabanus Maurus, Homiliae de festis praecipuis, item de virtutibus, Praefatio, PL 110: 9A-10A.

[28]Hrabani Mauri, Epistola 26, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Epp. k. a., III: 439; and Epistolarum Fuldensium fragmenta, 21-2, ed. idem, ibid., 526-7.

[29]Hincmar, Capitula presbyteris (852), PL 135: 773A-778C; and Jean Devisse, Hincmar archevêque de Rheims 845-882, Travaux d'histoire ethico-politique, 29, 3 vols. (Geneva, 1975-6), II: 874 and II: 1358, 1364, 1374-5 and 1384.

[30]Devailly, "La pastorale en Gaule," 23-4 and 32-4.

[31]Levison, "Eine Predigt," 563; and de Poerch, "Le sermon bilingue," 57-9.

[32]See Chapter V above at n. 35; and Abbo of St. Germain, Sermones quinque, PL 132: 761A-764A.

[33]Atto issued legislation and wrote sermons after the model of a Carolingian bishop of the period 789-825. For the sermons see ibid., 134: 833B-860A.

[34]This chapter, the longest and most detailed of the Admonitio, had a sermon-like incipit and explicit, Ad. gen., c. 82, MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 61-2; and see Chapter IV above at n. 47. It could be argued that the chapter was written in this fashion to make it more comprehensible when read aloud, but if that was the case, then how did the rest of the capitulary escape similar treatment?

[35]Theodulph, "Second statut diocésain de Théodulphe d'Orléans," (1) A primi hominis lapsu ...//... (87) De ovibus Christi lucrandis vobis sacerdotibus haec dicere studuimus auxiliante domino Ihesu Christo, cui est gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen. Ed. DeClercq, La législation religieuse, 323-351.

[36]Alcuin, Ep. 110: Et sic tempore oportuno saepius evangelica praecepta danda sunt per sedulae praedictationis officium, donec adcrescat in virum perfectum et digna efficiatur Spiritu sancto habitatio et sit perfectus filius Dei in operibus misericordiae, sicut pater noster caelestis perfectus est; qui vivit et regnat in trinitate perfecta et unitate benedicta, Deus et Dominus per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen! MGH Epp. k. a., II: 158-9.

[37]Amos, "Caesarius of Arles," 17; for examples see Grégoire, "La collection homilétique," 269 and 273; Bouhot, "Un sermonnaire carolingien," 187-91; and Étaix, "Le sermonnaire carolingien de Beaune," 107-10.

[38]Barré, "Sermons marials inédits," 84 and n. 245; see also idem., "L'homéliaire carolingien," 80 and 93-7.

[39]Eric Kemp, Canonization and Authority in the Western Church, Oxford Historical Series, new series (Oxford, 1948), 29-32.

[40]Conc. Mogunt. (813), c. 51, MGH Conc., I: 272; and Kemp, Canonization and Authority, 38-9.

[41]Liudger, Vita Gregorii abbatis Traiectensis, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS, XV: 63-79; and Odbertus, Passio Friderici episcopi Traiectensis, ed. idem, ibid., 342-56. The authors of some of these works were missionary saints of another area of generation (Liudger, Ansgar, Rimbert) who wrote these vitae to furnish saints to aid their own endeavors, see Sullivan, "Carolingian Missionary Theories," 292-4.

[42]Ansgar, Vita Willehadi episcopi Bremensis, ed. Georg Pertz, MGH SS II: 378-90; Altfrid, Vita Liudgeri episcopi Mimigardefordensis, ed. idem, ibid., 403-19; Lambert, Vita Lulli archiepiscopi Moguntini, ed. O. Holder-Egger, ibid., XV: 132-48; Vita Lebuini Antiqui, ibid., XXX, 2: 792-5; and Eigil, Vita Sturmi abbatis Fuldensis, PL 105: 423D-444C. There is as yet no general study of ideas of sanctity in Carolingian Germany.

[43]Vita Virgilii episcopi Juvavensis, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach, MGH SS XI: 86-95. This vita was written in 1183 but it noted that Virgil enjoyed a long-standing cultus. Paulinus, although his cultus began shortly after his death in 804, did not have a contemporary vita, or if he did, it has not survived.

[44]Rimbert, Vita Anskarii archiepiscopi Hammaburgensis, ed. Georg Pertz, MGH SS II: 764-76; and Vita sancti Remberti, PL 126: 991A-1010B. See also Kemp, Canonization and Authority, 174-5.

[45]For these saints see The Monks of Ramsgate Abbey, The Book of Saints, 4th ed. (London, 1947), 264, 290, 506, 294, 253 and 502. Gamelbert's cultus was not recognized officially until 1909. For Hildegrim see also Altfrid, Vita Liudgeri, I, 6 and II, 8, MGH SS II: 406 and 414.

[46]Vita Alcuini, ed. Wilhelm Arndt, MGH SS XV: 182-197; and Rudolphus, Beati Rabani Mauri Vita, PL 107: 41A-63A.

[47]Philippe Wolff, "L'Aquitaine et ses marges," in KGLN, I: 295-8.

[48]Joseph-Claude Poulin, L'ideal de saintetē dans l'Aquitaine carolingienne d'aprēs les sources hagiographiques (750-950), Travaux du laboratoire d'histoire religieuse de l'universitē Laval, 1 (Quebec, 1975), 37-8 and 65-6. Poulin noted that both the numbers of vitae (fifty-one in the Merovingian period to twenty in the Carolingian), and the numbers of episcopal saints (29/51 Merovingian to 6/20 Carolingian) declined dramatically, ibid., 34-5.

[49]Cf. McKitterick, The Frankish Church, 207, who argued that the bishops' efforts represented an "uncoordinated undertaking."

[50]On the Saxon wars see Halphen, Charlemagne, 66-71; Amann, HE, VI: 188-90; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 382-94.

[51]Heinrich Büttner, "Mission und Kirchenorganization des Frankreiches bis zum Tode Karls des Grossen," KGLN, I: 472-4.

[52]Vita Lebuini Antiqui, cc. 5-6, MGH SS XXX, 2: 793-4; see also Sullivan, "The Carolingian Missionary," 714-5.

[53]Interrogationes et responsiones baptismales: . . . end ec forsacho allum diaboles uuercum and uuordum, Thunaer ende Uuoden ende Saxnote ende allum them unholdum the hira genotas sit. (Saxon baptismal vows). MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 222.

[54]Alcuin, Ep. III (to Megenfrid): Si tanta instantia leve Christi iugum et onus suave durissimo Saxonum populo praedicaretur, quanta decimarum redditio vel legalis pro parvissimus quislibet culpis edicti necessitus exigebatur, forte baptismatis sacramenta non abhorrent. Sint tandem aliquando doctores fidei apostolicis eruditi exemplis: sint praedicatores, non praedatores. Ibid., Epp.k. a., II: 161. Epp. 107 (to Arn) and 110 (to Charlemagne) made the same point, ibid., 154 and 157. See also Duckett, Alcuin, 130-2, and Kleinclausz, Alcuin, 128-31.

[55]Ansgar, Vita Willehadi, c. 5, MGH SS II: 381; Eigil, Vita Sturmi, c. 23, PL 105: 441C-442A; and Altfrid, Vita Liudgeri, I, 21, MGH SS II: 411. See also Sullivan, "Early Medieval Missionary Activity," 24; and idem, "Carolingian Missionary Theories," 282-5.

[56]Vita Lebuini antiqui, c. 6, MGH SS XXX, 2: 794. See also Chapter V, nn. 100-101 above; and Sullivan, "The Carolingian Missionary," 714-5.

[57]Ansgar, Vita Willehadi, cc. 6-7, MGH SS II: 381-2; Eigil, Vita Sturmi, c. 23, PL 105: 442B-443D.

[58]Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae, cc. 3, 5, 6 and 8-9, MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 68-9.

[59]Altfrid, Vita Liudgeri, I, 20, MGH SS II: 411; and Ansgar, Vita Willehadi, c. 8, ibid., 383. See also Sullivan, "Carolingian Missionary Theories," 293-4.

[60]On this mission in general, see Amann, HE, VI: 152; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 319.

[61]Alcuin, Ep. 200 (to Leidrad, Nifridius and Benedict): Et nunc multo peius sacratissimas christiani imperii aures quibusdam scismaticae perversitatis novitatibus fatigare adgreditur; veluti vestra inviolabilis fides et caeleberrima sanctitatis obtime novit,

qui per divinae suffragia pietatis hanc nebulosam impietatis sectam clara veritatis luce pridem discutere studuistis, etiam et deo Christo donante caeptum praedicationis opus multa ex parte perfecistis. MGH Epp. k. a. II: 331. For a similar statement see ibid., 332.

[62]Idem, Ep. 201 (to the same), ibid., 333-4. See also Kleinclausz, Alcuin, 234-7.

[63]Alcuin, Ep. 207: Et ille [Leidrad] cum abbate Benedicto Nifridio missus est in illas partes occidentales ad extinguendas et evacuandes huius pravissimi adsertionis infidelitates. MGH Epp. k. a., II: 345.

[64]Idem, Ep. 208: . . . usque viginta milia conversi sunt inter episcopos sacerdotes monachos viros et feminas. . . . Ibid., 346. See also Duckett, Alcuin, 239.

[65]On this view of the missionary's task, held by the Anglo-Saxons and Alcuin, see Sullivan, "Carolingian Missionary Theories," 278-81.

[66]On the war against the Avars see Charlemagne, Ep. (Epp. variorum 20), ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Epp. k. a., II: 528-9; Amann, HE, VI: 191-2; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 472-5.

[67]Duckett, Alcuin, 130-2; and Kleinclausz, Alcuin, 132-5.

[68]Alcuin, Ep. 107 (to Arn): Et esto praedicator pietatis, non decimarum exactor quia novella anima apostolicae pietatis lacte nutrienda est, donec crescat, convalescat et roboretur ad acceptionem solidi cibi. Decimae, ut dicitur, Saxonum suberturunt fidem. Quid inponendum est iugum cervicibus idiotarum, quid neque nos neque fratri nostri suffere potuerunt? Igitur in fide Christi salvari animas credentum confidimus. MGH Epp. k. a., II: 154. See also Ep. 99 (to Paulinus), ibid., 143-4.

[69]Alcuin, Ep. 110 (to Charlemagne): Primo intruendus est homo de animae immortalitate et de vita futura et de retributione bonorum malorumque et de aeternitate utriusque sortis. Postea: pro quibus peccatis et sceleribus poenas cum diabolo patiatur aeternas, et pro quibus bonis vel benefactis gloria cum Christo fruatur sempiterna. Deinde fides sanctae Trinitatis diligentissime docenda est, et adventus pro salute humani generis filii Dei domini nostri Iesu Christi in hunc numdum exponendus; et de mysterio passionis illius, et veritate resurrectionis et gloria ascensionis in caelos et futuro eius adventu ad iudicandus omnes gentes et de resurrectione corporum nostrorum et de aeternitate poenarum in malos et praemiorum in bonos, mox--ut praedixímus--mens novella firmanda est. Et hac fide roboratus homo et praeparatus baptizandus est. Ibid., 158-9. See also Sullivan, "Carolingian Missionary Theories," 282-3; and Bouhot, "Explicaions du rituel baptismal," 284-5.

[70]Alcuin, Ep. 110: Et sic tempore oportuno saepius evangelica praecepta danda sunt per sedulae praedicationis officium, donec ad crescat in virum perfectum et digna efficiatur Spiritui sancto habitatio et sit perfectus filius Dei in peribus misericordiae, sicut pater noster caelestis perfectus est, qui vivit et regnat in trinitate perfecta et unitate benedicta, Deus et Dominus per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen! MGH Epp. k. a., II: 159. Note here Alcuin's use of the "sermon style" referred to above.

[71]De Conversione Bagoariorum et Carantanorum, 8: Post expletum legationem imperator praecepit Arnoni archiepiscopo colere, populosque in fide et Christianitate praedicando confortare. Sicut ille praecepit, fecit: illuc veniendo consecravit ecclesias, ordinavit presbyteros, populumque praedicando docuit. . . . Tunc iussu imperatoris ordinatus est Theodoricus episcopus ab Arnone episcopo Juvavensium. Ed. Georg Pertz, MGH SS XI: 10. See also Büttner, "Mission und Kirchenorganization," 479-81; and Josef Wodka, Kirche in Österreich (Vienna, 1959), 46-7.

[72]Wendehorst, Das Bistum Würzburg, 31-3; Wodka, Kirche in Österreich, 47-9 and 54-7; and Josef Semmler, "Karl der Grosse und das fränkische Mönchtum," KGLN, II: 283.

[73]De Conversione Bagoariorum, 11-2, MGH SS XI: 12-13; and, for the revolt in 802/3, see Einhard, Annales, s. a. 803, ibid., I: 191.

[74]Conventus episcoporum ad ripas Danubii, ibid., Conc., I: 175; and Concilium Rispacense, ibid., 198-200. See also Wodka, Kirche in Österreich, 41-2.

[75]Heer, Ein karolingisches Missions-Katechismus, 42-9; Bouhot, "Un sermonnaire carolingien," 218-9; and Etaix, "Le sermonnaire carolingien," 135-6.

[76]For these works see Müllenhoff and Scherer, Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa, I: 210-221.

[77]Wodka, Kirche in Österreich, 74-7; and Berlière, "L'exercice du ministère paroissal," 237.

[78]Einhard, Annales, s. a. 823: Cum quibus et Ebo Remorum archiepiscopus, qui consilio imperatoris et auctoritate Romani pontificis praedicanda gratia ad terminos Danorum accesserat et aestate praeterita multos ex eis ad fidem venientes baptizaverat, regressus est. MGH SS I: 202. See also Christian Reuter, "Ebbo von Reims und Ansgar. Ein Beitrag zur Missionsgeschichte und Gründungsgeschichte des Bistums Hamburg," Historische Zeitschrift 105 (1910): 254-5; and Lucien Musset, "La pénétration chrétienne dans l'Europe du Nord," in Settimane, XIV: 267-9.

[79]Ermoldus Nigellus, Carmina, vv. 1911-12: Ito, sacer; populum blando sermone ferocum/ Conpello prius tempore sive modo. . . . Ed. Faral, 146.

[80]Rimbert, Vita Anskarii, 6: Ad hunc locum Dei famulus [Ansgar] una cum aliis fratribus vestris primo directus est, ut inibi officio fungeretur docendi. In qua re ipse per omnia tam probabilis et acceptus inventus est, ut omnium electione publice quoque in ecclesia verbum Dei populis praedicaret. Sicque factum est, ut eiusdem loci ipse primus et magister scholae, et doctor fieret populi. MGH SS II: 694.

[81]Cf. Willibald, Vita Bonifacii, 2-3, ibid., 335-7.

[82]Rimbert, Vita Anskarii, 12-13, ibid., 698-9; see also Reuter, "Ebbo von Reims und Ansgar," 258-61.

[83]Rimbert, Vita Anskarii, 15-16, MGH SS II: 700; see also Alan Cabaniss, "Motives for Conversion in the Mission of St. Anskar," Lutheran Quarterly 5 (1953): 380-1.

[84]Rimbert, Vita Anskarii, 19: "Si, inquit, vota spondere vultis, vovete et reddite domino Deo omnipotenti, qui regnat in coelis, et cui ego in conscientia pura et fide recta deservio. Ipse omnium dominus est, et in voluntate eius omnia sunt posita, nec est qui eius dicioni possit resistere. Si itaque eius auxilium toto corde petieritis, omnipotentiam ipsius vobis non defuturam sentientis." MGH SS II: 703. See also Cabaniss, "Motives for Converstion," 382-3; and Musset, "La pénétration chrétienne," 270.

[85]Sullivan, "The Papacy and Missionary Activity," 84-6; and Kemp, Canonization and Authority, 174-5.

[86]Musset, La pénétration chrétienne," 270-1; Reuter, "Ebbo von Reims und Ansgar," 271-3; and Amann, HE, VI: 251-3.

[87]Ad. gen., c. 73, MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 59. See also Josef Semmler, "Karl der Grosse und das fränkische Mönchtum," in KGLN, II: 256-7 and 261-6; and Berlière, "L'exercice du ministère paroissal," 236.

[88]Concilium Neuchingense (772), MGH Conc., II, 1: 104; and Conc. Rispacense (800), c. 25, ibid., 210. See also Semmler, "Karl der Grosse," 284; and Jean Leclercq, "On Monastic Priesthood According to the Ancient Medieval Tradition," Studia Monastica 3 (1961), 140-1.

[89]Conc. Aquisgran., c. 38, MGH Conc., II, 2: 711. See also Berlière, "L'exercice du ministère paroissal," 237-8.

[90]Semmler, "Karl der Grosse," 286-7.

[91]Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 250-7; and Amann, HE, VI: 82-5.

[92]Jean-François Lemarignier, "Quelques remarques sur l'organisation ecclésiastique des campagnes, principalement dans la Gaule du Nord de la Loire," in Settimane, XIII: 469-72; and Émile Amann and Auguste Dumas, L'église au pouvoir des laïques (888-1057), HE, VII (Paris, 1948), 279-80.

[93]Conc. Mogunt. (847): Nullus monachorum aliquid proprietatis habeat, et res saeculares, quibus renuntiavit, nullatenas sibi usurpet, nec parrochias ecclesiarum accipere praesumat sine consensu episcopi. De ipsis vere titulis, in quibus constituti fuerint, rationem episcopo vel ejus vicario reddant, et convocati ad synodum veniant. Mansi, Concilia, XIV: 907D. See also Berlière, "L'exercice du ministère paroissal," 237-8.

[94]Amann and Dumas, HE, VII: 278-9; and Michel Roblin, Le terroir de Paris aux époques gallo-romaine et franque, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1971), 180-31.

[95]Otto G. Oexle, Forschungen zu monastischen und geistlichen Gemeinschaften in westfränkischen Bereich: Bestandteil des Quellenwerkes Societas et Fraternitas (Munich, 1978), 101-3. Oexle noted that the number of ordained monks continued to grow from the middle of the eighth century reaching a peak by the 830s. By the 830s the number of ordained monks declined although their percentage increased. (St. Germain-des-Près: c. 800 ninety monks, thirty-four priests, fourteen deacons and subdeacons; c. 840/850 sixty-two monks, twenty-five priests and twenty-one deacons and subdeacons.) Ibid., 110-11.

[96]Auguste Lognon, Polyptyque de l'abbaye de Saint Germain-des-Près rédigé au temps de l'abbé Irminon, 2 vols. (Paris, 1886-1895), I: 79, 122, 233 and 272 for the names of priests: Ingalbodus, Audulfus, Ingalramnis and Hairmannus, priests in the congregation under Irminion; see Oexle, Forschungen, 106-7, names, 195, 207, 170 and 210. For St. Gall see Rolf Sprandel, Das Kloster St. Gallen in der Verfassung des karolingischen Reiches, Forschungen zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte, 7 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1958), 78-9.

[97]Sprandel, ibid., 80-1; and Amann and Dumas, HE, VII: 280-5.

[98]Pippini, Carlomanni, Carolo Magno Diplomata, 197, ed. Engebert Muhlbacher, MGH Diplomatum karolinorum, I: 265-6.

[99]Ep. variorum, 34 (Amalardus to Riculf): Conperiat siquidem magnitudinis vestrae, quia misimus presbiteram nostrum Macharium nomine ad nostras ecclesias, quae in vestrae parrochia sitae esse videtur, ut ibidem solito more officium perageret. Sed dictum nobis et eodem presbitero fuit, quod auctoritatis vestrae magnitudo iuberet non ibidem eum esse officium divinum caelebratum, quia nescimus, si

aliqua suggestio **auribus pietatis vestrae Bernario episcopo pervenisset, quia idem domnus Bernarius episcopus misit ei unum caballum pascere de nostra stipendia unde nos vivere debemus.** MGH Epp. k. a., II: 551.

[100]Concilium in monasterio Tegernsee habita (804), MGH Conc., II, 1: 231-3; and Wodka, Kirche in Österreich, 54-7.

[101]This ms. has been cited by Maloy, "Sermons of St. Ildephonsus," 272, n. 16; and Morin, CCSL 103: cxv. The observations above are based upon my own examination.

[102]Richard and Mary Rouse, Preachers Florilegia and Sermons, Pontifical Institute Studies and Texts, 47 (Toronto, 1979), 372, 393-4, 400 and 403.

[103]Laistner, Thought and Letters, 229-37; Riché, Écoles et enseignement, 102-10; Wolff, The Awakening of Europe, 56-64; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 200-202.

[104]Bernhard Bischoff, "Die kölner Nonnenhandschriften und das Scriptorium von Chelles," in Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zu Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1965-6), I: 16-33; and Lowe, CLA X, Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt and Holland (Oxford, 1963), viii-xviii.

[105]Ad. gen., c. 70: Ut episcopi diligenter discutiant per suas parrochias presbyteros, eorum fidem, baptismas et missarum celebrationes, ut et fidem rectam teneant et baptisma catholicum observent et missarum preces bene intellegent, et ut psalmi digni secundum divisiones versuum modulenter et dominicam orationem ipsi intelligant et omnibus praedicent intellegendam, ut quique sciat petat a Deo . . . ; and 72: Et ut scholae legentium fiant. Psalmos, notas, cantus, compotum, grammaticum per singula monasteria vel episcopia et libros catholicae bene emendate. . . . MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 59-60.

[106]Laistner, Thought and Letters, 194-5; and Riché, Écoles et enseignement, 102-5.

[107]Epistola de litteris colendis, MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 79-80. See also Macdonald, Authority and Reason, 23; and Wallach, Alcuin and Charlemagne, 209-11.

[108]Conc. Cabillonense, c. 111: Oportet enim, ut, sicut domnus imperator Karolus, vir singularis mansuetudinis, fortitudinis, prudentiae, iusticiae et temperentiae, praecepit, scholas constituant, in quibus et litteraria sollertia disciplinae et sacrae scripturae documenta discantur. . . . MGH Conc. II, 1: 274.

[109]Conc. Attin. (822), c. III: Scholas itaque, de quibus hactenus minus studiosi fuimus quam debueramus, omnino studiosissime

emendare cupimus, qualiter omnis homo sive maioris sive minoris aetatis, qui ad hoc nutritur, ut in aliquo gradu in ecclesia promoveatur, locum denominatum et magistrum congruum habeat. Ibid., II, 2: 471.

[110]Pride, "Ecclesiastical Legislation on Education," 242-5.

[111]Theodulph, Capitula ad presbyteros, c. XX: Presbyteri per villas et vicos scholas habent, et si quilibet fidelium suos parvulos ad discendas litteras eis commendare vult, eos suscipere et docere non renuant sed cum summa charitate eos docent. . . . Cum ergo eos docent, nihil ab eis pretii pro hac re exigant, nec aliquid ab eis accipiunt, excepto quod eis parentes charitatis studio sua voluntate obtulerint. PL 105: 196C-D.

[112]Ibid., XIX: Si quis ex presbyteris voluerit nepotem suum aut aliquem consanguineum ad scholam mittere, in ecclesiae Sanctae Crucis, aut in monasterio Sancto Aniani, aut Sancti Benedicti, aut Sancti Lifardi, aut in caeteris de his coenobiis quae nobis ad regendum concessa sunt, ei licentiam id faciendi concedimus. 196C.

[113]Conc. Rispac. (798), cc. VI and VIII, MGH Conc., I: 199-200; Statut diocésain de Vesoul, c. XIII, ed. De Clercq, 369; and Leidrad, Ep. var., MGH Epp. k. a., II: 543. Leidrad mentioned both a scola cantorum and a scola lectorum.

[114]See, e.g., Alcuin, Ep. 39, MGH Epp. k. a., II: 83 and other works cited in n. 9 above; on the use of the Rule in legislation see n. 63, Chapter IV above.

[115]Rabanus, De clericorum institutione, Praef., PL 107: 295B-296D.

[116]J. A. Knaake, "Die Schrift des Rabanus Maurus De institutione clericorum nach ihrer Bedeutung für die Homiletik und Rabanus Maurus als Prediger," Theologische Studien und Kritiken 27 (1902): 315-17; and De Lubac, Exégèse médiévale, I, 1: 160-1.

[117]Rabanus, De cleric. institut., III, xxx: Quamvis in bonis doctoribus tanta docendi cura sit vel esse debeat, ut verbum quod nimis obscurum sit vel ambiguum, Latinum esse non possit, vulgi autem more sic dicatur, ut ambiguitas obscuritasque vivetur, non sic dicatur a doctis, sed potius ut ab indoctis dici solet. PL 107: 408A-B.

[118]Ibid., 387-88. See also Knaake, "Die Schrift des Rabanus," 310-12.

[119]Rabanus, De cleric. institut., III, xxxvii, PL 107: 413C-415D.

[120]Contreni, The Cathedral School of Laon, 130-3.

[121]Charlier, "Une oeuvre inconnue de Florus de Lyon," 81-6 and 109; and Cabaniss, "Florus of Lyons," 216-20.

[122]Leclercq, "Le florilège d'Abbon," 115-118.

[123]For a complete list of the contents of this ms. see Appendix B.

[124]Jaffé and Wattenbach, Ecclesiae Coloniensis codices, 31-2. This ms. of 121 folio pages contains in the same order and written by one hand the works found in 10612, ff. 5-123v, in other words almost everything except the sermons.

[125]For a complete list of the contents of this ms. see Appendix B.

[126]McKitterick, The Frankish Church, 22-8 discusses episcopal manuals, but her classification describes works of a primarily legal and administrative nature. A pastoral manual, on the other hand, served to help bishops in their care of souls.

[127]Hatto, Capitulare, c. 6: Sexto, quae ipsis sacerdotibus necessaria sunt ad dicendum: id est, Sacramentarium, Lectionarium, Antiphonarium, Baptisterium, Computus, Canon poenitentialis, Psalterium, Homiliae per anni circulum. . . . PL 115: 11B; and Gautier of Orléans, Capitula, c. VII: Ut libros ecclesiasticos, Missalem videlicet, Evangelium Lectionarium, Psalterium, Antiphonarium, Martyrologium et Homelarium, per quos se et alios informare debent, habeant. Ibid., 119: 734A.

[128]Wolff, Awakening of Europe, 57-60; and Riché, La vie quotidienne, 246-9.

[129]Lowe, CLA, X: viii-xviii; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 200-5.

[130]Linsenmayer, Geschichte der Predigt, 13; and Cruel, Geschichte der deutschen Predigt, 3-5.

[131]Cap. de part. saxon., c. 18: Ut dominicis diebus conventus et placita publica non faciant, nisi forte pro magna necessitate aut hostilitate cogente, sed omnes ad ecclesium recurrant ad audiendum verbum Dei et orationibus vel iustis operibus vacent. Similiter et in festivitatibus praeclaris Deo et ecclesiae conventui deserviant et secularia placita demittant. MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 69; and Cap. de sacerdot. proposita, c. 4: Ut omnibus festis et diebus dominicis unusquisque sacerdos evangelium Christi populo praedicet. Ibid., 106.

[132]Cap. de exam. eccles., c. 10: Ut . . . homelias ad eruditionem populi diebus singulis festivitem congruentiam discant.

Ibid., 110; and Quae a presbyteris discenda sunt, c. 12: Omelias dominicis diebus et sollemnitatibus dierum ad praedicandum canonem; . . . . Ibid., 235.

[133]Theodulph, Cap. ad eosdem: Commonendi sunt ut diebus Dominicis pro captu ingenii unusquisque sacerdos ad plebem sermonem praedicationis faciat. . . . His et aliis quantum potest singulis diebus Dominicis plebem suam instruat. PL 105: 209D-210B.

[134]Freising statute: Praecimus vobis ut unusquisque vestrum super duas seu tres ebdomadas diebus dominicis seu festivitatibus sanctorum populum sibi subiectum doctrinas salutiferis ex sacra scriptura sumptis in ecclesia sibi sommissa post evangelium perlectum instruere studeat et iubeat illis, ut nullus de ecclesia exeat, antequam a presbitero sive diacono laus, id est 'Benedictus domino' aut 'ite, missa est' pronuntietur. Ed. Emil Sekel, cited in McKitterick, The Frankish Church, 71.

[135]Étaix, "Le sermonnaire carolingien," sermones 3-4, 108. See also ibid., sermones 6, 15, 18, 23 and 30, 108-111; Bouhot, Un sermonnaire carolingien," sermones 17 and 22, 191-2; and Wilmart, "Catéchèses celtiques," sermones I, II and IV, 35-47. There are many other examples.

[136]Rabanus Maurus, homilia XXI: In Ascensione Domini (Evang. Marc. XVI) Sacratissimi festivitatis, fratres charissimi, quam hodie celebramus, lectiones quae inter haec missarum recitatae sunt, pandunt exordium. PL 110: 42A. See also idem., hom. XIV, ibid., 29B.

[137]XIV Homélies du IXe siècle, II, 5: Sensum namque evangelicae lectionis et propter brevitatem diei et prolixictatem divini officii sub brevitate perstrinximus. . . . Ed. Mercier, 158. See also ibid., VIII, 3: Deinde monet vos evangelica lectio, ut patientes sitis. 198.

[138]Gatch, Preaching and Theology, 35-6. He stated that "On the whole Amalarius' reticence on the subject of preaching must increase our skepticism that preaching in the strict sense was a feature of the liturgy in areas under the influence of the Carolingian liturgies." Ibid., 36.

[139]Ibid., 37-8.

[140]Henri LeClercq, s. v. "Prône," DACL, XIV, 2: 1898-1900; and Ulysses Berlière, "Le prône dans la liturgie," RB 7 (1900): 98-100 and 242-6.

[141]Lejay, "Le rôle théologique," 158.

[142]Eleanor Duckett, "Amalar of Metz," in Carolingian Portraits (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1962), 102-9; and Laistner, Thought and Letters, 310-14.

[143]Young, Drama, I: 44-5 and 51-63; and Duchesne, Origins of Christian Worship, 170-1.

[144]Gatch, Preaching and Theology, 37-8. The short passage cited comes from p. 38.

[145]Conc. Turon., c. XVII, MGH Conc., II, 1: 288. For a full citation of this canon see n. 76 in Chapter IV above.

[146]Philippe Wolff, Western Languages A.D. 100-1500, trans. Frances Partridge, World University Library (New York, 1971), 65-76.

[147]Amann, HE, VI: 84-5. Vogel, "La réforme liturgique," 217-19; and Ullmann, Carolingian Renaissance, 18-30.

[148]Auerbach, Literary Language, 119-21 and 262; and Lot, "À quelle époque," 150-3.

[149]Laistner, Thought and Letters, 215-17 and 221-24; Riché, Écoles et enseignement, 222-4 and 227-36; and Wolff, The Awakening of Europe, 80-89.

[150]The glossaries can be found in vol. I of Von Steinmayer and Sievers, Die althochdeutschen Glossen.

[151]E.g., the Hrabanische-Keronische Sippe, ibid., 210-225. See also J. Knight Bostock, A Handbook on Old High German Literature, 2nd ed., revised by K. C. King and D. R. McLintock (Oxford, 1976), 95-9; and Laistner, Thought and Letters, 382-3.

[152]Albert Leçoy de la Marche, La chaire française au moyen âge (Paris, 1868), 221-37, especially 225-6.

[153]Von Steinmayer and Sievers, Die althochdeutschen Glossen, II: 41, 81, 177, 262, 265, 305 and 318; IV: 322; and V: 24 and 28.

[154]Wolff, Western Languages, 123; and Bostock, Handbook, 95-6.

[155]Statut de Vesoul, c. XIII: Si vero ipse verba manifeste explicare non poterit, petat sibi ea a doctore alio transcribi qualiter apte legat, quod qui audiunt intellegant. . . . Ed. DeClercq, La législation religieuse, 369.

[156]De Poerck, "Le sermon bilingue sur Jonas," 36-53.

[157]Bostock, Handbook, 110-1 and 124-5; Laistner, Thought and Letters, 384-5; and McKitterick, The Frankish Church, 194-5.

[158]For texts see Von Steinmayer, KAS, 20-46. See also Bostock, Handbook, 109-13 and 156; and McKitterick, The Frankish Church, 192-4.

[159]Müllenhoff and Scherer, Denkmäler, I: 200-10. On this work as an example of the "high standard of translation" of which the ninth-century clerics were capable, see Laistner, Thought and Letters, 385-6.

CHAPTER VII

THE SERMONS AND THE CAROLINGIAN WORLD

Having examined the Carolingian sermons as responses to legislation, pieces of physical evidence, and indicators of preaching activity, it remains to be seen what value they have as sources for the religious life of the period. Since the sermons have long been regarded as derivative and unoriginal, their value has been slighted in the older literature. However, the authors of the sermons were not as slavish to tradition as has been believed, and their works can tell us a great deal about a variety of aspects of life in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries.

To exploit this thematic material as fully as possible the following analysis of sermon contents will be divided into three categories. The first category is based upon the sermons' description of the religious life of the people. Religious life includes such things as ecclesiastical obligations, or the teachings of the sermons on various aspects of duties owed to the Church and religious conduct. Worldly conduct, teachings on sins and the doctrine of good works also played an important role in the religious life presented in sermons. To enforce their teachings on religious life, sermon authors relied on traditional Christian sanctions. These sanctions were centered around the Last Judgment and the rewards and

punishments for those who followed and those who disobeyed the rules of a Christian life.

The second area of investigation will focus on how the sermons reflected the world and society in which they were written. The sermons discussed the nature of the created world and sought to overcome popular beliefs in magical practices by convincing both new converts and those already Christians that the world and its seen and unseen creatures operated according to understandable rules under the control of the Christian God. Through sermons, clerics helped to define, from their own point of view, the roles of different social groups. The authors commented on the duties of both rulers and ruled and promoted methods for binding together the various groups into one unit. Sermons helped to build the Christian community which Charlemagne prescribed in his legislation; and they lamented its breakdown under the strain of wars and invasions.

Finally the "silent sermons" will be examined. As types of silent sermons, the reformers included both the conduct of the clergy, which had long been regarded as a basic extension of the sermon's message, and art. Just as the sermons gave verbal images to the supernatural abstractions of which Christianity was composed, so art in the form of frescoes and sacred images provided visual images. Conduct and art can be called silent sermons because the clergy could both preach sermons on morality by setting personal examples for their parishioners and depict in images the Bible stories which formed a major source of their spoken sermons. Both forms of silent sermon gave support and reinforcement to the written and spoken

words of the Carolingian clergy. The results of these investigations will provide a clearer understanding of both the effects of the sermons on the formation of religious ideas among the mass of the common people.

The sermons to be examined in this chapter are those written or adapted by Carolingian authors. It should be remembered, however, that behind each specifically Carolingian collection stood many other collections of patristic sermons which contained works on most of the themes discussed here. The themes examined in this chapter will not only illustrate how the sermons were written to convey the ideas of the reformers, but they will also prove useful as a guide to what others may expect to find in the as-yet unedited Carolingian sermons.

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One of the chief concerns of the authors of the Carolingian sermons was to teach both new converts and those already Christian what was expected of them by the Church. A basic obligation was regular attendance at the Mass on Sundays and feast days. The most forceful statement on this subject came from the fourteen north Italian sermons:

> I instruct that anyone who lives near the church and is able to come, should hear Mass daily; and he who is able should attend Matins each night. Those who live far from the church should strive to come to Matins each Sunday: that is men and women, the young and the old except for the sick. One or two may remain to watch the house.[1]

Other sermons, more in line with the legislation examined previously, stressed attendance on Sundays and feast days, or simply told the audience to come to church often.[2] Celebration of the Mass served as the central focus of church life and obligations.

Somewhat surprisingly, however, the focal point of the Mass for the people was not necessarily the eucharist and its attendant ceremonies. In Carolingian churches the altar was separated from the bulk of the laity by rood screens, with the result that while lay people still brought offerings for consecration, they were separated from the ceremonies.[3] In addition the act of communion was hedged about with restrictions: the communicant must have fasted, remained continent and pure of thought and deed for twenty-four hours before receiving the eucharist.[4] Under these conditions it is easy to believe that most of the Carolingian laity communicated only three times a year (Christmas, Easter and Pentecost).[5] The popular piety engendered by the Mass was not eucharistic in nature.

Liturgical ceremonies had a somewhat larger role than did the eucharist in the formation of popular spirituality. Not only was attendance at Mass obligatory, but the Carolingian clergy also had the tools to explain most of the liturgy of the Mass to the laity. Much of the surviving vernacular ecclesiastical literature was devoted to explicating the Creed and Lord's Prayer.[6] So, too, sermons commented upon the Creed and Lord's Prayer to aid in popular understanding of these parts of the liturgy, and the vernacular literature provided means for turning the Latin sermons into the popular language.[7] The reform legislation demanded that all adults learn both items and teach them to their children, an obligation also repeated by the sermons.[8] Although the scope of popular participation in the liturgy had declined from the days of Caesarius, who had his people join in singing psalms and chanting responses, the Carolingian laity

were thoroughly drilled in certain parts of the liturgical observances.

Developing a strong popular piety which would lead the populace to seek religious salvation was one of the main goals of the Carolingian reformers. Since the liturgy and the eucharist played only minor roles in this development, the main sources for popular piety in this period were the devotional and moral practices taught to the laity by the sermons and the cult of the saints. Sermons played an important role during this period, just as they had earlier, in teaching the laity about the powers of the saints as the following examples will show. The saints served as models of proper behavior whose activities should be imitated.[9] Even the martyrs, whose examples might not be followed literally, taught people to be firm in their faith and to bear present suffering with hope for the future.[10] Saints also acted as intercessors between the individual and God. The saint's prayers could help the individual gain salvation, while his tomb was the site of miraculous cures which signalled his sanctity and power.[11] This role of the saints in popular religion had long standing and would survive for centuries to come. Sermons helped to reinforce this role.

In addition to the cult of the saints, Carolingian clerics encouraged other forms of devotions. The fast played a major role in the devotions of this period, a practice which may seem odd to modern eyes for a society in which the dividing line between subsistence and hunger was so thin.[12] The sermons taught that the practice of fasting had been sanctified by Moses and Christ.[13] Rules

for fasting were set down, with exceptions made in the cases of the sick and infirm, and the obligatory periods of fasting were explained.[14] Fasting was also a means of winning divine mercy when practiced at times other than the obligatory periods, and individual fasts were to be combined with charity and prayers:

> He who fasts at other times or on other days, shall have rewards therefrom. Therefore no one should avoid the fasts of which we have spoken, but should observe them with good will and pray for himself and his friends, that through these fasts and through others for himself and through charity we shall be able to please and propitiate God. . . .[15]

The fasts, although a religious practice of great antiquity by the ninth century, served a number of ends for the Carolingians. Not only did they keep their traditional religious purposes, but they also served to lessen discontent in the face of the almost constant specter of hunger and famine by sanctifying hunger and using it as a form of popular piety. In reaction to the famine of 792-3, Charlemagne ordered the secular and regular clergy, the counts, royal vassi and all the serfs of the above groups to fast for two days while the clergy and secular officials were also ordered to make large payments for charity and to feed as many of the poor as their means permitted.[16] The teaching of the sermons cited above had the same effect of uniting rich and poor in the fasts of the liturgical year. The fasts as seen through the sermons acquired social and economic uses in addition to their religious functions.

In much the same way clerics used sermons to explain the tithes (decimae) collected by the clergy. The tithes also served religious and social ends, although they became a much thornier subject to justify than fasts had been. Alcuin referred to them as

a yoke on the neck of Christians and believed their imposition on the Saxons to have been a major cause of the Saxon revolts of the 780s.[17] Despite the problems tithes presented missionaries, their use was universal in the Carolingian realm and references to them are found throughout the sermon literature.

The preaching clergy defended tithes by presenting them in as good a light as possible:

> . . .of all the property God gives to man, he has reserved a tenth part for Himself and so it is not permitted for man to keep what God has reserved for Himself. To you He has given nine parts, for Himself He has reserved the tenth part, and if you will not give the tenth part to God He will take the nine parts from you.[18]

In addition to showing how light the burden was, preachers also sought to show that tithes came only once a year and that they served a useful function. An anonymous preacher told his people:

> And you ought not to withhold your tithes nor give them late nor make excuses. Nor should you expect that priests or other clergy will require other tithes from you; but rather you should give them with good will and without being ordered to and bring them to the priest's house. You ought to give other charities to strangers and paupers, but it is forbidden for you to give tithes to anyone but a clergyman. And he will use them with fear and reverence of God for the church buildings, for candles and for sheltering strangers and the poor, and for his own needs and purposes.[19]

The sermon authors defended tithes as a means of supporting churches and allowing churches to help support the poor. They stressed the reasonableness of the burden in terms of the benefits conferred upon each individual by God (the individual kept nine parts of his material wealth and gave the Church only one part). In sermons from the period after 840, few mentions of tithes appeared, and the disappearance of the arguments found in earlier sermons

can be linked to the increasing feudalization of the Church. As feudal magnates took control of rural churches, tithes became taxes which were collected by force if necessary.[20] During the period before 840, when the Church collected tithes to finance its operations, the persuasive arguments of the sermons were combined with other methods to insure regular payment of tithes. After 840, when the Church was in the hands of the nobles, force replaced persuasion and the sermons no longer had this role to play.

Through their explanations of the religious obligations owed by individuals, the sermons tried to develop a common idea of spirituality among the people of Carolingian Europe. Sermon authors went beyond these basic elements of religion to attempt to shape popular religious attitudes toward morality and the natural world. By isolating these concerns of the sermon authors, some knowledge can be gained of both the nature of religious education during this period and the content of beliefs and ideas which the clerical elite thought necessary to communicate to their people.

Carolingian clerics chose the subjects of their sermons with a certain degree of care, and they shaped their theological materials specifically for the popular level. As will be seen below, any mentions of the theological controversies over rites of penance and the nature of grace were deliberately avoided in the sermons. These subjects were avoided because the sermons were intended to teach accepted doctrine, and discussions of controversial material could be dangerous in terms of causing confusion or stirring up heresy. The Carolingian

theologians who wrote the sermons deliberately shaped their doctrinal content in order to teach a simple and orthodox set of beliefs.

Sermon authors often presented Christian standards of morality in the form of lists which condemned certain forms of behavior and supported others. Such lists were first established in the Apostolic Age. A list of sins drawn up by Paul in the Letter to the Galatians quickly became canonical; indeed, the authority of this list was so great that Charlemagne reproduced it verbatim in chapter eighty-two of the Admonitio to show his clergy what to attack in their sermons.[21] A slightly different version of Charlemagne's list of sins was translated into the vernacular as part of the Weissenberg Catechism:

> These are the criminal sins with which the devil sinks men into Hell: vices of the flesh (ācustí thes lichamen); impurity (unhreinitha); fornication (huar); luxury (firinlusti); service of idols (abgoto theonōst); sorcery (eitarghebon); hatred (fiāntscaf); contention (bāgā); jealousy (anthruoft); anger (nīdhā); fighting (secchiā); dissension (fliiz); divisiveness (striiti); envy (abunst); obstinacy (einuuillig); murder (manslagon); causing strife (angustentēr); drunkenness (truncāli); adultery (mērhuara); theft (thiubheit).[22]

This translation allowed priests in the Germanic areas of the Carolingian Empire to educate their people by addressing them in the vernacular. It also permitted the translation of similar catalogues of sins which appeared in sermons by creating a Germanic vocabulary for sins. Such translations illustrated the importance that the reformers placed on the catalogues of sins by insuring that these lists could be communicated to and understood by the people whom they were intended to educate.

Discussion of sin in the sermons took two basic forms. The most common form was a listing or cataloguing of sins similar to the

lists described above. These lists often appeared within a context, such as lists of sins which required penance or sins which would bring God's wrath on the sinner. The frequency of these lists suggests that such compositions as the Weissenberg Catechism were used in pre-baptismal instruction, but of the nature and content of such instruction, we remain woefully ignorant.[23] In other sermons, however, the questions of sin and behavior were examined in more detail as sermon authors warned their congregations of the relation between bad attitudes and the sins which resulted from them. Both of these types of teaching on sin and behavior--the lists of sins and the discussion of sinful attitudes--contributed to the Christian education of the people as the following discussion will show.

The lists or catalogues of sins contained many common elements derived from the "master list" provided in Galatians which was repeated in the Admonitio. Pseudo-Boniface gave his congregation the following catalogue:

> These truly are the mortal sins. Sacrilege which means the worship of idols. [Here follows a long list of pagan practices.] Murder, adultery, fornication: whether with humans or with animals and beasts; or men with men; or women with women, all burning with mutual desire. These are all mortal sins. Theft and robbery, false witness, perjury, speaking evil about others, cupidity, pride, envy, hatred, vain glory, drunkenness, all these are proven to be mortal sins without any doubt. It is these which plunge men into destruction and perdition.[24]

Similar catalogues are found in many other sermons representing a broad cross-section of the known Carolingian sermonaries.[25] Each of these catalogues helped to teach the laity which forms of behavior should be avoided. Along with catalogues of actions, they were expected to perform as Christians--the good works discussed below--the

lists of good and bad deeds set out guidelines for the type of Christian society which Charlemagne and his advisors hoped to build.

The catalogues were presented in the sermons in larger contexts. For example, the list from the Pseudo-Boniface sermon above came as a reminder of the types of sinful behavior Christians had renounced at baptism.[26] Placing the catalogues of sins within such definite contexts reinforced the obligatory nature of avoiding the form of behavior listed in the catalogues. After all, people who did the things described by Pseudo-Boniface renounced their baptismal pact with God, and they would be punished in the hereafter for doing so. The larger contexts given to the lists of sins, such as the baptismal pact, help us understand the importance placed upon such lists by the Carolingian preachers. The lists had the immediate purpose of correcting the behavior of the individual, and had the larger goal of helping the individual achieve the spiritual reformation that must precede salvation.

Since salvation depended upon the cultivation of proper interior attitudes, the sermons taught the Carolingian people about the nature of evil and of sin as their authors understood it. They also dealt with the psychology of sin by discussing those feelings and attitudes which led people into sin. Christians had a long-standing belief in two forms of evil: an active evil force represented by Satan; and the evil things which individuals did either as a result of temptation by the devil or through their own weakness.[27] Most Carolingian clerics believed in a devil--Satan, the evil counterpart of God--who along with his subordinate evil spirits actively tempted people to sin.[28]

The force for evil represented by these evil spirits was so great that sermon authors described the lists of sins as the works of the devil and constantly warned their flocks to avoid diabolical temptation.[29] People were also warned against consorting with Satan's human agents, the surviving practitioners of pagan magic, whose practices could lure the unwary into perdition.[30]

In addition to avoiding the forces of temptation, the individual could control his or her own fate to some degree by avoiding the attitudes and states which led to sin. The most important of these was pride which according to one sermon "was the root of all sins" and resulted, as another pointed out, in the "proud being sons of the devil."[31] Pride caused all people great ruin because it prevented formation of positive attitudes such as humility and brotherly love (caritas) which were necessary for salvation.[32]

The sermons argued that the best defense against sin was the development of purity of heart (munditia cordis), since any bad attitude could lead to sin just as anger could lead to murder.[33] The author of the fourteen sermons from northern Italy told his people:

> If you first clean a small vessel in which you wish to store something precious, and if you prepare and decorate your homes when you expect a person of importance, how much the more should you clean your hearts of hatred, anger and envy and all evil, especially impurity and avarice, so that the Holy Spirit shall find you worthy to come to and dwell among.[34]

The Carolingian clerics were concerned with inward attitudes as well as the external manifestations of sin, and their teaching reflected all that was known about the nature and psychology of sin at the time.

In the area of sins and sinful behavior, the information communicated by the sermons integrated popular knowledge with the beliefs of the clerical elite. The teachings on sin combined religious education with proscriptions of sinful behavior. These proscriptions of such acts as murder, theft and adultery were also useful in supporting secular legislation against such acts.

For the Christian who had sinned, the sermons recommended remedies which combined traditional elements, such as confession, prayer and fasting, with a new emphasis on good works. Commission of a sin separated the sinner from God and from the sacraments of the Church until penance and reconciliation for the sin had been performed. Not only was the sinner separated morally from God, but he also suffered physical separation from the rest of his co-parishioners. In churches the public penitents stood in the doorways during Mass and were told not to associate with friends and relatives until their penance had been performed.[35] Some sermon authors addressed sections of their sermons to the public penitents as they stood in the porch of the church to emphasize both the lessons to be drawn from their condition and the fact that the penitents could reconcile their sins with God and the Church.[36]

The sermons avoided discussing the controversy within the Carolingian episcopate concerning the penitential books used by clerics. This controversy eventually resulted in condemnations of the private penitential practices used by the Irish.[37] Sermon authors, therefore, took a traditional view on penance, recommending confession of sins--without specifying public or private confession--

and remedying sin by contrition, fasting and prayer.[38] The role of the clergy as mediators between God and man in the process of reconciliation also received emphasis.[39] In the area of penance, the sermons stressed good works, especially charity, as a form of reconciliation. Good works were an outward sign of the inward conversion from sin, and showed Christian caritas since they benefitted others as well as the sinner who performed them.[40] Although the roles given to good works in Christian life were first established by Caesarius of Arles, it was the Carolingians who developed their application over increasingly wider areas of religious life.[41]

Good works played so great a part in all aspects of Carolingian religious life that it is difficult to find a single sermon which did not contain either a short reference to or extended discussion of their place in the scheme of salvation. Good works proceeded from faith; therefore, such works became an essential sign of the operation of God's grace in the individual:

> Wherefore the same Apostle [Paul] warns us saying: "We urge you that you should not receive God's grace in vain." [2 Cor. 6:1] By this warning we are called to obey all of God's laws. Because we are separated from Him by a mass of sins, and called to Him by faith, we should seek remission of sins in baptism. We must also perform works worthy of faith, lest we are seen to receive this faith given to us by the grace of God in vain, that is uselessly; for if faith is without works, it is judged to be not only weak, but even dead.[42]

This relationship between faith and good works received further support from other Scriptural passages, especially the verse from the Epistle of James "Fides sine operibus mortua est."[43] Good works were important in the religion of the eighth and ninth centuries not only as a form of penance but as a basic requirement for the

salvation of every Christian. Upon this strong belief in the power of good works the Carolingian clergy based their hopes of building a Christian society.

One idea repeated constantly in the sermons was the basic Christian injunction of peace and brotherly love, usually stated in the form of a quotation or paraphrase of one of three Gospel verses.[44] These statements found their way into the sermons where they emphasized the dual love of God and neighbor which was required of all Christians.[45] Sermon authors translated belief into action when they advised their flocks to conduct human relations on the principle of the "golden rule," and ordered their auditors to seek peace among themselves and their neighbors.[46] While it may seem ironic that the leaders of the Carolingian state, which owed its existence to continual and successful warfare, tried to create a Christian community based on peace and love, a closer inspection illustrates that the constant emphasis placed on these ideas served many useful purposes.

In order to create a Christian community among the Franks, the clergy first had to provide them with sufficient religious education so that they would understand what membership in the res publicae Christianae required of them. Given the intricacies and complexity of Christian doctrine as it developed over the first five centuries of Christianity, it would be much easier for the Carolingian clergy to define membership in the Christian community in terms of an "active" Christianity of good works, than it would be to explain the entire body of doctrine to each individual.

Therefore the clergy taught what it meant to be a Christian in terms of doing good works. Historians have long noted the inability of early medieval religious figures to teach on a popular level the complicated patterns of belief they had inherited from the Patristic period. Indeed, it has been doubted whether even the upper levels of the Carolingian clergy fully understood the nature of Christian doctrine as it had developed between 100 and 450.[47] Although such a view may underrate the level of religious knowledge attained by some Carolingian clerics, it may well be true for the majority of the clergy. The process of doctrinal simplification that took place as a result of the long-standing decline in clerical education and understanding of religious ideas meant that good works would have a prominent place in the popular theology of Carolingian Europe.

In all of the lists of good works given in the sermons--lists modelled upon those used by Caesarius--the concentration was upon works of mercy and charity. Such lists contained the types of works which would build the community of Christians. A list given in the Missi cuiusdam admonitio illustrated some of the works involved:

> Love your neighbors as yourself, and give charity to the poor according to your means. Take pilgrims into your homes, visit the sick, show mercy to those who are imprisoned; you should do none of the evils of which you are capable; nor should you consent to those who do such things: for not only are there people who do such things, but also those who consent to their being done. Forgive those who are your debtors, just as you would wish God to forgive your sins. Redeem captives, aid those unjustly oppressed, defend widows and orphans; judge justly; do not consent to iniquities; do not hold anger for long; shun those who are drunkards and gluttons. Be humble and benign among yourselves; serve our lords faithfully; neither commit thefts or perjuries nor consent to their being done. Hatred and treacherous envy separate from the kingdom of God. Reconcile quickly to peace among yourselves; because to err is

> human, to amend faults is angelic, to persevere in sin is diabolical. Defend God's churches and aid their causes, so that priests of God may be able to pray for you.[48]

This long passage contained a number of the themes examined above which were connected with and helped to explain the doctrine of good works. This capitulary-sermon was most probably read out at a comital assembly by the episcopal member of the missi team--so the phrase "serve our lords faithfully" would imply--and contained elements directed to all of the classes who would have attended.[49] The initial injunctions applied equally to all Christians, while some of the later provisions--to judge justly and defend the church--had particular interest for the aristocratic members of the assemblies. Charlemagne and his advisors gave a royal sanction to good works in the missi sermon which is not very surprising since they drew on the same ideas of charity to provide relief to the starving after the famine of 792/3.[50] This list of good works in the Missi cuiusdam admonitio could have been taken from any of the sermons to be examined below. The appearance of such a list of good works in a capitulary shows how important the doctrine of good works was for Charlemagne and the reformers and the degree to which it shaped beliefs on what it meant to be a Christian.

The chief difference between the list of works in the missi sermon and lists from regular sermons was that the lists in the regular sermons were related more closely to religious sanctions. A list from one of the Pseudo-Boniface sermons provided the scriptural injunctions behind each of the recommended works. After prescribing church attendance and prayer, the sermon continued:

> Give to charity according to your means because "just as water extinguishes fire, so charity extinguishes sin." Be mutually hospitable because the Lord shall say in judgment: "I was a stranger, and you took me in." Wherefore those angels will be pleased whose hospitality you will receive. Take in pilgrims, and remember that you yourselves are pilgrims in this world. Visit the sick, because the Lord shall say: "I was sick, and you visited me." Care for widows and orphans, because the Lord shall say: "What you shall do for the least of my people, you shall do for me." Give your tithes to the churches, because the Lord so ordained saying: "Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's," that is, taxes and tributes, "and unto God that which is God's," that is, tithes and first fruits, and the vows which you have vowed, just as the Lord ordained: "Whatever good you wish men to do to you, so you should do it to them; and that which you do not wish done to you, you should not do to others. This is truly the law and the prophets." If you do these things out of love for others, you will fulfill all precepts.[51]

This list contained the full range of works of mercy, and its author clearly stated that anyone who failed to use opportunities to perform such works would be punished at the Last Judgment. Similar lists appeared often in other sermons, although not always with the scriptural citations used by Pseudo-Boniface.[52] The good works mentioned in the two long passages cited above were intended to perform two functions: they helped to assure the salvation of those people who did them, while at the same time insuring that the elements of the population in real need would receive necessary help. Good works became a vital part of what it meant to be a Christian during the Carolingian period.

Sermons and the doctrine of good works which they contained were intended primarily for the edification of the masses. Although the sermons were written by individuals such as Alcuin, Theodulph and Rabanus Maurus, the teachings on grace found in them generally agreed that good works were an important and necessary sign of grace.

This concept of divine grace was found nowhere else in Carolingian theological writings. Indeed, shortly after the last of the main body of sermons was written in the 830s, the chief religious figures of the Carolingian world became embroiled in a major controversy over the questions of grace and predestination.[53] Despite the fact that the sermons continued to teach that good works were an essential sign of God's grace in the individual, no trace of the larger controversy can be found in them.[54] Had conditions so deteriorated by the 840s and 850s that the bishops no longer preached regularly? Or were they conscious of a great division between their own understanding of Christianity and a level of understanding suitable for the popular mind? The second position seems more likely, but the irony remains that while Hincmar, Prudentius, Florus and other writers were debating the question of grace, the sermons gave the common people a doctrine of grace and works derived from Caesarius of Arles and the Council of Orange.

The qualities of a Christian life depicted by the sermons remained very simple and clear. Good Christians attended Mass regularly and received communion at least three times a year. They held the orthodox views of the Trinity taught to them by the creeds which they were required to memorize, understand and be able to teach their children. They were also expected to memorize the Lord's Prayer and the Sanctus, be reverent to priests, confess their sins, do penance and pay tithes regularly. The dominant requirement, and the one step which helped knit new and old Christians into a community, lay in the stress on good works. Performing these works provided a sign of the

efficacy of grace which began operating in the individual at baptism. Since these works involved helping others, they also had a value for society. The simplicity of these obligations reflected both the level of popular religious understanding and problems presented by the nature of the Carolingian world with its large missionary district, often poorly-trained lesser clergy and always over-stretched communication and educational resources.

To enforce these religious obligations, the Carolingian clergy relied on two types of sanctions. The most obvious sanction came from the fact that the obligations were parts of royal and ecclesiastical law and therefore were to be enforced upon the people by the priests, bishops and counts.[55] The second sanction--the more important in a strictly religious sense--came from the belief in a Last Judgment which permeated many aspects of early medieval life and thought. Charlemagne himself appealed to the sanction of the Last Judgment to point out the necessity for religious reform in chapter eighty-two of the Admonitio generalis with which the preaching reforms began.[56] Although a recent work has suggested that the sermons used persuasion rather than fear to secure conformity with beliefs,[57] the sermon authors created severe and terrifying images of the torments of the damned. These word-pictures, along with a series of glowing depictions of the rewards of Heaven, served as the ultimate sanctions behind religious obligations.

Belief in some form of a final judgment with punishments for the evil and rewards for the good was taught to all new Christians as part of the baptismal catechism. It also furnished one of the

subjects which Charlemagne urged his clergy to stress in their sermons.[58] In accordance with their own beliefs and the legislation, the authors pointed out the terrible fate awaiting those who sinned and failed to do penance:

> These are the works of Satan, which Christians renounced in baptism. These works the devil on the day of our death will seek in us. And if this ancient enemy on the day of our death finds the above mentioned works, done willingly and unatoned for, then he will drag us with him naked and weeping into Hell and eternal punishment, where there are shadows without light, where there is fire that is never extinguished, where there are serpents which never die: where ears hear nothing except mourning, wailing and the gnashing of teeth; where all hunger and thirst for eternity, who here through their avarice were unwilling to give food and drink to the poor who hungered and thirsted; where there is every evil and no good for those who were unwilling to correct themselves here.[59]

The point of such a description lay in creating a vision of an eternal punishment that would horrify the congregation and so persuade them to do good. As Rabanus stated in another sermon: "Fear of God expels the fear of gehenna because it makes men beware of sin and perform works of justice."[60] In general, one sermon in each sermonary contained a similar detailed description of the tortures of the damned.[61] These long and detailed descriptions of Hell, similar in content to the passage cited above, were sufficiently graphic to give real force to shorter references made to the fate of the damned in other sermons in the sermonaries. Other detailed descriptions of Hell can also be found in individual sermons and the vita sermons included in the lives of the missionary saints.[62] So the Carolingian preachers used "fire and brimstone" sermons to convince their flocks and the unconverted of the necessity of obeying the laws and precepts of God and His church.

In a like manner the sermon authors depicted the rewards for good Christians. Often the description of the lives led by the just in Heaven occurred in the same sermons as the descriptions of the torments of the damned: both forms of judgment would be meted out, so the sermons warned, when Christ returned to judge the living and the dead. Sermon authors stated that the heavenly existence would be so unlike present life that "human tongue is unable to describe the joys" of the afterlife:

> . . . an eternal kingdom is prepared for those who do these things [referring to a list of good works]: and the savior of the world, our Lord Jesus Christ, on the day of judgment shall say to them: "Come, blessed by my Father, behold the kingdom which has been prepared for you from the beginning of the world (Mt. 25:34). Then the just shall shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father (Mt. 13:43)": where there is light without shadows, life without death, where there are joy and gladness without end, the joys of youth without the burdens of old age, health without sickness, and security without fear, where there is an unchanging kingdom, where there are knowledge of the spirit, good will and eternal exultation, where there are good things greater and better than the human tongue is able to describe which God has prepared for those who love Him. . . .[63]

It would be extremely difficult for the modern reader at a remove of some 1100 years from this passage to appreciate at first reading how such descriptions must have affected their hearers. Conditions of life in the eighth and ninth centuries were often very harsh to say the least. For the greater part of the Carolingian populace, life meant an unceasing round of agricultural labor with no certainty of enough to eat, old age between one's thirtieth and fortieth years of age, great uncertainty of life reflecting local insecurity in even the most peaceful periods--hence the many injunctions to care for widows and orphans in the sermons--and plagues and

other natural disasters which affected human and animal populations.[64] Such expressions as "health without sickness" and "security without fear" must have been appealing as parts of an eternal life in the kingdom of God. This system of positive rewards not only served as part of the system of sanctions for those already Christian, but also added to the appeal of Christianity to the unconverted in the missionary districts.

From this survey of some of the religious ideas and themes in the sermon, it can be seen what religious life was like--or, perhaps, what the reformers hoped life would be like--at the popular level in the Carolingian world. The material examined here illustrated part of the process whereby Christianity penetrated many aspects of popular life by establishing and enforcing patterns of religious obligations and belief. It also revealed that while the basic beliefs of the higher clergy were roughly the same as those of the general populace, the levels of understanding of those beliefs differed greatly between the two groups. The sermons can serve as valuable sources for the religious life of the Carolingian age and deserve a closer examination from historians of the period.

* * * * *

Beyond their obvious value as sources of religious life, the sermons also reflected the cosmology and political and social attitudes of the world in which they were written. Sermon authors sought to teach their congregations both the nature of that world--in large part to overcome surviving pagan religious practices--and of the institutions and events within it. The clergy, almost the

sole literate class in the Carolingian world, were influential in shaping the ways in which the Carolingians saw their world.

The world perceived by ninth-century Europeans was a mysterious place filled with unknown and ostensibly unknowable forces. Historians of magic and witchcraft have been able to uncover this vanished cosmology by showing that many people believed that spirits lived in trees and lakes, and they sought to control their world through appeasing these spirits.[65] Belief in spirits and demons and in the magicians and diviners who claimed to control such forces existed long before Christianity became an organized religion, and developed, as did Christianity, in the Roman Empire.[66] This belief in supernatural forces survived into the Carolingian period and presented a real problem to the clergy. Agobard of Lyon, for example, at one point had to convince some of his flock that storm clouds were not being purposely flown at them by a race of sorcerers from the land of Magonia.[67] Christianity also added to the otherworldly population with its own angels, devil and demons.

Authors of Carolingian sermons showed a close familiarity with the surviving forms of pagan religious practices, and they worked constantly to root out such practices among their parishioners. Sermons forbade such things as worship of or at the sacred springs, stones and trees which had been holy sites in both classical and Germanic religions.[68]

The preachers also attacked pagan magicians and magical practices, from divination to healing the sick with charms and incantations.[69] Most of these pagan practices were only survivals of what

had once been organized religions with temples, priests and priestesses. They survived in part because they met certain spiritual and practical needs which Christianity either could not answer or had not yet begun to answer. One example of such use for magic can be found in the many eighth- and ninth-century pagan charms and incantations which dealt with weather and problems affecting farmers.[70] During the Carolingian period, some of these pagan incantations were slowly transformed into Christian magic (i.e., prayers, charms and incantations using Christian liturgical elements or invoking the saints), but the process was slow, and it often troubled the clergy.

After the destruction of the Saxon cult center at Irminsul, the last organized pagan religion within the Frankish realm was slowly brought to an end. However, pagan practices continued to survive for centuries. Simply forbidding the people to practice pagan rituals and ceremonies was not successful in itself. If laying down the law could abolish paganism and superstition, then they both would have vanished in the centuries before the Carolingians came to power. Therefore, in addition to pointing out that good Christians could have nothing to do with paganism, the sermon authors sought to persuade their auditors that the world operated only in accordance with the laws of God. Christianity presented a different view of how the world operated than did the pagan natural and mythic religions. The Christian view of the world gave the sermon authors an important point of departure for their attacks on pagan beliefs. The internal consistency of this Christian Weltanschauung was an important factor in the success of the arguments found in the sermons.

The world-view presented in the sermons stressed the power of God and His control over the world He created and which operated in accordance with His laws. Sermons and baptismal catechisms taught that the Christian God was omnipotent and had created the world and all things in it.[71] Establishing this belief as basic fact allowed Christian preachers to assert God's control over all natural processes and human activities. To support this idea, the sermons retold the creation story taken from Genesis, establishing God's role in the creation and his continuing power over all created things.[72] Such beliefs formed the basis of the Christian view of the natural world and its processes and furnished one line of the attacks against pagan religious practices and witchcraft.

Through the stress on God's control of all natural phenomena, the sermon authors were able to attack the significance these phenomena had for pagan religious ideas. Lunar eclipses, for example, had long been interpreted as signs of important earthly events to follow. Such eclipses usually brought out traditional pagan practices which the populace used to cope with the problems eclipses presented. Some people in the diocese of Mainz, for example, sought to help the moon return to its normal state by blowing horns, shooting arrows and spears at the monster devouring the moon, throwing torches into the air, or breaking vases and other household items.[73] The tone of Rabanus' sermon on the eclipse is one of gentle ridicule, hoping to show his flock that their activities are meaningless. He went on, however, to show them that a lunar eclipse was a natural event ruled by the God who had created the moon by using an explanation of

eclipses drawn from Isidore of Seville's Etymologies.[74] Rabanus knew from reading Isidore that lunar eclipses were caused by the earth's shadow cast upon the moon and he explained as much to the people of Mainz. About a century later, also using material taken from Isidore, Atto of Vercelli gave his flock a rational explanation of the constellations and their inability to affect human life.[75] Atto told his flock that the constellation shapes they saw in the sky were formed from numbers of stars that were close to each other. Since the stars resided in another sphere, they could not possibly influence life on earth. In both cases the sermons provided people with a more rational view of the world as a place which operated through stable rules under the control of God. Such explanations helped the clergy control outbreaks of pagan practices.

Where sermon authors did not or could not supply rational explanations of natural events in terms of God's laws, they still stressed that such events were caused by God, and that if people propitiated Him, the events could have fortunate outcomes:

> And when you see storms above you, run to the church, and avoid diabolical practices. When you see a storm against you and your wives and sons and daughters, bow to the ground in prayer and ask the most pious God with sighing and moaning that He make rain from this storm, and promise both to give your tithes to the churches and to help the poor: if you will do this, God will hear your prayers favorably.[76]

With the sermons cited above and with other sermons which attacked sacrifices made to sacred trees and fountains, the sermon authors helped to desacralize the natural world which had played such a large part in the Weltanschauung of pagan religions. This desacralization

helped to open the forest areas for exploitation and helped put an end to the surviving pagan cults.[77]

Attacks made on witchcraft and other pagan religious practices were less successful than the struggle against nature worship. That witchcraft existed in Carolingian Europe cannot be doubted; many of the capitularies and conciliar canons referred to it specifically and tried to forbid its practice.[78] The sermons also attacked the ideas behind and practices of witchcraft. The malefici who claimed to be able to summon up spirits were condemned as pagans, while their spirits were condemned as members of the devil's company of demons.[79] The powers of those who claimed to be witches were denied except as part of the devil's attempts to lure Christians to perdition:

> Many men say that there are witches, and they say that these things eat infants, cows and horses, and hence speak of other evils: men ought not to believe this, because wise men have refuted this belief. Brothers, do not believe as do the foolish and unwise: because witches never were nor will be, but the devil, who through a thousand arts seeks to deceive men, himself spoke those words through those men who are not blessed.[80]

Such attacks on witchcraft placed the sermon authors in the ambiguous position of denying the powers of witches and diviners but recognizing a devil and demons which stood behind the surviving pagan religious practices. Although the clergy sought to condemn all witchcraft, they had to admit the existence of the evil members of the Christian otherworldly population. These demons and devils had to be dealt with, and, through the means which the sermon authors advised their auditors to use against the demons, much superstition entered Christianity.

Just as Martin of Braga advised the members of his flock to use the sign of the Cross to protect themselves against the host of demons facing them, so too the Carolingian preachers told their flocks to take advantage of Christian magic. If sickness struck a household, its members should avoid pagan magicians and diviners and go instead to the church where the sick person could be anointed with holy oil which would not only cure the sickness but remit sins.[81] The holy oil, or chrism, used to anoint the baptized was seen as having magical properties. The sign of the Cross, the Creed and Lord's Prayer were also described as signs of "power" which Christians could use to protect themselves against the malignant spirits which threatened them from all sides.[82] Some ninth- and tenth-century vernacular charms have survived in which the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the names of Christ and the saints were invoked against serpents and sickness in horses.[83]

The view of the wider world presented by the sermons as an arena in which both humans and spirits lived was one acceptable to the popular mind of the Carolingian period. People were told that the world was controlled by a God who was responsible for all things and that all events could be explained by either a knowledge of natural processes or an acceptance of the will of God. At the same time they were encouraged to use Christian magic to protect themselves against all sorts of invisible spirits who sought to lure them to damnation. The first view represented the ideas of reformed Christianity, while the second illustrated the compromise made with beliefs held at all levels of society in the Carolingian world. The

sermons, in describing these beliefs, illustrated a stage in the formation of long-standing beliefs held by medieval Christians concerning their world and the way in which it operated.

To a lesser degree a similar compromise could be seen in the views presented by the sermon of the social and political world. The most recent study of the sermons found little political material in them and claimed that the sermons contained "few injunctions to obey earthly rulers."[84] In actuality, the sermons provided a lively commentary on the social and political conditions which their authors saw around them. The Carolingian Church was intimately bound up within the structures of the empire, and its bishops lived at the top level of the existing social system. Despite the clergy's involvement with the powerful, their sermons laid obligations on rulers and ruled alike. Sermon authors accepted the existing political and social system while attempting through their sermons both to correct conditions at the top levels of society and to ameliorate the conditions of those at the bottom.

The sermons described the sort of political world in which their authors lived very clearly, and commented on the nature and limits of royal power. Good Christians should fear God but honor their king because, as Paul first wrote, all power came from God and those who resisted that power resisted His ordering of the world. Using this argument, Pseudo-Boniface told his flock that all just commands of the king should be obeyed.[85] Using a similar formulation he went on in another sermon to comment on relations between the king and his fideles:

> Therefore the honor of the king ought to be feared and venerated by the people, because there is no power unless it is from God. In a like manner, all lords and judges who depend upon the king ought to be faithful and both humble and merciful, they ought to judge with equity and not through gifts, defend widows, orphans and the poor, be subjects of the king's bishops, oppress no on by force, nor covet unjust riches but rather give their goods to the poor than seize the goods of others.[86]

If the king was owed honor by his subjects, then he also had responsibilities which included overseeing the actions of the lesser powers in the state, a point which Rabanus Maurus made clear when he pointed out that all judges were responsible not only for their own actions but also for those of their subordinates.[87] Pseudo-Eligius gave these injunctions a religious tone by pointing out that "the king guards the dignity of his name by living and acting correctly. Princes and judges should freely hear, obey and do that which Holy Scripture says."[88] In describing what political life should be like, the sermons stressed mutual responsibilities between ruler and ruled and emphasized the king's special responsibility to ensure that not only his own actions but those of his agents were in line with religious beliefs.

A Christian king had additional responsibility toward the Church. In a very real sense Charlemange created the Frankish Church of the early ninth century through his reforms and clerical appointments, and he used many clergy as advisors and missi. It was, perhaps, those facts which the author of an anonymous sermonary had in mind when he wrote (comparing the Church to a ship in a storm-tossed sea):

> That ship sometimes has serenity in the sea and at other times storms. Sometimes it is seen to be large, at other times it is small in the sense of the church of Christ in the sea of this world. Sometimes it had storms when there

> were evil emperors and kings, persecutors of Christians, who wished to erase the churches of Christ from the world and extinguish the name of Christians. At other times the church had serenity when there were good kings and Christian emperors. These rulers sought to renew and build the church of Christ throughout the world and make the name of Christians grow.[89]

In a similar vein Abbo of St. Germain, writing in the 920s, regretted the days past when kings built and endowed churches and monasteries and lamented that, in his own age, rulers and lords were more interested in taking church land.[90] Charlemagne himself represented these clerical ideas of the functions of royal and imperial power when he issued ecclesiastical legislation and documents such as the Missi cuiusdam admonitio in his own name.[91] On the whole, sermon authors were aware of the powers of kings and sought to guide these powers along lines useful to religious ends and service of the Church.

Despite this willingness to provide free advice and describe what powers kings should exercise--a quality already seen in the letter of Cathwulf and to reappear in several Carolingian Fürstenspiegel--the sermons never mentioned kings by name nor did they offer any direct criticism. With lesser officials, however, little restraint was shown. Judges came in for a great deal of comment. They were told to judge justly, an injunction found in many places in the sermons.[92] The sermons pointed out, however, that justice was subverted by the gifts of one party to the action or by the judge's own greed.[93] Theodulph of Orléans noted very clearly the problems of judicial corruption in a poem he wrote describing his own tenure as a missi in the southern part of Francia.[94]

The sermons also supported the political life of the Carolingian state by supporting basic institutions upon which political life depended. Relations between the king or emperor and his subjects were based largely on oaths of fidelity which served as a basic acceptance by the people of the realm and rights of the ruler.[95] Charlemagne's subjects had sworn fidelity to him as king, and these oaths were renewed after important crises and after the imperial coronation. To help secure the oaths, the sermons contained injunctions against perjury and false swearing, providing a divine sanction for the oaths.[96] In this manner the sermons helped to emphasize the importance of the oaths and provided an important form of support for the basic nature of Carolingian political life. The sermons also advised all people to pay their taxes (referred to in the texts as census, vectigalia, and tributa). Payment of taxes must not have been much of a problem since one author complained that his flock gave taxes readily to soldiers but would not pay their tithes to the priests.[97] On these subjects the sermons provide another view of political life in the Carolingian world.

The sermon authors took a somewhat more critical view of the political and social system in which they lived when discussing the network of relations between lords and serfs. The sermons used the word servi to include both serfs and slaves, which suggests that, whatever the legal distinction between the two forms of servitude, there was little real difference in the conditions of life which the two groups faced. The various sermon authors all stated that serfs had to serve their lords faithfully, but sought to make the

relationship contain mutual obligations:

> Serfs should serve their lords well and faithfully: because if they do not do this they shall offend God because God created those serfs. And lords should do no violence to their serfs: because you and they have one God Who sees all that you do, and a man's estate is not accepted by God.98

The bishops who wrote such sermons had to accept the evolving system of serfdom and what remained of slavery because their churches and the monasteries were among the greatest landowners of eighth- and ninth-century Europe. To a certain extent the Christian compromise with slavery and serfdom in the form of the colonate had already been made under the Roman Empire. The best the bishops could do was to demand that the slaves and serfs, who were also members of the Christian community, be treated with justice and equity. To go any further than this would overturn the basis of society and the world they knew. Through their admonitions, however, the sermons spoke on behalf of those at the bottom of the evolving social hierarchy.

Beyond trying to improve conditions for slaves and serfs in this life, the only comfort which the bishops could offer them was the traditional Christian hope of a better world to come. Theodulph of Orléans, along with other sermon authors, stressed the equality of all people in the afterlife:

> Even to you, serfs, comes my sermon. Whoever has worldly lords, whoever has a condition of servitude, obey your lords and love them from the heart; do not serve them only when they watch you but perform your tasks out of love. Serve well, because God made both those who rule you and you who serve, because you will have a reward from good service. If you are good, you will be better than evil lords, because with the Lord the soul of each person is not judged by nobility but by works; not by birth, but by deeds.99

Although such statements may seem to be in the bishops' own best interests, the bishops were not mere hypocrites. References to the generally accepted views on a Last Judgment and afterlife in which the bishops also believed provide motives for their sermons and remove much of the hypocrisy which otherwise might be attributed to them. The bishops would indeed benefit from such sermons which sought to make the serfs and slaves accept their positions in society. However, the tone of the passage cited above and the other sermons referred to suggests that the bishops believed what they said and that they sought to fulfill their spiritual obligations to the serfs and slaves out of religious motives. Ideally the clergy were to serve as mediators between lord and serf.

The bishops also tried to define both their own place in society and the relationships of other social groups to themselves. Having already accepted a hierarchical society containing levels of subordination, the clergy, and most particularly the bishops, tried to fix their own positions within society as clearly as possible. Given the interpenetration of church and society, bishops had great power because they had inherited the apostolic power of binding and loosing souls.[100] As Pseudo-Boniface had noted in his description of society cited above, bishops ranked next to the king and ought to be respected by the king's vassals and lords. Commands of bishops and priests were to be obeyed as firmly as though they were secular lords.[101] These statements made by Pseudo-Boniface reflected the new order Pepin and Charlemagne had brought into the Frankish Church and the new sense of power and purpose which many of its leading clergy had drawn from the

reforms.[102] They may also help to explain the devotion of the bishops and abbots to the imperial idea and their opposition to Louis the Pious when he proposed dividing his realm among his sons.[103] The clergy, as almost the sole literate group in an otherwise illiterate society, could define social roles in written sources such as the sermons. They were somewhat less successful when it came to achieving popular acceptance of these clerically-defined social roles.

In setting out the ideal roles of family life, sermon authors encountered a similar dichotomy between the world as it should be and the world they found. Children and the young in general were to obey their parents and elders,[104] and here too the relationship was one of mutual obligations. Parents were required to help provide their offspring with Christian education in the form of the prayers and the liturgical chants which all Christians should know by heart.[105] In describing this parent-child relationship, the injunctions of the sermons found themselves in general agreement with social practices.

When it came to regulating sexual roles and behavior, the sermons demanded behavior quite different from that which their authors actually observed. The sermons followed accepted views of society in describing a hierarchically ordered family structure. Just as the young were to obey their elders, so too were wives expected to be subordinate to their husbands, and husbands were told to care for their wives since women were the weaker members of the pair.[106] In a society in which the main social roles consisted of the warrior and peasant farmer, such adherence to accepted ideas was only natural.

Yet in discussing patterns of sexual behavior, the sermons offered an alternative point of view from widely-accepted attitudes toward sexuality.

Traditionally, women had been given much of the blame for sexual misbehavior. Some Church Fathers had deep-seated mistrust of women and writings on sexuality often compared a woman's role in sexual misconduct to the part played by Eve in the Genesis story.[107] Despite this mistrust, ecclesiastical legislation required a single standard of sexual conduct demanding faithfulness and chaste behavior from both men and women alike.[108] The sermons went even further in their observations on sexual crimes. They too demanded marital faithfulness and chaste living from both husbands and wives. When commenting on sexual misbehavior, however, they warned men not to enter baths with women, not to kiss women in church and to avoid touching women's sexual organs. In the sermons, fornication, rape and incest were sins initiated by men.[109] Despite historical attitudes concerning women as seductresses, authors of Carolingian sermons showed themselves able to go beyond tradition and describe life as they observed it when commenting on sexual behavior. Women were told by the sermons not to abort unborn children by potions or other means and not to kill unwanted infants.[110] Whether the attacks on abortion were traditional injunctions kept by Carolingian authors, reflections on the consequences of extramarital sexual behavior, or condemnation of a wide-spread practice adopted in the face of population pressures remains difficult to determine. Evidence from other

sources has been used to suggest that all three motives lay behind such injunctions.[111]

The final area of social interest in the sermons was the view of the sermon authors on the military nature of the Carolingian realm and the wars of the age. Despite the almost constant wars against the Saxons, Avars and others from 770 to 800, the sermons written during Charlemagne's reign contain few references to war or military affairs. Sermon authors did not rally the troops into battle, nor did they seek divine aid for military success. The sermons contained references to such past military actions as the apparition of the archangel Michael at a battle at Monte Gargano and the recovery of the True Cross by Heraclius (who is called Gracchus in the sermon). Both references came from the sermonary of Rabanus Maurus, who made no reference to contemporary wars. The only contemporary comment on warfare in the entire body of sermons was the general injunction to "defend God's churches and their causes" in the Missi cuiusdam admonitio.[112] Even these references were so general that no one reading the sermons would realize that the Carolingian Empire expanded as a result of long wars of conquest or that the upper strata of its society were occupied by a warrior nobility.[113] Apparently, no "official position" had been taken by the reformers on what sermons should say on the subject of warfare.

The few sermons produced after 830 by contrast illustrated not only the decline of the Carolingian world under the pressures of civil war and invasions, but reflected the inability of the clergy or anyone else to solve these problems. Blame for the invasions and

wars was placed upon the sins of the people, and the devastation was interpreted as part of a larger pattern of decline from a golden age:

> Pirates, that is maritime robbers, have massacred most cruelly the greater part of Christians, and they massacre with impunity. They have annihilated the noblest cities, and all of our wisdom has been consumed (Ps. 106:27) in defending our country. And because we have not glorified the Lord by observing his precepts, we are forsaken for those who despise Him, and we are ignoble payers of tribute. **They are made our superiors, and the richest and greatest part of our country has been slain by their occupation. Those once noble have lost by this means not only their patrimonies but even the condition of freedom. The great cannot come to peace with their equals, the populace is not as great as it was, generals are not as numerous nor as excellent as they were, and so because our sins exceed the limits of justice, nothing shall suffice for us but to be conquered in all.**[114]

The theme of this lament delivered between 850 and 860 was the fact that the sinful Franks brought the invasions and internal problems upon themselves. Nothing could be done by men until divine favor was restored. Such statements could hardly have been helpful to the kings and counts of ninth-century Europe trying as they were to defend their realms from Norman invaders, especially when the solution posed in this case by Lupus was to do penance and pray to God and Saint Judocus (St. Josse) for aid.[115] Sermons of this type probably tended to undermine people's confidence in their ability to deal with these problems, but they did reflect a real current of early medieval belief regarding invasions and other natural and man-made disasters.[116]

Two later sermons delivered a similar message. Abbo of St. Germain in the 920s pointed to the invasions of Europe by the Saracens, Normans and Magyars, and insisted that these resulted from the same cause, human sinfulness.[117] He answered the challenge of the

invasions by stating that each person should pray for patience to bear the afflictions of God's wrath.[118] The Old French sermon on Jonah given to a congregation near Saint Amand in 947 used the three days of fasting which Jonah prescribed for the Ninevites to suggest a response to raids the congregation suffered from the now-settled Normans.[119] The passive reaction to the invasions offered by these sermons illustrated how closely their authors held the belief that all worldly activity was the working out of divine will. Western preachers and theologians still had a considerable intellectual distance to travel to reach the conception of holy war which lay behind the Crusades despite the shadowy references to such activity in Rabanus' sermon on the recovery of the True Cross.

Carolingian sermons reflected many aspects of life and thought of the world in which they were created. Rather than developing new ideas of social and political life, the sermon authors wrote works which supported, while attempting to improve, the existing patterns of life. The clerics who wrote the sermons participated in the events of the period in which they lived, and they were, for the most part, educated and perceptive individuals. Sermon authors presented lively pictures of the political and social life which they observed, and the sermons can serve as sources for more than religious and ecclesiastical life.

* * * * *

In attempting to communicate their religious and social ideas to the populace, the reformers employed other media of communications as well. Clerical conduct and works of art served as silent

sermons reinforcing, or substituting for, the message of the spoken word. Each of these forms was intended to fulfill an important function in support of regular preaching, and both played a sort of counterpoint on the basic themes of the sermons.

The idea that a cleric's conduct should reflect the religious ideas he preached had become a truism by the ninth century. Gregory the Great was the first medieval theologian to explore the implications of this idea, and with the wide circulation of his works in the eighth and ninth centuries, it became an important part of Carolingian thinking about sermons, preaching and preachers.[120] This was to be one additional result of a larger attempt made during Charlemagne's reign to improve the overall level of clerical standards. Within this framework the reformers tried also to link improved standards of conduct with the message of the sermons.

Reform of the clergy began with the councils sponsored by Boniface in the 740s and continued under the Carolingian kings. Many of the chapters of the Admonitio generalis concerned themselves with various aspects of clerical conduct and behavior, and Charlemagne made it clear in the Prologue that he, too, saw a direct connection between good clerical conduct, preaching, and the power to teach by example.[121] Many of his reforms directed at the clergy attempted to achieve two ends simultaneously: he laid out standards of conduct[122] and sought to support an ecclesiastical hierarchy with powers to oversee and enforce good conduct.[123] Clerics were not as other men in either a religious or social sense. Charlemagne's reforms sought to underline this difference and allow bishops and priests to

turn it to their advantage in teaching proper morals by setting an example with their own lives and thereby supporting the moral teachings presented in their sermons.

Concerns in this area took many forms and ranged from condemnations of clerical marriage and concubinage to strong disapproval of priests consorting with parishioners in taverns.[124] Some of these concerns may seem minor, but they were sufficiently important to Charlemagne so that their repetition can be traced through the corpus of his capitularies.[125] Such concerns also appeared in the documents drawn up for annual episcopal visitations of parish clergy.[126] Keeping priests out of taverns, for example, would not only reinforce the idea that the clergy were truly a separate order in society, but would also give additional support to the priests' injunctions in their sermons against drunkenness by helping them to set a proper example of sobriety. Charlemagne and his advisors took seriously the idea that bishops and priests taught by example, and sought to insure that clerical behavior would firmly support the moral teachings of the sermons.

The same set of concerns manifested itself in episcopal legislation and sermons. Canons of synods made the same connection between conduct and teaching by example that Charlemagne had made in his capitularies.[127] In their sermons, bishops told priests and all clerics to live so that their lives would teach the faith and the laws of the Church.[128] Through legislating improved standards of conduct, the reformers hoped to have the lives of the clergy serve as silent supports for the teachings of the sermons. With the rise of the

Eigenkirche in the 840s, however, this was the first area of the Carolingian reforms to lose whatever effectiveness it had enjoyed during the high tide of reform. When bishops could no longer regulate clerical standards over increasing areas of the Carolingian world, the lives of parish priests began to sink back to pre-Bonifatian levels of conduct and training. This first form of silent sermon had only a limited effectiveness in support of the preaching movement.

Such was not the case for art--pictures and frescoes in cathedrals and parish churches--which had been and would long remain an important element in Christian education. Its place as the Bible of the illiterate had long been recognized and had been particularly defended by Gregory the Great, who pointed out that those who could not read letters could read stories from Scripture in pictures and could thus gain knowledge that would otherwise be denied to them.[129] The decoration of churches with pictures and works of art not only added to their aesthetic appeal, but also served to educate those who entered them.

Little now remains of the impressive array of Carolingian churches, and not one parish church of the period has survived. However, an idea can be gained of the role of art in supporting the sermon from surviving monastic churches and literary descriptions of works of art in now-vanished cathedrals and chapels. The example used to illustrate this process will be the abbey church of Saint John the Baptist at Müstair, now in Switzerland. The abbey was founded between 780 and 790 and its church was built and decorated

in the ninth century, although art historians still debate whether the surviving frescoes should be dated early or late ninth-century.[130]

Upon entering Saint John's church the worshipper's attention might first have been drawn to the east wall with three apses behind the main altar, each apse with its own story to narrate. The vault of the center apse contained a fresco of Christ in majesty with angels, the north apse vault depicted Christ sending Peter and Paul on their evangelizing missions, and the south vault depicted Christ with various saints and evangelists. The wall between the apses had three registers of individual fresco paintings narrating scenes from the lives of John the Baptist, Peter, Paul and Stephen. The east wall with its characteristic Carolingian triapsial configuration illustrated the coming of Christ and His Church. These frescoes illustrated references to church history made in the sermons.[131]

Saint John's nave walls were literally filled with two elaborate fresco cycles laid out in five registers on each wall with each register containing a variety of individual paintings. On the north wall, to the imaginary worshipper's left, some twenty surviving frescoes illustrated the story of David and other Old Testament scenes relating Christ's genealogy and prophecies of His coming. Frescoes on the south wall narrated the life of Christ, His miracles and other parts of the cycle of events from the Gospels. The artists of Saint John's "sacrificed harmonious layout and general effect to 'tell the whole story.'"[132] Sermon authors often referred to Christ's miracles to illustrate the moral teachings they presented.[133]

As the worshipper left the church after the liturgy and sermon, he or she received a strong reminder of the religious enforcement of the messages he or she had received from two paintings on the west wall above the portal. The topmost of these showed Christ and the angel trumpeting the Last Judgment with the souls of the dead rising from their tombs, while the bottom picture illustrated Christ in judgment surrounded by the Apostles.[134] These frescoes provided further emphasis to the many references in the sermons to the Last Judgment.[135] Taken together these frescoes provided a clear pictorial narrative of the Biblical stories which Christians were expected to know, and it would have been an easy matter for a preacher using a scriptural example to have pointed to one or another of the paintings to illustrate firmly the point he was making.

The fresco cycle of Saint John's was typical of church decoration for both its own region and other areas in the Carolingian world. In the North Italian and Swiss area similar cycles or traces of such cycles have survived from the churches of Saint Benedict at Malles (ninth century), Saint Vincent at Voltuno (ninth century), Saint Salvatore at Brescia (eighth or ninth century), Saint Proculo at Naturno (eighth century) and Saint Maria at Castelseprio (late eighth century).[136] Frescoes illustrating the arrest, lapidation and ascension of Stephen in the martyry church of Saint Stephen in the Carolingian crypt of the cathedral of Saint Germain of Auxerre executed between 841 and 859 and surviving frescoes in the crypt of Saint Maximin of Trier dated to 882 have shown the importance of art in Northern churches.[137] To illustrate further the widespread use of

fresco cycles such as those of Saint John's, literary evidence attested their existence at both Cologne cathedral built by Archbishop Hildebald (787-818) and the palace chapel at Ingelheim built by Louis the Pious.[138]

The examples cited above have illustrated the use of art as a support of the sermon in monastic churches--which were open to the laity on Sundays and feast days--cathedrals and a palace chapel. To what degree then would the use of art have descended to the level of the parish church? The artists who painted these frescoes were the same artists who illuminated manuscripts with miniatures in monastic and episcopal scriptoria.[139] Bishops active in other areas of the preaching movement had the personnel and resources at hand to extend the benefits of "painted Bibles" throughout their dioceses. It would be difficult to believe that such figures of Arn of Salzburg or Hildebald of Cologne, to take only two examples, did not use such a resource as art in their reform and missionary activities. The lack of any evidence at all concerning parish churches in the Carolingian period makes it difficult to assess how widespread was the impact of art. Its known use in cathedrals and monastic churches meant that almost everyone in the Carolingian world would have at least had access to such works as those at Saint John's church.[140]

The religious ideas expressed in the sermons, since they were concerned as much with the supernatural as with this world, involved a great many abstractions. Such things as Heaven, Hell or a Last Judgment had no, or only vague, earthly referents. The sermons aided popular understanding of these concepts by furnishing verbal

images of them through the preachers' descriptions, and art completed the task by providing visual images which gave the popular mind a fixed picture of the thing or idea referred to in the sermon. Those people who attended services in churches decorated in the style of Saint John of Müstair or Cologne Cathedral would have received as solid an understanding of Christian ideas as it was possible to achieve in the eighth and ninth centuries. This was the role of art in supplementing the sermon or as a silent sermon in its own right. As the surviving frescoes illustrate, it was a role which works of art in the Carolingian period were amply equipped to fulfill.

The production of a sermon in this period, whether spoken or silent, was not an end in itself, but a means to a larger end which involved teaching reformed Christianity to the Frankish people. The sermons examined here contained religious, social and political messages which the Carolingian religious elite wished to communicate over as wide an area as possible: they served, in other words, as an institution or tool of the Frankish Church. From the variety of themes brought out in this chapter, it can be seen that the sermons were effective tools of communication and education when used by capable preachers who supported their spoken messages with illustrative personal conduct and works of art. These Carolingian sermons can still serve their function of communication and education when used by historians who can employ them to uncover the religious component in the formation of religious, social and political ideas and beliefs of the period in which they were written.

CHAPTER VII: NOTES

[1]XIV homélies du IXe siècle, VII, 5: Moneo etiam ut qui iuxta eclesiam est, et occurrere potest, quotidie audiat missam; et qui potest omninocte ad matutinum officium veniat. Qui vero longe ab ecclesia manet, omni dominica studeant ad matutinas venire, id est viri et feminae et iuvenes et senes, praeter infirmos. Unum tantum aut duo remaneant, qui domus custodiant. Ed. Mercier, 190 and 192. The Matins referred to here are not the night office, see ibid., 192, n. 1.

[2]Ps.-Boniface, sermones V, 2, and XV, 4, PL 89: 853B and 870D; Morin, "Textes inédits," sermo 1, 515 and sermo 2, 520; Rabanus Maurus, homiliae XI and LXI, PL 110: 25B and 77B; and Homilia de decimis, ibid., 129, 1262C.

[3]Jungmann, The Mass, I: 83-4; and Shepherd, "The Effect of the Barbarian Invasions," 183-4.

[4]Wilmart, "Catéchèses celtiques," I: Consideret autem se ipsum unusquisque, ut non cum temeritate ad hanc cenam corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Ihesu Christi accedat. Si enim sine timore et fletu, si non cum simplicitate cordis et sanctitate corporis, si non cum castitate et humilitate, immo si non cum caritate dei et proximi accedamus ad hanc cenam corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Iesu Christi, acsi crucifigemus Christum cum crucifigentibus eum. . . . 38. See also Rabanus, hom. 1, PL 110: 12B; Ps.-Boniface, 4, ibid., 89: 854A; and Morin, "Textes inédits," sermo 2, 520.

[5]The three days, Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, are attested to by the sermon edited by Morin cited above and the legislation. See also Chélini, "La pratique dominicale," 169-70.

[6]The Freising Paternoster gave a translation and commentary of the Lord's Prayer in German, the St. Gall Paternoster and Credo gave translations only, and the Weissenberg Catechism provided translations and commentaries of the Lord's Prayer and Athanasian Creed and translations of the Sanctus and a list of eight principal sins; Von Steinmayer, KAS, 43-5, 27-8 and 29-35. See also McKitterick, The Frankish Church, 193-5; and Laistner, Thought and Letters, 383-4.

[7]Sermons on the Creed: Rabanus, hom. XIII, PL 110: 27B-29A; and Agobard, Sermo exhortatorius, III, ibid., 104, 269B-270C. On the Lord's Prayer, Rabanus, hom. XX, ibid., 110: 39D-42A. The Carolingians also used the sermons of their predecessors on the

subjects, and there are many shorter references to the Creed and the Lord's Prayer in sermons.

[8]Exhortatio ad plebem christianum: Quomodo enim se christianum dicit, qui pauca verba fidei, qua salvandus est, etiam et orationis dominicae . . . neque discere neque vult in memoria retinere? Vel quomodo pro alio fidei sponsor existat, qui hanc fidem nescit? Ideoque nosse debitis, filioli mei, quia, donec unusquisque vestrum eandem fidem filiolum suum ad intellegendum docuerit. . . . Et qui hanc filiolum suum docere neglexerit, in his iudicii rationem redditurus erit. Ed. Von Steinmayer, KAS, 50. See also Morin, "Textes inédits," sermo 1: Filiolos vel filiolas vestras, quos de fonte suscepistis, fideliter docente eos ut teneant simbolum et orationem. . . . 517; Rabanus, hom. XLIV, PL 110: 82D; and Ps.-Boniface, sermo XV, 4, ibid., 89: 870C-D.

[9]Alcuin, Vita Willibrordi, 32 (Omelia dicenda in die natalis sancti Willibrordi): Huius sanctissimi doctoris nos exempla de ignaviae torpori suscitent, faciant nos forti anima pro vita decertae caelesti et temporalia dispicere et aeterna desiderare, et quod in illo praedicamus, impleamus in nobis. Agones laboris illius laudamus, vias nostras in vestigia eius corrigamus quatenus, qui sanctitatis eius sequamur exempla. . . . MGH SSrM, VII, 141. See also idem., Homilia in die natali sancti Vedasti, I, PL 101: 679A-B; Rabanus, hom. XXXIII, ibid., 110: 64D-65A; and Radbod of Utrecht, Sermo de sancti Switbero, 5, ibid., 132: 550B.

[10]Rabanus, hom. XXIV (In natali sancti Bonafacii martyris), ibid., 110; 49A-B. The body of this sermon (48A-49B) discusses Boniface as a living example of the eight Beatitudes.

[11]Alcuin, Vita Richarii, 18: Unde, fratres carissimi et sanctissimi patres et filii iocundissimi et totius sanctae congretationis populis qui ad tanti patroni festa convenistis, dignos vos facite, ut Deus omnipotens per eius intercessiones vestras exaudiat orationes. MGH SS, IV: 401. Odo of Beauvais in his Sermo in sanctum Lucianum described the saint's miracles worked after his death, V (25): Crescebunt et hic ad eorum tumulum insignia virtutum et exuberant beneficia sanitatum: aegroti veniunt et sanatur, caeci illuminantur, claudi curantur, vexati a daemonibus liberantur; et quod magnus est, fidelium exaudiantur preces, suscipiuntur vota, peccatorum vincula resolvuntur, aperitur coelum pulsantibus; praemia assequitur Ecclesiae. PL 124: 1124C-D. Both sermons used language repeated often in the Carolingian collections.

[12]Riché, La vie quotidienne, 63-8; and Duby, European Economy, 81-2, who speaks of constant malnutrition due to population pressure on available arable land.

[13]Pseudo-Eligius, homilia III, PL 87: 605D-606C; and Ps.-Boniface, hom. XIII, ibid., 89: 867A.

[14]These were Wednesdays, Fridays and Sundays of the first week of March, the second week of June, the third week of September and the fourth week of December (the quattuor tempores); the whole of Lent except Sundays; the three days before Ascension Day; and the vigils of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, and the feasts of Saints Peter, Andrew and John the Baptist. Homilia de decimis et de jejunio, ibid., 129: 1261D-1262C.

[15]Ibid.: Qui vel alio tempore vel alius diebus jejunat, mercedem inde habet. Tamen ista jejunia quae diximus nullus dimittere debet, sed cum bona voluntate debet ea custodire et crare pro se et pro suis amicis, ut per haec jejunia et per alia pro se et per elimosinas pium Dominum propitium et placatum habere possimus. . . . 1261C-D. See also XIV homélies du IXe siècle, VII, 1, ed. Mercier, 186.

[16]Capitulare episcoporum, MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 51-2. See also François L. Ganshof, "Note sur deux capitulaires non datés de Charlemagne," Miscellanea Historica in honorem Leonis van der Essen, 2 vols. (Brussels-Paris, 1947), I: 124-28 whose dating and interpretation of this capitulary are followed here. Famines also occured in 805, 807, 820, 829, 843, 845, 850, 852, 853, 868, 874 and 880, see Riché, La vie quotidienne, 294-5.

[17]Alcuin, Ep. 107, MGH Epp. k. a., II. 154. See also Chapter VI at n. 68 for a full citation and discussion.

[18]XIV homélies du IXe siècle, VII, 2: . . . de omni substantia quam Deus homini donat, decimam partem sibi reservavit, et ideo non licet homini retinere illud quod Deus sibi reservavit. Tibi dedit novem partes, sibi vero reservavit decimam partem, et si tu non dederis Deo decimam partem, Deus tollet a te novem partes. Ed. Mercier, 188. See also Morin, "Textes inédits," sermo 1, 516.

[19]Homilia de decimis: Et decimas vestras non debetis retinare nec tarde donare nec peimi causa. Nec debetis expectare ut presbyteri et clerici alii decimas vobis requirant; sed cum bona voluntate vos ipsi sine admonitione debetis donare et ad domum presbyteri ducere. Alias elimosinas debetis dispensare per hospites et pauperes. Sed decimas non licet vobis donare alteri quam sacerdoti. Et ille dispensat eas cum timore et reverentia Dei at tecta Ecclesiae et in luminaria et in susceptione hospitum et pauperum et in suos usus et suam necessitatem. PL 129: 1262C-D.

[20]Imbart de la Tour, Les paroisses rurales, 217-20 and 277-82; and Amann and Dumas, HE, VII: 233-41 and 286-90.

[21]Ad. gen., c. 82: Item cum omni diligentia cunctis praedicandum est pro quibus criminibus deputentur cum diabulo in aeternum supplicium. Legimus enim, apostolo dicente: 'manifesta autem sunt opera carnes, quae sunt fornicatio, immunditia, luxuria, idolorum servitus, veneficia, inimicitiae, contemtiones, aemulationes, animositates, irae, rixae, dissensiones, haereses, sectae, invidiae,

homicidia, **ebrietates, comessationes et his similia:** quae predico vobis, sicut praedixi, **quoniam qui talia agunt regnum Dei non possidebunt.'** (Gal. 5:19-29) MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 61.

[22]**Weissenberger Catechismus:** Ista sunt criminalia peccata per quae diabolus mergit homines in infernum. Vitia carnis. ācusti thes lĪchamen. Inmunditia. unhreintha. Fornicatio. huar. Luxuria. firinlusti. Idolorum servitus. abgoto theonōst. Veneficia. eitarghebon. Inimicitia. fiāntscaf. Contentiones. bāgā. Aemulationes. anthruoft. Irae. nīdhā. Rixae. secchīa. Dissensiones. fliiz. Sectae. striiti. Invidia. abunst. Obstinatus. einwillig. Homicidia. manslagon. Anxius. angustentēr. Ebrietas. trūncali. Adulteria. mērhuara. Furta. thiubheit. Ed. Von Steinmayer, KAS, 30. This list is based on a list taken from Galatians in the Ad. gen.

[23]See, for example, Riché, Education and Culture, 479-83.

[24]Ps.-Boniface, sermo VI: Haec enim sunt capitalia peccata. Sacrilegium quod dicitur cultura idolorum. . . . Homicidium, adulterium fornicatio, sive cum humana natura, sive cum animalibus et pecoribus, sive masculi cum masculis, sive feminae cum feminis, urdentes in desideriis invicem. Haec omnia capitalia peccata sunt. Furta et rapinae, falsum testimonium, perjurium, detractio, cupiditas, superbia, invidia, odium, vana gloria, ebrietas, ista omnia capitalia peccata esse absque dubitatione comprobantur. Haec sunt quae mergunt homines in interitum et perditionem. PL 89: 855B-D.

[25]See, for example, Morin, "Textes inédits," sermo 2, 520; Wilmart, "Catéchèses celtiques," IV, 51-2; Ps.-Boniface, sermo XI, PL 89: 864A-B; Ps.-Eligius, hom. IV, ibid., 87: 609C-610A; Abbo of St. Germain, sermo II, ibid., 132: 767C-768D; Sermo de sacrilegia, 2-26, PLS 4: 969-73; and the Latin translation of the Didache, Doctrina XII apostolorum, II-IV, ed. Schlect, 13-17.

[26]Ps.-Boniface, sermo VI: Haec sunt opera Satanae, quibus abrenuntiant Christiani in baptismo. PL 89: 855D.

[27]Peter Brown, "Sorcery, Demons and the Rise of Christianity: From Late Antiquity into the Middle Ages," in Religion and Society in the Age of Saint Augustine, ed. Peter Brown (London, 1972), 134-7.

[28]See, for example, Ps.-Boniface, sermo III: Deinde prohibit nos Dominis Deus diabolo obedire, quia ille desiderat multos habere socios suae perditionis, et illi qui faciunt voluntatem diaboli in fornicationibus, et homicidiis, et adulteriis . . . aeterna calamitate damnantur cum diabolo et angelis eius in igne perpetuo. PL 89: 848B; XIV homélies du IXe siècle, sermo VIII, 2: Caveat, fratres, mendacium, quia omnes qui amant mendacium filii sunt diaboli, qui non solum mendax est, sed etiam et pater, id est inventor ipsius mendacii est. Ed. Mercier, 198; and Ps.-Eligius, hom. 1: Narraverunt senes de quodam hortulano, quia laboret et omnem laborem suum

expenderet in eleemosynam, et tantum sibi retinebat quantum ad victum sufficeret. Postea vero Satanas misit in corde eius dicens: Collige tibi aliquantum pecuniam, ne cum senueris aut aegrotaveris opus habeas ad expensas; et colligit et adimplevit lagenam de nummis. PL 87: 596C-D. These passages show Satan as the originator of human sins. For demons see Sermo de sacrilegia, 5 and 18-22, PLS 4: 970 and 972; Rabanus, hom. LIX, PL 110: 110B; and Morin, "Textes inédits," sermo 1, 518.

[29]See the sermons cited in nn. 24-5 above.

[30]See nn. 77-8 below.

[31]Ps.-Boniface, sermo VIII: Initium omnis peccati superbia est qua homo despexit mandatis obedire Dei. PL 89: 858C, quoting Ec. 10:15; and XIV homélies du IXe siècle, sermo XIII: Abscite quapropter a vobis superbiam, quoniam omnes superbi filii sunt diaboli. . . . Ed. Mercier, 224-6.

[32]This is an argument deveoped by both the sermons cited above and Rabanus, hom. LIX, PL 110: 110D-111B.

[33]Idem, hom. LX: Lex enim homicidium prohibiut; sed quia irasci permisit, quod seminarium est homicidii, ipsum vitium perfecte non abstulit. Ibid.: 112C.

[34]XIV homélies du IXe siècle, XIII, 3: Si vascula prius mundatis in quibus aliquid pretiosum servare vultis, et domos vestras praeperatis et ornatis quando potentem personam expectatis, multo magis mundana sunt cordia ab odio et ira atque invidia et omni malitia et maxime ab immunditia atque avaritia, ut Spiritus sanctus ad vos venire et apud vos mansionem facere dignetur. Ed. Mercier, 226.

[35]Ps.-Eligius, hom. VIII: (to penitents) Cur ergo in sinistra parte Ecclesiae positi estis? Non sine causa usus Ecclesiae hoc obtinuit; verum quia Dominus in judicio oves, hoc est, justos a dextris, haedos vero, id est, peccatores a sinistris ponet (Mt. 25); haedi enim significant peccatores. PL 87: 620B; and Morin, "Textes inédits," sermo 2: Episcopi et sacerdotis vestris bannum non parvipendite. Cum excommunicatis nisi ad re ipsius cendum exhortando non communicate: seniores vobis et dei ministros veremini. 523.

[36]Ps.-Eligius, hom. VII, PL 87: 613D-614B; and Abbo of St. Germain, sermo III. (In porta ecclesiae ad paenitentes nondum adeptos reconciliationem), ibid., 132: 769A-770A.

[37]On this controversy and ideas of penance, see Amann, HE, VI: 346-52; and Riché, La vie quotidienne, 281-4.

[38]XIV homélies du IXe siècle, VII, 1: Ecce nunc tempus Quadragesime adest, in quo et peccata vestra confiteri Deo et sacerdoti,

et per ieiunia et orationes et lacrimas atque elemosinas delere debetis. Ed. Mercier, 186. See also Morin, "Textes inédits," sermo 1, 519; ibid., sermo 2, 520; Ps.-Boniface, sermo II, PL 89: 847B; Ps.-Eligius, homiliae IV and VI, ibid., 87: 610D-611E, and 613A-C; Sermon on Vices, ibid., 89: 820A-B; and Missi cuiusdam admonitio, MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 239.

[39]Ps.-Eligius, hom. IV: Ideoque quia vices Christi agimus, quos ille invisibiliter absolvendos dignos sua reconciliatione judicat, nos, visibiliter reconciliando, per officium nostri ministerii absolvimus; eos vero qui funibus peccatorum suorum, ante Dei conspectum, adhuc tenentur adstricti, nos quomodo absolvere possumus. Nam quamvis Deus . . . hanc Ecclesiae praesulibus potestatem tradiderit, ut et confitentibus satisfactionem et poenitentiam darent, et eosdem, salubri satisfacione purgatos, ad communionem sacramentorum per medicinam reconciliationis admitterent. . . . PL 87: 610C-D. See also Ps.-Boniface, sermo III, ibid., 89: 849B-C; Rabanus, hom. LV, ibid., 110: 101D-102C; and Abbo of St. Germain, sermo II, ibid., 132: 766A.

[40]Rabanus, hom. XIII (on the Creed): 'Remissionem peccatorum,' quae nobis praestatur munere Redemptoris pleniter in baptismo per fidem, et ea quae post baptismum committimus per confessionem et veram poenitentiam ac bona opera speramus dimitti. Ibid., 110: 28D-29A; and XIV homélies du IXe siècle, VII, 3: Bonum est quapropter, fratres, ut Deo reddatis quae sua sunt, et proximo quae illius fuerunt, ut de vestris iustis laboribus elemosinas faciendo, peccata vestra possitis redimere, secundum quod scriptum est: Sicut aqua extinguit ignem, ita elemosina extinguit peccatum (Ec. 3:33). Ed. Mercier, 188. The verse from Ecclesiastes was a favorite prooftext for the relationship between good works and penance, see Ps.-Boniface, sermo XV, PL 89: 870D; Wilmart, "Catéchèses celtiques," XII, 3, 108; and Ps.-Eligius, hom. XIII, PL 87: 642A-B.

[41]On the use of good works by Caesarius of Arles see Chapter I at nn. 59-65. The ways in which the Carolingians used the doctrine of good works will be examined below.

[42]Ps.-Eligius, hom. III: Unde et nos admonet idem Apostolus dicens: Hortamur vos ne in vacuum gratiam Dei recipiatis. Quibus monitis, ad omnem Dei mandatorum obedientiam provocamur, ut quid de massa peccati segregati et per fidem vocati sumus, remissionemque peccatorum in baptismo percepimus, digna fidei opera faciamus, ne fides per gratiam Dei nobis attributa, non solum otiosa sed etiam mortua judicetur, ac per hoc gratiam Dei in vacuum id est inutiliter, recepisse videamur. Ibid.: 604A-B.

[43]James 2:26: The full citation is "Sicut corpus mortuum est sine anima, ita fides sine operibus mortua est." For its use in sermons see "Catéchèses celtiques," sermo IV, ed. Wilmart, 54; Ps.-Boniface, sermones V, 1 and VII, 2, PL 89: 852C and 857A-B; Rabanus, hom. XLV, ibid., 110: 83D; and Ps.-Eligius, hom. XI, ibid., 87: 630D.

[44]Matthew 22:34-40: Ait illi Iesus: Eiliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et in tota anima tua, et in tota mente tua. Hoc est maximum et primum mandatum. Secundum autem simile est huic: Diliges proximum tuum, sicut teipsum. In his duobus mandatis universa lex pendet, et prophetae. Similar statements come from Mk. 12:28-39 and Lk. 19:26-7, and since the sermons so often paraphrased the verses, the exact source for any one is difficult to determine.

[45]Ps.-Boniface, sermo III, 2: Haec sunt praecepta divina per quae nobis beatitudo donabitur a Deo omnipotente. Primum charitas Dei, et charitas hominum, ut diligamus Deum ex toto corde, et tota anima, et tota mente, id est, omni intellegentia nostra, et omni voluntatem et praecepta illius; et diligamus homines alios sicut nosmet ipsos, nulli facientes aliquid quod nolumus ut alter nobis faciat; sed sic faciamus in alios, sicut nostra voluntas sit, ut alii nobis faciant. PL 89: 848B-C. For similar statements see idem., sermones VI, 2, VII, 2, VIII, XII, 3 and XV, ibid.,: 856A-B, 857B-C, 858D, 866B-C and 870C; Ps.-Eligius, homiliae VIII and XI, ibid., 87: 617D-618A and 631A-B; Rabanus, homiliae XXXV, XLV, XLVI, LXV, LXVI and LXVII, ibid., 110: 68A, 84C-85A, 85D, 122D, 126D and 128A; XIV homélies du IXe siècle, XIV, 2, ed. Mercier, 228-9; Wilmart, "Catéchèses celtiques," X, 83; Missi cuiusdam admonitio, MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 239; and Morin, "Textes inédits," sermo 2, 519.

[46]For use of the "golden rule," paraphrased in the quotation above, see Ps.-Boniface, sermones V, 2 and VIII, PL 89: 853C and 858D; Rabanus, hom. XXXIV, ibid., 110: 66B, Wilmart, "Catéchèses celtiques," X, 83-5; and Morin, "Textes inédits," sermo 2, 520. Admonitions concerning peace are found in Ps.-Boniface, sermones IV, 7, V, 1 and VIII, PL 89: 851D, 852C, 853A and 859C; Rabanus, hom. LII, ibid., 110: 95C-96C; XIV homélies du IXe siècle, II, 1, ed. Mercier, 154; Morin, "Textes inédits," sermo 2, 521; and the Missi cuiusdam admonitio, MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 239.

[47]The basic case was made by Fichtenau, Carolingian Empire, 99-103 and 170-2. On the religious knowledge of the upper levels of the clergy (bishops and court advisors) see also Wolff, Awakening of Europe, 97-100; Laistner, Thought and Letters, 298-314 (who emphasizes the exceptionality of certain figures); and Riché, La vie quotidienne, 230-4.

[48]Missi cuiusdam admonitio: Diligite proximos vestros sicut vos ipsos, et aelemosina facite pauperibus secundum vire vestras. Peregrinos suscipite in domos vestras, infirmos visitate, in is qui in carceribus sunt misericordiam prevete; nulli malum quantum hac vere potestis faciatis; ne his qui faciunt ut consentiatis: non solum enim qui facunt rei sunt, sed qui consentiunt faciendi. Dimitte vobis invicem debita vestra, sicut vultis quod vobis Deus dimittat vestra peccata. Redimite captivos, adiuvate iniuste opressis, defendite viduas et orphanos; iuste iudicate; iniqua non

consentitis; ira longa non teneatis; ebrietates et commessationes superfluas fugite. Humiles et benignus estote inter vos; domini nostri fideliter serviatis; furta et periuria ne faciatis nec consentiatis facientibus. Hodia et invidia vilingue separant a regno Dei. Reconciliate citius ad pacem inter vos; quia humanum est peccare, angelicum est emendare, diabolicum est perseverare in peccato. Ecclesiam Dei defendite et causa eorum adiuvate, ut fieri possint pro vobis orare sacerdotes Dei. MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 239.

[49]On the missi dominici see Ganshof, Frankish Institutions, 23-7.

[50]See n. 16 above.

[51]Ps.-Boniface, sermo V, 2: Eleemosynas date juxta vires, quoniam sicut aqua exstinguit ignem, ita eleemosyna exstinguit peccata. (Ec. 3:33). Hospitales invicem, quia Domino in judicio dicturus est: Hospes eram, et suscepites me. (Mt. 25:35). Unde et quidam placuerunt angelis hospitio receptis Peregrinos suscepite, et mementote vos ipsos in hoc saeculo peregrinos. Infirmos visitate, quia et Dominus dicturus est: Infirmus fui, et vistastis me. (Mt. 25:36). Viduis et pupillis ministrate, quia Dominus dicturus est: Quod uni ex hinimis meis fecistis, mihi fecistis. (Mt. 25:40). Decimas ecclesiis reddite, quia Dominus praecepit dicens: Reddite quae sunt Caesaris Caesari, hoc est, vectigalia et tributa, et quae sunt Dei Deo. (Mt. 23:21), id est, decimas, et primitias, et vota quae vovistis omnia, sicut Dominus praecepit: Quaecunque vultis ut faciant vobis homines bona, haec et vos facite illis; et quod tibi non vis, alii non feceris. Haec est enim lex et prophetae. (Mt. 7: 11-12). Si hanc ad invicem charitatem impleveritis, omnia praecepta implebitis. PL 89: 853B-C.

[52]For similar lists of good works see Ps.-Boniface, sermones III, VI and XV, ibid.,: 848B-849B, 856B and 870C-D; Ps.-Eligius, homiliae VI and XI, ibid., 87: 613B-C and 634B-C; XIV homélies du IXe siècle, VII, 3, ed. Mercier, 188-190; Rabanus, homiliae X, XVI, XLIV and LXVII, PL 110: 23A-D, 34B, 82C and 128A-B; and Morin, "Textes inédits," sermo 1, 516-7 and sermo 2, 521-2. While only a very few among the sermons lack some reference to good works and their role in salvation, the sermons cited here provide detailed lists of the works.

[53]On this controversy, see Pelikan, Growth of Medieval Theology, 81-95; Amann, HE, VI: 320-42; and Laistner, Thought and Letters, 294-8.

[54]The so-called Sermo de Praedestinatione of Florus of Lyon is actually a letter or treatise written by him for the monks of an unidentified monastery, see PL 119: 97A-100B.

[55]Ganshof, Frankish Institutions, 82-4.

[56]Admonitio generalis, c. 82: Et hoc ideo diligentius iniungimus vestrae caritati, quia scimus temporibus novissimis pseudodoctores esse venturos, sicut ipse Dominus in evangelis praedixit, et apostolus Paulus ad Timotheum testatur. MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 62.

[57]McKitterick, The Frankish Church, 113.

[58]Ad. gen., c. 82: Item praedicandum est . . . 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. Item diligenter praedicandum est de resurrectione mortuorum, ut sciant et credant in iisdem corporibus praemia meritorum accepturos. MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 61.

[59]Rabanus, hom. LXVII: Haec sunt opera Satanae, quibus abrenuntiant Christiani in baptismo. Haec opera diabolus in die mortis nostrae in nobis requirit. Et si ille antiquus hostis in die exitus nostri invenerit reos et inemendatos de supradictis operibus, tunc trahit nos secum nudos et flentes in infernum et in aeternas poenas, ubi sunt tenebrae sine luce, ubi est ignis qui numquam exstinguitur, ubi sunt vermes qui numquam moriuntur: ubi aures nihil audiunt, nisi luctum et gemitun et stridores dentium; ubi esuriunt et sitiunt in aeternum, qui hic per avaritiam illorum, esurientibus et sitientibus miseris, cibum et potum dare noluerunt: ubi est omne malum et nullum bonum his qui se emendare noluerunt. PL 110: 127D-128A. For a similar description, on which Rabanus may have drawn, see Scherer, "Lateinische Musterpredigt," 440.

[60]Rabanus, hom. LIV: Timor Dei timorem expellit gehennae, quia facit homines peccatum cavere et opera justitiae agere. PL 110: 101A.

[61]Ps.-Boniface, sermo VI, ibid., 89: 855D-856A; Ps.-Eligius, homiliae VIII and IX, ibid., 87: 619A and 627C-D; XIV homélies du IXe siècle, VII, 3, ed. Mercier, 188-90; Paris, BN lat. 13408, sermones 17 and 29, ff. 59r-v and 93v; and Wilmart, "Catéchèses celtiques," II and XIII, 44 and 110-1.

[62]Theodulph, Synodal Sermon, PL 105: 207D; Agobard, Sermo exhortatorius, XVIII, ibid., 104: 282A-C; Hucbald, Vita sancti Lebwini, XII, ibid., 132: 889B; and Alcuin, Vita Willibrordi, c. 11, MGH SSrM, VII: 125.

[63]Rabanus, hom. LXVII: . . . haec facientibus regna praeparantur aeterna; et Salvator mundi Dominus noster Jesus Christus, in die judicii illis dicturus erit: Venite, benedicti Patris mei, percipite regnum quod vobis paratum et ab origine mundi (Mt. XXV). Tunc fulgebunt justi sicut sol in regno Patris eorum (Mt. XIII): ubi est lux sine tenebris, vita sine morte, ubi est laetitia et gaudium sine fine, ubi juventus laeta sine metu senectutis, ubi

salus sine aegritudine, ubi securitas sine timore, ubi regnum immutabile, ubi spiritalis scientia, et bona voluntas, et exsultatio sempiterna, ubi sunt majora et meliora bona quam lingua humana enarrare possit quae praeparavit Deus diligentibus se. . . . PL 110: 128B-C. For similar descriptions see Ps.-Boniface, sermo VI, ibid., 89: 856C, and Scherer, "Lateinische Musterpredigt," 441. Both Rabanus and Ps.-Boniface seem to have relied upon the Musterpredigt for the basis of their own sermon descriptions or else all three used a common source, since all three used the phrase ab origine mundi rather than the Vulgate's a constitutione mundi in the citation Mt. 25:34.

[64]Duby, European Economy, 78-88; and Riché, La vie quotidienne, 62-7 and 293-303.

[65]Jeffrey Burton Russell, Witchcraft in the Middle Ages (Ithaca, N.Y., 1972), 52-62; and Pierre Riché, "La magie à l'époque carolingienne," Comptes rendus de l'academie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (1973), 131-5.

[66]Brown, "Sorcery," 125-31 and 137-8.

[67]Agobard of Lyon, Liber contra insulam vulgi opinionem de grandine et tonitruis, PL 104: 147C-148D; see also Russell, Witchcraft, 82-3.

[68]Ps.-Boniface, sermo VI, 1, PL 89: 855B-C; Scherer, "Lateinische Musterpredigt," 439; Piper, "Superstitiones et paganiae Einsidlensis," 306-7 and 309; and Ein karolingischer Missions-Katechismus, ed. Heer, 80-1.

[69]Morin, "Textes inédits," sermones 1 and 2: 518 and 520; Didache ton dodeka Apostolon, ed. Schlect, 13-4 and 17; Sermo de sacrilegia, 4-15, ed. Caspari, PLS 4: 970-1; Rabanus Maurus, hom. LXVII, PL 110: 127D; and Ps.-Boniface, sermo VIII, ibid., 89: 859C.

[70]Ps.-Eligius, hom. II, ibid., 87: 602C-D. A selection of Germanic charms has been edited by Von Steinmayer, KAS, 124-37. For the agricultural nature of many of the pagan superstitions, see Russell, Witchcraft, 46-52.

[71]Ps.-Boniface, sermo I: Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus creavit coelum et terram, mare et omnia quae in eis sunt, et secundum suam voluntatem omnia gubernat, et in istum unum Deum omnes Christiani credere debent, qui desiderant vitam aeternam habere. PL 89: 815A. See also Wilmart, "Catéchèses celtiques," II, 40-1; Theodulph, Synodal Sermon, PL 105: 207B; Leclerq, "Bref discours . . . Paulin d'Aquilée," 159; Rabanus, homiliae XIII and LIV, PL 110: 27D-28A and 161A; and Scherer, "Lateinische Musterpredigt," 436.

[72]The clearest accounts of creation are found in Ps.-Boniface, sermo II, 1, PL 89: 815C-D and Scherer, "Lateinische Musterpredigt," 436-7.

[73]Rabanus, hom. XLII: At illi professi sunt se similia et adhuc pejora in his locis in quibus ipsi manserant, senisse: nam alius referebat mugitum cornuum se audisse, quasi in bella concitantium; alius, porcorum grunitum exegisse: quidam vero narrabant quod alios viderint tela et sagittas contra lunam jactasse; alios autem focos in coelum sparsisse; affirmaveruntque quod lunam nescio quae portenta laniarent, et nisi ipsi ei auxilium praeberent, penitus illam pisca monstra devorarent: alii vero ut satisfacerent daemonum illusioni, quod sepes suas armis sciderint, et vascula quae apud se domi habebant, fregerunt, quasi illud lunae plurimum proficeret in auxilium. PL 110: 79A.

[74]Ibid.: Nam manifesta ratio probat solem interventu lunae, quae inferior cursu, lumen ad nostros oculos non posse perfundere, quod fit in tempore accensionis ejus; lunam vero similiter, quae a sole illustratur, per umbram terrae obscurari in plenilunio, hoc est in quinta decima die aetatis ejus, quando sole in alia parte coeli, ex alia luna relucet. Et ideo non necesse, fratres, quando taliter evenerit, vos clamoribus laborare; permittite Creatori facturam suam, ipse enim opus suum scit regere, qui potuit et creare, Ibid.: 79D-80A. The description came largely from Isidore, Etymologiarum libri XX, III, lix, 1-2, ibid., 82: 177A. See also Sermo de sacrilegia, 16-17, ed. Caspari, PLS 4: 971-2.

[75]Atto of Vercelli, sermo III, PL 134: 836C; and Isidore, Etymologiarum, III, lxxi, 22-32, ibid., 82: 181B-182B.

[76]Morin, "Textes inédits," sermo 1: Et quando tempestas venit super vos, ad aecclesiam curritis, et deponite diabolicam observatunem. Sed quand videtis tempestem contra vos et uxores vestras et filios et filias vestras, flecite vos in terra ad orationem, cum gemitu et suspiria rogate piissimum deum ut faciat de ipsa tempestate pluvium, et promittetis dicimas vestras donare per aecclesias, et pauperibus promittitis semper facere: si sic feceritis, orationes vestras exaudire habet deus. 518.

[77]Lynn White, Jr., "The Life of the Silent Majority," in Life and Thought in the Early Middle Ages, ed. Robert S. Hoyt (Minneapolis, 1967), 98-100; and Higounet, "Les forêts," 383-5.

[78]Capitulare de part. Saxon., c. 9, MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 68: Cf. c. 6, ibid.: 70 forbidding human sacrifice. On witchcraft in the Carolingian world in general, see Russell, Witchcraft, 68-85.

[79]Sermo de sacrilegia, 5: Et qui divinos vel divinas, id est pitonissas, per quos demonas responsa dant [consulit], qui ad eos ad interrogandum vadet, et eis, que dixerint, credet, vel ad

scultandum vadet ut aliquit de demones audeat, non christinis sed paganus est. Ed. Caspari, PLS 4: 970.

[80]Morin, "Textes inédits," sermo 1: Multi homines dicunt quia astria sunt, et dicunt quia infantes et boves et caballos manducant, et alia mala inde dicunt: quod hominem non est credendum, quid sapientes hos refutant. Vos fratres non creditis istos stultos et insipientes: quia astria numquam fuit nec erit, sed diabolus, qui per mille artes quaerit hominem decipere, ipse dicit ista verba per illos homines qui non sunt benedicti. 518. See also Sermo de sacrilegia, 18-22, ed. Caspari, PLS 4: 972; and Ps.-Boniface, sermo XV, 1, PL 89: 870B. The astria or striga were bloodsucking witches already long established in popular tradition by the eighth century, see Russell, Witchcraft, 59.

[81]Morin, "Textes inédits," sermo 1: Quand habetis aegritudinem in domos vestros, non debetis ambulare ad caragius nec ad divinos nec ad praedicatores: quia qui hic facit, ad diabolum vadit. Sed quando habetis aegritudinem in domos vestras, ad aecclesiam debetis ambulare, et debetis rogare presbiteros ut orent pre eum, et ungent de oleo benedicto in nomine Jesu Christi, et oratio fidei salutet infirmum et in peccatis domittitur ei, sicut Jacob apostolus dicut (Js. 5:14-15), et corporalem sanitatem accipiat, et indulgentia peccatis merebitur obtinere. 518.

[82]Ps.-Boniface, sermo XII, 4: Contra hos [inimicos invisibiles] signaculo crucis Christi armato vos, quia hoc est quod fugiunt et timent maligni spiritus, inimici nostri, quia per hoc signum illi damnati sunt, per hoc et nos liberati sumus. PL 89: 866C-D. See also Sermo de sacrilegia, 27, ed. Caspari, PLS 4: 973. On the general evolution of Christian magic in the Carolingian world, see Riché, "La magie carolingienne," 135-8.

[83]Von Steinmayer, KAS, 63; 66, 2; 67A-B; and 69.

[84]McKitterick, The Frankish Church, 113.

[85]Ps.-Boniface, sermo V, 2: Deum solum ubique timete, regem honorificate, quia sicut scriptum est, non est postestas nisi a Deo, et qui resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit. (Rom. 13:1-2). Ideoque piis praeceptis obedite. PL 89: 853C.

[86]Idem., sermo IX, 1: Deinde regius honor populis debet esse timori et venerationi, quia non est potestas nisi a Deo. Item, potentes et judices omnes qui regi adhaerent fideles sint oportet, et humiles et misericordes, in aequitate judicare et non in muneribus, viduas et pupillos et pauperes defendere, episcopis suis subditos esse, nominem vi opprimere, non injustis divitiis inhiare, sua magis indigentibus dare quam aliena rapere. Ibid.: 860C.

[87]Rabanus, hom. LVIII: Aliquoties judices boni ministros habent rapaces, quorum scelere coinquinantur, si non prohibent

rapacitatem illorum; hi in alienis pereunt peccatis, quia non solum, ut egregrius mundi doctor ait (Rom. 1:32), qui faciunt, sed qui consentiunt iniqua facientibus, digni efficiuntur norte perpetua. Ibid., 110: 108D-109A.

[88]Ps.-Eligius, hom. I: Rex autem, in recto vivendo et agendo, nominis suis dignitatem custodiat. Principes et judices, quod sibi sacra dicit Scriptura libenter audiant et obediant, atque libentius faciant. Ibid., 87: 595D-596A.

[89]Paris, BN lat. 13408, f. 36r: Illa navis aliquando serenitatem habet in mare, aliquando tempestatem. Aliquando magna videtur; aliquando parva sic fuit ad sensum eclesie christi in mare huius seculi. Aliquando habuit tempestatem quando fuerunt imperatores et reges mali persecutores christianorum extinguere. Aliquando eclesia serenitatem quando fuerunt boni reges et christiani imperatores. Illi rogaverunt renovare et construere eclesia christi per totum mundi et nomen christianorum crescere fecerunt.

[90]Abbo of St. Germain, sermo V, PL 132: 773A-774C.

[91]Missi cuiusdam admonitio: Ammonitionem domni Caroli imperatori audite fratres dilectissimi. MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 239.

[92]See e.g. Ps.-Boniface, sermones III, 4, V, 1, VI, 2 and XI, PL 89: 849C, 853A, 856B and 864C; Rabanus, homiliae LI and LXVII, ibid., 110: 94B-D and 128B; Scherer, "Lateinische Musterpredigt," 441; and Missi cuiusdam admonitio, MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 240.

[93]Rabanus, hom. LVIII, PL 110: 108B-110A; and see the sermon by Ps.-Boniface cited in n. 79 above.

[94]Theodulph, Paraenesis ad iudices, PL 105: 288B-290B; and see also Ganshof, Frankish Institutions, 25-6 and 30.

[95]Odegaard, "Carolingian Oaths," 284-5 and 290-1; and, on the use of oaths in judicial proceedings, Ganshof, Frankish Institutions, 86-90

[96]Ps.-Boniface, sermones III, 1, VI, 1, VIII and XV, 1, PL 89: 848B, 855C, 859C and 870B; Ps.-Eligius, hom. XV, ibid., 87: 847D; XIV homélies du IXe siècle, VIII, 2, ed. Mercier, 198; Rabanus, homiliae XVI, XLIV and LXVI, PL 110: 34A, 82B and 126B-C; Morin, "Textes inédits," sermo 2, 520; and Sermon on Vices, PL 89: 821A.

[97]See e.g. Ps.-Boniface, sermo V, 2, ibid.: 853C; and Piper, "Superstitiones . . . Einsidlenses": Dabis impio militi quod non vis dare militi christiano id est sacerdoti. 303.

[98]Morin, "Textes inédits," sermo 1: Servii bene fideliter serviant ad dominos suos: quia si hoc non faciunt, deum inde

offendere habent, quia illos servos deus creavit. Et domini nullum violentiam faciant ad servos suos: quia vos et illi unum deum habetis, qui vidit omni quae facitis, et non est acceptio personarum hominum apud deum. 517. See also Didache, IV, 10, ed. Schlect, 16-17; Ps.-Boniface, sermo V, 2 and XV, 4, PL 89: 853C-D and 870D; Rabanus, hom. V, ibid., 110: 16C-D; and Morin, "Textes inédits," sermo 2, 521.

[99]Theodulph, De omnibus ordinibus hujus saeculi: Etiam ad vos mihi sermo est, servi, quicunque dominos carnales habetis, quicunque servitii conditionem habetis, obedite dominis vestris, diligite ex corde, non ad oculum servientes, sed ministerium ex amore facientes. Quia et illos Deus constituit, ut vobis dominetur, et vos ut serviatis; bene servite, quia de bono servitio mercedem habebitis; si boni fueritis, meliores eritis dominis malis. Quia apud Dominum anima unuscujusque non est de nobilitate discernenda, sed opere; nec genere sed actione. PL 105: 282A-B. See also Alcuin, Homilia in die natali sancti Vedasti, III, ibid., 101: 680C-681A; and Rabanus, hom. XX, ibid., 110: 40B.

[100]Ps.-Eligius, homiliae IV and XV, ibid., 87: 610B-D and 652C-D; and Abbo of St. Germain, sermo I, ibid., 132: 766A.

[101]Morin, "Textes inédits," sermo 2: Episcopi et sacerdoti vestri bannum non parvipendite. . . . Principium et sacerdotum vestrorum praeceptis obedite, quamvis ipsi, quod absit, aliter faciant. 523.

[102]Delaruelle, "Charlemagne et l'église," 178-81; and Ganshof, "L'église et le pouvoir royal," 122-3.

[103]Amann, HE, VI: 217-27 and 267-9; and Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II: 503-20.

[104]Ps.-Boniface, sermones III, 4 and IX, 4, PL 89: 849C and 861C; Theodulph, Synodal Sermon, ibid., 105: 206D-207A; Rabanus, hom. XVI, 110: 34B; and Morin, "Textes inédits," sermo 1, 517 and sermo 2, 519.

[105]See the sermons cited in n. 8 above.

[106]Ps.-Boniface, sermo IX, 4: Viri vero diligant uxores suas in castitate et conscientia pura, et quasi fragiliori vasculo, honorem eis competentem in timore Dei faciant, uxoresque viris suis sint subditae in timore et fide, scientes a Deo constitutam esse subjectionem uxoris viro. PL 89: 861C-D. Other sermons subordinated wives to husbands without such an elaborate justification.

[107]With the rise of interest in women's history over the past few years this theme has been the object of much scholarly and popular investigation. For a moderate and objective statement on the

issues involved see Vern Bullough, The Subordinate Sex (Urbana, Ill., 1973), 97-105 and 114-20.

[108]Jo-Ann McNamara and Suzanne F. Wempel, "Marriage and Divorce in the Frankish Kingdom," in Women in Medieval Society, ed. Susan Stuard (Philadelphia, 1976), 96-7 and 103-4. For examples of such equality in the sermons see Ps.-Boniface, sermo V, 1, PL 89: 852D; the Sermon on Vices, ibid.: 819B-D; and Rabanus, homiliae IX, XVI and XXIX, ibid., 110: 22A, 34A and 56A-D.

[109]Morin, "Textes inédits," sermo 2: Viduam et alterius sponsam non rapite, et nisi quam publice desponsatis uxorem non ducite, nec eam sine capitali peccato dimititte. Mamillam et turpitudinem mulierum non tangite, nec cum eis balneas intrate, nec eas in ecclesia osculamnin. Uxores de cognitione vestra, quo ad usque numerari potest, nec uxoris vestrae cognatam, nec quas cognati vestra habebant; nec novercam, non privignas, nec nurus vestras, nec monachas, nec sacras feminas, non commatrem, non filiolas vestras stuprate. . . . 523. See also ibid., sermo 1, 515 and 516-7; and Ps.-Boniface, sermo V, 1, PL 89: 852C-D.

[110]Morin, "Textes inédits," sermo 1: Nulla mulier praesumat infantes suos occidere: quia qui infantem suum occidit, grandium peccatam comittit: unum, quare occidit illum, et altorum quia baptizatus non fuit. Nulla mulier praesumat avorsium facere, nec potionem bibere, ut infantes non concipiat: quia infantes in ista vita habere debuisset, pro tantorum homicidorum ante tribunal Christi rationes reddituri sunt. 518.

[111]Emily Coleman, "Infanticide in the Early Middle Ages," in Women in Medieval Society, 58-64.

[112]Rabanus, homiliae XXXII and LXX, PL 110: 60D-63C and 131D-134D; and Missi cuiusdam admonitio, MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 239.

[113]A ninth-century sermonary based on works of Augustine and Pseudo-Augustine contained three sermons on invasions and war which, as Grégoire noted, reflected fifth- and sixth-century conditions but also had relevance for the ninth century, Grégoire, "La collection du Wolfenbüttel," 264-5.

[114]Levison, "Eine Predigt des Lupus von Ferrières,": Piratae, id est praedones maritimi, maximam partem Christianorum crudelissime trucidaverunt et trucidant impune: Urbes nobilissimas deleverunt, et in defendenda patria omnis sapientia nostra devorata est. Et quia non glorificavimus Deum observando precepta eius, deserunt nos sui contemptores, et sumus ignobiles stipendarii. Superiores nobis effecti sunt, et uberrimam atque amplissimam patriae partem se occupasse letantur. In ea non hereditatem modo, verum etiam ingenuitatem quondam nobiles amiserunt. Primores cum aequalibus concordare non possunt, populus non est maior quam fuit, duces non sunt plures

nec excellentiores quam fuerunt, et tamen quia iusticiae limitem peccantes excessimus, nihil nobis sufficere omnes conquerimur. 563.

[115]Ibid., 564.

[116]For a similar reaction to plagues in the sixth and seventh centuries see the sermons of Gregory the Great and the Homiliary of Toledo cited in Chapter VII at nn. 31-3.

[117]Abbo of St. Germain, sermo V: Istam profecto civitatem Dei quotidie certant penitus destruere hujus saeculi amatores injusti et sacrilegi, praedando, omnibusque flagellis affligendo. Quidnam sunt isti rapaces lupi, qui sine cessatione persequentes devorant et depannant Christianitatem? In orientes mundi partibus, et australibus partibus Idumaei et Ismaelitae, Moabitae, et Agareni, Ammonitae, et Amalecitae, simulque illes pejores pseudochristiani. In climate vero septentrionali et occidentali gens Normannica, pariterque Danica, sed et impiissima Tungrorum natio; necnon crudeliores his omnibus gentibus nostri qui sunt falso nomine Christiani, non cessant omnibus horis plebem Christiani occidere fame et frigore, scilicet munducando escas, et bibendo vestes pauperum. PL 132: 776D-777A. The reference to false Christians included those who fought wars with other Christians instead of fighting the invaders.

[118]Ibid.: Itaque, o Ecclesia Dei! o civitas Dei, patienter hos fer lupos, devorantes vos Christi agnos. Siquidem hoc malum quod vobis aestimant nostri facere adversarii, multo magis sibi illud ingerunt. Nemo enim alteri prius quam sibi nocere potest. 777A.

[119]De Poerck, "Le sermon bilingue sur Jonas," 44-5.

[120]For Gregory's Pastoral Rule and ideas on the preacher's conduct see Chapter II at nn. 53-4.

[121]Ad. gen., Praefatio: . . . quapropter placuit nobis vestram rogare solertiam, o pastores ecclesiarum Christi . . . ut vigili cura et sedula ammonitione populum Dei ad pascua vitae aeternae ducere studeatis, et errantes oves bonorum exemplorum seu adhortationum humeris intra ecclesiasticae fimitatie muros reportare satagimini. . . . MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 53.

[122]Ibid., cap. 4, 14, 21, 23, 28, 49 and 59. 54-7.

[123]Ibid., cap. 2, 7-9, 12-13, 24-7, 54-7. See also Halphen, Charlemagne, 220-1; Fournier and LeBras, Histoire des collections canoniques, I, 121-2; and Amann, HE, VI: 80-3.

[124]Ad. gen., cap. 4 and 14, MGH Cap. Reg. Franc., I: 54 and 55.

[125]Synodus Franconofurtensis, cap. 19, ibid.: 76; Capitulare messorum item especiale, cap. 3 and 4, ibid.: 102; Capitula

a sacerdotibus proposita, cap. 15 and 19, ibid.: 107; Capitula de examinandis ecclesiasticis, cap. 5, ibid.: 110; Capitula in diocesana quadam synodo tractata, cap. 6-7, ibid.: 237; and Capitula de presbyteris admonendis, c. 4, ibid.: 238. In these subsequent pieces of legislation Charlemagne both renewed the initial injunctions and showed that he expected his missi and bishops to enforce them.

[126]For this legislation see Vykoukal, "Les examens paroissal," 86-93; and Coulet, Les visites pastorales, 19-21.

[127]Concilium Ripacense, c. II, MGH Conc., II, 1: 198; Conc. Remense, c. X, ibid.: 255; Conc. Cabillonense, c. X, ibid.: 276; Conc. Turonense, c. IIII, ibid.: 287; and Haito, Capitulare, c. I, PL 115: 11A.

[128]Ps.-Boniface, sermo III, 3, ibid., 89: 849B-C; and Ps.-Eligius, hom. VIII, ibid., 87: 615B-C.

[129]Gregory the Great, Registrum, XI, 10, MGH Epp., II: 270. The relevant text is cited in Chapter II, n. 55. For other defenses of the role of art in education see Louis Gougaud, "Muta Praedicatio," RB 42 (1930): 168-9; and Riché, Education and Culture, 489-92, for texts and commentaries.

[130]For the description of Müstair which follows I have used André Grabar and Carl Nordenfalk, Early Medieval Painting: From the Fourth to the Eleventh Century, trans. Stuart Gilbert (New York, 1957), 55-7 and plate 56; Carol Heitz, L'architecture religieuse carolingienne: les formes et leur fonctions (Paris, 1980), 24-6 and figures 14-16; Jean Hubert, Jean Porcher and W. F. Volbach, L'empire carolingien. L'univers de formes, 13 (Paris, 1968), 24-8 and plates 20-3; and Wolfgang Braunfels, Die Welt der Karolinger und ihre Kunst (Munich, 1968), 94-5. Specific descriptions will be acknowledged in the notes below.

[131]See for example, Abbo of St. Germain, sermo V, PL 132: 772B-773C; and Rabanus, homiliae XXVII, XXXIV, XXXV and LXX, ibid., 110: 52C-54B, 65B-68B and 131D-134D.

[132]Grabar and Nordenfalk, Early Medieval Painting, 57.

[133]See for example Ps.-Boniface, sermones II, 1-2, IV, and XIV, 2-3, PL 89: 845C-846A, 850B-852B and 869B-870A; Ps.-Eligius, homiliae IV and VIII, ibid., 87: 607B-608C and 623C-624C; and Rabanus, homiliae IV-VIII, XIV-XVII and XXI, ibid., 110: 14C-20D, 29B-35D and 42A-43D.

[134]Hubert, Porcher and Volbach, L'empire carolingien, 27-8.

[135]See the sermons cited in nn. 56-59 above.

[136]Grabar and Nordenfalk, Early Medieval Painting, 53-4 and 58-62; Hubert, Porcher and Volbach, L'empire carolingien, 16-23; and Braunfels, Die Welt der Karolinger, 92-4.

[137]Grabar and Nordenfalk, Early Medieval Painting, 73-4; and Hubert, Porcher and Volbach, L'empire carolingien, 10-11.

[138]Willy Weyres, "Die karolingische Dom zu Köln," in KGLN, III: 411-15; and Ermoldus Nigellus, Carmina, vv. 2070-2125, ed. Faral, 158-62. For Ingelheim see also Hubert, Porcher and Volbach, L'empire carolingien, 6.

[139]Braunfels, Die Welt der Karolinger, 94-5; and Grabar and Nordenfalk, Early Medieval Painting, 57 and 61-2.

[140]Theodulph, Additio ad Capitulare Theodulfi, PL 105: 208A-C provided that all for whom it was geographically possible should attend Mass in the cathedral church.

CONCLUSIONS

Charlemagne and his advisors, in creating a programmatic reform of the Frankish Church, needed some means of communicating reform ideas and practices to the Frankish people. One means already existed within the Church in the sermon. In the form in which the Carolingians received them, sermons had previously been tied to reform by both Caesarius of Arles and Boniface. With such a tradition behind them, sermons became the object of much royal and episcopal legislation which adapted them to educate Frankish Christians and new converts with the doctrines of the reformers. The sermon became a Carolingian institution to be used to promote the interests of the Frankish Church. Sermons and their messages could also help Charlemagne fulfill the obligations for his people's salvation he incurred as king of the Franks.

In this sense the sermon and its history during the Carolingian period can be compared to other institutions, one example of which would be the missi dominici. Both institutions had communication and education among their chief concerns: just as sermons spoke to lay people about religious ideas so did the missi carry orders from the court. Sermons sought to improve conduct by teaching proper moral behavior; the missi oversaw the behavior of counts, nobles and people, reporting misconduct or rebellion back to the court. Ideally, written sermons functioned as extensions of the voice and

thought of their authors over a wider area than they personally could extend their preaching efforts. In a similar manner the three- or two-man missi teams served as eyes, ears and voices of the king carrying his authority into localities which he could not oversee personally.

Both institutions were old and well-known in their respective spheres of activity when Charlemagne came to the Frankish throne in 768. He dusted them off, breathed new life into them and devised new uses for them to assist him in binding the Frankish people into one religious and political community. Each institution performed effectively during his lifetime with the force of his will and considerable amounts of resources behind them. In the long run, however, the attempt to create a political and social community exceeded the grasp of institutional, religious and political ideas and techniques which the Carolingians were able to apply in building and maintaining such a community. The sermon movement and missi dominici were left shattered and fragmented, as was the Carolingian state which had reshaped them, by the collapse of the Carolingian Empire in the last half of the ninth century.

The Carolingian sermon represented a final stage in the development of the sermon and preaching in the Early Middle Ages. Sermons survived from the Imperial Roman Church in Gaul, the center of what would become the Carolingian Empire, because fifth-century bishops used them regularly and made them a part of religious education and liturgical life in Provence. These bishops acquired their devotion to preaching from the exposure they received to patristic sermons,

especially the sermons of Augustine, in the monastery of Lérins at an early stage in their religious careers. The episcopal preachers of southern Gaul retained the sermon as a part of religious life in that area at a time when it was disappearing from the liturgy in other parts of western Europe.

Caesarius of Arles, one of the bishops from Lérins, took this heritage from the Patristic Age and reshaped it, giving the sermon a new form and purpose. He made the sermon a more effective form of communication by simplifying its structure and language, insuring that the teachings it contained could emerge from the clouds of rhetoric which his predecessors had employed. Caesarius realized that his flock contained fewer formally educated people than the congregations to whom his predecessors had preached. Therefore, he not only simplified the sermon but also added to it formulaic devices such as the sermon endings which took account of the oral nature of popular culture. In these ways he gave the sermon its medieval form and made it more capable of fulfilling its teaching function.

This teaching function took on increasing importance when Caesarius united preaching and the sermon to his efforts to reform the Church in Provence. He attempted not only to improve levels of discipline, conduct and education among the clergy, but also to have this improved clergy extend the benefits of reform to the populace through constant preaching. For Caesarius the new purposes of the sermon became educating the people in their religion and spreading both his ideas of reformed Christian doctrine and the role of good works in individual salvation.

The widespread influence of these sermons was another result of his devotion to preaching because he circulated sermonaries containing his own works and sermons by Augustine and his other predecessors throughout Christian Europe. The activities of Caesarius formed a significant part of the sermon tradition and the interest in preaching upon which the Carolingians later drew upon from their native Gaul. His activities also helped to create sermon traditions in other areas which would also influence Carolingian sermon authors.

The years between 550 and 750 saw some of these sermon traditions develop strongly while others decayed. Whether bishops would or would not support preaching depended upon the circumstances of the regional churches in which they served. In turn, these circumstances depended more often than not on the strength and stability of the state in whose territory the churches operated. For example, Caesarius had been an outsider in political terms in Provence which was controlled by the Arian Visigoths and Ostrogoths throughout most of his episcopate. His status as an outsider meant that he would not be called upon to serve royal and local political concerns to the same degree that an Arian bishop would have been. Therefore, he would have more time and resources to devote exclusively to ecclesiastical concerns than a more politically involved bishop would have. As long as the Catholics in Arles remained quiet, the Arian authorities were satisfied.

Such was not the case for the Catholic bishops in the kingdom of the Catholic Franks. They functioned as civic administrators and advisors on behalf of kings and aristocrats. They were much

more dependent upon the political structure and this dependence showed itself throughout the sixth and early seventh centuries in the leadership of councils and reform movements taken by such kings as Guntram, Clovis II and Dagobert I. The Merovingian bishops possessed a liturgy which gave sermons a prominent place and were involved in missionary efforts in which preaching played an important role. Because of their political entanglements, however, their ability to employ their own energies and resources to improving religious life depended greatly upon the support of the Merovingian kings. When these kings took an interest in religion, bishops such as Gregory of Tours, Nicetas of Reims, Audoenus of Rouen, Eligius of Noyon and Amandus could exercise effective control over religious affairs in their dioceses and missionary districts and provide clergy capable of using sermons effectively to teach and convert. When the Merovingians became increasingly incapable of controlling the state after 630, their bishops fought for their own survival and that of their dioceses with the result that they had less time and fewer resources to devote to clerical education and preaching activities. Ironically the wars of the Carolingian mayors of the palace helped to create the sorry condition of the Frankish Church which the later Carolingians would feel called upon to reform.

Sermons which survived in the Frankish kingdom were a combination of the legacy of Caesarius of Arles and efforts of individual Merovingian bishops. Preaching never had the importance which it had in Arles. The restoration of the sermon to a place of prominence in religious life came from two developments, one a creation of the

Merovingians and the other brought to Gaul by outsiders. The Merovingian creation was the belief expressed by Guntram and other kings that kings had a responsibility in virtue of their position for the salvation of their subjects. This belief would serve as a basis for the Carolingian reforms and the educational function which Charlemagne would establish for preaching and the sermon. Outsiders would bring to Gaul a revived sermon tradition and would re-link the sermon to reform ideas.

The outsiders--figures such as Martin of Braga and Ildephonsus in Spain, Gregory the Great and the anonymous compilers of sermonaries in Italy, and the Anglo-Saxons--created sermon traditions based on the works of Caesarius and their own efforts. In Spain these efforts revived the use of the sermon where it had ostensibly disappeared during the fifth and sixth centuries. In Italy, Gregory the Great expanded the use of the sermon through his own preaching activities and used the moral prestige of the papacy through his letters to encourage others to preach. He wrote a guide for preachers, the Pastoral Rule, to show how the sermon could be used to fulfill the clergy's pastoral obligations to their flocks. Of even greater importance was his choice of Benedictine monks as missionaries to Anglo-Saxon England. Using Benedictine monks enabled him to have educated preachers for his mission. The schools of the monasteries constructed by the Benedictines in England would provide an educated clergy among the Anglo-Saxons capable of preaching and continuing the conversion of England. The Anglo-Saxons had a special devotion to Gregory and would use his sermons and preaching theories in their own activities.

The fate of the three regional churches in Spain, Italy and England further illustrated the difficulties faced by regional or national churches tied closely to a state. Both the Visigothic and Italian churches suffered from the fortunes of war during the seventh and eighth centuries: the Visigothic church from the Arab conquest of Spain in 711; and the papacy and the Italian church from the on and off struggles between the Byzantines and Lombards. The Anglo-Saxon churches tied to monarchies which had few external enemies besides other Anglo-Saxon monarchies generally prospered; indeed by the 690s England was sending its own missionaries back to the continent. From these three regions came men, books and ideas which would become part of the Carolingian reforms.

By far the most crucial of these traditions from outside Gaul was the one represented by the Anglo-Saxons, especially Boniface. One of many English missionaries to the continent, Boniface became the most important by virtue of the scope of his activities and influence which included not only building a church in western Germany, but initiating the reform of the Frankish Church as well. He made the sermon and preaching part of both his evangelizing and his reforms. The Anglo-Saxons brought with them the preaching theories and sermons of Gregory the Great. From the monasteries of Gaul they acquired the works of Caesarius through the manuscript descendants of the collections he had circulated. This combination of two older sermon traditions would be an important contribution to the Carolingian sermon authors. Just as important was the fact that Boniface and the popes whose legate he was began to interest the

Carolingian mayors and kings to take part in church reform. Boniface helped to set in motion the forces which would lead to the programmatic reform of the Frankish Church under Charlemagne.

Theoretically, therefore, the Carolingians could draw upon some six hundred years' worth of written sermons to serve as models and sources for their own sermons and preaching activity. All they needed was access to surviving manuscripts from earlier writers and sufficient time, resources and education to be able to use whatever they could find. In actuality, the sermon heritage they received had been shaped along certain lines of style and content largely through the efforts of Caesarius of Arles and the bishops and monks who copied his collections. He shaped the sermon tradition through his own works and his editing of the sermons of Augustine and his other predecessors and added to his sermons his own ideas of reform and the doctrine of good works. Although Gregory the Great has traditionally been regarded as the greatest single influence on preaching in the Early Middle Ages, it was the Carolingians through their scriptoria who made him appear important. Most manuscript traditions of Gregory's sermons date back to ninth-century copies, and it was the Carolingians who first began to take individual sermons out of purely Gregorian collections and use them in other sermonaries. Gregory's greatest contribution was the Pastoral Rule, while his sermons had more of an impact within the monastic world than among the preaching clergy. The history of the sermon between 500 and 750, and the sermon tradition which most influenced the form, style and content of Carolingian sermons, came largely from the writings and editorial work of Caesarius.

To be truly effective the sermons which the Carolingians inherited and those which they themselves wrote had to be delivered within a larger context which would insure sufficient resources being devoted to preaching. A context was necessary because the earlier preaching movements were largely individual efforts which died out along with their initiator: only Caesarius took an interest in the widespread diffusion of his sermons and religious ideas. With some greater power or idea supporting them, bishops would be more capable of, and interested in, using their own time and resources for educating clerics who could preach and would be more likely to preach themselves. What distinguishes the Carolingian period--and more particularly the reign of Charlemagne after 789--from earlier periods in which the sermon was important, was the fact that the Carolingians provided two contexts which supported sermons and preaching, and the two often overlapped in terms of both personnel and areas involved in preaching.

The first of these contexts was the programmatic reform of the Frankish Church initiated by Charlemagne and his advisors in 789 and continued in fits and starts throughout his reign. Charlemagne believed that as king of the Franks he had a degree of responsibility for the salvation of his subjects, and he sought to fulfill that obligation by reforming the Church and providing an educated and moral clergy capable of teaching the people of their dioceses and parishes. In the process of educating the populace, the sermon was given a major role by the legislation. Charlemagne set out the

themes and practices he wanted taught, and expected his clergy to preach regularly to aid in his subjects' salvation.

In addition to the reform movement, the Franks were also involved in large-scale missionary activities in Saxony and Carinthia. These regions had been conquered by the Franks, so the assimilation of the Saxons and Avars into the Frankish realm was important for both political and religious reasons. Charlemagne therefore took a direct interest in these endeavors, issuing legislation for church life in the newly-Christianized areas and selecting missionaries and clergy capable of evangelizing the two peoples and providing Christian education for them after their conversion. Here too the sermon had an important role to play in both areas and the evidence strongly confirms that for the Carolingians a good missionary was a competent preacher. Charlemagne provided support for his bishops within both contexts through legislation on hierarchical discipline and clerical education and behavior, and gifts of land which gave the bishops resources. Ideally the legislation would set in motion a major reformation of religious life in which the sermon could become a means of providing to all the knowledge of beliefs and practices necessary for salvation.

This picture of events drawn from the royal and episcopal legislation did conform to real events but not to the degree that Charlemagne and his advisors would have desired. The Carolingian clergy produced between 780 and 825 a large body of sermons and sermonaries, larger than at any similar period in the past by a ratio of five or six to one. Indeed until further work is carried out

among the manuscripts, we will remain unable to see exactly how great the number of sermons written by Carolingian authors actually was. This number was even more impressive when the limitations of the preaching movement are taken into consideration.

Charlemagne wanted all of his bishops to preach and approved the canon of the Council of Arles (813) which repeated Caesarius' earlier provision from the Council of Vaison (529) granting to priests a limited right to read approved collections of sermons. Only a few of his bishops, however, left behind them any sort of evidence which linked them to preaching activities. With the exception of Theodulph of Orléans and Leidrad of Lyons, most of the Frankish evidence for preaching activity came from Austrasia, the region between the Rhine and Seine rivers, where royal supervision would have been greatest. The majority of evidence for preaching came from Germany and northern Italy, the "headquarters" of the missionary districts in Saxony and the east. Although the court issued legislation which should have involved all of the Carolingian bishops, the response depended upon individual initiative, supplemented by direct supervision and the presence of a need for regular preaching such as missionization or the education of newly-converted Christians. The identification of those people and places involved in the preaching movement which came out of the reforms and missionary activities cannot claim to be exhaustive. It does, however, indicate that regular preaching was obtained only in a large but limited area of the Carolingian world.

This limited response for preaching indicated how difficult it was to produce a clergy with sufficient skills to write sermons and preach them effectively. Despite the efforts to build and staff schools, and despite the remarkable efforts made in translating Latin ecclesiastical works into the vernacular, the Carolingians could not produce the basic institutions required to train enough bishops and priests to make the sermon a regular part of religious life throughout their empire. This problem resulted in official toleration of the use of monks in pastoral roles both in the missionary districts and in those more settled areas which suffered from a lack of trained parish priests. Although the legislation tried to separate the roles of the secular and regular clergy, the lack of response and the inability of the Carolingians to create enough trained priests meant that monks would continue to exercise an important role in the preaching movement during the Carolingian period. Monks not only established schools and copied texts, they also helped carry out the reforms and became involved in the conversion of new Christians.

It remains necessary to pass beyond the conditions in which the Carolingian sermon existed and ask exactly what was a "Carolingian sermon": for the Carolingians it was a short statement on religious beliefs and practices which took about twenty to thirty minutes to deliver. The sermon was spoken in the liturgical framework of the Mass and given to the people in their own dialects although master copies were written and circulated in Latin, the language of the Church. Its style and form were modelled on the works of earlier preachers, particularly the sermons of Caesarius of Arles, to make

it an effective device for communicating and teaching, and many of the ideas in it were also based on earlier works. The Carolingian sermon to a large degree derived from the earlier history of the sermon its shape, circumstances of and theories about its use.

It was also more than a derivative form, since authors of Carolingian sermons produced their works in response to certain conditions and a given environment. The content of the original sermons, the objects of this study, came largely as a response to the reform ideas of Charlemagne and his advisors. Sermons taught those ideas and practices which the reformers in the world of the eighth and ninth centuries felt were necessary for the achievement of salvation, and this made the sermons part of a particular period in religious terms. The authors also drew examples from and commented upon the activities they saw around them, which further tied the body of sermons through their content to a particular location in space and time. So it was largely the content of the sermons, the volume of their production and the ways in which they were employed which distinguished them from earlier sermons.

The impressive achievement of a small number of Carolingian sermon authors had some further consequences as well. By their number and circulation they helped to determine the style and contents of later sermons; indeed, the Carolingians did this to such a degree that it is difficult to find sermons which differ from Carolingian works until the advent of the preaching orders in the twelfth century. These Carolingian sermons can also serve as important sources for the period in which they were written, and for more

than simply religious history. In describing what they were, where they can be found and suggesting how they can be used, the present study hopes to achieve an additional goal of making the sermons more available for use by historians as objects of study in their own right and as sources for Carolingian history.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

Paris, BN lat. 13408

This manuscript contains a collection of sermons that has many points of interest for the student of Carolingian sermons. It came to the Bibliothèque nationale from the monastery of St. Germain-des-Près, but its ultimate provenance was Sts. Peter and Paul of Corbie, where it was most probably written in the first half of the ninth century. The collection originated within a monastic milieu, but the sermons which it contains were intended for popular preaching as will be shown below. Secondly, the collection consists of a sermonary made up of thirty-three sermons for the principal feast days of the liturgical year to which were added five other sermons, although the last two of the five are now in a very fragmentary and illegible condition due to some rough handling of the manuscript over the centuries.

The thirty-three sermons are the main body of the partial collection which Pierre David found in a Cracow manuscript (Cracow, Bibliotheca capitulare 140). David believed that he had found a group of Irish monastic conferences similar in nature, for example, to Vincent of Lerins' Commonitorium libri duo. An abbot or monk of a monastic school would use such works as the basis for lectures and discussions with novices to help them develop their own spirituality

and education. Since I have become acquainted with other manuscripts containing this collection through the kindness of Raymond Étaix and Jean-Paul Bouhot, David's identification no longer seems to describe accurately the nature and purpose of these works.

These sermons are exegetical in nature, that is they comment upon and explicate a series of gospel passages--but the author is always careful to develop from his exegesis practical moral conclusions. While the exegesis does seem to be monastic in nature and was most likely the work of someone who had studied Scripture closely and meditated upon its meanings, the moral teachings deal with non-monastic subjects such as conjugal conduct and the obligations between parents and children. This is one reason for doubting that these sermons are monastic conferences.

Another reason for questioning David's identification of the sermons as monastic conferences comes from other works found in the manuscripts containing the sermons. The Cracow manuscript is incomplete one quire containing the sixth sermon and part of the fifth has disappeared. It does, however, in its present state include other short works appended to the collection. At the beginning of the manuscript are a prayer against bad weather (ff. 1-2r) and a short work on precious gems (ff. 2v-3r). These are followed by drawings of three large crosses and part of the Trisagion with some probationes pennae (f. 3v) and a title page for the collection of sermons: Praedicationes secundum evangelium per diversu jejunia (f. 4). The collection itself occupies ff. 5r-100r, and is followed by an illumination of the symbols for the four evangelists (f. 100v), a short

exegetical work on selected gospel passages (ff. 101r-105v), and, in two other hands, a list of councils from Nicaea (314) to Nicaea (787) (f. 106r). The manuscript ends with more probationes pennae (ff. 106v-107). These other works and the contemporary title of the collection suggest that the twenty-seven sermons could have been used for preaching rather than as monastic conferences.

In other manuscripts containing the sermons, the presence of other types of sermons helps to confirm this idea. Paris, BN lat. 13768 is a composite manuscript containing a variety of items bound together. Some short eleventh- and twelfth-century works are found on ff. 1r-24v. Eight of the collection of thirty-three sermons appear on ff. 25r-59v and the eighth cut off abruptly at the end of f. 59v. Eleven short Carolingian sermons are found in ff. 60r-71v. Three more of the collection of thirty-three sermons close out the manuscript (ff. 72r-84v). All twenty-two sermons written out in this manuscript were written by the same ninth-century hand. In Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 341, one sermon of the collection was added to a ninth-century homiliarium per circuli anni.

The compiler of 13408 added a number of sermons intended for popular preaching to his copy of the thirty-three sermons (ff. 1r-104v). Exactly how many is difficult to tell because the last quire of the manuscript is incomplete and only five of the additional sermons have survived in whole or in part. These include the Scarapsus of Pirmin (ff. 105r-121r), a sermon on the discovery of the true cross (ff. 121v-126r), and a fifty-century African sermon from the school of Augustine (ff. 126r-127r). Fragments of two other sermons

are found on ff. 127v-128v, but most of the words of these works have literally been worn away. I have not yet been able to secure a copy of Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek, Augienses CXVI, another manuscript containing the sermons. From both the contents of the thirty-three sermons and their contexts within the manuscripts, is seems likely that they were used for preaching. The description from 13408 is offered here as a first step toward an edition of these works.

Paris, BN lat. 13408, IX[1]s., St. Germain-des-Près 1323 (olim 325).

Paleographical Comments.

Number of leaves: ii(paper) + 128ff. + i(paper).
Size of pages: 220 X 155 mm.
Size of written space: Long lines; quire 1 twenty-four lines 776 X 105 mm.; quires 2-9 twenty-six lines 180 X 105 mm.; quires 9-18 twenty-seven lines 185 X 105 mm.
Quire arrangements: quires, 1r (I surrounded at top, left and right by three sets of three horizontal lines with a wavy ascending line atop the third) - 8v; 9r (II same decoration) - 16v; 17r (III same decoration) - 24v; 25r (IIII same decoration) - 32v; 33r (no signature) - 40v; 41r (VI same decoration) - 48v; 49r (VIII same decoration) - 56v; 57r (VIIII same decoration) - 69v; 65r (X four sets of line decorations, one at bottom) - 70v; 71r (XI three sets of line decorations) - 78v; 79r (XII a punctus elevatus on either side) - 86v; 87r (XIII three sets of line decorations) - 94v; 95r (XIIII four sets of line decorations) - 102v; 103r (XV four sets of three horizontal lines with no ascenders) - 110v; 111r (XVI three sets of line decorations with no ascenders) - 118v; 119r - 128v (no signature). Although there is no quire signature VII, this seems to have been a scribal error as content is continuous between ff. 41r-57r. The quire signature VIIII was misplaced on f. 55r.
Rulings: Standard long-line rulings.
Leaf arrangement: Regular, except that the last quire is stretched out, perhaps a result of the manuscripts having been cut off and resewn at one or another stage in its history.
Appearance: Regular ninth-century flesh-side/hair-side arrangement.
Binding: Boards, late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.
Script: Carolingian miniscule, libraria, media. Medium ductus. Rustic and Miniscule Capitals. The ascenders are full, and descenders are truncated; all bows are rounded. Ligatures used for or, st, ct, en, sc and nt. Phrases are indicated by the punctus elevatus, and complete thoughts by semi-colons.

Quotations are introduced with colons, and questions indicated by an upsidedown question mark. The scribe used both miniscule and script letters for "a" and "d".

Abbreviations: The nomina sancta are always abbreviated by standard forms. Superscript bars are used for terminal m and n as well as for terminal endings miser̄ = miserunt. The scribe used both et and the ampersand, and the ampersand was also used in words exi& = exiet, s& = set (for sed). The Irish abbreviation in the ÷ = est is used but by the first half of the ninth century, its use was too widespread to call it a peculiarly Irish symptom. Praedicare is rendered predicare by the following abbreviation p̄dicare = praedicare. Other abbreviations t^2 = tur; turbat'ē = turbatus est; $\frac{i}{q}$ = qui; ei^9 = eius;

misrd̄a = misericordia. The diphthong ae is both written out and represented by the e caudata. Eight of the sermons (12, 14, 17, 20, 25-28 and the Scarapsus) use a Tironian note for amen and three of the sermons (25, 26, 28 and the Scarapsus) use a Tironian note for in secula seculorum.

Flyleaves: ir: Table of Contents in twelfth-century hand. Hic continentur Expositio seu Homilia in Evangelia (Auctore forsan Aymone), Admonitio beati Gregorii ubis Roma ad plebem sancto Gregorio falso attributa, Inventio Crucis V Nonas Maias, Sermo S. Augustini de Dilectione Dei ac Proximi, Sermo in Evangelia. Whoever wrote this realized that Gregory the Great did not write the Scarapsus of Pirmin, but attributed the collection of thirty-three sermons to Haimo of Auxerre. The Cracow manuscript, written about 800, antedates Haimo's birth by about twenty years.

Contents:

1. 1r-5r: In nomine Dei summi Incipit Tractatus Per Quattor Evangeli. Iohannes baptista venit predicare in desertum iudae ...//... Dabit ei dominus tempus pentitenciae hic et dabit vitam aeternam in futura in secula seculorum, amen.

Orlēans, Bib. mun. 341, pp. 380-389.
Cracow, Bib. cap. 140, ff. 5r-8v. David's n. 1.

2. 5v-9r: Vox clamantis in deserto, parate viam domini, rectas facite semitas eius. Quid suscitavit istum testimonium accipere iohannem ...//... Sic ipse veniat ad corda nostra et in vobis manebit et nos cum illo in vita futura in secula seculorum, amen.

Cracow, Bib. cap. 140, ff. 8v-12v. David's n. 2.

3. 9r-12v: Videns autem multos phariseorum et saduceorum venientes ad baptismum suum, dixit illis progienes viperarum. Iohannes baptista plenus est de spiritu sancto ...//... et accepti in ecclesia celesti in vitam eternam in secula seculorum, amen.

Cracow, Bib. cap. 140, ff. 12v-17r. David's n. 3.

4. 12v-15v: Ego quidem baptizo vos in aqua, veniet fortior me post me cuius non sum dignus calciamenta portare. Ipse vos baptizaverit in spiritu sancto et igni. Quid suscitavit istum sermonem ad iohannem ...//... congregate amicos meos et electos in regnum celorum ubi regnabunt sine fine in secula seculorum, amen.

Cracow, Bib. cap. 140, ff. 37r-19v. David's n. 4. Paris, BN lat. 13768, ff. 31v-364. 2 (in the order of sermons in the ms.)

5. 15v-17r: Matheus evangelista commemorat de ista lectione et dixit: Quod misit iohannes ...//... hic in presenti sanitatem corporis et anime et colligit nos in vita futura sine fine in secula seculorum, amen.

Cracow, Bib. cap. 140, ff. 19v-20v (ending missing). David's n. 5.

6. 17r-19r: Dominus noster respondit cogitationibus scribarum et phariseorum ...//... et pax sine fine et lux perpetua in qua lucebunt iusti sicut dictus est de illis: Tunc iusti fulgebunt sicut sol in regnum patris eorum in secula seculorum, amen.

7. 19r-23v: Lucas evangelista commemorat de ista lectione, de octaviano augusto et de illo censu ...//... Dabit illis hic in presentia adiutorium et plus in futuro vitam eternam in secula seculorum, amen.

Paris, BN lat. 13768, ff. 25r-31v. 1.

8. 23v-27r: De Epyphania. Math(eus) evangelista commemorat de magis qui veneret ab oriente ...//... si nos offeramus ei ista tria munera que diximus, ipse reddat nobis mercedem in futuro vitam eternam in secula seculorum, amen.

Cracow, Bib. cap. 140, ff. 21r-24r (beginning missing). David's n. 7.

Paris, BN lat. 13768, ff. 36r-41r. VIII. De Epiphania. 3. (This title suggests a relationship between 13768 and 13408.)

9. 27r-31r: Matheus evangelista commemorat de domino quando iuxta mare galileae et vocavit illos fratres ...//... et custodientes castitatem omnos adiuvet in ecclesia presenti et colligit illos in ecclesia futura in vitam eternam in secula seculorum, amen.

Cracow, Bib. cap. 140, ff. 24r-28r. David's n. 8.

10. 31r-34r: Dominus noster iesus christus circumibat totam galileam primitus ...//... Illos pueros et bonos et electos suos colligat quasi triticum in orreum, hoc est in mansionem celestem ubi regnabant sine fine in secula seculorum, amen.

Cracow, Bib. cap. 140, ff. 28v-34r. David's n. 9.

11. 34r-37v: Videns autem iesus turbas ascendit in montem, et cum sedisset, accesseret ad eum discipuli eius, et apieriens os suum docebat eos dicens. Dominus noster fuit gravatus ab illis

turbis convenientibus ad se ...//... et qualem dignitatem habebunt illi principes boni et doctores cum sua familia bona quando intrabunt cum fiducia cum domino suo in regno celorum, ubi regnabunt sine fine in secula seculorum, amen.
Cracow, Bib. cap. 140, ff. 32r-35r. David's n. 10.
Paris, BN lat. 13678, ff. 41r-45v. 4.

12. 37v-42r: Et aperiens os suum dicens, beate pauperes spiritum quam ipsorum est regnum celorum. Tribus modis laudabit dominus paupertatem, primum beati pauperes spiritum ...//... Quicumque dimisent parentes aut patriam aut omniaque possidet, dabit illis hic **in presenti duplicia et vitam eternam in futuro in secula seculorum, amen (Tironian note).**

13. 42r-47r: Et docebat eos dicens, Beati mites quam ipsi **possidebunt terram. Dominus noster laudabit mites quia habent mansuetudinem ...//...** nos habebimus fiduciam quam domino nostro intravimus cum illo in regnum suum, ubi regnavimus sine fine.
Paris, BN lat. 13768, ff. 79v-85v (ending missing). 11.

14. 47r-49r: Tunc ductus est iesus in deserto aspera, ut tempturetur a diabulo. Evvangelista commemorat de domino nostro quando ductus est in desertum asperum ...//... et ipse liberabit nos a temptationibus huius seculi et ab omnia mala et colliget nos in vitam eternam in secula seculorum, amen (Tironian note).
Cracow, Bib. cap. 140, ff. 47v-51r. David's n. 14.

15. 49v-52v. Cum sederit filius hominis in maiestate sua et omnis angelis cum eo, tunc sedebit super sedem maiestate sua. Dominus noster dixit apostoli suis et turbis de adventu suo ad iudicium ...//... Illic regnabunt cum angelis et archangelis, cum potestabis et principatibus, cum patriarchae et prophetas in perpetua vita sine fine in secula seculorum, amen.
Cracow, Bib. cap. 140, ff. 51v-55r. David's n. 15.

16. 52v-56v: Et cum adpropinquasset hierosolimos et venissent bethfage ad montem oliveti . . . solvite et adducite mei. Istud castellum quod dominus misit discipulos hiersosolimo ...//... sed colligat nos secum in regnum suum ubi regnabimus cum illo in perpetua vita sine fine in secula seculorum, amen.
Cracow, Bib. cap. 140, ff. 55r-61v. David's n. 16.
Paris, BN lat. 13768, ff. 45v-51v. 5.

17. 57r-59v: Evvangelista commemorat de resurrectione domini videre sepulchrum vespere sabbati; Et postea dicit marcus; Et valde mane prima una sabbatorum venit ad monumentum orto iam sole. Non se contrarii evangelistae inter se dilectio mortui qui in sepulchro fuit ...//... Et resurget in illa die in resurrectionem vite et colliget in regnum suum in vitam eternam in secula seculorum, amen.
Cracow, Bib. cap. 140, ff. 61v-65r. David's n. 17.
Paris, BN lat. 13768, ff. 52r-55v, title: In Pascha Domini. 6.

18. 59v-61v: Iohannes evvangelista commemorat de resurrectione domini et dixit quod maria magdalena venit mane cum ad huc tenebre essent ad monumentum et non sola venit. Tacuit iohannes alias mulieres propter laborem marie magdalene et propter amorem domini cum illa ...//... et quicumque portaverit signum crucis christi in frontibus hierus liberati in illo die et collecti in vitam eternam in secula seculorum, amen.

Cracow, Bib. cap. 140, ff. 65r-68r. David's n. 18.
Paris, BN lat. 13768, ff. 55v-60r. 7.

19. 61v-67v: In die pentecosten. De pentecosten lucas evangelista commemorat in actibus apostolorum de adventu spiritus sanctus super apostolis in hierusalem sic ipse narrat. Cum complerentur dies pentecosten fuerunt apostoli simul omnes in unum ...//... Et dixit gratis dare quod gratis accipimus et mullam retributionem operis nostri hic in presenti quaeramus, sed in celestibus in vita futura speremus in secula seculorum, amen.

20. 67v-70r: Petite et dabitur vobis, querite et invenietis, pulsate et aperietur vobis. Omnis enim qui petit accipit et qui querit invenet et pulsantia aperietur. Dominus nobis dixit apostolis suis petere et querere et pulsare, hista tria verba coniungunt tractores ad altera .../... et consideremus nostra cogitationes et nostra opera faciamus perfecta. Illa tria nos deducunt in regnum futurum ubi regnabimus in secula seculorum, amen (note).

Cracow, Bib. cap. 140, ff. 80v-85r. David's n. 23.

21. 70r-72v: Intrantes per augustam portam quia lata porta et spatiora viaque ducit ad perditionem et multis intrantes in eam. Quam angusta porta et arta via que ducit ad vitam et pauci sunt qui inveniunt eam. Dominus noster dixit ista verba apostolis suis et turbis vidit augustiam .../... Non in numero malorum quis quasi de foris si in consortio bonorum hic erimus in ecclesia presenti in consertio eorum in vita eterna regabimus sine fine in secula seculorum, amen.

Cracow, Bib. cap. 140, ff. 85r-89r. David's n. 24.
Paris, BN lat. 13768, ff. 75r-79v. 10.

22. 72v-76r: Dominus noster dedit consilium apostolis suis et dixit illis ubi debuerunt primitus predicare et quid predicassent quomodo mandavit illis predicare in israel .../... Aliam transferre cupit si nos duplicamus ista mandata veteris et novi opere perfectionis. Dominus noster duplicavit nobis mercedes regni celestis in vita eterna sine fine in secula seculorum, amen.

Cracow, Bib. cap. 140, ff. 74v-77v. David's n. 21.

23. 76r-78v: Dominus noster dixit apostolis suis predicare de regno celorum et de vita futura: Prius mihi dicebat illis ambussent ad gentes ne ad samaritanos .../... Non dubitamus postea quod poterimus intrare per ianuam regni celestis et regnare cum domino in vita eterna atque perpetua in secula seculorum, amen.

Cracow, Bib. cap. 140, ff. 77v-80v. David's n. 22.

24. 78v-82r: Omnis ergo qui audit verba mea haec et facit ea ad similabitur viro sapienti qui aedificavit domum suam supra petram. Dominus noster iesus christus locutus est ista apostolis suis et turbis quibus predicaverit in monte ...//... Nisi mittamus in opera si faciamus in opere que in audimus in auditu habebis similitudinem sanctorum dei hic in presente et cum illis regnabimus in futuro in secula seculorum, Amen.
Cracow, Bib. cap. 140, ff. 89v-92v. David's no. 25.

25. 82r-85r: Ecce ego mitto vos sicut oves in medio luporum. Estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes et simplices sicut columbes. Evvangelista commemorant ista verba domini ad apostolos suos ...//... Debemus intrare in dura opera presentiae et facere opera placente deo ut possumus cum illo regnare in vita perpetua sine fine in secula seculorum, Amen.
Cracow, Bib. cap. 140, ff. 92v-97r. David's n. 26.

26. 85r-87v: Ecce ego mitto vos sicut oves in medio luporum. Estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes et simplices sicut columbae. Diximus sapientiam de natura serpentium at de prudentia eorum. Nunc dicemus de natura columbarum ...//... ut non crescat zizania et palia in nobis, sed dei adiutorio mundiet rudi quasi triticum simus et colligit nos dominus in regnum suum sine fine in secula seculorum, Amen.
Cracow, Bib. cap. 140, ff. 97r-100r. David's n. 27.

27. 85v-89v: Haec sunt nomina XII apostolorum primitus: symon qui dicitur petrus et andreas frater eius. iacobus zabadei. et iohannes frater eius. philippus et bertolomeus. Thomas et matheus publicanus. Iacobis alphei et tatheus. symon chananeus et iudas scarioth qui tradidit eum. Matheus evangelista scripsit nomina apostolorum in evangelio suo quia previdit spiritus sanctus qui fuit in illo ...//... Ut habeamus similitudinem apostolorum et imitemur eorum exempla, ut possemus cum illo regnare in regno celorum in vita eterna in secula seculorum, Amen.

28. 90r-91v: Dominus istam parabolum dixit de patrefamilias cuicum duxit operarios in vineam suam per oras diei. De ista parabolum sanctus gregorius tractavit et dixit: "Qui est patrefamilias (Hom. in Evang. I, xix, 1-3)" ...//... Quicumque voluerit converti ad dominum in quocumque tempore aut in quacumque etate dominus noster in sua benignitate ac bonitate recipiat eum et colligat eum in regno suo in vitam eternam in secula seculorum, Amen.

29. 91v-94v: Matheus evangelista scripsit in evangelio suo de isto homine qui peregre profectus est qui dedit paecuniam suam servis suis ad lucram faciendum ...//... Quicumque stabilessent in bono et quicumque emendant se per confessiones puras vel paenitentie simul intrabunt in gaudium cum domino in gaudium regni celestis ubi regnabunt cum domino suo in secula seculorum, Amen.
Paris, BN lat. 13768, ff. 72r-75. 9.

30. 94v-97r: Simile est regnum celorum thesauro abscondito in agro. Dominus noster predicavit apostolis suis et turbis. Aliquando aperte predicavit ut toti intellegant ...//... Non habent augustia in illo die sed cum fiducia et letitia regnabunt cum domino sine fine in secula seculorum, Amen.

31. 97r-100r: Dominus noster ostendis apostolis suis post resurrectionem suam iuxta mare tyberia bis mare galileae. Sed accepit nomen de alia civitate nomem tyberia quam construxit tyberius caesar ...//... Quicumque sequitur exemplum apostolorum et electorum dei habebit consolationem a domino hic in presenti et colligit eum in regno futuro in secula seculorum, Amen.

Cracow, Bib. cap. 140, ff. 70r-74r. David's n. 20.

32. 100r-102v: In Illo tempore. Duo et discipulis ibant in castello quod erant in spatio stadiorum ·LX· ab hierosolum nominem Emaus. Lucas evangelista commemorat de istis duobus discipulis qui ambulabat de hierosolim ad castellem Emaus ...//... et de se cogitantibus presens adiuvat familiam suam et visit et ex sua divinitate et custodit familiam suam hic in presenti et colligat illam in vitam futuram in secula seculorum, Amen.

33. 102r-105r: Dominus noster quando predicavit in monte coram discipulis et coram turbis laudavit illos lugentes sed non dixit de totis luctis sed tribus luctis laudavitque oportet ecclesia catholica lugere hic in presenti vita ...//... Sed semper cum angelis et archangelis cum tronis et dominationibus laudentes deum et bendicentes dominum in secula seculorum, Amen.

Paris, BN lat. 13768, ff. 59v-60v.
Title: Predicatio domini in monte. Ending missing. 8.

34. 105r-121r: Incipit Admonitio Beati Gregorii Urbis Rome Ad Plebem: Fratres karissimi spiritus sanctus per prophetas, sacerdotes et levitas. . . .

Scarapsus Pirmini, PL 89: 1029D-1050C.

35. 121v-126r: Incipit Inventio Sanctae Crucis. V nonas Mardias anno CCXXXIII. Regnante venerabile dei cultarem magno viro constandtino in VI anno regni huius ...//... Deus laudare omnibus qui christum diligunt viris ac mulieres celisare commemoratione de ei in quo invocatione crux.

Cf. Rabanus Maurus, hom. LXX, PL 110: 131D-134D.

36. 126r-127r: Sermone Sancti Agustini [pro Dei?] ac pro Christum. Dicturi sumus vobis fratres karissimi de ipsa dilectationem ...//... Ipsam sequamur et non noster christiani vocamur prestante domino nostro iesu christo qui vivit et regnat in secula seculorum, Amen.

Anonymous African sermon s. IV-V. Ed. E. S. Buchanan, "Sermo sancti Augustini episcopi de dilectione Dei et

proximi," Princeton Theological Review 13 (1915): 92-5; and, after this ms., Jean Leclercq, "Sermons de l'école de S. Augustin," RB 59 (1949): 104-6.

37. 127r-128v: **Predicatio de Evangelio.** Dominus dicit in evangelio Convertamini ac me et ego revertat ad vos hoc est quando homo seccat et radit ad sacerdotes ...//... et corrigatis de ipsa culpis.

Most of this sermon is illegible.

38. 128v: Audivimus fratres karissimi de die iudicii magna resurrectione quem nobis satis est. . . .

Only four lines of this sermon survive at the bottom of the last parchment page. How many more sermons this ms. contained would be a matter of pure conjecture.

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

Paris, BN lat. 2328 and 10612: Two Carolingian Preaching Manuals

Most eighth- and ninth-century manuscripts are composite manuscripts. That is to say in their present state they consist of a number of different works written at different times bound together long after the works were written. When a manuscript book originally put together for a certain purpose has survived intact, therefore, it is not always recognized for what it is. With these two manuscripts, I believe, we have two such books written to aid Carolingian preachers--most probably bishops--in this aspect of their pastoral duties. The fact that both of these manuscripts were put together by a single scribe in each case supports this belief, as does--more importantly--the contents of the manuscripts.

Pastoral manuals which included materials on preaching, small-group catechesis, confessions and administration of the sacraments became an important part of ecclesiastical life in the twelfth century and later. (On this literature see Vincent Gillespie, "Doctrina and Predicacio: The Design and Function of Some Pastoral Manuals," Leeds Studies in English, n.s. XI (1980): 36-50.) The works in the two manuals examined here concentrated on exegesis and preaching, but both contained expositones missae. These manuscripts may well represent an important formative step toward the formation of the later

manuals. Indeed, a short epigraph on the verso of the flyleaf of 2328 shows that it was used by a priest of Paris named Hugo in 1222.

The main concern of this appendix is to list and analyze the contents of these two manuscripts. Descriptions of them will be kept short. Where I have been able to identify the works, their editions are given. It is quite possible that other eighth- and ninth-century manuals will be found among known manuscripts containing sermons once we learn to recognize them for what they are.

Paris, BN lat. 2328

2328 is a ninth-century manuscript written between 800 and 840 in a center from Burgundy or along the Rhone, according to the dating established by Bernhard Bischoff for the edition of the works of Chromatius of Aquileia by J. Lemarié and R. Étaix. The manuscript is regular in appearance concerning both quire arrangement and the flesh side-hair side arrangement of pages. However the first quire is missing its first page and the last quire lacks its last two pages. There are 126 ff. which measure 275 X 175 mm. Total written space is 225 X 150 mm. for two columns measuring 225 X 65 mm. and 225 X 25 mm. respectively with an intercolumnar space of 225 X 8 mm. There are fifteen quire signatures found on the versos of the last folio pages of each of the fifteen quires: the first ten are Roman numerals from I-X; and the last five are letters. The script is Carolingian miniscule and contains a number of insular symptoms such as the footed m, the d with curved ascender, and extensive use of enlarged miniscule letters as capitals. Later hands have added f. 1r, a large sheet sewn into

the manuscript at a later date, which also contains a short rouleaux des mortes. In addition a later ninth-century hand has added to the manuscript on f. 23v passages from Luke 1:57-68. The rest of the manuscript belongs to the hand of a single scribe.

Contents

1. 2r: Fragments of a dedicatory epistle in six long lines, words and lines have been erased so that very little can be read.

2. 2ra-79vb: Canonani quiriant (or inquiriant). Si quis vel in qua ac ultium commiserit septem annis oportet perfectionem consequi secundum obstinor grados. Incipit Liber Sancti Isidori Primis in Sententiae. Summum bonum deus est ...//... quos cedistis ad illa latet sicandos includit.
Isidore of Seville, Sententiae, PL 83: 557D-738D. From book I the copyist has excluded caps. xxi-xxiii, from book II part of cap. ix and from book III part of cap. xiv.

3. 80ra-95vb: Dilectissimo filio Widoni comitis Humilis levita Alchuinus ...//... in opere enim epsius exiguum laborabis.
Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et de vitiis, PL 101: 613C-638C.

4. 96vb-96rb: Incipit De Lapidibus et Gemmis. Lapides dicte quia pedes ledent et ungulas ...//... demonia eiecit virginitatem deprehendit serpentem repellit vel contra fulgora contrarius est.
Cited in Pearl Kibre, "Further Addenda and Corrigenda," Speculum 43 (1968): 91.

5. 96rb: Short prayer of seven lines.

6. 96v: Epitaph of Alcuin.
MGH Poetae latini karolini aevi, I: 35.

7. 97ra-107va: Seven Catholic Epistles (James, Peter I and II, John I, II and III and Jude).
See Samuel Berger, Histoire de la Vulgate (Paris, 1843), 405.

8. 107vb-109vb: Incipit Sacramentorum Sive Ordo Ad Fide Venientium Baptizmarum. Quorum primus gradus est Caticuminorum. ·II· Competentium. ·III· Baptizatorum ·I· Capitula primum signum crucis in fronte ponitur ...//... per septem dierum spatia persistit. Et VIII die exitus inventus est mundus.
This is a part of a longer treatise on baptism attributed to Isidore of Seville edited by André Wilmart, "Un florilège carolingien sur le symbolisme des cérémonies du baptême," in Analecta reginensia, 153-79.

9. 109vb-115va: Incipit Exposicio In Missae. Dominus vobiscum salutet sacerdos populum ...//... de ecclesia quam adnuntiatum sit de ministro et omnes respondecint deo gratias.
Pseudo-Isidore, Expositio in Missa, PL 83: 1145A-1154A.
Also found in PL 138: 1163B-1173C.

10. 115vb-116rb: Incipit Testimonia De Apostolos Beatos. Fiduciam talem habemus, fratres karissimi, per dominum nostrum iesum christum qui reconciliavit ...//... Non dolor non febris sed semper luxem. Et erit in sempiterna saeculo saeculorum, amen.

11. 116rb-116vb: Sermo Sancti Augustini Episcopi. Fratres karissimi ad memoriam vestram reducimus quod ante adventum ...//... et omnibus sanctis in paradyso letabitur cum angelis quod ipse prestare dignetur qui regnet in s. s. amen.
Based on a sermon by Pseudo-Caesarius, PL 67: 1079B-1081C.
See also Homiliary of Toledo, nos. 88 and add. 24 in Grégoire, Les homéliaires du moyen âge, 178-9 and 184.

12. 116vb-117vb: Incipit Sermo Sancti Agustini Episcopi De Die Iudicii. Audivimus etiam fratres karissimi cum evangelium legeretur ...//... et totius viribus cum dei adiutorio laboretis ut eternum regnum adquiretis.
Caesarius, sermo CLVIII, CCSL 104: 645-8.

13. 117vb-118vb: Incipit Sermo Sancti Agustini Episcopi De Decimis. Domini est terra et plenitudo eius orbis terrarum ...//... et qui vivuntur (h)uic mundo tamquam non vivuntur. Preterit enim figura (h)uius mundi.
A Caesarian centon, see Morin, CCSL 103: ci.

14. 118vb-120ra: Incipit Tractatus Sanctae Marine. Erat quidem homo in civitatem habens unicam filiam parvulam ...//... et meritum sanctae virginis marine multa sacra mirabilia cui tantam gratiam dominus prestare est. Qui vivit cum deo patre in s. s. amen.
Sermo de sanctae Marinae Bibliotheca Hagiographia latinae Hagiographia Bollandii, 1-2 (Brussels, 1898-1901), 5528.

15. 120ra-121vb: Incipit Sermo De Evangelio Secundum Iohannes Ubi Dicit Quod Die Tercio Nuptiae Facte Sunt In Chana Gallileam. Modo cum divina lectio legeretur audivimus ...//... hic vitam vitae meritus conparemus, per dominum nostram iesum christum qui vivit in s. s. amen.
Caesarius, sermo CLXVII, CCSL 104: 682-7.

16. 121vb-122vb: Evangelica sacramenti in domini nostri iesu christi dictis factis que signata ...//... secundum illus quod propheta domino supplicat dicens: Averte oculos meus ne viderit vanitas est, qui vivis et regnas per omnia s. s. amen.
A Caesarian centon, Morin, CCSL 103: ci.

17. 122vb-124ra: Modo Fratres Karissimi Cum evangelium legereatur audivimus ...//... liberare qui vivat et regnat in s. s. amen.

Augustine, sermo XCVIII reworked by Caesarius, ed. R. Étaix in Corona Gratiarum: Miscellanea . . . E. Dekkers (Paris, 1975), 223-7.

18. 124ra-124rb: Incipit Sermo In Diem Ramos Admissa Cum Sinbolum. Karissimi accepite regulam fidei ...//... pervenire possitis. Prestante domino iesu christo qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat in s. s. amen.

Homiliary of Toledo, 22, ed. G. Prado, PLS 4: 1950-1.

14. 124rb-125vb: Incipit Sermo De Cena Domini. Multa quidem dominus et salvator noster ...//... per omnia efficiamini apud dominem et salvatorem nostrum iesum christum qui regnat in s. s. amen.

Chromatius of Aquileia, sermo 15, ed. J. Lemarié and R. Étaix, Chromatii Aquileiensis Opera, CCSL IXA (Tournhout, 1974), 66-70.

Paris, BN lat. 10612

This is a manuscript written between 780 and 820 containing 157 parchment pages. The folios measure 235 X 170mm. and the written space of the twenty-six long lines 165 X 115 mm. One hand wrote out the works in this manuscript with the exception of the last nine lines of f. 4v, where a second ninth-century hand wrote out nine lines of prayers including the Pater noster. The first folio page is missing, and someone later added the current parchment page one to serve as a flyleaf. For a full description of this manuscript see the article by E. Pellegrin in Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes 123 (1965): 199-201.

Contents

1. 2r-4v: Hi IIII sinodi venerabili id sunt nicena tre centorum XVIII episcoporum habet capet XXIII ...//... et stephano vel sequaces eorum seigium paulum honorium polliciosum. (Nine lines of prayers follow this work.)

2. 5r-15r: Incipit Doctrina Dogma Ecclesiastica Secundum Nicenam Concilium. Credimus unam esse deum patrem et filium ...//... libere confitemur imaginem in aeternitate similitudinem in moribus inveniri.

Gennadius (Ps.-Isidore), De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus, PL 83: 1227D-1244B.

3. 15r-81r: In Christi Nomine Incipit Expositio Sancti Evangeli Edita Gregorii Papa Urbis Romae. Matheus sicut in ordine primus ponitur ...//... nam homines secundam mensuram accipiunt gratiam spiritui sancti. Explicit Evangelium.

Ps.-Gregory the Great, Expositio IV evangeliorum. See Bruno Greisser, "Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Expositio IV Evangeliorum des Ps.-Hieronymus," RB 49 (1937): 278-80 and 314-5.

4. 81r-96r: Incipit Liber De Interpraetatione Quorundam Nominum Veteris Noviquae Testamenti. Dominio meo et dei servo orosio episcopo hysidorus .../... et interpraetatione aliqua egent breviter.

Ps.-Isidore, Liber de Ortu et Obitu Patrum, PL 83: 1275B-1294C.

5. 96r-106r: De Septe Formis Spiritus Sancti. Egrediatur Vir Gadera dic eo esse et flos de radice eius .../...

6. 106r-108r: Incipiunt Questiones De Litteris Vel Singulis Causis. Quia video te de scriptura velle contendere .../... pars minima est littera pars maxima est deus in aeternum.

7. 108r-112r: Incipiamus De Sanctum Scriptuarum. Et a sacrorum numero librorum quanti libri canonici in sancta ecclesia recipiuntur septuagint et duo .../... Apocrifa autem dicta, id est secreta, quia eorum est origonasta.

8. 112r-117r: Incipit Questio De Libri Genesis. Ubi primum in sacris sancta trinitas discribitur? In exordio libri genesis .../... Idem petit fratres suos ut eius ossa expostarent.

9. 117r-120r: Item De Exodo. Quare moyses non alium signum coram pharonem ostendit nisi serpentem .../... apud se semel locutus est deus quia unum verbum genuit deus.

10. 120r-121r: Hii Sunt Grados Septem In Quibus Christos Advenit. Primus lector fuit quando apervit librum isaiae .../... primum deum plus quam nostras animas diligamur.

Ed. André Wilmart, PLS 4: 943-4.

11. 121r-122v: De Decimis Offerendis In Genesi. Et dedit decimas ab omnibus suis item illic et vovit iacob .../... et votum eius super illum et immolat in qui nata domino.

12. 122v-123v: Dicta Leonis Episcopi. "Credo in deum patrem . . . filioque precendentem." His tribus sententiis omnium fere hereticorum machine destruuntur ...//... et sacramentum divinum per quod salvati sumus. Explicit Dicta Sancti Gregorii Papae.

13. 123v-124r: In expositione origenes super levitico homelia VIII. Christus ergo unum est verbum animo caro ...//... et in quo est ipse est et tamen ipsud est.
(Not from Origen's homily VIII in Leviticus in the PG edition.)

14. 124r-128r: In Christi Nomine Incipit Homelia De Nativitate Domini. Dominus Noster Iesus Christus, Fratres Karissimi, qui in aeternum est ...//... non formationis sed reformationis Ipso adiuvante qui vivit et regnat in s. s. amen.
Ps.-Augustine, sermo CXXVIII, PL 39: 1997-2001.

15. 128r-130v: Sermo De Epiphania Domini Nostri Iesu Christi. Epiphania Fratres Karissimi Grecum vocabum est ...//... ad ecclesiam veniat. Praestante domino qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat in s. s. Explicit.
Caesarius, sermo CXCV, CCSL 104: 789-91.

16. 130v-134r: Admonitio Sancti Agustini Episcopi De Initio Quadregesimi. Rogo Et Admoneo Fratres Karissimi ...//... et hominem que mereavat liberavit. Cui est honor et gloria in s. s. amen.
Caesarius, sermo CXCIX, CCSL 104: 803-7.

17. 134r-135r: Sententia De Amore Dei. Qua mensura amandus est christus qui anima nostra post innumera mala ...//... conlaudant creatorem inconspectu domini nostri iesu christu. Ipse nobis hoc praestat qui vivit.

18. 135r-137r: Ex Carpsum De Libro Sancti Effrem Diaconi De Beatudine Anima. Beatus Qui Hodio Habuerit hunc mundum ...//... initium bone vias suscipere quae perducit ad vitam aeternam.
Latin version of Ephraim's De Beatudine Anima, Clavis, 1143.

19. 137r-140v: Homelia Sancti Agustini Episcopi. Rogamus vos fratres karissimi ut attentius cogite ...//... et vos feliciter venietis ad regnum. Praestante domino nostro iesu christi qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit.
Caesarius, sermo XIII, CCSL 103: 64-8.

20. 140v-141v: Scarpsum De Libro Sancti Hysidori. Scito Homo Te Met Ipsum Scito quid sis quare sis natus ...//... in omnibus operibus tuis adiutorem et retributionem postula.
Isidore, Synonymorum II, 2-13, PL 83: 845B-848B.

21. 141v-143r: Homelia Sancti Agustini Ad Monachos. Qui inter multos vitam agere constituerunt aut cum grande fructi ...//... dum in saeculo viverimus et aut fiant extrema nostra peiora prioribus.
Eusebius 'Gallicanus,' homilia XLII, CCSL 101A: 497-505.

22. 143r-144v: Item Homelia Legenda. Fratres mei dilectissimi necesse est ut aspera sint tempora quare nec ametur terrena felicitus ...//... domino nostro orationem de omnibus reddituri sumus. Ipso praestante.

23. 144v-146v: Homelia De Duabus Viis. Audistis fratres dilectissimi cum evangelium legeretur ...//... et ad aeternam beatitudinem feliciter. Praestante domino.
Caesarius, sermo CXLIX, CCSL 104: 609-12.

24. 146v-150r: Homelia Sancti Agustini Episcopi. Fratres karissimi ad memoriam reducimus ...//... Quanta praeparavit dominus diligentibus se. Praestante domino.
A Caesarian centon, Morin, CCSL 104: 966.

25. 150r-151r: Homelia Legenda. Rogo vos fratres considerate si hodie conventu ecclesias huius aliquis ...//... vel cuius iustitiae gemmis ornati esse mereamur quod ipse prestare dignetur qui vivit et regnat.
Ps.-Augustine, sermo CCXXIX, 4-6, PL 39: 2167-2168.

26. 151r-154r: Admonitio Sancti Faustini Ut Semper De Peccatis Nostris Et De Diem Iudicii Vel De Aeterna Beatudine. Modo Fratres Karissimi Cum Divina lectione ...//... in gaudium domini tui. Praestante domino nostro iesu christo.
Caesarius, sermo LVIII, CCSL 103: 254-8.

27. 154r-155r: Homelia Sancti Agustini Episcopi De Contempto Saeculi. "Cum Enim Dormierint homines venit inimicus super seminavit zizania." Inimicus in figura homo dicitur ...//... si quis moritur non habens filium accipiat frater eius uxorem illius et suscitet semen fratris sui.

28. 155r-157v: Incipit Ordographia. Ordographia Grecae Latinae recte scriptura interpraetur ordo enim recte graphia ...//... Nam cum iustitia sonum Z littera.
J. Thurot, Extraits de divers manuscrits latins des doctrines grammaticales (Paris, 1869), 11-15.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

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The main sources for this study are the printed sermons and those sermons I have been able to consult in manuscripts or microfilms. Extracting information from them requires the use of a variety of other primary and secondary works, as well as a number of reference works on medieval history and its sources. A full list of the works used in this study will follow this essay. This essay will examine the most important and useful works, and point out the many desiderata necessary to fill gaps in our knowledge of the subjects treated in this study.

With but few exceptions, most of the printed sermons used in this study came from the volumes of Migne's Patrologia Latina. Migne and his many assistants put together this collection of sources from 1844 to 1903, and often had to use editions that were made in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries because no others were available. The value of these editions range from excellent to execrable. Because a particular "minor" work such as a sermon or sermonary is available in Migne, there remains an unwillingness to re-edit it. This means that much of the available sermon evidence in printed form has to be treated with caution. Morin's edition of Caesarius' sermons, which served me well for both the first chapter and for other purposes, shows what can be done in sermon editing. Perhaps the CCSL series will produce new editions of some of the collections found in Migne.

One exception to this rule is the excellent edition of the XIV homélies du IXe siècle produced by Paul Mercier. His work lists the manuscripts containing the sermons and provides the sources and Biblical citations used in each sermon. Other historians such as Jean Leclercq and Roger E. Reynolds have edited individual sermons in similar fashion in journal articles. Preparing such editions and finding a publisher for them is a difficult task given the relative inaccessibility of manuscripts and the economics of modern publishing. This helps to explain why the most recent discoveries of sermonaries made by Henri Barré, Jean-Paul Bouhot, Raymond Étaix and others have been published in the form of descriptions of contents, rather than full editions. These descriptions are very helpful in showing the investigator what is available for study, but unless ready access to the manuscript(s) in question is possible, they cannot replace editions of the sermonaries.

Until a few years ago microfilms were thought to be the answer to this problem. Unfortunately, some European libraries do not allow their manuscripts to be copied, and others are beginning to restrict the number of microfilms they will make available by raising prices to an exorbitant level and introducing complicated microfilming request procedures. The Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris rents microfilms at a nominal cost, but only when they have two microfilm copies of the manuscript desired. In the final analysis, nothing can replace a series of new scholarly editions of the sermons and sermonaries of the early medieval period.

A problem which awaits anyone attempting to prepare such editions is the state of the manuscript catalogues for most of the European libraries. This is another area for which the nineteenth century was the great age of scholarship. Some of these old catalogues are works of high quality--the two works cited below are cases in point--but others provide incorrect datings and inaccurate descriptions of contents for the manuscripts they purport to describe. Few public collections of manuscripts in France, Germany or Italy have modern catalogues assembled by trained paleographers which provide full and accurate descriptions of their holdings. The catalogue of the Vatican Reginensis latinae manuscripts, left incomplete by the death of André Wilmart, provides an illustration of what can and should be done for all manuscript collections. One alternative to the catalogues for historians seeking sermons is a work such as Germain Morin's edition of the sermons of Caesarius of Arles, which dates and lists the contents of the manuscripts he used. Forthcoming editions of the sermons of Augustine and Gregory the Great in the CCSL series will do the same. The historian who believes that a manuscript might contain sermons should also consult the yearly indices of Scriptorium, a journal devoted to paleography. The indices list each manuscript cited in Scriptorium articles published that year, and it is possible that an article will contain a list of contents for the manuscript in question. Despite these obstacles, most of which will remain formidable for the forseeable future, the study of early medieval sermons can be a profitable field for anyone with sufficient interest to overcome them.

Adequate editions of the other types of sources used in this study can be found because most of them have been edited at least twice since 1880. Most of the saints' lives for the period from 500 to 1000 can be found in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica series, in Migne or in separate editions. Chronicles, annals, letters and other literary sources can also be found in a variety of editions. Most of the important capitularies and councils have been edited in the MGH series, and new editions of the conciliar and synodal documents for Gaul up to 700 have been made for the CCSL series. While it is always possible to desire a new edition of a particular source, in general the literary and legal sources of early medieval history are readily available in good editions.

Guides to the sources and reference works are another matter altogether. Sermons are generally identified by their incipits, the first four or so words with which the sermon begins. Once a sermon has been found in a manuscript, the next step is to check whether or not it has been published and can be identified. Such identifications can usually be made by examining the published lists of incipits. Marco Vattasso's Initia Patrum supplies incipits for the works found in Migne or in other similar works published before 1908, and the Clavis Patrum Latinorum furnishes incipits for early Christian literature written before 750 and published in editions prior to 1961. These works are very helpful but somewhat limited: Vattasso's two volumes do not include anything published after 1908; and the Clavis does not cover the works of the Carolingian period. The editors of the CCSL series are beginning to publish companion volumes of incipits

for the works in their series, but at present these volumes cover only a limited range of sources. The section latine of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes has an enormous and useful file of incipits for both manuscripts and published works, but historians without access to these files will have to continue to use what works are available on the library shelves.

Other types of reference works are also useful but limited. The onomastic guides, such as Ulysses Chevalier's Répertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Âge, are seriously out of date and generally contain only the well-known figures of the periods they survey. Sermon authors are not included unless they are famous for other reasons. Pius Bonifacius Gam's Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae provides lists of the names and dates of all Catholic bishops up to 1879. However, some of his dates need to be revised and recent scholarship has brought to light bishops of whom he was unaware. Revised and updated versions of these two works would be very helpful to all medievalists.

In tracing the history of the sermon between 500 and 950, it is necessary to relate the sermons as closely as possible to the periods in which they were written in terms of both church history and more general historical developments. Existing works on ecclesiastical history sometimes help and sometimes hinder this process. Albert Hauck's Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, cited so often in the preceding pages, is old and stands in serious need of revision both for interpretations and matters of fact. The relevant volumes of Fliche and Martin's Histoire de l'Église appeared in the years after

World War II. They remain useful, but they are beginning to show signs of age in light of recent research.

Rosamond McKitterick's The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms represents a first step toward a new general work on the Carolingian Church. No such treatment exists for the Merovingian Church despite a recent re-edition of the Merovingian councils and synods. There is no reliable general history of preaching in the Early Middle Ages. Almost all of the works on preaching which I read skip from Augustine to Gregory the Great to the preaching orders of the thirteenth century. This is just as true for works written after the appearance of Morin's edition of Caesarius' sermons as it is for those written before it appeared. The nineteenth-century works by Cruel and Linsenmayer are much more helpful for the period between 500 and 1000 than are the recent works on the history of preaching.

There are few recent biographical studies of individual bishops and abbots for this period of history. The two biographies of Caesarius of Arles which I used were written in 1894, and surprisingly no one has taken advantage of Morin's edition of the sermons to produce a more solidly-based study. Biographies of Gregory the Great pay little attention to his preaching activities, and I was unable to find any specialized study of his sermons. Of all the Carolingian reformers, only Alcuin has been the subject of recent biographies, and both of them are over thirty years old. No one has yet studied the relationships between Alcuin and his pupils, or the effects of those relationships on the pupils' later careers. There are no general works on the Carolingian episcopate, and a prosopographical

study of this group would be a very valuable research tool. For most of these individuals or groups it remains necessary to go back directly to the sources or to hunt for specialized studies of limited focus.

One area of religious history in which a new work of synthesis should appear is the history of early medieval missions. We have at present a variety of old but reliable studies of the Irish and Merovingian missionaries, many of which I have found helpful and are cited in this work. The twelve-hundredth anniversary of Boniface's death in 1954 saw the publication of Theodor Schieffer's biography of Boniface and the volume of commemorative studies published at Fulda. In addition to these works we have the articles by Richard Sullivan on Carolingian missionaries and papal involvement in the missions, as well as the volume in the Settimane series on early medieval missionaries. These studies are solid and valuable, but they should inspire someone to provide us with a good single-volume study of the early medieval conversion process.

Many of the same problems exist for the general history of the Merovingian and Carolingian periods. No standard history exists for either period, beyond old and general surveys of the entire early medieval period. Students of these two ages are faced with a confused and growing tangle of specialized studies which no one has yet been able to synthesize within the confines of a single volume or single multi-volume work. Therefore, it is important to know the journal literature, collected studies and monographs well and to

supplement the older surveys of the period with, for example, such studies as the articles on particular topics in the KGLN volumes.

This lack of synthesis is regrettable, but it is not as serious a problem as is the lack of new studies of the leading Carolingians. No study of Pepin's reign has been made, and for this period we need a biography of Pepin as well as institutional and administrative studies of his reign. The most recent biography of Charlemagne is Richard Winston's Charlemagne: The Hammer and the Cross (1954), which is more popular than scholarly in nature. No one has yet taken advantage of the works generated by the International Congress on Charlemagne at Aachen or of the four volumes of studies it produced in Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben to replace the older but still useful biographies of Kleinclausz and Halphen. The reign of Louis the Pious is the subject of a fundamental reinterpretation begun by François L. Ganshof and continued by Thomas Noble, but these studies have not been used as the basis for a new synthetic treatment of Louis' reign as yet. Studies are also needed for the reign of Louis' sons and grandsons. The later Carolingians from Charles III to Charles of Lorraine are the subjects of solid but old monographic studies by Ferdinand Lot and others published in the Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes-Études series. When these gaps are filled, the task of writing any sort of Merovingian or Carolingian history will become much easier.

Early medieval intellectual history is one exception to this rule. M. L. W. Laistner's Thought and Letters in Western Europe remains a solid introduction to culture of the elite groups of the

early medieval period, and for other groups Pierre Riché's La vie quotidienne dans l'empire carolingienne provides valuable information and interpretations. I found Riché's two works on education, Education and Culture in the Barbarian West and Écoles et enseignement, to be very useful. They will remain standard works in this area for a long time to come. John J. Contreni's The School of Laon points the way for other studies of individual schools during the Carolingian period. On the whole intellectual history is the area of early medieval history which at present possesses the greatest number of most useful secondary works.

Bernard of Chartres, a twelfth-century theologian, once said concerning his debt to the works of his predecessors "we stand on the shoulders of giants, and can see farther than our predecessors." Anyone writing about sermons or about any aspect of early medieval history can gratefully agree with this statement. But unless we use this debt to past generations of historians more constructively, we will be in serious danger of standing too closely behind the giants and allowing their accomplishments to obscure our own view of the past.

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