PART II

THE CONTENTS OF THE CAROLINGIAN

BAPTISMAL LITERATURE

Introduction to PART II

In Part I the context of the baptismal literature in its earliest MSS. was examined. From the nature of the material repeatedly associated with baptismal tracts it was possible to establish the cause of our literature. The relation between context and cause has important implications for other Carolingian literatures whose cause has not been shown.

The cause of the baptismal literature is clerical reform legislation. This has been suggested as the reason for the multiplication of liturgical commentaries in the Carolingian period before this study. Here, however, the extraordinary extent of the association between Carolingian reform legislation and Carolingian literary productivity in the MSS. can be seen.

In light of its cause, the baptismal literature is able to tell us something about the reform legislation that so famously characterizes the Carolingian era. First of all, it appears that baptismal tracts, among other literatures that multiplied as a result of legislation to instruct the clergy and equip them with standardized texts, do not conform with the aims of the legislation. Baptismal instruction is not standardized and especially it is not Romanized.

In Part II of this thesis a significant feature of the baptismal literature, its variety, is examined.

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The reason for the seeming contradiction between the aims of the baptismal legislation and our literature is, at least in part, explained. By studying collectively the contents of the tracts themselves, just as with the MS. contents, the nature and the cause of the variety in our literature can be shown. At the same time, the study is a new source of information about the reform legislation of the Carolingian era in its purpose, effect, and implementation.

In Part II, the method of comparing the contents of our TEXTS is as follows. In focusing on the contents of the tracts as a means of determining the nature and cause of their variety, there are two essential compo-nents of the contents of the TEXTS. The first is their structure, shown in the sequence of chapters and selec-tion of topics. The second is their explanation or interpretation of their subject matter. The variety in the TEXTS in terms of their structure and then their explanation is studied in three separate chapters, each dealing with a specific group of TEXTS.

All of the TEXTS are exclusively concerned with the explanation of baptism as a liturgical rite. Every tract in our Inventory is a liturgical exposition in one of three ways. First, it may explain the entire liturgical order of baptism following the chronological sequence of the ceremonies. Second, it may explain only one

or a few associated parts of the rite. Third, it may
interpret the words of the prayers and the rubrics of
the rite in the same order these occur in the sacramen-
tary book. The first chapter of Part II compares the
contents of the TEXTS that explain the entire liturgi-
cal order of baptism, first in terms of their selection
and sequence of topics and second with respect to their
explanation of the baptismal ceremonies.

Chapter One

Baptismal Tracts Explaining
the Entire <u>Ordo</u> of Baptism

Of the fifty-seven TEXTS in our Inventory, thirty-nine belong to the first category of tracts explaining the complete liturgical rite. These comprise, obviously, the vast majority of the literature.

The liturgical rite of baptism is made up of a series of ceremonies belonging successively to the stages of catechumen, pre-baptism, baptism, and post-baptism. The word used to describe both the single act of water immersion and a sometimes extensive series of ceremonies before and after that act was "baptism". Depending on the rite of baptism followed, in the first stage of the catechumen the ceremonies might include: enrollment of the catechumen; scrutiny; exorcism; exsufflation; a three-fold renunciation of Satan, his work and pomp; the giving of salt; and delivery of the Creed. In the pre-baptism stage the ceremonies might include: exorcism;

the "Effeta", or touching of nose and ears with spittle or oil; anointing of breast and shoulder blades with a three-fold renunciation of Satan, his works and pomp; and recitation of the Creed. In the baptism stage the ceremonies consist of the Trinitarian profession of faith and immersion in water. In the post-baptism stage the ceremonies might include: donning of white garments; presbyteral anointing of the top of head with chrism; reception of a white veil; episcopal confirmation with imposition of hands and chrism on forehead; and first reception of the Eucharist.

The TEXTS explaining the entire rite of baptism are divided into a series of short chapters, each dealing with one ceremony of the rite or with a related topic, such as "catechumen" or "catechesis". Usually the ceremonies are discussed in chronological sequence as they would be performed. Often the TEXTS have chapter titles, such as "De catechumenis", "De exsufflatione", "De exorcismo" and so forth. Even if they do not, a sequence of topics is very obvious to anyone reading the tract. The selection and the order of topics in any given TEXT is one way in which the contents of the TEXTS can be compared.

On careful examination of the sequence of topics in each of the thirty-nine TEXTS, it was found that all of the TEXTS follow one of five structural models. While

there is, to an extent, an innate order of events in
the rite of baptism, just as in the rite of the Mass,
the sequence and selection of ceremonies described in
each of the thirty-nine TEXTS shows that their composers
were not guided merely by their memories, but that they
worked from pre-selected models. Our TEXTS have been
classified under one of five of the following specific
models. Seven TEXTS follow the sequence of ceremonies
of the Roman rite of baptism. Six follow a sequence
typical of a Gallicanized rite of baptism. Twelve
follow the sequence of topics in TEXT 1, the Alcuinian
tract beginning "Primo paganus". Eight follow the format
of topics outlined by Charlemagne in his baptismal ques-
tionnaire (TEXT 14), and four follow the selection and
order of topics of a florilegium that combines features
of the Roman and Gallicanized rites of baptism.

In Section 1, the variety of thirty-nine tracts
that describe a complete rite of baptism is examined
according to their preference for one of our five struc-
tural models.

Section 1:   The Structural Models of the Tracts

The structure of our didactic tracts is a very
important part of their contents when it reflects a
particular liturgical sequence. Two models given a

definite preference by the composers of some of our
TEXTS are the Roman rite of baptism and a Gallicanized
baptismal rite. The TEXTS using one or the other of
these models have certain distinguishing characteristics,
even if they do not always conform in detail to their
model. Before discussing the TEXTS modeled on a Roman
or a Gallicanized rite of baptism, these two rites must
be explained. Moreover, the discussion of the other
models and their TEXTS depends upon an understanding of
the basic differences between these rites.

   1) The baptismal rite of Rome known to the Carolin-
gians was contained in Ordo Romanus XI, already mentioned
in Part I, and the rite of the Roman Gelasian Sacramen-
tary found in Vatican, Vat.Reg.lat.316 (hereafter called
the Reginensis Gelasian Sacramentary). Both the Ordo
and the Reginensis were probably written in the sixth
century, although the earliest MS. forms in which we
know them are from the eighth and ninth centuries respec-
tively.   In this form, some two centuries removed from
its origin, the rite has undergone alterations that
reflect its use in Gaul. This can be seen by comparing
the Reginensis and Ordo XI with Gallican liturgical
books and with some late classical and sixth-century
documents describing the Roman rite of baptism. It may
be somewhat inaccurate to suggest that there ever was
a "pure Roman" baptismal liturgy, but in any case the

rite of Ordo XI and the Reginensis was Roman in the eyes
of the Carolingians, in contrast to forms of baptism in
other books they knew.

Ordo XI and the Reginensis contain essentially the
same actions and prayers for baptism, with a few diffe-
rences due to omission in one or the other. Techni-
cally, an ordo provides only the rubrics, or stage direc-
tions, for the actions the priest performs, while the
sacramentary supplies only the prayers of the rite.
Ordo XI, however, includes prayers as well, and the
Reginensis has some brief rubrics.

The Roman rite of baptism described by these two
Carolingian sources is as follows. The setting is Rome
or a cathedral city where the bishop presides, and clerics
of several grades are in attendance. The time is Lent
and Holy Week. All the action is geared to the comple-
tion of the rite on the night of Holy Saturday, the
Paschal Vigil. The candidates are infants accompanied
by sponsors.

On Monday of the third week in Lent the catechumens
are enrolled. The names of the infants and their spon-
sors are taken down by an acolyte (enrollment). [1] The
priest makes the sign of the cross on the infants' fore-
heads (signing). He imposes hands on their heads and
recites the prayer for the making of the catechumen
(blessing of catechumen). Salt is exorcized, blessed,

and placed on the infants' tongues (<u>salt</u>). The priest
then announces the time that the first scrutiny meeting
will take place (<u>scrutiny</u>).

In <u>Ordo</u> XI there are seven scrutiny meetings. In
the <u>Reginensis</u> there are only three. This discrepancy
is due to an archaism of <u>Ordo</u> XI which tries to preserve
some description of the ancient catechumenate. The cate-
chumenate of Augustine's day consisted of numerous scru-
tiny meetings. By the sixth century, when infant baptism
rather than adult was the more common, the scrutinies
were reduced to three during the three weeks preceding
Easter. The seven scrutinies of <u>Ordo</u> XI are thus only
a symbolic number for the many that were once held for
adult candidates. Seven, we are told, represents the
seven gifts of the Holy Spirit received in baptism.

The scrutiny meeting was actually a Mass held for
the sponsors. After the Entrance Antiphon the catechu-
mens were brought forward and the scrutiny ceremony
took place. Then the infants were dismissed and the
Mass continued as usual. The sponsors participated in
the Offertory and the names of the catechumens and spon-
sors were recited in the Canon of the Mass.

In <u>Ordo</u> XI the first scrutiny is on Wednesday of
the third week in Lent. The scrutiny ceremony consists
of: genuflection (<u>genuflection</u>); a signing of the cross
on the infants by their sponsors and by an acolyte

(signing); an exorcism recited by the priest while impo-sing hands on the infants (exorcism). In the same meeting these three actions are repeated three more times, every time with a different exorcism.

The second scrutiny, on Saturday of the same week, is identical to the first. The third scrutiny is on an optional day in the fourth week of Lent. This scrutiny was very special, and had its own name, the aurium apertio, or opening of the ears of the catechumens. At this scrutiny the catechumens were introduced to the four Gospels, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. The order of the aurium apertio is as follows: First comes the tra-dition of the four Gospels or traditio evangeliorum. Four deacons each read the introduction to one of the four Gospels, and after each reading the priest explains the symbols of the man, lion, ox and eagle representing the four evangelists Matthew, Mark, Luke and John (tra-dition of the Gospels). After this follows the tradition of the Creed or traditio symboli. The Nicene Creed is chanted to the catechumens by an acolyte, first in Greek, then in Latin. Afterwards the priest gives a short explanation of the Creed (tradition of the Creed). Last comes the tradition of the Lord's Prayer or traditio orationis dominicae. The priest recites the Prayer and gives an explanation of the words (tradition of the Lord's Prayer).

The fourth, fifth and sixth scrutiny meetings, on optional days during the fifth and sixth weeks of Lent, are again identical to the first scrutiny. The final scrutiny takes place on the morning of the Easter Vigil (seventh scrutiny). Here the pre-baptism ceremonies include: the signing of the cross on the infants (signing); imposition of hands and an exorcism (exorcism); touching of the nose and ears of the infants with spittle and the prayer "Effeta" (nose, ears); recitation of the Creed by the priest or redditio symboli (return of the Creed). Ordo XI omits the ceremony of the anointing of the breast and shoulder blades ("pectus" and "scapulae") and the three-fold renunciation of Satan which occurs after the "Effeta" in the Reginensis (breast, shoulder blades, renunciation).

Baptism itself takes place in the Vigil service after the blessing of the font. Ordo XI describes the blessing of the water, the mixing of chrism in the font, the sprinkling of the congregation and the collection of some of the water in small vessels by the people standing around the font (blessing of the font). Then the bishop ("pontifex") baptizes a few of the infants and a deacon baptizes the rest. The Reginensis gives the three-fold interrogation of the faith that accompanies the immersion (baptism).

Following baptism, the infants are immediately

anointed on the top of their heads with chrism by the
priest (<u>anointing of head</u>). They are given white garments
("stola", "casula", "crismale") and ten coins ("decem
siclos") and are vested (<u>white vestments</u>). Then they are led
before the bishop's throne where he confirms them with
the invocation of the Holy Spirit and with chrism on
the forehead (no explicit mention is made of the epis-
copal imposition of hands in <u>Ordo</u> XI) (<u>episcopal con-</u>
<u>firmation</u>). Finally, the neophytes receive the Eucha-
rist for the first time in the Vigil Mass (<u>Eucharist</u>).

2) In contrast to the Roman rite of baptism with
basically one form, the Gallicanized rite is a type.
It is represented in numerous sacramentaries compiled
in the eighth and perhaps into the ninth century, which
liturgists refer to as sacramentaries of the "Gelasian
of the s.VIII-type". [2] These differ quite radically
in the extent of their variation from the <u>Reginensis</u>
<u>Gelasian Sacramentary</u>.

When the Roman liturgy was officially introduced
in Gaul with Pippin's reforms, a Gelasian Sacramentary
of the <u>Reginensis</u> type was known in Frankish territory. [3]
A vast number of other sacramentaries, however, were
in evidence as well. These have a Roman basis but are
Gallicanized", that is, contain certain alterations
attributable to the influence of the liturgy familiar

to the Franks and to the creativity of the Carolingian liturgists.

In the course of time Charlemagne, in his efforts to standardize the liturgy, tried to obtain a "pure" Roman sacramentary from Pope Hadrian. The Gregorian Sacramentary that he received some time between 784 and 791, known as the Hadrianum, [4] was woefully inadequate, lacking many of the Masses of the year and prayers of the rites, especially baptism. The Gregorian Sacramentary had to be supplemented in order to be used in Gaul. A supplement undertaken by Abbot Benedict of Aniane between 810 and 815, referred to by J. Deshusses as the "Supplementum Anianense", [5] included a full set of prayers for the rite of baptism. These were drawn largely from a sacramentary of the "Gelasian of the s.VIII-type". [6] Thus the rite of baptism that eventually received official approval in Gaul was Gallicanized. Before, however, the Supplementum was composed or circulated, for baptism, the standard liturgical text promoted by the reform circle of Charlemagne was Ordo Romanus XI. [7]

The Carolingian reformers were not the enemies of the Gallicanized sacramentaries, as J. Deshusses emphatically points out in the case of Alcuin. [8] In the eyes of Charlemagne, Romanity was perhaps the easiest way to achieve liturgical unity at the time, because of the variety of the sacramentaries of the "Gelasian of the s.VIII-type".

The rite of baptism of the Gallicanized type of sacramentary, despite the variety among individual books, has certain features that distinguish it from the Roman baptismal rite. In order to contrast <u>Ordo</u> XI with the Gallicanized rite that comes closest to describing the Gallicanized rite some of our TEXTS are modeled on, a specific rite, now known only in a later, tenth-century form, will be described. The rite is contained in the <u>Pontifical Romano-Germanic</u> (<u>PRG</u>). [8a] First, however, a short explanation of our use of the <u>PRG</u> is necessary.

The precise historical models of each of our six TEXTS conforming to a Gallicanized rite of baptism probably will never be identified. However, the six TEXTS in fact follow the order of baptism in a tenth-century pontifical more closely than the order in any of the sacramentaries published under the name of "Gelasian of the s.VIII-type". The explanation lies in the origin of the rite of baptism in this pontifical.

The book, known as the <u>Pontificale Romano-Germanicum</u> (<u>PRG</u>) contains the prayers and rubrics for all the liturgical rites that a bishop would perform. It was compiled at Mainz ca.950 from various Gallican and Roman sources. Despite the title of the <u>ordo</u> of baptism in the <u>PRG</u>, "Ex authentico libro sacramentorum sancti Gregorii papae urbis Romae", [9] the <u>ordo</u> is certainly not that of the <u>Gregorian-Hadrian Sacramentary</u> sent to

Charlemagne by Pope Hadrian, nor of its Supplement by
Benedict of Aniane. The ordo of the PRG is based on
an unidentified sacramentary of the "Gelasian of the
s.VIII-type". Evidence of this will be shown in the
course of Part II.

Three of the six TEXTS that conform especially
closely to the PRG are composed entirely of extracts,
with minor variations, from Rabanus Maurus' exposition
of baptism in his De clericorum institutione.[10] M.
Rissel argues that "the Pontificale Romano-Germanicum
contains a baptismal rite for solemn cathedral baptism
on the Easter Vigil and for infants that is very closely
related to the baptismal liturgy described by Rabanus
and to Carolingian missionary baptism."[11] No one has
traced the source of the rite of infant baptism in the
famous tenth-century pontifical, but Rissel at least
suggests that there is a relation between the baptismal
formulae used by Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mainz
from 847 to 856, and the baptismal rite that was incor-
porated in the PRG when it was compiled at Mainz a
century later.[12] Rissel states that Rabanus used a
baptismal rite as the model for his baptismal exposi-
tion in the De clericorum institutione that responds
to the needs of priests in the eastern part of the
Frankish empire who were actively engaged in missionary
work.[13]

The PRG actually contains three rites of baptism: a major rite for infants celebrated on the Paschal Vigil and two supplementary rites for pagans and sick catechumens. In the major rite for infants the entire sequence of ceremonies from the making of the catechumen to the reception of the Eucharist all takes place in one meeting in the course of the Easter Vigil Mass.

The first ceremony for the infants is the renunciation of Satan, his works and pomp by a three-fold interrogation (renunciation of Satan, his works and pomp). It is followed by a corresponding three-fold interrogation of faith in the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, the Holy Catholic Church, communion of saints, forgiveness of sins, resurrection of the flesh and eternal life (profession of faith). Then the infants are exsufflated, or breathed on the face, three times, with the exorcism "Exi, inmunde Spiritus..." (exsufflation). The priest then makes the sign of the cross on the infants (signing). He imposes hands and recites the prayer for the making of the catechumen (blessing of the catechumen). Then he exorcizes and blesses salt and gives it to the infants (salt). Again, the priest makes the sign of the cross on the infants and while he imposes hands recites a prayer of exorcism. This is repeated three times in succession, each time with different exorcisms, just as in the scrutinies of Ordo XI. Following this series of

prayers, the priest immediately recites the exorcism said in Ordo XI on the morning of the Vigil in the final pre-baptism ceremonies (exorcisms). It is followed by the "Effeta" ceremony with the touching of the nose and ears with spittle (nose, ears). Then the priest anoints the breast and shoulder blades of the infant with oil. This is accompanied by another three-fold renunciation of Satan, his works and pomp (breast, shoulder blades, renunciation of Satan, his works and pomp). The priest then proceeds to bless the font. The PRG describes the immersion of the Paschal candle in the font with the invocation of the Holy Spirit, the mixing of chrism in the water, and the collection of some of the blessed water by the people to take to their homes (blessing of the font, immersion of candle). The candidates for baptism are asked their names and if they wish to be baptized. They are immersed in the font three times in the name of the Trinity (baptism).

Following baptism, the priest immediately anoints the infants with chrism on the top of the head (anointing of head). They are given white garments and vested (white vestments). Finally, they enter into the Mass where they receive the Eucharist (Eucharist). Then the PRG states that if a bishop is present, the infants should be confirmed. Confirmation is done while the infants are held by their sponsors or, if older, stand on the

feet of their sponsors. The bishop extends his hands and invokes the septiform grace of the Holy Spirit over all the infants. Then he anoints their foreheads with chrism (episcopal confirmation).

In order to emphasize the "Gallican" nature of this rite in contrast to Ordo Romanus XI, two features of the baptismal rite in the PRG should be pointed out. The first is the elimination of a formal catechumenate over a period of weeks in which the candidates attend a series of scrutiny meetings. Rather, the ceremonies of the scrutinies are reduced to a symbolic liturgical ceremony immediately before the font where the main actions of the Roman Lenten catechumenate are represented (salt, exorcism, Creed). The second feature is the positioning of episcopal confirmation after first reception of the Eucharist instead of before, as in the Roman rite.

The shortened catechumenate and the postponement of episcopal confirmation may not have developed solely out of the practical impossibility in Gaul of frequent meetings or ready access to a bishop, although these are factors in the changes that took place as the Roman liturgy moved outside of Rome. Even, however, in the episcopal cities of the Carolingian period a reduced catechumenate and a deferred confirmation seem to have been normal. Indication of this will be seen in our TEXTS.

Having sketched the Roman *ordo* and a Gallicanized rite of baptism, the thirty-nine TEXTS can now be described according to their structural models in the following order: a) TEXTS following the Roman sequence of ceremonies; b) TEXTS following a Gallicanized rite of baptism; c) TEXTS modeled on TEXT 1; d) TEXTS following Charlemagne's sequence outlined in his baptismal questionnaire; and e) TEXTS modeled on a florilegium combining Roman and Gallicanized features.

a)   TEXTS Following the Roman Sequence of Ceremonies

In contrast to the rite of the PRG, Ordo Romanus XI has the following distinguishing characteristics. First, the scrutiny meetings are the context for all the ceremonies of the catechumenate. Second, the ceremony of the renunciation of Satan, his works and pomp is performed once, as one of the last ceremonies of the catechumenate before the blessing of the font. Third, the episcopal confirmation takes place before the reception of the Eucharist.

These features are found in TEXTS 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28 and 29. All have the three-fold renunciation of Satan, his works and his pomp at the end of the catechumenate (and not at the beginning). Again, all have episcopal confirmation before the Eucharist, if they mention both of these ceremonies. Finally, all have

a topic referring to the scrutiny. The complete reverse
of these features is in almost all of the TEXTS that are model-
ed on a Gallicanized rite of baptism.

These three characteristics identify the seven TEXTS
with the Roman rite. Some of the TEXTS follow their
model quite closely. TEXT 24, the treatise of Jesse of
Amiens, begins its explanation of the catechumenate by
quoting Ordo Romanus XI word for word up to its direc-
tive for the tradition of the Lord's Prayer in the third
scrutiny. [14] TEXT 25, the treatise of Amalarius of Metz,
states several times "sicut invenimus in Romano ordine."
TEXTS 26 and 27 refer to the enrollment of the catechu-
mens and the time and manner of their entrance into the
church, exactly corresponding to Ordo XI.

At the same time, each of the TEXTS varies from its
model. Their classification under the Roman model is
based on their greater similarity to the sequence of
ceremonies of Ordo XI than to that of four other models.
Further influences on the composers of the TEXTS must
account for additional topics, such as "catechumen",
"exsufflation", "credulity" (Charlemagne's question de
credulitate) and "competent". Two major influences are
the didactic purpose of the tracts to explain some terms
related to baptism, and the information in the sources
available to the composers. For these seven TEXTS, and
for the next four models with their TEXTS, a chart is

provided that lists the sequence of ceremonies of the model and the sequence of topics of each of the TEXTS. Discussion of the charts will follow each, although the purpose is not to speculate on the reasons for the precise sequence of each TEXT. In this comparative study of the baptismal literature it will be of concern first simply to see the preference for different models shown by the TEXTS; second, to identify those TEXTS in order to see why their composers may have chosen the model they did; and third, to discuss certain variations that are repeated by more than one TEXT.

Chart B , below, describes the topical structure of seven TEXTS in relation to their model. On the far left the order of ceremonies for baptism in the Reginensis and the order of ceremonies of Ordo Romanus XI are given, representing the Roman rite of baptism.

The first four TEXTS on Chart B are the treatises of bishops Jesse of Amiens, Amalarius of Metz, Theodulf of Orleans and Leidrad of Lyons. These four giants in Carolingian ecclesiastical reform efforts wrote their commentaries in direct or indirect response to Charlemagne's baptismal questionnaire. It has already been shown how Amalarius, Theodulf, and Jesse interpreted the questionnaire as a means to promote instruction on baptism according to the Roman standard sought by Charlemagne. The influence of Charlemagne's inquiry

on Amalarius, Leidrad, and Theodulf brought about an alteration of their sequences of topics from the sequence of <u>Ordo</u> XI.

These three composers describe the following order of topics: 1) exorcism, 2) exsufflation, 3) salt; or, 1) exsufflation, 2) exorcism, 3) salt, while their model has salt before exorcism and no mention of exsufflation. Charlemagne's questionnaire poses three successive questions on: 1) exsufflation, 2) exorcism, 3) salt.

Another variation from the model repeated by two TEXTS suggests a further influence other than Charlemagne's questionnaire on the composers. There are two places in the Roman rite where reference is made to the Creed. There is the tradition of the Creed (<u>traditio symboli</u>) in the catechumenate stage and the return of the Creed (<u>redditio symboli</u>) in the pre-baptism stage. Jesse (TEXT 24) and Leidrad (TEXT 28) place their topic "Creed" so that it corresponds with the return of the Creed, while the other five TEXTS place their topic "Creed" in a position that corresponds with the tradition of the Creed. One of the Gallicanizations of the Roman rite, it has been said, is the reduction of the Lenten scrutiny meetings to a single meeting immediately before the font. When Jesse and Leidrad equate their topic "Creed" with the return of the Creed it indicates that they are more

familiar with a simple recitation of the Creed to the infants in the immediate pre-baptism stage. Despite their expositions following Ordo XI these two bishops perhaps were accustomed to a much more simplified cate-chumenate than that of the Roman rite.

The fifth TEXT on Chart B , TEXT 27, is a letter of Bishop Angilmodus of Soissons to Bishop Odo of Beau-vais. It is one of our later tracts, written ca.860 (probably while Angilmodus was still a monk at Corbie). Angilmodus' instruction is not for simple clerics. It is a florilegium of patristic citations including ex-tremely abstruse typological explanation of the bap-tismal ceremonies. Angilmodus purposefully sets out the Roman "cathedral" rite of baptism for the newly appointed Bishop Odo, although he frankly states his inability to explain the reasons for all the ancient ceremonies. [15]

The sixth TEXT on Chart B , TEXT 26, is an anony-mous tract consisting of seventeen interrogations. The fairly sophisticated tone of this TEXT and its topics on the consecration of the chrism on Holy Thursday and the wearing of the veil throughout the Easter Octave suggest that it was not composed for parish priests in a rural setting. These topics are unique among our baptismal tracts.

The final TEXT on Chart B , TEXT 29, is another anonymous commentary. This TEXT conforms least readily

of the seven to the sequence of <u>Ordo</u> XI, but no better
to   the sequence of any other model. It does have the
topic "scrutiny" and its "renunciation of Satan" comes
closer to the end than to the beginning of the catechu-
menate ceremonies.

In conclusion, it is seen that only a very small
proportion of our TEXTS follow the Roman sequence with
any fidelity. Four of the seven that do are the trea-
tises of leading ecclesiastical reformers who worked
closely with Charlemagne and were very conscious of his
liturgical reform goals. Despite the Roman order of
the giving of salt before exorcism, Theodulf, Leidrad,
and Amalarius have the order of these topics reversed,
reflecting the sequence found in Charlemagne's inquiry.
This seems to indicate the influence of the Emperor's
letter on the three bishops who, perhaps because they
were responding to Charlemagne, used the Roman <u>ordo</u> as
their model.

Of the remaining three TEXTS, we know only the
destination and purpose of one, and it is not for cleri-
cal instruction at the parish level.

b) TEXTS Following the Sequence of a Gallicanized Rite

Chart ^{C}, following, shows the sequence of topics in six TEXTS that conform to a Gallicanized rite of baptism. Their model most closely resembles the ordo of baptism in the PRG.

Contrary to the TEXTS modeled on Ordo XI, the TEXTS following a Gallicanized rite have four distinguishing characteristics. First, none of these six TEXTS has the topic "scrutiny". Second, four of them have the topic "renunciation of Satan" first among the ceremonies of the catechumenate, associating this ceremony with the first of the two renunciations in the PRG, rather than with the one renunciation in the Roman rite before the blessing of the font. Third, the topic "exorcism" is not found adjacent to the topic "exsufflation" in any of the TEXTS. Fourth, all of the TEXTS place the topic "episcopal confirmation" after the topic "Eucharist", if they mention both of these topics.

The reason for the first two of these four characteristics, all contrary to the Roman rite, is the reduction of the catechumenate to a series of ceremonies that take place all at once immediately before the immersion in the font. For this reason the PRG has no mention of the "scrutinies". It begins with a simple two-fold profession of faith involving the renunciation of Satan, his works and pomp and a statement of belief in the

Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. This profession is the
only reference to the Creed. There is no mention in the
PRG of the formal tradition or return of the Creed.

The third characteristic, the separation of the
topics "exorcism" and "exsufflation", stands out because
it is contrary to the commentaries of Isidore, Alcuin,
and Charlemagne, who are among the most influential
sources of our baptismal literature. They treat the
exsufflation as part of the exorcism. The isolation of
the exsufflation in the six TEXTS on Chart C may be
due to the fact that their model has a special prayer
for the exsufflation ceremony. It can be briefly shown
that the exsufflation with a special prayer is a feature
of a non-Roman, Gallicanized baptismal rite.

The exsufflation in the PRG takes place immediately
after the three-fold renunciation of Satan, his works
and pomp, and the parallel three-fold profession of
faith in the persons of the Trinity: "Tunc sufflat in
faciem eius tribus vicibus dicens: 'Exi, inmunde spiritus,
et da locum spiritui sancto paraclito." [16] A baptismal
rite from a sacramentary of the "Gelasian of the s.VIII-
type" in Merseburg, Bibl.Domcap.58, s.IX 1/3, contains
the same prayer "Exi, inmunde..." also after the renun-
ciation of Satan and profession of faith. The prayer
is not in Ordo Romanus XI, the Reginensis, the Gregorian
Sacramentary, or the Supplement to the Gregorian Sacra-
mentary by Benedict of Aniane.

Turning to the Gallican liturgical books, there is
some indication of a special treatment of the exsufflation
ceremony. In the rite of baptism of the Bobbio Missal
(s.VIII) there is a rubric for the insufflation of the
infant after the opening prayer for the making of the
catechumen. This is not quite the same as the PRG, which
has the exsufflation before the prayer for the making
of the catechumen. Also, the prayer accompanying the
rubric in the Bobbio Missal is different from "Exi, in-
munde...". A. Wilmart knows no analogy for the insuffla-
tion in this place in the Bobbio Missal, and he believes
it is an Irish retouching. [17]

In what is traditionally known as the Irish rite of
baptism of the Stowe Missal (ca.800) there is a reference
to an exsufflation after the renunciation of Satan and
profession of faith, just as in the PRG, but no accom-
panying prayer is given. It states, "Exsufflas et tanges
eum, deinde tanges pectus [et] dorsum de oleo...".
Then, however, there is another reference to the renun-
ciation of Satan. [18] The order of ceremonies in the
Stowe Missal has been seriously upset, so that it is not
possible to tell the true location of the renunciation
of Satan in relation to the exsufflation. But it may
be that the exsufflation in the PRG and in other Galli-
canized rites like that of Merseburg, Bibl.Domcap.58
can be traced to the Irish rite. The four TEXTS 31, 32,

33 and 34 on Chart C with their topic "exsufflation"
("insufflation") after the "renunciation of Satan" or
"profession of faith" (sometimes called "Creed") and
disassociated from "exorcism" seem to know a Gallican-
ized rite in which a special prayer is found for the ex-
sufflation at this point.

The fourth characteristic of all the TEXTS, the
positioning of "episcopal confirmation" after "Eucharist"
is another feature of Gallicanized rites that has already
been mentioned.

Regarding the identity of the TEXTS modeled on the
PRG, the first three TEXTS on Chart C , TEXTS 30, 31,
32, it has been said, are entirely extracts from Rabanus
Maurus' treatment of baptism in his De clericorum insti-
tutione. This is based on a Gallicanized rite, which
may be the prototype of the rite of the PRG.

The next two TEXTS on Chart C , TEXTS 33 and 34,
are related. [19] These TEXTS are also based on Rabanus
Maurus for their explanation, but in their sequence of
topics they have variations from the sequence of Rabanus
and from the order of ceremonies of the PRG. These vari-
ations may be due to the specific model these TEXTS fol-
lowed, for it has been said that the Gallicanized rite
is a type of which there are many individual sacramentaries.

One variation concerns the topic in the PRG, "immer-
sion of the candle" (deponitur cereus). TEXTS 33 and 34

have a plural form, "immersion of candles" (deponitur
cerei). Another variation is their inclusion of the
topic "exsufflation on water", which the PRG omits.
Neither the immersion of the candle nor the exsufflation
on the water are described in any of the ordines Romani.
There is no rubric for them in the Reginensis, and only
the words of the prayers of the blessing of the font
suggest these actions are performed. [20] The two gestures
are not mentioned in the Gregorian Sacramentary (Hadri-
anum) of Cambrai, Bibl.mun.164, but various corrected
versions of the Hadrianum do contain rubrics for them.
It is noteworthy that all of the MSS. of these corrected
versions that have the plural form, cerei, referring to
the immersion of more than one candle, are MSS. that also
contain the Supplement to the Gregorian Sacramentary by
Benedict of Aniane. [21] The Supplement is based on a
sacramentary of the "Gelasian of the s.VIII-type", which
J. Deshusses believes is the Sacramentary of Gellone, or
a type very similar to it. [22]

In the Sacramentary of Gellone it states, "Hic deponun-
tur acoliti cereos duos quas tenere videntur intro fontes
in ipsa aqua...et insufflat sacerdus (sic) ter vitibus
[vicibus] in aqua hoc modo..." [23] The Gellone Sacramen-
tary was probably not the specific model used by TEXTS
33 and 34 because, despite some Gallicanizations, the
Gellone Sacramentary has a full description of the Roman

scrutinies not mentioned in our TEXTS. The inclusion of
the two gestures, and especially the plural form of
"candles", however, do point to a specific Gallicanized
sacramentary reflected in TEXTS 33 and 34. It is signi-
ficant that while their composers were mostly content
to extract from Rabanus, nevertheless they made certain
alterations. It seems that the alterations are the
direct influence of a sacramentary familiar to them.
Moreover, these alterations prove that the TEXTS of our
literature that conform to a "Gallicanized" model do not
do so only because they are extracts from Rabanus Maurus
whose baptismal exposition is based on a Gallicanized
type of sacramentary. This is seen very clearly in
the sixth TEXT on Chart C , which has no association
with Rabanus Maurus.

TEXT 35 is an abbreviated form, with some variations,
of the treatise of Leidrad of Lyons (TEXT 28). It will
be shown later in this thesis that the composer of TEXT
35 worked directly from a MS. containing Leidrad's trea-
tise. It is to be noticed, however, that Leidrad's
TEXT conforms to the Roman sequence of ceremonies, while
TEXT 35 is classified here with TEXTS that follow a
Gallicanized sequence.

Leidrad, addressing his commentary to Charlemagne,
followed Ordo XI perhaps because he wished to comply with
the aims of the Emperor's liturgical reform legislation.

The composer of TEXT 35, however, was not addressing
Charlemagne. This TEXT is part of an <u>interrogatio sacer-</u>
<u>dotalis</u> in a clerical manual intended for priests. From
another MS. he condensed and altered the material to
compose a brief clerical instruction. For baptism, he
used Leidrad's treatise in his model MS., simply extrac-
ting a small part of the explanation under almost every
one of the topics in Leidrad's work. The composer of
TEXT 35, however, was not entirely happy with Leidrad's
sequence of ceremonies. A comparison of Leidrad's sequence
of topics on Chart B and the sequence of topics of TEXT
35 on Chart C shows the following significant differences:

First, Leidrad has the order: 1) "exorcism and exsuf-
flation", 2) "salt", 3) "competents", 4) "scrutiny". TEXT
35, on the other hand, has the order: 1) exorcism and ex-
sufflation, 2) "competents", 3) "salt" and no mention of
the "scrutiny". Leidrad's positioning of "competents"
after "salt" reflects the Roman rite where the ceremonies
of the catechumenate take place over a period of time.
One became a "competent" after receiving the Creed and
weeks after the giving of salt. The Roman rite is again
reflected in Leidrad's inclusion of the topic "scrutiny".
For the composer of TEXT 35, however, "competents" has
no real significance. It is put in an illogical order
before "salt". The composer simply omits the topic "scrutiny"
altogether.

Second, Leidrad has the order of topics: 1) "renunciation", 2) "Creed", 3) "credulity", and 4) "baptism"; while TEXT 35 has the order of topics: 1) renunciation; and 2) "font". Leidrad's sequence reflects the Roman order where the Creed is returned after the renunciation of Satan in the pre-baptism ceremonies on the morning of the Easter Vigil. (Leidrad has included "credulity" here as well because of Charlemagne's inquiry on this topic after his question on "Creed".) TEXT 35 omits the topics "Creed" and "credulity" so that the renunciation is directly before "font". This is the order of the PRG, which has the blessing of the font immediately after "renunciation" and no reference to the Creed.

Third, while Leidrad follows the Roman order of episcopal confirmation before the Eucharist, TEXT 35 has this order reversed in accordance with the Gallicanized sequence of ceremonies.

Thus, in three ways it is seen that even though the composer of TEXT 35 is almost entirely dependent on Leidrad for his explanation of the baptismal ceremonies, in the structure of his topics he has varied from Leidrad in order to conform to a Gallicanized rite of baptism. His instruction was intended for parish priests who were not familiar with a rite involving "scrutinies" and "competents", and whose celebration would be performed without a bishop and without the possibility of immediate episcopal confirmation.

This composer did not copy his model blindly, but conscientiously modified it to respond to the needs of the priests for whom he wrote. A treatise written for Charlemagne and describing the Roman rite was transformed into a clerical instruction for parish priests according, we must assume, to the sacramentary in use in their locale. TEXT 35 epitomizes one reason for the variety among the baptismal literature displayed by all six TEXTS that follow a Gallicanized rite of baptism. These TEXTS are responding to the needs of priests familiar with a specific order of ceremonies. In doing so, it may be added, the TEXTS of this group show the very real and useful purpose the baptismal tracts had in the implementation of clerical educational reform.

c)   TEXTS Modeled on TEXT 1.

Twelve of our TEXTS are modeled on TEXT 1. Not only does the tract beginning "Primo paganus" have by far the most MS. witnesses of any Carolingian treatise on baptism, but it has the most exemplars of any structural model among the baptismal literature. In the case of these twelve TEXTS, they not only follow almost identically the sequence and selection of topics described in TEXT 1, but they also copy word for word a large percentage of its explanations of the rite.

The variations of the twelve TEXTS that distinguish

them from mere copies of TEXT 1 are minor, but they are
intentional. They include rearrangement of the sequence
of topics, and supplementation and partial substitution
of the explanation under the topics. In order to show
the variations of each of the twelve TEXTS in relation
to TEXT 1, Chart D describes their sequences, but a dif-
ferent system from Charts B and C is used. Because of
the extent of the similarity of the twelve TEXTS with
TEXT 1, the topics of TEXT 1 with their explanation have
been assigned a number and the contents of the twelve
TEXTS described by those numbers. A "v" is placed beside
a number if there is a variation of that topic. An aste-
risk beside a number indicates that the TEXT has supple-
mented that topic with more explanation than is in TEXT 1.
If a TEXT substitutes an entirely different explanation
of a topic for the explanation of that topic in TEXT 1,
or if a TEXT includes a topic not mentioned in TEXT 1,
that topic is written out instead of represented by a
number.

TEXT 1 is quite brief, and in order to describe it,
the following is a complete translation of the tract.
(The numbers and the words in parentheses will be used
on Chart D.)

1. (catechumen, renunciation) First a pagan becomes
    a catechumen so that he renounces the devil and
    his pomp.

2. (exsufflation) He is exsufflated so that the
    devil is forced out and a place for God is prepared.

3. (exorcism) The devil is exorcized or conjured
    to depart and make room for God.

4. (salt) The catechumen receives salt, a symbol
    of divine wisdom, so that his filthy sin is
    washed away.

5. (Creed) He is given the Apostles' Creed to deco-
    rate the home now empty [of Satan] in preparation
    for God's dwelling there.

6. (scrutiny) Scrutinies are repeatedly done to
    examine whether the words of faith have been
    firmly fixed in his heart.

7. (nose) His nostrils are touched to indicate that
    as long as he breathes he may endure in the faith
    that he has received.

8. (breast) His breast is anointed with oil in the
    sign of the cross so that the devil cannot enter
    [into his heart].

9. (shoulder blades) His shoulder blades are also
    anointed so that he is armed [against Satan] on
    all sides.

10. (breast and shoulder blades) Also by the anoin-
    ting of the breast and shoulder blades firmness
    of faith and perseverance in good works is signi-
    fied.

11. (baptism) Then he is baptized in the name of the
    Holy Trinity with a triple immersion,

12. (baptism) because it is right that he be renewed
    to the same image of the Trinity to which he was
    first created and, because he died through the
    third grade of sin, [i.e.] consent, it is right
    that he should be restored to life by the third
    rising from the font.

13. (white vestment) A white vestment is given to him
    signifying the joy of his rebirth, his chastity
    and angelic beauty.

14. (anointing of head with chrism, and veil) His
    head is anointed with chrism and covered with a
    mystic veil (mystica velamine) to remind him that
    he now possesses a royal and priestly dignity.

15. (<u>anointing of head with chrism</u>, and <u>veil</u>) As the Apostle said, "You are a royal and priestly people, offering yourselves to the living God, a holy sacrifice pleasing to him."

16. (<u>Eucharist</u>) He is confirmed with the Lord's Body and Blood so that he fully becomes a member of Christ.

17. (<u>episcopal confirmation</u>) Finally, he receives the septiform gift of the Holy Spirit through the imposition of the bishop's hands in order to strengthen him to preach to others.

The following features of TEXT 1 may have been noticed. First, the renunciation of Satan is mentioned in the first sentence, corresponding to the first ceremony of the catechumenate in the rite of the <u>PRG</u>. Second, TEXT 1 states that the Apostles' Creed, not the Nicene as in <u>Ordo</u> XI, is delivered to the catechumen. Third, the topic "scrutiny" is not mentioned until after all the topics that pertain to the scrutinies in the Roman rite, indicating that the scrutiny has no liturgical significance in TEXT 1. Fourth, the episcopal confirmation is described last, after the Eucharist.

TEXT 1, in fact, follows a Gallicanized rite of baptism. Yet this is the TEXT that in Part I was shown to have such an important place in the official program of clerical educational reform. It was recognized as the work of Alcuin and approved by him in a letter to monks in Septimania. It was used by Charlemagne to compose his baptismal questionnaire and is closely associated with

Charlemagne's baptismal legislation in St. Gall, SB 222.

After examining the actual sequence of topics of TEXT 1, there seems to be a major contradiction. The tract that was written or at least promoted by Alcuin, used by Charlemagne, and associated with his clerical reform legislation, in fact does not describe the Roman order of baptism. If the official policy was conformity to the Roman rite, why the seeming approval of TEXT 1?

It is possible to make a case along the following lines that TEXT 1 was not actually used by Alcuin or Charlemagne in the context of clerical reform. First, it was said that the widespread use of the tract was due to its association with the legislation. But now it can be seen that another reason for its popularity may be its similarity to the rite of baptism known to priests in most of the Frankish empire. Second, although Charlemagne used TEXT 1 to compose his questionnaire on baptism for his archbishops, he altered its liturgical sequence of topics so that the order of questions he posed did not conform to any liturgical sequence. Moreover, he omitted the topic of episcopal confirmation, whose position after the Eucharist in TEXT 1 is a Gallican characteristic. In other words, Charlemagne may have found TEXT 1 useful to compose his inquiry, but tried to avoid an implication of non-Romanity in his sequence of questions. Third, Alcuin, if indeed he was the composer of TEXT 1, wrote

it to describe the order of baptism for a pagan convert: "Primo paganus...". It is clear from the twelve TEXTS modeled on TEXT 1 and from Charlemagne himself, that "Primo paganus" was being used in the Carolingian period to describe the order of normal infant baptism. Some of the TEXTS omit the word "paganus". Others substitute "infantes" or "parvuli". Alcuin, however, with a pagan convert probably in a missionary area in mind, would have been forced to alter the Roman rite, requiring weekly meetings and a bishop, for the special situation of a pagan convert. It would not mean, therefore, that he was promoting "Primo paganus" for use in normal situations. Fourth, in his letter to monks in Septimania, after TEXT 1 Alcuin continues to say that the baptismal commentary conforms to the orthodox Roman tradition. However, the purpose of TEXT 1 in the letter to monks in Septimania was to impress upon them the necessity of triple immersion. This is what was "orthodox" and "Roman" about TEXT 1, in contrast to the Spanish custom of a single immersion. This custom was apparently influencing the monks in Septimania on the border of the Spanish March.

On the other hand, the fact that TEXT 1 describes a Gallicanized rite of baptism perhaps was not contradictory in Charlemagne's or Alcuin's mind to a program of liturgical reform. Charlemagne's ultimate purpose in imposing Roman texts was probably not Romanity, but

uniformity through standard, ecclesiastically approved
texts. [24] The legislation regarding baptism clearly
demanded conformity to the Roman ordo. Must it be con-
cluded that the aims outlined in the legislation and its
practical interpretation and implementation could be
different, even for the leaders of the reforms?

In short, regarding the Carolingian notion of Roman-
ity: 1) Alcuin was never the enemy of the sacramentary
of the "Gelasian of the s.VIII-type", but used it freely
in his liturgical compositions; [25] 2) Charlemagne was
probably well aware after receiving the Gregorian Sacra-
mentary from Pope Hadrian that the baptismal rite was
inadequate. Perhaps in the minds of the two leading secu-
lar and ecclesiastical figures of the Carolingian age,
some Gallicanization was not contrary to the Roman tradi-
tion, but was a perfectly natural and even necessary ad-
justment when Roman texts were applied on Frankish soil.
There are problems with this suggestion, however, because
Ordo XI, despite its lack of suitability, was an available
text used by some of our composers and "Primo paganus"
is an instruction on baptism that very clearly does not
explain Ordo XI.

Another possibility is that TEXT 1 received official
approval despite the legislation because it was an instruc-
tion that met the needs of the priests, and clerical edu-
cation was a higher priority than liturgical conformity to Rome,

to Rome. The twelve TEXTS that are variations of TEXT 1 seem to have altered their model because clerical education was their chief priority. It will be seen that the composers of these twelve TEXTS simply wished to bring TEXT 1 to the priests in a form that was a little more suited to their needs. A description of their variations, using Chart D , following, will show how.

All twelve TEXTS are anonymous. Two, TEXTS 12 and 13, are addressed to Charlemagne in response to his questionnaire. These may or may not ever have been intended for the Emperor. The first variation, shown in five of the TEXTS, is the recasting of TEXT 1 into interrogatory-response form. This and their anonymity indicate that they were intended for parish priests as part of clerical instruction handbooks.

Most of the variations consist of supplementing the very brief explanations provided by TEXT 1 for each ceremony. Only one of the twelve TEXTS (TEXT 7) omits any of the topics of TEXT 1. Eleven TEXTS supplement the topic "catechumen", and nine include more explanation on the topic "renunciation" than is in the model. Eight TEXTS add to or substitute the topic "Creed". Six TEXTS supplement or substitute the explanation of "scrutiny". Five supplement or substitute the topic "exorcism". Four TEXTS add more to or substitute the explanation of "salt". Three supplement "nose", three supplement "baptism", and three

supplement "white robes". Two TEXTS add to "shoulder blades". Only one TEXT adds to the topics of "breast" and "Eucharist". Most of the supplementary material comes from Isidore, although often he is not quoted directly.

Some of the TEXTS have an entirely new topic, not in TEXT 1. These are: "ears" in three TEXTS, "credulity" in four TEXTS, and "competents" in one TEXT. The touching of the ears is inseparable from the touching of the nose in the "Effeta" ceremony, and probably TEXT 1 omitted it for brevity's sake. "Credulity" is a topic introduced by Charlemagne in his questionnaire, which has influenced some of these TEXTS. The third added topic, "competents", is probably due to the influence of Isidore.

Four TEXTS alter the sequence of topics in their model. The topic "scrutiny" is repositioned most frequently. This may indicate that the term had no liturgical significance for our composers, and could be put anywhere. The supplementary definitions of "scrutiny" explain it literally as an examination, not related to exorcism, but to the Creed. Possibly our composers associated the scrutiny with the examination of the sponsors' knowledge of the Creed. [26]

Another alteration in the sequence of the model concerns the topic "Creed", which one TEXT places immediately before baptism. Its composer perhaps equated the "Creed" with the profession of faith at the font instead of with the

formal tradition of the Creed. Another TEXT (TEXT 12) supplements the topic "Creed" with the Credal interrogation said at the font.

Generally, all of the TEXTS have a fair amount of variation for the first part of TEXT 1, but almost none for the second half. Perhaps the ceremonies of the catechumenate raised many more questions than baptism and the post-baptism ceremonies. This will be examined in the next section of this chapter, on the explanation contained in the tracts.

It is significant to find the variations of TEXT 1. There was no necessity that the tract be altered, and there was pressure to produce the clerical instruction quickly and in large quantities. Nevertheless, those who were responsible for compiling the clerical manuals were not disinterested copyists, but took time to supplement or alter their model where necessary to better respond to the needs of the priests.

d) TEXTS Modeled on Charlemagne's Questionnaire.

The baptismal questionnaire sent by Charlemagne to archbishops of his realm in the closing years of his reign is a structural model for some of our TEXTS.

The questionnaire is a remarkable document both as evidence of Charlemagne's personal interest in the instruction and celebration of baptism throughout his realm and

also for the numerous responses, direct or indirect, that were written at virtually the same time across his empire.

After giving a translation of his influential series of questions, the TEXTS that are responses to Charlemagne and the TEXTS that are modeled on his sequence will be discussed.

In order to explain why the responses are for the most part not the TEXTS that are modeled on the question-naire, the historical context of Charlemagne's inquiry must be explained. First, in his questionnaire Charle-magne details his baptismal inquiry as follows:

(baptism) ...Thus we wish to know in writing or in person how you and your suffragans teach and instruct the priests of God and the people under your commission on the sacrament of baptism, that is,

(catechumen) why, first, an infant is made a cate-chumen, or what a catechumen is. Then, in order, everything that is done:

(scrutiny) concerning the scrutiny, what it is;

(Creed) concerning the Creed, what it is;

(credulity) concerning belief, how one must believe in God the Father almighty, and in Jesus Christ his Son, born and suffered, and in the Holy Spirit, and the holy Catholic Church, and so forth, as follows in that same Creed;

(renunciation of Satan, his works, his pomp) concerning the renunciation of Satan and all his works and pomp, what is a renunciation or what the works and pomp of the devil are;

(exsufflation) why he [the catechumen] is exsuf-flated;

(exorcism) and/or [vel] why exorcized;

(salt) why the catechumen receives salt;

(nose) why the nostrils are touched;

(breast) [why] the breast is anointed with oil;

(shoulder blades) why the shoulder blades are signed;

(breast and shoulder blades) why the breast and shoulder blades are anointed;

(white vestments) why white vestments are put on;

(anointing of head) why the head is anointed with sacred chrism;

(veil) and covered with a holy veil;

(Eucharist) why he is confirmed with the Lord's Body and Blood?

The similarity of the questions to TEXT 1 is not coincidental. Charlemagne undoubtedly used Alcuin's TEXT to compose his questionnaire. This is especially seen in their common omission of the touching of the ears, their repetition of the anointing of the breast and shoulder blades, and the verb "confirmare" in association with the Eucharist. However, there is an important difference between the sequence of topics in TEXT 1 and Charlemagne's order. While Alcuin's topics are arranged in liturgical sequence, Charlemagne's are not. His order of questions describes no known or even logical ordo of baptism. Moreover, there are omissions essential to the rite, such as the ceremony of the baptismal immersion itself and episcopal confirmation. In light of

this, it seems that Charlemagne did not intend his series of questions to be a description of the complete baptismal ordo. The itemizing of ceremonies in his inquiry was done simply to indicate to his archbishops the type of response he wanted, that is, a complete explanation of the rite according to its individual parts.

Probably Charlemagne's questionnaire was a circulatory letter received by all his archbishops because there are eight known direct responses. By "direct" is meant letters that address the Emperor and refer to the questionnaire in their prefaces. They include the baptismal treatises of the archbishops Magnus of Sens (TEXT 19), Maxentius of Aquileia (TEXT 21), Leidrad of Lyons (TEXT 28), Amalarius of Metz (and Archbishop of Trier) (TEXT 25), Odilbert of Milan (TEXT 39) and three unidentified bishops (TEXTS 13, 13, 22).

In addition to these there are a number of what can be termed "indirect" responses to the questionnaire. For example, Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, wrote a response to the questionnaire (TEXT 23), but it is addressed to his metropolitan, Magnus of Sens. Jesse of Amiens addessed a baptismal instruction to the priests of his diocese, which is also an indirect response to the questionnaire (TEXT 24).

Among these indirect responses might be categorized a group of anonymous treatises that reflect the selection

and order of Charlemagne's topics almost identically.
It is these latter anonymous tracts that compose the
majority of our TEXTS modeled on the questionnaire.

There are eight TEXTS classified under this model,
whose sequences are described on Chart E . Some of
the TEXTS follow their model very closely; others do not.
Three of the TEXTS are the direct responses of Magnus
and Maxentius and an anonymous bishop (TEXT 22). One is
an anonymous, incomplete synodal address (TEXT 15). The
remaining four are also anonymous tracts. The TEXTS
that follow Charlemagne almost identically are not, with
one exception, the responses actually written to him.
Rather, they are the synodal address and other anonymous
tracts. Magnus of Sens (TEXT 19) is the only archbishop
whose response to Charlemagne follows the sequence of
the questionnaire with any precision. Maxentius (TEXT 21)
and the anonymous direct response of TEXT 22 are classi-
fied under this model, but they do not conform very well
to it or to any other of our models. It has been shown that
most of the direct responses follow the Roman model of
Ordo XI (TEXTS 23, 24, 25, 28) or the model of TEXT 1
(TEXTS 12, 13).

In order to explain why some of our tracts chose
the questionnaire as a model, and why so many of these
are anonymous tracts not fashioned as responses to Charle-
magne, it is necessary to explain briefly the historical
context of the questionnaire.

Charlemagne sent his inquiry to his archbishops shortly before the five regional synods he convoked in Arles, Rheims, Mainz, Tours, and Châlon-sur-Saône in the spring of 813. The date of the questionnaire, ca.812, is determined by the bishops who responded. It must lie between 811 when Maxentius became Archbishop of Aquileia and the very beginning of 813, when Amalarius departed for Constantinople.

The five synods, presided over by bishops but assembled and guided by Charlemagne, have often been cited because of the important influence they had on subsequent legislation. The acts of the five councils are all addressed to Charlemagne, and the canons of each are very similar in theme. There are indications from Carolingian chronicles that a convocation of bishops was held at Aachen before the five councils. [27] A. Werminghoff suggests that it was here that Charlemagne gave the bishops who were to preside at the councils an agenda of topics he wished to be discussed and acted upon. [28] Following the councils, their acts were sent to Charlemagne, who issued a concordance of the canons of all five synods.

Whether the baptismal questionnaire was issued in direct preparation for the five reform councils is not certain, but the bishops unquestionably were told that baptism was to be discussed, because the resulting canons of the councils regarding baptismal reform are almost a repetition of some of the words of the questionnaire. [29]

The implementation of these decrees depended upon the diocesan bishops. They were to receive the decisions of the councils from their metropolitans and in turn relay them to the parish priests through episcopal capitularies and diocesan synods. Three examples of Charlemagne's questionnaire in diocesan legislation suggest that the document came to the bishops in association with the conciliar decrees of 813.

The first example is the diocesan statute probably of Waltcaud, Bishop of Liège (810-831). His first capitulary, like the first canon of Charlemagne's concordance of the acts of the five regional councils, is on baptism. Waltcaud reiterates almost word for word the text of the questionnaire, with two modifications. First, the text is now addressed to priests: "<u>Item alia capitula sacerdotibus</u> I. De ordine baptisterii qualiter unusquisque presbiter scit vel intelligit..." [30] Second, while Waltcaud proceeds to quote Charlemagne's series of questions, he alters their sequence somewhat. By omitting the topics "Creed" and "scrutiny" and by repositioning "credulity" and "renunciation of Satan", Waltcaud's sequence now corresponds to the liturgical order of ceremanies of the Roman rite of baptism. Not only is Charlemagne's questionnaire found at the head of the diocesan capitulary, but it is also altered to be a didactic instrument for priests according to the aims of the baptismal

legislation expressed at the regional councils and in Charlemagne's concordance.

The second example of the association of the questionnaire with diocesan legislation on baptism is the baptismal instruction of Jesse of Amiens (TEXT 24). Jesse addresses all the priests of his diocese and explains that his absence causes him to write the letter in lieu of holding a synod with them. [31] Müllenhof and Scherer argue that Jesse's treatise on baptism to his priests is a direct result of cap. I of Charlemagne's concordance of the acts of the five regional councils. [32] Jesse does not follow Charlemagne's sequence of topics, but some of the interrogations he poses are the same as the Emperor's. The fact that Jesse's treatise took the place of a diocesan synod suggests that his concern with baptism was due to legislation on baptism at a higher level.

The third example of the association of the questionnaire with diocesan legislation is the anonymous TEXT 15, which is a synodal address and follows Charlemagne's questions exactly, as far as it is complete. [33]

From these examples it appears that suffragan bishops regarded the questionnaire as a legislative document or an addit d... material. legal addendum. How did it acquire this quality in their eyes? Charlemagne's inquiry does not say that the archbishops are to make their suffragan bishops convene

diocesan synods and demand that their priests understand and explain the rite of baptism. Nevertheless, this is what happened. The reason it happened probably is that Charlemagne's questionnaire was included in the agenda of items to be acted upon at the five regional councils. When the acts of these councils were related to the bishops, it was made known that the questionnaire was the inspiration for conciliar legislation on baptism. Thus the bishops used it as their model for episcopal legislation.

The anonymous didactic tracts that follow Charlemagne's sequence almost identically might originally have been direct responses that were subsequently shorn of their epistolatory form and identity with a bishop and used as clerical instruction. More probably they were never direct responses to Charlemagne, but were the result of bishops' efforts at the diocesan level to see that clerics were supplied with instruction on baptism and were able to explain the rite. It is because of the association of the questionnaire with reform legislation that we have tracts that are not direct responses to the Emperor but follow his questionnaire identically. These tracts are, most probably, the products of the scriptoria where his model was used to fulfill as quickly and authoritatively as possible the demands for clerical instruction on baptism.

A few of the variations of the TEXTS on Chart E, following, can be summarized. There are five repeated variations among all the TEXTS: 1) The word "insufflatio" is replaced by "exsufflatio". This modification is probably insignificant. The next chapter will show that the terms could be used interchangeably. 2) The topic "veil" is omitted by TEXTS 16 and 17. Probably the "crismale" given to the infant with the white garment and ten coins (casula and decem siclos) in Ordo XI is the "mistico velamine" given to the infant after its immediate post-baptism anointing on the head in Alcuin and Charlemagne's TEXTS. Ordo XI seems to be the only liturgical text used in the Carolingian period that refers to a "veil". Reference to a head covering or an act of veiling is not found in the Gregorian or Gelasian sacramentaries or in a number of Gallicanized rites. [34] The omission of "veil" in two TEXTS could be due to their composers' lack of familiarity with it in a liturgical book. This would imply, as well, that Ordo XI was not the rite of baptism known to them. 3) Three TEXTS add the topic of the touching of the ears. Charlemagne probably failed to mention the topic, inseparable from the touching of the nose, because his source, TEXT 1, omits it. 4) Two TEXTS add the topic "episcopal confirmation". TEXT 20 places it after "Eucharist" in the Gallicanized form. TEXT 19, Magnus, places it before

"Eucharist", as in the Roman <u>ordo</u>. Magnus may have followed the Roman custom because he was writing to Charlemagne, or his order could be the order that, as a bishop, he observed. His office permitted him to confirm the infants immediately after the font, before their reception of the Eucharist.

TEXT 20 has another variation that reflects the <u>PRG</u> model. The TEXT has the renunciation of Satan before the Creed instead of after. This variation, in addition to the positioning of "episcopal confirmation" after "Eucharist", indicates the TEXT was influenced by a Gallicanized rite.

5) The final repeated variation is the positioning of the topic "baptism" at the point where it liturgically occurs in the order of ceremonies. Charlemagne, in fact, does not really ask a question on "baptism", although his opening phrase refers to the term.

In conclusion, the repeated variations in the TEXTS consist mostly in adding the topics of the touching of the ears, episcopal confirmation, and baptism, to make up for the most obvious omissions of Charlemagne's list of topics. Why Charlemagne omitted questions on baptismal immersion, such as its formula, method, or effect, and on episcopal confirmation, is not certain. Perhaps it is only because his itemization of ceremonies was not intended to be exhaustive.

If Charlemagne had been primarily concerned in his questionnaire with the success of the implantation of the Roman rite in Gaul, it would seem impossible that he did not ask about the triple immersion, because Alcuin had fought strongly against the infiltration of the Spanish practice of a single immersion in the south-western reaches of the kingdom. Nor could he have passed over the subject of episcopal confirmation. The Roman custom of a second post-baptismal anointing and imposition of hands reserved for the bishop alone was foreign to the baptismal rite of Gaul, and a number of different practices arose in the attempt to adopt the Roman custom in Gaul, including deferment of confirmation or presbyteral confirmation. The omission of these topics as well as the fact that Charlemagne does not refer specifically to the "Roman" custom anywhere in his questionnaire, or organize his questions according to the Roman rite, are strong evidence that the purpose of Charlemagne's inquiry was to promote investigation, discussion and instruction on baptism at the diocesan level, but not to impose the Roman ordo of baptism.

e)   TEXTS Modeled on a Florilegium.

Four TEXTS classified here under a fifth model are anonymous florilegia consisting of sentences from a number of Church authorities on baptism. The four TEXTS

are very similar both in their topical structure and in their explanation. Although the immediate model of each TEXT is not known, they probably are related to a common archetype consisting largely, if not entirely, of commentary on baptism from a sixth-century letter of a Roman deacon, John, to one Senarius. [35]

On Chart F following, the sequence of John the Deacon is used to represent the structural model for TEXTS 36, 37, 38, and 39. The main source of Alcuin's TEXT 1 is also John the Deacon's letter, so the sequences of these two models are very similar. Briefly, the sequence of John the Deacon differs from that of TEXT 1 in the following ways: 1) it has the topic "competent" after "Creed"; 2) it includes the "touching of the ears"; 3) it omits the "anointing of the shoulder blades"; 4) it has the topic "bare feet" (nudis pedibus) immediately before "baptism"; and 5) it omits the topic of episcopal confirmation.

These differences do not alter the fact that the ordo described by John the Deacon is a Gallicanized rite of baptism. This seems astonishing if it was written in Rome in the sixth century. Yet the renunciation of Satan is found at the very beginning of the catechumenate, the Apostles' Creed is delivered, "scrutiny" is out of its logical sequence in the Roman rite, and there is no mention of the episcopal confirmation before the

Eucharist. It is possible that this letter, at least in the only form it is known in Vatican, Vat.Reg.lat.1709 (s.IX, France), was not in fact written by John the Deacon in Rome in the sixth century. [36]

Because of the character of John the Deacon's letter, there are in each of the TEXTS certain variations from the model that sometimes reflect the Roman rite of baptism and sometimes the Gallicanized rite. The variations are as follows:

All four TEXTS add the topic "episcopal confirmation". TEXT 36 positions it before the Eucharist in the Roman fashion, while TEXTS 37, 38 and 39 place it after, as in the Gallicanized rite. It seems that the composer of TEXT 36 made a deliberate alteration in order to conform to the Roman rite, because the topic "episcopal confirmation" in interjected in the middle of a sequence of five topics, all on the theme of the Eucharist. Moreover, these five topics are not interrupted in TEXT 37.

TEXTS 36 and 38 position the topic "competent" before the topic "Creed". According to John the Deacon and Isidore, a catechumen becomes a "competent" after receiving the Creed. Perhaps the term had no significance for TEXTS 36 and 38 since the catechumenate no longer consisted of formal stages.

TEXT 37 omits the "bare feet" and TEXT 39 repositions it last. This topic refers to the ceremony of taking off

shoes before approaching the font. John the Deacon says it is an old tradition but that it is not recorded. [37] Presumably he means that it is not described in the liturgical books, because it is not in Ordo XI or the Gelasian or Gregorian sacramentaries.

TEXTS 38 and 39 place the topic "renunciation of Satan" immediately before "baptism". This positioning conforms to the Roman rite of baptism. Also, these two TEXTS omit the topic "exorcism". It was said that "exsufflation" alone without "exorcism" in TEXTS following the PRG model might correspond to a special exsufflation prayer found only in Gallicanized rites. In those TEXTS, however, the exsufflation alone followed the renunciation of Satan, while here in TEXTS 38 and 39 it does not. Since Isidore treats the two terms almost interchangeably, the omission may not be significant. Again, TEXTS 38 and 39 both add the topic "anointing of the shoulder blades" that accompanies the anointing of the breast. Their explanation of this topic is borrowed from TEXT 1. This source is also the reason TEXT 38 has a second "anointing of the breast and shoulder blades".

TEXT 36 alone adds the topic "return of the Creed" immediately before baptism, a ceremony of the Roman rite.

TEXT 39 alone positions "baptism" first and "tradition of the Creed" after "competent" and "scrutiny".

What can be concluded from these variations? TEXT 36 has two "Romanisms" and one Gallicanized feature.

TEXT 37 has three Gallicanized features. TEXT 38 has two Gallicanized features, one "Romanism", and two insignificant variations. TEXT 39 has one Gallicanized feature and one "Romanism", among other variations. All four florilegia are anonymous. Odilbert of Milan used TEXT 39 as his response to Charlemagne in 812, so it is known that at least TEXT 39 was in circulation in the northern Italian area before 812. Odilbert did not compose TEXT 39 because it is found in anonymous form in a MS. written ca.800 at St. Gall (St. Gall, SB 235). TEXT 36 seems to have a MS. tradition in the Tours area, according to Wilmart. [38] The earliest MS. of TEXT 38 is s.XI. TEXT 37 has a MS. tradition in northern Italy. Perhaps the fact that these TEXTS were used in different geographical areas is the reason they acquired their individuality. They were altered as they were copied in different locations. The result was a strange mixture of Roman and Gallicanized features.

Section 2:   The Explanations of the Baptismal Rite

In the first section of this chapter dealing with
the contents of thirty-nine TEXTS that explain the entire
liturgical rite of baptism, it has been seen that the
variety in the tracts consists, on one level, in their
preference for different structural models. In this
section, the contents of the thirty-nine TEXTS are examined
on a second level, their explanations of the baptismal
rite. In studying the extent of the variety within the
tracts on this level, this section will deal with two
major concerns. The first is to see what the explanations
of the baptismal rite consist of collectively, and how
much different information the TEXTS contain. The second
is to see how our tracts were composed and to what extent
they are interrelated.

The explanations of the rite found in the thirty-nine
TEXTS will be given in summary form. In order to do this,
the information contained in all of the TEXTS will be
listed topic by topic. It may be recalled from Section 1
that each TEXT has a sequence of topics. From a consensus
of all the TEXTS it was found that twenty-two different
topics are consistently treated by our composers. These
twenty-two topics will be used as a framework in which
to present the explanations found in all thirty-nine TEXTS.
In a few TEXTS there are topics additional to the twenty-two

that could not be more generally classified under, for example, the topic "catechumen" or "baptism". With these exceptions, the entire subject matter treated in all of the TEXTS is contained under the twenty-two topics.

It must be emphasized that the different explanations listed under "catechumen", then "competent", then "renunciation of Satan" and so forth are only summaries of the information found in the TEXTS. The purpose of the summaries is to show the scope of the information contained in all of the thirty-nine TEXTS collectively. Under the first topic, "catechumen", for example, there are listed: first, all of the different definitions of the word "catechumen" given by the TEXTS; second, all of the different reasons that one becomes a catechumen; third, all of the different explanations of how one becomes a catechumen; and fourth, typological explanations of the catechumenate found in the TEXTS.

Following each explanation the TEXTS in which it is found are given in parentheses. It will be seen that some explanations are followed by an extraordinarily long list of TEXTS, while other explanations are followed by only a few or even a single TEXT. Almost always, the explanations that are followed by a great many TEXTS can be found in Isidore and TEXT 1, the two most popular sources of information on which our composers draw. Any of the explanations in the summaries that can be found

in these two sources will be followed by "Isidore" or "TEXT 1" in parentheses. The purpose of this study is not to identify the original source of the information contained in the TEXTS. It is useful, however, to indicate Isidorian material or explanation from TEXT 1 in order to see how much information the TEXTS include beyond what can be found in their most popular sources. Finally, it must be cautioned that direct quotations from Scripture, which are scattered throughout some of our lengthier TEXTS, are not included in the following summaries. Only when our composers use a scriptural passage as an explanation, that is, when it is discussed within the TEXT, either to justify why a ceremony is performed or to offer a typological explanation, has the information from Scripture been included in the summaries. The use of Scripture will be discussed separately later.

A. Summaries of Explanations of the Baptismal Rite.

1. Catechumen.

A catechumen is: a listener (Isidore),(TEXTS 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39): a convert from paganism (Isidore and TEXT 1), (TEXTS 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18, 20, 27, 30, 32, 36,

37, 38, 39); one under instruction (TEXTS 7, 10, 12, 13, 19, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37); a Greek word (Isidore) (TEXTS 2, 5, 15, 16, 18, 20, 29, 30, 31, 32); an infant (Isidore) (TEXTS 16, 17); one united in the Church, separated from the pagans (gentilitas) (TEXTS 15, 23); not yet one of the faithful (fidelis) (Isidore) (TEXTS 20, 35); still sinful (TEXT 26); one with a free desire to confess Christ (Isidore) (TEXT 21); a debtor (TEXT 6).

The reason one is made a catechumen is: to be converted from idolatry (Isidore) (TEXTS 4, 9, 10, 11, 16, 18, 20, 25, 27, 30, 32, 36, 37, 38, 39); to renounce the devil, his works and pomp (TEXT 1) (TEXTS 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 12); to understand who he is in relation to God (TEXTS 25, 27, 36); to be taught Christian doctrine (Isidore), (TEXTS 10, 24, 32); to merit baptism (TEXTS 16, 24); to merit the Eucharist (TEXT 17); to observe ancient custom rather than to be instructed (TEXT 23); to learn to desire the font (TEXT 27); because the Lord said, first teach, then baptize (TEXT 23); to be converted from sin (TEXT 25); to have the benefit of a sponsor. (TEXT 27).

One becomes a catechumen: through a sponsor (Isidore) (TEXTS 16, 17, 22); through catechesis, priest's blessing and imposition of hands (TEXTS 27, 36).

Typological explanations of a catechumen are: the man born blind whom Jesus first anointed with mud ("fecit lutum...et hunxit [sic] oculos caeci") then sent to wash

(TEXT 18); the Jews baptized by John in a baptism of repentance (TEXT 4); the Jews who believed in Christ's name, but to whom Jesus did not yet confide himself (TEXT 24).

Of the twenty-six different explanations listed under "catechumen", ten are found in Isidore or TEXT 1. The other sixteen explanations involve nineteen different TEXTS. No one of these explanations is repeated in more than three TEXTS. This indicates that the variety of explanations seen above is not due to a few very comprehensive commentaries with a great assortment of information, but to the contribution of all the TEXTS.

Among the explanations there are some apparent contradictions, but not all of these are real. For example, TEXT 23 (Theodulf of Orleans) states that one is made a catechumen not to be instructed, but only to observe ancient custom. This does not agree with the definition in eighteen TEXTS of a catechumen as one under instruction. But TEXT 23 also contains the latter definition. Theodulf has therefore given both the classic definition and a contemporary one.

The two explanations of why one is made a catechumen, "to merit baptism" and "to merit the Eucharist", could reflect two different views about the importance of the sacrament of baptism over the sacrament of the Eucharist.

Jesse of Amiens said the reason one is made a catechumen is to merit baptism, but the author, place of origin, and date of TEXT 17, whose composer said one is made a catechumen to merit the Eucharist, has not been determined.

Isidore makes a point of distinguishing a catechumen from a _fidelis_. This is reiterated by two TEXTS, while two others say that a catechumen is united in the Church, separated from paganism (_gentilitas_). The TEXTS in general reflect a marked interest in the former religious beliefs of the catechumen. The expressions regarding paganism, idolatry, and conversion come mostly from Isidore, but their use could indicate a real concern by the composers of our TEXTS with problems of conversion and lingering paganism in rural areas.

There is reference in only two TEXTS to the liturgical procedure involved in making one a catechumen. There is no mention, for instance, of what prayer the priest should recite, or when this should be done. The aim of our composers for this topic, at least, is defining the term and explaining the purpose of becoming a catechumen, and not technical procedure.

2. Competent.

A competent is: one who has already received the teaching of the faith (Isidore) (TEXTS 22, 24, 27, 28,

30, 32, 34, 36, 38, 39); capable of baptism (Isidore)
(TEXTS 22, 27, 28, 34, 36, 38, 39); a seeker (petens) (Isidore)
(TEXTS 22, 24, 27, 28, 38, 39); one who has begun to live,
but is not yet born (TEXT 27); unworthy of participation
in the Offertory or the Eucharist (TEXT 27); one of the
elect (TEXT 27); an infant represented by a sponsor
(TEXT 32).

Competentes are to: seek grace (Isidore) (TEXTS 11,
22, 27, 28, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39); receive the
Creed (symbolum) (Isidore) (TEXTS 22, 27, 28, 38, 39);
seek baptism, membership in the Church, and service in
the Church after receiving the teaching of the faith, the
Creed and the Lord's Prayer (TEXT 24); give their names
and their sponsors' names to an acolyte (TEXT 11); be
scrutinized seven times (TEXT 39).

It was already explained that several of our composers
omitted the topic "competent" because it had no signifi-
cance in the Carolingian period when the catechumenate
was no longer a process involving stages of advancement
in the faith. Only twelve TEXTS contain the topic, and
this is the only topic for which no TEXT has a completely
unique explanation. Only TEXTS 11, 24, 27, 32, and 39
each contains some material additional to Isidore's expla-
nation. All of their extra information comes from Ordo
Romanus XI or John the Deacon. Even in these sources
the word competentes or electos is used interchangeably
with caticumines.[39] Already by the sixth century, when

Ordo XI and John the Deacon's letter were written, the normal custom was infant baptism and the catechumenate was a symbolic procedure for the infants and an occasion to instruct the sponsors. Competentes had no real place in infant baptism. In fact, TEXT 32 says that competentes are infants represented by sponsors. The fact that in most of the tracts the topic is omitted indicates that their composers did not copy Isidore blindly.

3. Renunciation of Satan.

Twenty-one TEXTS each define the word abrenuntiatio with two or more of the following synonyms: abominatio, detestatio, recusare, contradicere, despicere, relinquere, abnegandum funditus, abno, abdico, expello, renuo, refello, repudium dico, respuere, abicio (TEXTS 7, 9, 10, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39).

The purpose of the renunciation is: to reject the devil, his work and pomp (Isidore and TEXT 1) (TEXTS 7, 13, 16, 17, 19, 20, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39); to exchange masters (TEXTS 33, 34); to let grace superabound (TEXTS 19, 23); to leave the errors of paganism (TEXT 21); to break the yoke of the devil and serve God alone freely (TEXT 23); to cleanse the home of the conscience and prepare an entrance for Christ (TEXT 28); to

test the faith [of the catechumens] after the seven scrutinies (TEXT 25).

The renunciation is done: in a double pact (Isidore) (TEXTS 36, 38, 39); before confession of the Holy Trinity (Isidore) (TEXTS 19, 23); through sponsors (TEXTS 36, 38, 39); not to men, but to God and His angels (TEXT 28); with faith (TEXTS 20, 28); with habits, actions (TEXT 28); with oil (TEXT 23).

The renunciation takes place: first in the order of catechizing (TEXTS 30, 31); at the edge of the font (TEXT 26).

Typological explanations of the renunciation include: putting off the old man (TEXTS 18, 21); mud washed off gold before it is placed in the sack (TEXT 20); a coin stamped with the ruler's image (TEXT 24).

Only two explanations are from Isidore and one possibly is derived from Isidore and TEXT 1 (to reject the devil, his work and pomp). Although in Isidore's explanation of the catechumenate the term abrenuntiatio is not defined, our composers did not lack for synonyms. Perhaps the prevalence of this kind of explanation in which the meaning of the words is simply interpreted was not due to the copying of Isidore, but to a preference for very basic instruction.

There is evidence of an unusual concern with this topic. This is seen first in the fact that the composers

have defined the word "renunciation" even though it is not
defined in Isidore's explanation of the catechumenate or
in TEXT 1, and second in the fact that the list of synonyms
that an individual TEXT contains is sometimes quite long,
even though the synonyms are redundant. TEXT 20, for
example, includes nine of the above listed synonyms for
abrenuntiatio. This unusual concern with the renunciation
of Satan by our composers could be related to the special
concern of Charlemagne with this topic, or to the baptismal
legislation of the Council of Tours of 813, or to their
own concern with paganism.

In regard to Charlemagne's concern with the renunci-
ation, after he received Bishop Leidrad's letter on baptism
in response to his questionnaire, Charlemagne apparently
was dissatisfied with the Bishop's treatment of the renun-
ciation and asked him to write more on this topic. A second
letter extant from Leidrad to Charlemagne states in the
preface:

> Tunc demum non tam imperiali quam paterna admonitione
> innotescere nobis dignati estis, minus nos dixisse
> de abrenuntiatione diaboli, et earum quae eius sunt
> rerum, quam vestra pietas optabat. Intelleximus
> itaque post vestrum benignissimam admonitionem, quia
> de operibus et pompis diaboli multiplicius respon-
> dendum erat, quam de caeteris rebus....[40]

Leidrad goes on to say that Charlemagne is obviously
concerned with the works and pomp of the devil because
through them discord arises, and misunderstanding, hatred
and detractions are stirred up. The body of the letter

is a long discourse on the virtues and vices. In Leidrad's
perception what really concerned the Emperor was the harmony
of his realm.

A second influence on the special concern with "renun-
ciation" in our TEXTS could have been the concern with this
topic expressed in the reform legislation of 813. Canon
XVIII of the Council of Tours regarding baptism is only
on the three-fold renunciation of Satan, his works and
pomp. It in fact defines at some length the works and pomp
of the devil that must be renounced.[41] If this legislation
influenced our composers, it points again to the close
association of our tracts and the clerical reform legis-
lation of the first two decades of the ninth century.

A third possible reason for the concern with the renun-
ciation of Satan shown in our TEXTS is a real concern with
paganism, idolatry, or devil worship in some areas of the
empire. This is suggested by such explanations of the
reason for performing the renunciation as: "to exchange
masters"; "to leave the error of the pagans (gentilitas)";
"to break the yoke of the devil"; and "to serve God alone
freely". Moreover, there is some indication in the TEXTS
that this ceremony should be more than symbolic. TEXT 28,
Leidrad's treatise, states that it should be performed "to
cleanse the home of the conscience", and it should be said
"not to men but to God and his angels", "not only with the
lips", but "with habits, actions".[42]

In regard to contradictory explanations, TEXT 26 and TEXTS 30 and 31 do not agree as to when the renunciation takes place. In TEXT 26 it states that it is done at the edge of the font. This TEXT is modelled on the Roman order in its sequence of topics. TEXTS 30 and 31 say the renunciation is done first in the order of catechizing. These TEXTS are modelled on a Gallicanized rite of baptism.

4. Works of the Devil

The works of the devil are: idolatry (TEXTS 17, 18, 20, 25); homicide (TEXTS 10, 20, 25, 28, 35); theft (TEXTS 10, 18, 20, 28, 35); false witness (TEXT 10); detractions (TEXT 10); envy (TEXTS 10, 25); anger (TEXTS 10, 20, 25, 28, 35); the Apostle's list of the works of the flesh (TEXTS 13, 17, 25); whatever the devil invents or his members do (TEXT 16); sordidness (TEXT 17); the devil's militia (TEXT 23); prophecy (TEXTS 18, 20); auguries (TEXTS 18, 20); fraud (TEXTS 18, 20, 28, 35); fornication (TEXTS 18, 20, 25); drunkenness TEXTS 18, 20, 25); lies (TEXTS 18, 20); vices (TEXT 19); pomp and theatricals (TEXT 20); pride (TEXTS 20, 25, 33); boasting (TEXT 20); avarice (TEXT 20); banquets (TEXTS 20, 25); choruses (TEXT 20); the seven principal vices (TEXT 23); all that is contrary to the works of the Savior (TEXT 23); hatred (TEXTS 25, 28, 35); contention (TEXT 25); quarrels (TEXTS 25, 28, 35); dissension

(TEXTS 25, 28, 35); sects (TEXT 25); profane rites (TEXTS 28, 35); rape (TEXTS 28, 35); adultery (TEXTS 28, 35).

Texts 28 and 35 have the crimes of profane rites, rape and adultery as well as theft, false witness, anger, fraud, hatred, quarrels and dissensions. These TEXTS are Leidrad's treatise and its anonymous abridgement. Perhaps their selection of vices reflects Leidrad's concern for social sins that are disruptive of the community. Or, it could be a reflection of his awareness of Charlemagne's desire for peace and unity. Leidrad's archdiocese of Lyons, it may be noted, was a focal point of dissonant Spanish and Jewish factions in the Carolingian period.

5.   Pomp of the Devil.

Pomp is: pride (TEXTS 17, 23, 24, 28, 35); public ostentation (TEXT 26); the devil's elation, exaltation, power over a man (TEXT 26); the vain delights of this world (TEXT 13); idolatry (TEXT 13); vanity (TEXTS 23, 24); ambition (TEXT 23); arrogance (TEXT 23); boasting (TEXT 23); eloquence of words that is contrary to Christian preaching (TEXT 37); vices (TEXT 24); worldly people (TEXTS 20, 25); music that softens vigor (TEXT 25); base, super-fluous games (TEXTS 25, 28, 35); illicit desires (TEXTS 28, 35); insane rejoicing (TEXTS 25, 28, 35); immodest

wit (TEXTS 28, 35); temptations of the weak senses (TEXTS 28, 35); auguries, theatres, choruses (TEXT 28); the six sins of Adam (i.e. pride, sacrilege, murder, fornication, theft, greed) (TEXTS 24, 29).

Pomp is renounced: in a two-fold pact (TEXTS 23, 37); by the sponsor (TEXT 37); before baptism (TEXT 29).

The explanations of pomp repeat seven of the definitions under "works of the devil".

WORKS OF THE DEVIL		POMP OF THE DEVIL	
	TEXTS		TEXTS
idolatry	17,18,20,25	idolatry	13
pride	20,25,33,34	pride	17,23,24,28,35
auguries	18,20	auguries	28
vices	19	vices	24
pomp and theatricals	20	theatres	28
boasting	20	boasting	23
choruses	20	choruses	28
homicide	10,20,25,28,35	six sins of Adam (pride, sacrilege, murder, fornication, theft, avarice)	
theft	10,18,20,28,35		
avarice	20		24, 29
fornication	18,20,25		

Even though identical explanations can be found under "works" and "pomp", every composer had a different idea of what constituted the devil's works and what his pomp. Neither Isidore nor the composer of TEXT 1 defines these terms.

6.   Exsufflation (Insufflation)

The ceremony of exsufflation is a pre-baptismal suf-
flation on the infant by the priest, closely associated
with exorcism. The word "insufflation" is used by some
of the TEXTS instead to describe the pre-baptism ceremony.
In other TEXTS "insufflation" does not seem to be inter-
changeable with "exsufflation", but refers to a post-
baptismal episcopal sufflation associated with confirmation.

Isidore uses exsufflation and insufflation inter-
changeably when he is referring to the pre-baptism cere-
mony. In his Origines he states: "Whence it must be known
that not a creature of God in infants is exorcized or
exsufflated..."[43] But in the De ecclesiasticis officiis, he
states, "The power of the devil is exorcized and he (priest)
insufflates these (catechumens) so that they renounce him
(the devil)..."[44] Isidore compares the post-baptismal
sufflation to Christ's breathing on the Apostles to receive
the Holy Spirit. The explanations for "exsufflation" and "in-
sufflation" are listed comparatively on the following page.

Six of the TEXTS explain both terms (TEXTS 5, 10, 18,
20, 23, 26). In TEXT 5 it states that exsufflation is done
to prepare an entrance for Christ and insufflation is done
to receive the Holy Spirit. But in TEXT 10 it says that
exsufflation is to receive the Holy Spirit and insufflation
is to prepare an entrance for Christ. TEXTS 18 and 20 use

When the TEXTS use "exsufflatio" the following explanations occur:		When the TEXTS use "insufflatio" instead of "exsufflatio" the following explanations occur:	
(TEXTS)		(TEXTS)	
Exsufflation is done:		Insufflation is done:	
To cast out unclean spirits, fraud of devil, adverse power;	21,24,26,28 35,36,37,38 39;	To cast out Satan;	18,20;
To prepare an entrance for Christ (TEXT 1);	2,3,4,5,6,7, 8,9,11,12, 13,23,36,37, 38,39;	To prepare an entrance for Christ;	10,19;
So that evil spirit cedes to Holy Spirit;	31,32;	To cast out unclean spirits of the air with divine breath of Holy Spirit;	33,34;
To receive the Holy Spirit;	10;	To receive the Holy Spirit;	5,26;
To be vivified and warmed with a divine breath.	24.	To replace the old breath in a man.	23.
Exsufflation is:			
A gesture worthy of the Ancient Deserter.	25,27,36,37, 38.	To merit receiving Holy Spirit.	17,19.
The object exsufflated is:			
The devil, not the infant (Isidore);	20,21,22,24, 28,35;	With the prayer "Exi, inmunde";	18;
The infant.	28, 35.	By a priest;	19,23,34;
The minister of exsufflation is:		By a priest who is a vicar of Christ;	17;
An exorcist;	18,20,22,28,29;	By a bishop.	26.
A catechizer;	26.		
The method of exsufflation is:		Typology:	10,23,26.
On face with sign of cross.	23.	Christ breathing on Apostles to receive the Holy Spirit (Isidore).	

both terms, but always to refer to the casting out of
Satan. In TEXTS 23 and 26 insufflation refers only to
the post-baptismal reception of the Holy Spirit and
exsufflation only to the pre-baptism exorcism ceremony.

In twenty-four TEXTS only the term "exsufflation"
is used and in every case it is explained as an exorcism.

In four TEXTS only the term "insufflation" is used
(TEXTS 17, 19, 33, 34). In all of these it is explained
as an exorcism, although this casting out of Satan is
very closely associated with the entering of the Holy
Spirit.

In sum, there is obviously disagreement about the
use of these words, whether they apply to a pre-baptism
exorcism or a post-baptism reception of the Holy Spirit.
In six of the TEXTS both terms are defined, indicating that
for six composers the two words were not interchangeable.
This is contradictory to the information of Isidore,
despite its frequent appearance in our tracts. Perhaps
the contradiction between Isidore and some of our TEXTS
is the reason that the composer of TEXT 10 appears to have
totally confused the purpose of the pre-baptism exsufflation
with the post-baptism insufflation. It is easy to sympa-
thize with the composer of this anonymous tract, given the
variety of explanations for this topic that might have been
at his disposal.

7.   Exorcism.

Exorcism is: a conjuration (TEXT 1 and Isidore)
(TEXTS 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 18, 20,
22, 23, 24, 28, 35, 36, 37); a rebuke (Isidore) (TEXTS
2, 4, 5, 10, 16, 18, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 36, 37, 39);
a Greek word (Isidore) (TEXTS 2, 5, 10, 16, 18, 22, 23,
24, 28, 35); an adjuration (TEXTS 16, 25, 26, 28, 35, 37).

Exorcism is done: to cast out the evil spirit, (his
tricks, deceits, crafty trials) (TEXT 1) (TEXTS 2, 3, 4,
5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24,
26, 27, 28, 32, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39); to dispel darkness,
make room for true light (TEXTS 4, 22, 23, 39); because we
inherited death from Adam and are filled with fears and
errors (TEXTS 23, 28); so that the devil gives honor to
God (TEXT 32); to become a temple of God (TEXTS 17, 19);
to prepare for grace (TEXT 20); to serve the Creator
(TEXT 26).

The object exorcized is: nothing of God in the
infant but the prince of sinners (Isidore) (TEXTS 16, 21,
22, 23, 24, 25, 37); not the nature of the infant, oil or
salt but the devil who works through these objects (TEXTS
26, 35); the unclean spirit in a catechumen or possessed
person (Isidore) (TEXTS 4, 36, 39); infants (TEXTS 28, 35).

The exorcism is administered by: a priest (TEXTS 17,
19, 20, 22); the ecclesiastical grade of exorcist (TEXT 23);

the imposition of hands (TEXT 20); the invocation of the
Holy Spirit (TEXT 2).

Typologies of exorcism are: the rebuking of Satan
in Joshua (Isidore) (TEXTS 16, 18, 23, 24, 37); a purga-
tion by fire (TEXT 20); Jesus' healing the lunatic pos-
sessed by the devil (TEXTS 4, 39).

In TEXTS 28 and 35 it states that the infant is exor-
cized, but in TEXT 35 Isidore is quoted, as well, who speci-
fies that it is not the infant who is really exorcized,
but the devil in the infant. TEXT 35 is an abridgement
of TEXT 28, but despite its almost total dependence on
TEXT 28, its composer has independently added from Isidore
this clarification regarding the object of the exorcism. This
addition by the composer of TEXT 35 indicates that a clear
explanation of what the exorcism does was important in the
baptismal instruction. The emphasis on the devil and not
the infant as the object of the exorcism again could be related
to concerns with devil worship or pagan beliefs. The
structural alterations of TEXT 28 by the composer of TEXT
35 were done to respond to local needs. Perhaps the
Isidorian addition in TEXT 35 was also a reflection of
local concerns.

8.   Salt.

Salt symbolizes: the divine gift of wisdom (TEXT 1)
(TEXTS 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 20, 24,
27, 30, 32, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39); a spiritual seasoning
(Isidore) (TEXTS 21, 24); the sweetness of wisdom TEXT 20);
a medicine (TEXTS 21, 29); a preservative (TEXTS 27, 29,
36, 37, 38, 39); a relish or flavoring (Isidore) (TEXTS 24,
29); discretion and reason (TEXT 24); water (whence it
comes) (TEXT 24); an infant's first food (TEXT 11); know-
ledge of God (TEXT 29); the word of wisdom (TEXTS 16, 17,
36, 37, 38, 39).

Salt is given: to receive a taste of divine
wisdom (Isidore) (TEXTS 3, 4, 13, 16, 19, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28,
33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39); to cleanse the catechumen
of his foul and weak acts of sin (TEXT 1) (TEXTS 2, 3, 4,
5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 20, 24, 30, 34); for firm-
ness in faith (TEXTS 4, 27, 28, 35, 36, 37, 38); to make
Christ's grace, once tasteless, tasteful (Isidore) (TEXTS
17, 19, 23); to receive wise speech, intelligence (TEXTS
17, 25); to receive the peace of Christ (TEXT 24); to
cleanse the body and mind of vices (TEXT 20); because
Christ said, "You are the salt of the earth" (TEXT 21);
so that infants offered to Christ will be peaceful and
wise (TEXT 24); to arouse fervor to receive the grace of
baptism (TEXT 31); to be preserved for receiving a greater
grace (TEXT 32).

The giving of salt was instituted by the Fathers (Isidore) (TEXTS 4, 22, 23, 27, 28, 35, 37, 38, 39).

Salt is given: by a priest (TEXTS 21, 24); with prayer, imposition of hands, and Trinitarian blessing (TEXTS 27, 36, 37); with the invocation of Christ (TEXT 17).

Typologies of the salt of the catechumens are: Elisha's curing the sterility of the water with salt (Jesus' curing the sterility of the people with the Word) (TEXT 23); eating of salt symbolizing fidelity to one's king (TEXT 28); the salt that must be used with all sacrifices in the Mosaic Law (TEXTS 24, 26, 28); Lot's wife turned into a pillar of salt (Isidore) (TEXTS 4, 23, 27, 28); salt (from water) as an enemy of fire (Christian water initiation opposite of pagan initiation rite in fire) (TEXT 24); flesh preserver, medicine, cleanser, killer of vermin, and spice, all of which are needed by the catechumen spiritually (TEXT 29).

The explanations of salt as a symbol of wisdom, as a medicine to cleanse and preserve the infants, and as an infant's first food are found in the prayers for the ceremony of the giving of salt in the Roman and in Gallicanized sacramentaries: "...fiat [sal] omnibus accipientibus perfecta medicina permanens in visceribus eorum.... Accipe 'ille' sal sapientie...ut hoc primum pabulum salis gustantem non deucius [diutius] esurire permittas..."[45]   The number

of direct quotations of the prayers or rubrics of the
rite in our TEXTS collectively is very small. Hence,
these explanations showing a knowledge of the prayer text
are unusual.

TEXT 24 (Jesse of Amiens), TEXT 28 (Leidrad of Lyons)
and TEXT 26 (anonymous) compare the salt given to the
catechumen with the sal foederis in the Law. This is the
obligation to offer no oblations without salt (Lv.2:13).
The use of this analogy by Leidrad may be a reflection
of a problem that he dealt with as a missus of Charle-
magne in Septimania and in Spain, sent there to deal with
a number of problems that the Spanish Church created regar-
ding unorthodox liturgical practices and heretical beliefs.[46]
There may be some connection between the emphasis on the
necessity of salt by Leidrad and the fact that in some
parts of Spain the giving of salt to the catechumens was
not observed. Idlefonsus of Toledo in the seventh century
said there was no scriptural basis for this custom, which
he did not observe.[47]

Jesse of Amiens (TEXT 24) has a unique analogy that
seems to relate, again, to the theme of paganism. He draws
an analogy between the way salt leaps up and repels the
flames when it is sprinkled on fire and the way the Chris-
tian rite of initiation with water opposes the pagan initi-
ation rites in which infants are purged with fire.

9.   Creed.

Any Creed (symbolum) is: evidence, a proof (indicium)
(Isidore) (TEXTS 2, 4, 9, 10, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 26,
28, 37, 39); a sign (signum vel cognitio) (Isidore) (TEXTS
2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 12, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 28, 37,
38); a Greek word (Isidore) (TEXTS 2, 4, 5, 9, 13, 17, 18,
19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 28, 33, 37, 38, 39); a bringing
together of information by many people (Isidore) (TEXTS 2,
4, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 17, 18, 20, 21, 26, 28, 33, 37); a
pact between man and God (TEXTS 20, 21); a document to
avoid deception in business (TEXT 24).

The Christian Creed is: a confession of the Trinity,
Church and Christian dogma (Isidore) (TEXT 16); a defini-
tion of faith and a response to every heresy and error
(TEXT 18); a brief rule of faith (TEXT 20); a reminder of
the faith held by all (TEXT 20); an abbreviation of the
whole faith after "Love the Lord your God with your whole
heart..." (TEXT 23).

The Creed is given: to prepare against the devil
(TEXTS 4, 20, 39); to indicate who truly preaches Christ
(Isidore) (TEXTS 9, 16, 18, 28, 37); to indicate all know-
ledge of truth (TEXTS 10, 19, 26); to be memorized (Isidore)
(TEXTS 16, 19, 23, 28); to be retained in every church
(TEXT 17); to discern the faithful from the unfaithful
(TEXT 19); because it is fitting and useful (TEXT 23); to

believe and trust in God's unwritten pact with man and to be drawn to greater faith (TEXT 24); to prepare a dwelling place for God by furnishing the home now empty of the devil (TEXT 1) (TEXTS 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11).

The Creed was composed by: the twelve Apostles (Isidore) (TEXTS 4, 9, 12, 13, 16, 18, 24, 28, 36, 37, 38); the three hundred and eighteen Fathers at the Council of Nicea (TEXTS 18, 38); the Fathers who met in Constantinople in the time of Emperor Theodosius (TEXT 38); the holy Fathers (TEXT 17).

Typological explanations include: a pact made among merchants (TEXT 20); a sign of the anti-Christ in the Apocalypse (this is compared to the sign (Creed) of Christians that identifies those who know it with Christ) (TEXT 24); a password among soldiers to exclude the enemy (Isidore) (TEXTS 4, 24, 33).

This topic will be discussed following the next and related topic of "credulity".

10. Credulity.

Fifteen TEXTS include this topic, derived from Charlemagne's question de credulitate in his baptismal questionnaire. Under this topic all fifteen texts give an exposition of the faith. Of these, eleven have an exposition of

the Apostles' Creed (TEXTS 13, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29). Only one TEXT has an exposition of the Nicene Creed (TEXT 12). Three TEXTS do not contain a full exposition of a Creed, but have an explanation of the profession of faith said at the font.

Charlemagne, after asking about the meaning of the symbolum, asked:

> De credulitate, quomodo credendum sit in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum Filium eius natum et passum, et in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam catholicam et cetera que secuntur in eodem symbolo.[48]

The interrogation of faith at the font in the Reginensis Gelasian sacramentary is identical with the profession of faith outlined by Charlemagne in his questionnaire. Whether or not Charlemagne was looking for a complete exposition of a Creed, or just an explanation of the profession of faith at the font, is not certain; but most of our composers took the opportunity this question offered to provide a complete exposition of a Creed. The Creed overwhelmingly preferred was the Apostles', despite the fact, as was said, that this is not the Creed of the Roman rite. It is interesting to note that even the TEXTS that are modelled on the Roman ordo of baptism all have an exposition of the Apostles' Creed, not the Nicene. From our TEXTUAL evidence, it must be concluded that clerical instruction on the faith was almost entirely limited to the Apostles' Creed.

In the TEXTS Isidore is quoted profusely regarding the definition of a Creed, but under "credulity" he is

hardly used at all, despite the fact that L.II, c.24 of
the De ecclesiasticis officiis is entirely devoted to the
topic of credulitas, or, "de regula fidei". The reason
the composers of our TEXTS did not repeat this chapter
is probably that in it Isidore explains a type of Creed
similar to the Nicene. The chapter begins, "Haec est
autem post symbolum apostolorum certissima fides, quam
doctores nostri tradiderunt..."[49]

Despite the implantation of the Roman liturgy in
Gaul, certain indigenous traditions were not easily aban-
doned. Especially in a matter so essential to the people
as their Creed, it is seen clearly that clerics continued
to be taught the "Creed of Gaul". But this is not neces-
sarily contrary to the Romanity envisioned by the Carolin-
gian reformers. It was shown, first, that Alcuin's TEXT 1
describes the Apostles' Creed as the Creed that is delivered
to the catechumens; second, that Charlemagne's questionnaire
does not outline the Nicene Creed; and third, that the TEXTS
of three ecclesiastical reform leaders which reflect Ordo
Romanus XI nevertheless contain the Apostles' Creed.

11. Scrutiny.

A scrutiny is: an exploration (TEXT 1) (TEXTS 2, 4,
5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 18, 19, 20, 25, 26, 27, 29,
36, 37, 38, 39); from the verb "to scrutinize" (TEXTS 2, 3,

15, 18, 19, 22, 29); an inquisition (inquisitio) (TEXTS 10, 17, 19, 21, 26); an ecclesiastical custom (TEXTS 23, 27, 36, 38, 39); an inquiry (using the verb inquirere) (TEXTS 2, 16, 18, 29); an investigation (TEXTS 4, 23, 26, 29); an examination (TEXTS 5, 20, 23, 29); instruction (TEXTS 16, 22, 27); a probe (TEXT 5).

A scrutiny is done: to examine if the catechumen has retained the words of the faith (the Creed) (TEXT 1) (TEXTS 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, 19, 20, 27, 36, 37, 38, 39); to examine if the catechumens are firm in the doctrine taught by the priests of if they renounce the devil (TEXTS 11, 18, 25, 27, 37, 38, 39); to instruct (TEXTS 18, 22, 23, 26); to examine the intent or desire of the catechumen for falsity or wrong intention, so that the sacrament is not abused (TEXTS 23, 26); to teach sponsors the Lord's Prayer (TEXT 25); to cast out the devil, to be made a holy vessel for the Lord (TEXT 21); to illuminate (TEXT 25); to "pre-examine" what must be repeated on the day of baptism (TEXT 27); to be made worthy to receive the grace of baptism (TEXT 16).

The scrutiny is done: often (TEXT 1) (TEXTS 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 19, 20, 27); with the imposition of hands (TEXTS 21, 36, 37, 38, 39); in the form of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit (TEXTS 27, 37); with a signing of the cross, adjuration and genuflection (TEXT 25); seven times (TEXTS 25, 27); with an older catechumen, to his face, with a younger, through sponsor (TEXT 26).

The time for the scrutiny is: after the renunciation
and the tradition of the Creed (TEXT 1) (TEXTS 2, 4, 5, 6,
8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 19, 20, 27, 36, 37, 38, 39); twice:
on the second Saturday in Lent and on Monday following
Dominica in Albis (TEXT 17); for a number of days (TEXT 23);
from the day they became catechumens to the day of baptism,
as it states in the Roman ordo (TEXT 22).

The scrutiny is performed by: a priest or another
cleric (TEXTS 16, 22); an archdeacon (TEXT 17); acolytes
(TEXT 25).

Those scrutinized are: the elect (TEXT 18); infants
(TEXT 17); whoever are of an age who can give reason of
their belief (TEXT 23); catechumens (TEXT 26).

Isidore does not mention the word scrutinium in his
information regarding the catechumenate and baptism. TEXT 1
probably contains an explanation of the scrutiny because of
its source, John the Deacon. Both of these TEXTS, however,
mention it last before the immediate pre-baptism cere-
monies, and not in the framework of the ceremonies of the
catechumenate, as in Ordo XI. In fact, John the Deacon
indicates that the term is simply traditional. He says,
"Tunc fiunt illa quae ab aecclesiastica consuetudine scrutinia
dictitantur."[50]

The composers of seven of our TEXTS omitted this topic.
The rest seem to have been divided in their understanding

of the scrutiny as an occasion of instruction, exorcism,
or examination of the knowledge of the Creed. Some, whose
TEXTS contain reference to the seven scrutinies, the impo-
sition of hands, signings, genuflections, and so forth,
were obviously describing Ordo XI. In Ordo XI the scrutinies
are occasions for instruction as well as exorcism, because
the third scrutiny is the tradition of the Creed, Lord's
Prayer and four Gospels or the aurium apertio. The expla-
nation of Amalarius (TEXT 25), however, suggests that
"instruction" in the other TEXTS might not refer to the
aurium apertio, but to the simple instruction of the spon-
sors in the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. Amalarius states,
"In the scrutiny...we teach the godfathers and godmothers
the Lord's Prayer, so that they also can teach those whom
they receive from the font. Similarly we teach the Creed."[51]

The composer of TEXT 17, in a very unusual remark not
found elsewhere, states that the scrutiny is done twice,
on the second Saturday in Lent and on the Monday following
Dominica in Albis ("secunda feria post Albas").[52] It is
probably the case that baptismal instruction went on during
the Easter season as well as in Lent, especially since it
was not for the benefit of the infants, but for their spon-
sors and the parishioners generally. The composer of TEXT
17, however, seems to have been referring to a specific
examination that was conducted by the archdeacon, to whom
the infants had to come with their sponsors once before

and once after Easter baptism. The composer of TEXT 17 stressed the role of the sponsors, so that perhaps the "inquisitions" he referred to have to do with their knowledge of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer.

It is possible that the Lord's Prayer was not taught to sponsors until after baptism, despite the requirement constantly repeated in Carolingian reform legislation that in order to be a sponsor one had to prove his or her knowledge of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer.[53]

Since their duties to instruct the infants in the Creed and the Lord's Prayer obviously cannot have begun immediately, it is very conceivable that instruction on the Lord's Prayer was put off until after baptism. This would even have been necessary if the baptism was done immediately after the infant's birth or the pagan's conversion. Although canon law stated that baptism was only to be done on Easter or Pentecost, we have abundant evidence that this was not being observed in the Carolingian period.[54]

The Carolingians seem to have been baptizing their infants immediately after birth, without sufficient preparation of their sponsors. A letter of Charlemagne to Gerbald, Bishop of Liège, in 802 describes the Emperor's dismay at finding a number of people who wished to be sponsors but who could not recite the Creed or the Lord's Prayer:

> ...monuimus...ut unusquisque vestrum secundum sanctorum canonum auctoritatem et praedicere et docere deberet: primo omnium de fide catholica...et ut nullus de sacro

fonte baptismatis aliquem suspicere praesumeret ante-
quam in vestra aut ministrorum vestrorum sacri ordinis
praesentia orationem dominicam et simbolum recitaret.
Et sicut in proximo comperimus, in die apparitionis
Domini multi fuerunt apud nos inventi qui volebant
suspicere infantes de sacro fonte baptismatis...et
plures fuerunt qui nulla (orationem dominicam et
symbolum) exinde in memoriam habebant....[55]

Like the baptismal legislation concerning Easter and

Pentecost, the legislation requiring all sponsors to know

the Creed and the Lord's Prayer before baptism probably was

an attempt to correct a contrary situation. In TEXT 17, the

second scrutiny by the archdeacon after baptism could be an

examination of the sponsors regarding their knowledge of the

Lord's Prayer.

In Part I of this thesis, when the contents of the

MSS. containing our tracts was examined, one category of

material presented a puzzle. Expositions of the Lord's

Prayer, although they are intimately associated with clerical

reform legislation literature, are not nearly as frequent

in our MSS. as expositions of the Mass and the Creeds.

Perhaps, if instruction on the Lord's Prayer to sponsors

was deferred, we have the explanation for explanations of

it appearing less often than of the Mass, the Creed, and

baptism in clerical manuals. Clerics did not need this

instruction with the same immediacy as the Creed, the only
words the sponsors in fact had to respond to at the font.
Obviously, the importance of the clerics' knowing the Lord's
Prayer in order to instruct their parishioners is incontes-
table, and Charlemagne's letter to Gerbald is proof of the
concern that this be done before baptism. But, if the
repeated legislation on sponsorship requirements is a sign
that the reformers were struggling with a contrary practice,
our MSS. are some evidence of the real situation that the
legislation was attempting to change.

12. Nose.

The nose is touched: so that as long as the catechu-
men breathes he endures in the faith he has received (TEXT
1) (TEXTS 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 20, 28, 35,
36, 37, 38, 39); so that as long as he breathes he remains
diligent in service to Christ (TEXT 19); to enjoy fully
the sweet odor of Christ (TEXTS 11, 16, 20, 23, 24, 26,
27, 28, 30, 34, 39); so that through the saliva catechumens
receive a symbolic taste of the celestial wisdom to which
they are being introduced (TEXTS 16, 30, 32, 33, 34); to
receive divine virtues through the gesture of the touch
(TEXTS 30, 32, 34); for increased sensitivity to divine
virtues (TEXTS 28, 33, 34); to learn discretion between
good and evil (TEXTS 17, 27); to follow Christ (the odor

of the Anointed One) and be members of him (TEXTS 23, 27); to instruct the heart with the word of faith (TEXT 27); because the touch symbolizes the gift of the Holy Spirit (the finger of God) (TEXTS 27, 31); because the nose signifies the mind (TEXT 31); for right speech and confessing the truth (nose is a substitute for touching the lips) (TEXT 23).

The nose is touched with: saliva (<u>saliva</u>) (TEXTS 16, 24, 26, 27, 30, 31, 32, 34); spittle (<u>sputum</u>) (TEXTS 3, 13, 16, 20, 27, 33); the prayer "effeta" (TEXTS 10, 26, 27, 29, 39); oil (TEXTS 17, 23); (different customs) spittle or oil or neither (TEXT 28); the invocation of the Holy Spirit (TEXT 24).

The nostrils are touched: by the priest (TEXTS 3, 16, 20, 23, 26, 33, 34); just before entering the baptistery (TEXT 39); after the exorcism, "Nec te latet..." (TEXT 25); before the ears are touched (TEXT 27).

Typological explanations include: Christ's healing the deaf-mute (TEXTS 3, 10, 16, 20, 23, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32); just as spit is from the head, Christ is from the Father (TEXTS 3, 13, 24, 27); the people described by Job, who while breath remains in them and the spirit of God in their nose ought not to speak evil or meditate a lie (TEXTS 16, 20, 27); the Mary who anointed the Lord's feet with sweet smelling unguent (TEXTS 23, 27); Christ's healing of the man born blind with mud made from his

spittle (TEXT 24); the women at Christ's tomb who smelled of the oil with which they anointed Christ (TEXT 27).

Our composers emphasized different aspects of this ceremony. Some saw its importance in the gesture of the touch, others in the oil or the spittle used by the priest. In the Roman rite of Ordo XI and the Reginensis the touching is done with the priest's spittle. John the Deacon, however, says it is done with holy oil. TEXT 1 indicates this also, because following the topic of the nose, the TEXT continues, "the breast also with the same oil is anointed." In the Gallican rite of the Bobbio Missal oil is used, and Idlefonsus of Toledo says that oil is used even though Christ anointed the deaf-mute with his spittle.

Despite the indication in TEXT 1 that oil is used, two TEXTS modeled on this tract (TEXTS 3, 13) have spittle and four TEXTS modeled on the Gallicanized rite have spittle. Altogether, ten of our TEXTS have spittle, as the Roman books describe. Only two of our TEXTS (23, 17) have oil, as in TEXT 1 and in the Gallican rite.

One might have expected, given the other Gallicanizations and given the influence of TEXT 1, that more TEXTS would have oil instead of spittle. The reason our TEXTS have one or the other element is not clear, but Leidrad (TEXT 28) remarked that the touching of the nose was

sometimes done without oil or spittle. A number of our composers avoided discussion of these elements and concentrated on the significance of the touch gesture. Perhaps this is an indication that they were not familiar with the use of either element. They tended to say "spittle" rather than "oil" because of the connection of the ceremony with Jesus' healing the deaf-mute using a paste of mud and spittle.

13. Ears.

In six TEXTS the explanation of the ears is combined with the explanation of the nose (TEXTS 13, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34).

The ears are touched: to be opened to hearing the word of God (TEXTS 10, 16, 19, 20, 23, 26, 27, 37, 38); so that faith enters the intellect (TEXTS 25, 27, 28, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39); as a kind of defense and protection so that the catechumens can hear nothing evil (TEXTS 27, 28, 35); so that an entrance is opened for Christ through the ears and the catechumen can be filled with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit (TEXTS 5, 24); to signify acceptance of the sending of the Holy Spirit (TEXT 26); so that catechumens come to an increase of spiritual works (TEXT 23); to be opened to the word of the priest (TEXTS 28, 39).

Typological explanations include: the prudent man who built his home on rock (TEXTS 16, 23, 27); ears

symbolize spiritual ears, or the hearing of the soul
(TEXTS 23, 24); the Lord's healing the deaf-mute (TEXT 24).

In three TEXTS the touching of the ears is related
to the reception of the Holy Spirit (TEXTS 5, 24, 26).
In TEXTS 5 and 24 it is associated quite specifically
with the reception of the Holy Spirit in episcopal confir-
mation when the prayer is said invoking its septi-form
grace. Perhaps the composers of these TEXTS saw the pre-
baptism anointing as a prefiguration of the post-baptismal
anointing.

There is a discrepancy between TEXTS 5 and 10 regar-
ding the explanation of the word "Effeta". In TEXT 5
it states that "Effeta" is a Hebrew word. In TEXT 10 it
specifically states that "Effeta" is not a Hebrew word,
but Syriac.

14. Breast.

The breast is anointed: to close entrance to the
devil by the sign of the cross (TEXT 1) (TEXTS 2, 3, 4,
5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 19, 20, 24); to recognize
that the faith must be professed with a pure heart and
a firm conscience (TEXTS 36, 37, 38, 39); to comfort the
mind with faith (TEXTS 30, 32, 34); to arm the catechumen
on all sides (TEXTS 31, 34); to hold the faith he

[catechumen] has received deep in his heart, because the breast is the home of the heart (TEXT 17); to recognize God's mercy (TEXT 25).

The breast is anointed: with oil and the sign of the cross (TEXT 1) (TEXTS 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 19, 20, 24); with oil, from the Greek word "eleo" meaning mercy (TEXT 25); twice (TEXT 29).

The breast symbolizes: the heart (TEXTS 17, 36, 37, 38, 39); reason (the mind) (TEXTS 24, 30); the chamber of thoughts (TEXT 25).

A typological explanation is Christ's anointing the deaf-mute (TEXT 24).

In TEXT 29 it states, "Nam bis in pectore oleo exorzizato crucem facere iubemur quia per oleum caritas et misericordia interpretatur..." In no other TEXT is there reference to a double anointing of the breast. It is possible that the composer of TEXT 29 misinterpreted the double explanation of the breast and shoulder blades in TEXT 1 to mean that there were two anointings of the breast and of the back. But he said nothing about a double anointing of the shoulder blades. He could have confused the explanation of the anointing of the breast with the double post-baptismal anointing, because he went on to compare the double nature of the act with the double sending of the Holy Spirit to the Apostles, and explanation that in

other TEXTS is used under the topics of the post-baptismal anointings and chrism.

Jesse of Amiens (TEXT 24) used the analogy of Christ's healing the deaf-mute under three separate topics, for the touching of the nose, the ears, and the anointing of the breast.

15. Shoulder Blades.

The shoulder blades are anointed to: arm the catechumen on all sides (TEXT 1) (TEXTS 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 19, 20, 24, 30, 32, 34, 38, 39); make the catechumen firm against the devil (TEXTS 5, 19); strengthen him to good works (TEXTS 30, 32, 34); merit participation in Christ (TEXT 24); make the catechumen clean, purged of the devil (TEXT 29).

The anointing of the shoulder blades symbolizes: the reception of the yoke of Christ in place of the yoke of the devil (TEXTS 13, 24).

The shoulder blades symbolize: where the cross is carried (shoulders are a symbol of work or burdens) (TEXT 24); strong works (TEXT 25).

Theodulf (TEXT 34) used the verb "confirmare", to strengthen, in this context.

16.   Breast and Shoulder Blades.

The breast and shoulder blades are anointed: for
firmness of faith and perseverance in good works (TEXT 1)
(TEXTS 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 19, 20,
26, 38); to be armed on all sides (TEXTS 23, 27, 33); so
that the catechumen recognizes he is surrounded with God's
mercy (TEXTS 23, 25, 27); so that thoughts and actions
are purified (TEXTS 16, 26); so that by the sign of the
cross the devil is cast out and entrance is made for Christ
(TEXTS 28, 35); so that catechumens know that from this
anointing, that is, Christ, they are called Christians
(TEXT 30); so that with the anointing of the Holy Spirit
in the oil the catechumen overflows with works of light
and mercy (TEXT 23); to remit original and actual sins
(TEXT 26); to infuse spiritual grace that will wipe away
old error and restore pristine dignity (TEXT 27).

The breast and shoulder blades are anointed with:
the unction of the Holy Spirit (TEXT 23); blessed oil
(TEXTS 26, 33); the oil of consecration (TEXT 27).

The breast and shoulder blades symbolize: the mind
and actions (TEXT 16); the front, as our own sins, and
the back, as our inherited qualities (TEXT 26); the seat
and home of the heart (TEXTS 27, 28, 35).

The anointing is done at the very moment of the
catechumen's rebirth (TEXT 27).

The explanations found under this topic in a few of the TEXTS should be emphasized. First, in TEXT 33 it states:

> Interrogatio. Cur tanguntur eius pectora et scapulae de oleo sanctificato ? Responsio. Ut per hanc unctionem noverint sciendique virtute Christi esse munitos et sicut oleo sancto tanguntur ita ab iuncto [unctione] id est Christo Christianos se noverint apellari.

The composer might not have intended the term "Christian" to apply to the catechumen yet, but then again, he might. In two other TEXTS that will be examined later in the thesis (TEXTS 43 and 52) four levels in becoming a Christian are carefully distinguished: after being made a catechumen and a competent or one of the elect, baptism makes one a _fidelis_, but only the post-baptismal chrismation makes one a Christian.

Second, Theodulf, the composer of TEXT 23, associates the anointing of the breast and shoulder blades with the reception of the Holy Spirit.

Third, in TEXTS 26 and 27 it states that by this anointing all sins are remitted, including original sin. TEXT 26: "Interrogatio. Quare de oleo benedicto scapulae et pectus unguitur? Responsio. Ut originalia simul et actualia peccata relaxentur."[56] Again, the composer of TEXT 27 sees this anointing ceremony as part of the actual rebirth (_partus_) of the catechumen. The anointing, in fact, is to preserve and protect an already purified body:

In ipso denique partu suae renovationis unguntur
catechumeni oleo consecrationis...quae [corporis]
per infusionem spiritualis gratiae, abrasa vetusti
erroris rubigine, in corde renascentis nitorem priscae
reformat dignitatis...unguntur vero in pectore et
inter scapulas...quod iam relicto diabolo.... Ita
undique sacra circumvallantur unctione...omni custodia
in percepta servare debere gratia, ne rediviva hostis
corruptio....[57]

It may seem astonishing that the composers of these
two TEXTS see the remission of sins in this pre-baptismal
ceremony. These TEXTS are important for our knowledge
of the Carolingian theology of baptism. The spiritual
effects of many of the ceremonies are interchangeable.
Already it has been seen that the reception of the Holy
Spirit is not confined to episcopal confirmation. Here it
is seen that the remission of sins was not limited to the
act of water immersion. At the beginning of the ninth
century the theology of baptism was far from definitive
or complete. For example, the first person who attempted
to explain the difference between the reception of the
Holy Spirit in the water of baptism and in the chrism was
Rabanus Maurus in the second quarter of the ninth century.
The arbitrariness found in our TEXTS regarding the effects
of the ceremonies is not a sign of inaccuracy, but perhaps
a reflection of the progress in the formation of a baptismal
theology at the beginning of the ninth century.

17. Baptism.

Baptism is: a Greek word, in Latin _tinctio_ (Isidore)
(TEXTS 3, 7, 15, 20, 24, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37,
38); a washing (_lavatio_) (TEXTS 10, 38); a sacrament of
the Church (Isidore) (TEXT 15); the formation of the Church
(TEXT 23); a washing with water and the Word (TEXTS 28,
36); a two-fold pact (Isidore) (TEXTS 28, 35).

Baptism is performed: to be renewed to man's original
image (TEXT 1) (TEXTS 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12,
13, 20, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 36, 37, 38); by the spirit
of grace to become a better person (_in melius inmutatur_)
and far different than before (Isidore) (TEXTS 7, 10, 20,
24, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 37, 38); so that infants die to
original sin and older people to original and actual sins
(TEXT 19).

The effect of baptism is: to remit sins of thought
and action (TEXT 17); permanent (TEXTS 19, 23, 24, 28);
to be translated into the bosom of Mother Church (TEXT 21);
to become sons of adoption (TEXT 21); to be written in
the book of life (TEXTS 21, 28); to exclude the devil
(TEXTS 36, 37, 39).

Baptism is performed: in the name of the Holy Trinity
with a triple immersion (TEXT 1) (TEXTS 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8,
9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 20, 21, 24, 30, 31); with a triple
immersion (Isidore) (TEXTS 10, 28); for an infant, with

one sponsor (TEXTS 20, 38); through the Holy Spirit in the water (Isidore) (TEXTS 23, 24, 29, 30, 31, 32, 38).

The significance of the three-fold immersion is: the three persons of the Holy Trinity (TEXT 1) (TEXTS 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 24, 30, 31, 32, 38); the three grades of sin (suggestion, delight, consent) (TEXTS 2, 8, 31); the three-day burial of Christ (TEXTS 15, 20, 23, 28, 35, 36, 37, 38); to receive more fully the Holy Trinity (TEXT 17).

Baptism is celebrated only on Easter and Pentecost (TEXTS 15, 17).

Infant baptism and sponsorship are justified by the example of: the robber on the cross who was not baptized, but was promised a place in Paradise (i.e., what is lacking by necessity (infant's speech) the grace of God supplies) (TEXT 20); Christ's healing of the sick, mute, and deaf (Isidore) (TEXT 38).

Surprising are the relatively few reasons given for the effect of baptism compared, for example, to the number of reasons given for being made a catechumen. The purpose of baptism to remove original sin is hardly mentioned, nor is there any direct reference to the fate of those who die without baptism. It is obvious that our composers were not primarily concerned with the theology of the sacrament. Although there is no question that the

Carolingians were convinced that all who died without baptism (or a legitimate substitute) were damned, the instruction does not focus on the necessity of baptism for this reason. The composers of the TEXTS showed just as much interest in the effect of baptism, for example, to change a person from what he was formerly, and to become a member of Christ's Church.

Perhaps there is significance in the explanations that describe baptism as a conversion. In the Carolingian period baptism could have been primarily important to identify one as a member of the Church in an empire parts of which were only nominally Christian. Incorporation into the Church through baptism was a unifying factor for Christians and a building block of society.

Another observation concerns the explanation of TEXT 17. In this TEXT it states that the significance of the three-fold immersion in the name of the Trinity is to receive "more fully" the Holy Trinity. An orthodox alternative to a triple immersion was a single immersion, practised in Spain. Pope Gregory I had given his approval of this custom, but Alcuin opposed the practice of single immersion because the symbolism of the three distinct Persons of the Trinity was lost. The composer of TEXT 17, when he stated that the triple immersion was performed to receive "more fully" the Holy Trinity, could have had in mind the alternative single immersion. On the other hand,

the expression "more fully", which has such strong theo-
logical associations in a later period, may not have had
 theological significance at the beginning of the ninth
century.   The composer of TEXT 17 also saw more grace for
the catechumen who was baptized on Easter or Pentecost
than on another day:

> Et hoc totum ideo agitur in sanctam Paschae(sic)
> vel in Pentecosten quo sancti patres decreverunt
> principalia fieri lavacra ut pleniter baptizentur
> quia et his diebus duobus credimus remissionem
> peccatorum et infusionem Spiritus sancti a deo
> potissimum largiri.

18.   White Vestments.

White vestments signify: joy of regeneration, chas-
tity, and angelic beauty (TEXT 1) (TEXTS 2, 3, 4, 5, 6,
7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 19, 20, 23); the mystery of the
expanding (surgentis) Church (TEXTS 19, 27, 34, 36, 37,
38, 39); the saints whose robes were washed white in the
blood of the Lamb (Apoc.7:14) (TEXTS 23, 27, 28, 36, 37,
38, 39); Christ's vestments at his transfiguration (TEXTS
16, 36, 37, 38, 39); innocence and purity (TEXTS 28, 30,
31, 35); having put off the old man, a putting on of a
new man (TEXTS 16, 33, 34); marriage garments for the
celestial wedding feast (TEXTS 21, 25, 27); immortality
(TEXTS 3, 23); newness: the clean shroud of Christ (TEXTS
20, 28); a reminder of newness and to remain clean (TEXTS

23, 25); works of justice (TEXTS 23, 25); priests' gar-
ments (TEXTS 25, 26); renovation in baptism (TEXTS 28,
35); present virtue (TEXTS 28, 35); hope in eternal life
(TEXTS 28, 35); joy, exaltation (TEXT 29); people rejoicing
around the throne of God in the Apocalypse (TEXT 11);
whiteness of the Lamb (TEXT 16); future resurrection (TEXT
26); the gift of the Holy Spirit received in baptism, true
faith (TEXT 26); the garments of Joshua (TEXT 28); illumi-
nation (TEXT 28); the angels who witnessed Christ's resur-
rection (TEXT 28); linen with nothing of death in it (not
animal skins worn by the men after Adam) (TEXT 29).

The explanation is almost entirely scriptural analogy.

19.   Anointing of Head and Veil.

The head is anointed with chrism: so that the neophyte
understands his royal and priestly dignity (TEXT 1) (TEXTS
2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 19, 20, 23, 25,
27, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39); to become a member
of the Church, which is a royal and priestly people, and
to receive the name of Christ (TEXTS 19, 23, 27, 36, 38,
39); because our head is Christ and Christ means "anointed"
(TEXT 17); because in chrism is the most generous infusion
of the Holy Spirit (TEXT 21); to receive the sanctification
of the Spirit (Isidore) (TEXT 24); for sanctification
after remission of sins in baptism (TEXT 35).

The head is anointed: on top, so that it runs down as Christ's blessing descends (TEXTS 17, 37); on top, by a priest, with his thumb in the sign of the cross (TEXT 24).

The anointing signifies: anointing of kings and priests (TEXT 1) (TEXTS 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 20, 24, 25, 27, 30, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39); Mary anointing Jesus' feet, or the faith of the people (Isidore) (TEXT 24); membership in the true priesthood and kingship; one's duty to offer sacrifice (TEXTS 25, 33).

The reason the head is covered with a veil is: to symbolize the ancient tradition of priests' covering their heads (TEXTS 36, 37, 38, 39); to protect the mysteries given in baptism (TEXT 26); to glorify Christ, our head (TEXT 26).

The veil symbolizes: royal and priestly diadems (TEXT 1) (TEXTS 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 20, 25, 27, 30, 33, 34, 36, 38, 39); crowns in the Apocalypse (TEXT 24); the priests' custom in the Old Testament (TEXT 25); priests' decor (TEXT 26); a veiled understanding (The neophyte still has a cloudy conception of the Scriptures. The removal of the veil on the eighth day is to signify the fullness of knowledge that will come with the eighth day, or eternity) (TEXT 26).

In TEXT 21 (Maxentius of Aquileia) it is stated that this anointing is a reception of the Holy Spirit. Maxentius

only speaks of one post-baptismal chrismation. It
must be the presbyteral, because it comes before the
donning of the white robes:

> ...peruncti etiam huius sacrae unctionis chrisma
> salutis, id est, sancti Spiritus largissima infu-
> sione in Christo Jesu Domino nostro in vitam
> aeternam regenerati quoque Jesum ducem sequentes,
> et loti in sanguine Agni, albis induti,...[58]

Is it that Maxentius did not recognize the second
post-baptismal chrismation of the Roman rite in which
the Holy Spirit is received in the fullness of its septi-
form gift only through the bishop? In five liturgical
books from the north Italian area dating between the
ninth and twelfth centuries and describing the rite of
baptism celebrated in Milan, there is no reference to a
second post-baptismal anointing with chrism and the invo-
cation of the septi-form gift of the Holy Spirit.[59]
This gave J. Fisher reason to argue that in the Milanese
rite of the Carolingian period the first post-baptismal
anointing was regarded as confirmation. Fisher uses
Maxentius' explanation of the "fullest infusion of the
Holy Spirit" to support this idea, noting the close geo-
graphical relation of Aquileia to Milan.[60] Perhaps
Maxentius' TEXT, indeed, reflects the Milanese rite of
baptism.

Jesse of Amiens (TEXT 24) associated this presbyteral
anointing with the reception of the Holy Spirit, but he
did not describe it as a "full infusion": "Sicut enim
in baptismo peccatorum remissio datur, ita per unctionem
sanctificatio Spiritus adhibetur."[61]

Isidore implied that through the "chrism" the infants become "Christians". Some TEXTS use this information here, suggesting that the presbyteral chrismation is what distinguishes the "Christian". This is important because it means that infants were considered full Christians who had not received episcopal confirmation. There is some evidence that episcopal confirmation was put off and neglected in the Carolingian period.[62]

20. Eucharist.

The Lord's body and blood is given: so that the neophyte is a member of the Head who suffered and rose from the dead for him (TEXT 1) (TEXTS 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 19, 20, 24, 34); to remain in Christ and have him remain in us (TEXTS 19, 21, 24, 25, 28, 36, 37, 38, 39); to obey the Lord's mandate ("Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of man...") (TEXTS 36, 37); to receive the Spirit of life, be vivified (TEXT 24); to become a temple of Christ (TEXT 31).

The effect of the Eucharist is: to confirm (TEXT 1) (TEXTS 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 19, 20, 24, 25, 26, 30, 31, 34); to strengthen (TEXT 23); redemption (TEXT 11); remission of sins (TEXTS 17, 21).

The Eucharist is necessary for salvation (TEXTS 16, 20) (This is implied in TEXTS 23, 28, 35).

The Eucharist is received immediately after baptism (TEXT 26).

Typological explanations of the Eucharist include: the celestial wedding banquet (TEXTS 36, 39); the Last Supper, after Christ washed the Apostles' feet (TEXT 26); the manna in the desert (TEXT 28).

In TEXTS 17 and 21 it states that remission of sins is given to those receiving the Eucharist. TEXT 17: "Datur et enim baptizato corpus et sanguis Christi in remissione peccatorum..." TEXT 21: "et accipientes singuli corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi fit eis remissio omnium peccatorum."[63]

In TEXT 1 the verb "confirmare" is used to describe the effect of the Eucharist on the neophyte. This verb is also used in some of the TEXTS in association with episcopal confirmation.

21.   Episcopal Confirmation.

The imposition of hands is performed by a bishop (TEXT 1) (TEXTS 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 19, 20, 23, 36, 37, 39).

It is done to: be strengthened through the Holy Spirit to preach to others (TEXT 1) (TEXTS 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 20, 30, 31); to receive the

Holy Spirit (TEXTS 19, 24, 28, 36, 37, 38, 39); to receive the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit (TEXTS 23, 27, 28, 30, 31, 35); to be fully sanctified (TEXTS 36, 37, 39); to be a temple of the Holy Spirit, or of God (TEXTS 27, 30, 31); to receive the Holy Spirit a second time (TEXTS 28, 31); to be strengthened in right faith and good works (TEXTS 19, 28); to be called Christians and priestly (TEXTS 24, 30).

The imposition of hands is performed last, after the Eucharist (TEXT 1) TEXTS 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 19, 20, 27, 30, 31).

The effect of the imposition of hands is: confirmation (TEXTS 19, 20); restoration to one's pristine state before Adam (TEXT 20); that without it, probably the person cannot (improbabiliter) be among the first in Heaven (TEXT 27).

22. Chrism.

Some of the TEXTS have a separate chapter for this topic, while in others it is discussed under the anointing of the breast and shoulder blades or the anointing of the head and veil. The explanation is almost entirely from Isidore and contains the same information already given under "Anointing of Head and Veil".

Chrism is: a Greek word; in Latin it is an unction (unctio) (Isidore) (TEXT 16); a sacrament (Isidore) (TEXT 28).

It is used after baptism (TEXT 16). It is conse-
crated on Holy Thursday (TEXT 26). The effect of chrism
is: sanctification through the Holy Spirit (Isidore)
(TEXTS 16, 28, 34, 35); to become Christians, priestly,
royal (Isidore) (TEXT 28); to be confirmed (TEXTS 28, 35).

Typological explanations are: Moses anointing Aaron
(Isidore) (TEXTS 16, 28); Mary anointing Jesus' feet
(Isidore) (TEXT 16); anointing of the temple in the Law
(TEXT 28).

The range of information that can be found in thirty-
nine TEXTS collectively is impressive. The summaries of
the different explanations contained in our tracts show
the extent to which all of the TEXTS contribute to the
variety in the baptismal literature. The use of Isidorian
material and explanation from TEXT 1 is considerable,
but at the same time there is among all twenty-two topics
a large amount of information that cannot be found in
these most frequently repeated sources.

In the summaries one discovers at least in part why
there is variety in the baptismal literature on the level
of its explanations of the rite. It has been seen, for
example, that local concerns influenced the information
given by individual composers. Problems with paganism
in some areas, with societal harmony in others, with
Spanish influences in others may have been the cause of

constantly repeated or unique explanations. Again, Galli-
can traditions, such as the use of the Apostles' Creed
were undoubtedly factors. Also it was seen that different
understandings of the effects of the different ceremonies
created different explanations. For example, the recep-
tion of the Holy Spirit, the remission of sins, and the
stage in the rite where one becomes a Christian could
occur at various ceremonies both before and after the font,
depending on the understanding of the individual composers.
Again, it was seen that attempts to make applicable obso-
lete terms such as "competent" and   "scrutiny" led
to new interpretations. Another fact learned from the
summaries was that sometimes contrary opinions about
the meaning of terms gave rise to different explanations.
For example, the devils works and his pomp, or exsuffla-
tion and insufflation could be interchangeable for one
composer yet quite distinct for another. Finally, per-
sonal familiarity with a specific sacramentary and with
the baptismal celebration in particular locations undoubt-
edly influenced the composers.

Much of the literature of the Carolingian period,
especially the genres whose texts were multiplied in an
extraordinary degree, has in the past been called repeti-
tive and unoriginal.[64] The reason for this view has in
part been that a number of the so-called repetitive genres
like the baptismal literature have never been studied

collectively. The widely scattered, occasional publication of a few of the baptismal tracts easily could have given the impression that they have little to offer in the way of originality and creativity. As it has been seen in Section 1, the tracts, externally, do appear on first examination to be repetitive, structured as they are according to one of only five models. Also, in their explanations the tracts do repeatedly contain information that can be found in a very few sources. If, however, the use of these few sources is examined more closely, it can be seen how inadequately they account for the full range of information in any TEXT, and in the baptismal literature collectively. Especially noteworthy is the number of times our composers alter their most popular sources, whether by rephrasing, supplementation, omission, or partial substitution. In the above summaries many slight variations of individual TEXTS are not reflected. Even though the substance of their information can be found, for example, in Isidore's writings, he has not been directly quoted.

B.   Three Sources of Baptismal Explanations: Isidore, TEXT 1, and Scripture.

The three most frequently excerpted sources for our composers are Isidore, TEXT 1, and Scripture. In evaluating

the extent of the variety of explanations of the rite, a certain amount of repetition in our literature must be acknowledged as a result of the common quotation of these three sources. Some characteristics, however, can be pointed out regarding the use of each of these.

1.   Isidore.

First, in regard to Isidore, there are an enormous number of cases when he is not quoted directly, but where the explanation is only reminiscent of his words. These cases reflect the creativity of the composers rather than dependency upon Isidore. Isidore does not provide information on nine of the twenty-two topics that our composers consistently treat. He does not define "works of the devil", "pomp of the devil", "scrutiny", "nose", "ears", "breast", "shoulder blades", "breast and shoulder blades", or "white vestments", so that our composers cannot have always relied on him. It is true that sometimes the composers omitted one of these topics, and this could have been due to the fact that Isidore was silent, but our composers as frequently omitted topics on which Isidore had a substantial amount to say.

To give one example: excluding the twelve TEXTS that are closely modeled on TEXT 1 and probably omit the topic "competent" because their model omits it, fourteen

other TEXTS also omit this topic which Isidore described. The omission of this topic might be explained as a "creative" use of Isidore by our composers. A definition of "catechumen" in thirteen out of these fourteen TEXTS is a conflation of Isidore's definition of a catechumen and his definition of a competent. The thirteen TEXTS state that a catechumen is "a listener or one under instruction" (audiens sive instructus). Isidore had defined a catechumen as an audiens, but used the word instructus only to define the competent. It is not coincidental that of the fourteen TEXTS in which the topic "competent" is omitted, thirteen have the conflated definition of a catechumen that includes Isidore's definition of a competent. In the Carolingian period there was no longer any practical distinction between a catechumen and a competent. The composers of our TEXTS reorganized the information in Isidore to suit their own experience.

Another point regarding the use of Isidore by our composers is that in those TEXTS where one would expect to find a large amount of Isidorian material, he is not always heavily represented. For example, TEXTS 33, 34, and 35 are part of a clerical interrogation in their MSS.. The interrogatory material that surrounds these TEXTS is very heavily drawn from Isidore, and one would expect that the three TEXTS would consist largely of Isidore. In TEXT 35, out of eleven topics under which it would

have been possible to use Isidore, seven contain quotation from Isidore's works. But in TEXT 34, six out of ten, and in TEXT 33 four out of seven possible topics under which Isidore could have been used in fact contain quotations from him. Perhaps this is an indication that TEXTS 33 and 34, at least, were not composed simultaneously with the Isidorian clerical interrogation, but were composed from other sources and later inserted.

Again, TEXTS 30, 31, and 32 consist entirely of extracts from Rabanus Maurus, whose information on baptism is largely direct quotation from Isidore. One would expect these three TEXTS, then, to consist mostly of Isidore. But in fact, they have very little direct quotation from Isidore in Rabanus. Rather, their composers altered Isidore's passages in Rabanus by rewording, omission, and supplementation.

In sum, direct quotation of Isidore is not found consistently in all the topics or in all of the TEXTS. Rarely are the explanations under a topic in any TEXT exclusively Isidore. Either his information is altered in some way, or he is supplemented with entirely different material.

2. TEXT 1.

Another of the most popular sources for our composers is TEXT 1. It was seen in Section 1 of this chapter that

twelve TEXTS contain TEXT 1 almost in its entirety in their compositions. It is interesting, however, to note the variation in the use of this source by the other twenty-five TEXTS that explain the entire baptismal rite (that is, thirty-nine less Charlemagne's TEXT 14, less TEXT 1, and less the twelve modeled on TEXT 1).

Of these twenty-five TEXTS, fourteen contain excerpts from TEXT 1. Only two of these fourteen, however, quote TEXT 1 every time without alteration. The remainder of the fourteen TEXTS on at least one occasion have an alteration of an excerpt from TEXT 1.

Table 1 lists the fourteen TEXTS that use TEXT 1, the number of different excerpts that each contains, and the number of those excerpts that have been altered by supplementation, omission, partial substitution, or re-phrasing. The TEXTS are listed in order, from those that use TEXT 1 most frequently to those that use TEXT 1 least frequently.

Every variant form of the excerpts from TEXT 1 is unique except those found in TEXTS 36, 37, 38, 39, and 27, all of which have the same variant form, that of the excerpts in the letter of John the Deacon, on which TEXT 1 is based.

In sum, out of the thirty-nine TEXTS, ~~while it must be acknowledged that twelve TEXTS~~ while it must be acknowledged that twelve out of 39 TEXTS are little more than variations of TEXT 1, at the same time eleven TEXTS do not

Table 1 .   The Use of TEXT 1.

TEXTS Using TEXT 1	Number of Different Excerpts Used	Number of the Excerpts that are a Variant Form of TEXT 1
20	12	0
19	8	6
36	4	2
37	4	3
38	4	1
39	4	2
30	4	2
34	4	4
24	4	4
31	3	2
27	2	2
23	1	0
15	1	1
25	1	1

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contain even the smallest phrase from TEXT 1. Fourteen
TEXTS do contain some extracts, but the number of times
these extracts are in a variant form is impressive.

3.   Scripture.

The third most repeated source of material in our
TEXTS is Scripture. The extent to which it was used was
not reflected in the above summaries of the different
explanations found in the thirty-nine TEXTS because it
was often not treated as part of the essential informa-
tion, but only as an added adornment in the lengthier
TEXTS. It can be shown, in fact, that only a few TEXTS
contain the vast majority of scriptural quotations in
our baptismal literature. Table 2 lists all the TEXTS
out of the thirty-nine that contain a direct quotation
from Scripture, aside from direct scriptural quotation
in Isidore or TEXT 1 when the TEXTS are quoting these two
sources. The TEXTS are listed in order from those that
have the highest number of quotations to those with the
least. Table 2 also contains the number of quotations
in each TEXT that are repeated in at least one other
TEXT and the number of quotations in each TEXT that are
unique or not found in any other TEXT.

Twenty-seven TEXTS out of thirty-nine that describe
the entire rite of baptism have some direct scriptural

Table 2.   The Use of Direct Quotation of Scripture.

TEXTS (out of thirty-nine) containing direct scriptural quotations	Number of direct scriptural quotations	Number of those quotations that are found in at least one other TEXT	Number of those quotations that are unique to the TEXT
28(Leidrad)	ca.82	23	ca.59
23(Theodulf)	66	21	45
27(florilegium)	39	13	26
24(Jesse)	34	20	14
23(Amalarius)	23	6	17
20	18	11	7
36,37,38,39	15(each)	7(each)	8(each)
35	11	10	1
26	10	5	5
21(Maxentius)	9	7	2
29	7	7	0
16	6	6	0
31	5	5	0
32	5	5	0
17	4	3	1
11	3	1	2
19(Magnus)	2	2	0
18	2	1	1
10	2	2	0
5	2	1	1
33	1	1	0
34	1	1	0
3	1	0	1

quotation. This is other than quotations the composers might have found in Isidore's information on baptism or in TEXT 1. As can be seen from Table 2, most of the TEXTS contain very few biblical quotations, in proportion to the first three or four TEXTS. In short, the majority of our composers rarely used Scripture.

There is something further to be learned from the citation of Scripture by our composers. It can be seen in Table 2 that in most cases the Scripture cited in TEXTS with few quotations is not unique. That is, their quotations can be found in other TEXTS, principally in the TEXTS with a greater number of quotations. There is nothing surprising in this fact until one starts to look at the places in the Old and New Testaments whence the quotations come. One would expect that the TEXTS that have only a few scriptural passages would contain those basic standard references to baptism that formed the basis of the patristic theology of the sacrament, such as Jn 3.5: "Unless one is born from   water and the Spirit..."; Mt. 28:19, "Go, teach all nations, baptizing them..."; or Rm. 6:3, "When we were baptized in Christ Jesus we were baptized into his death."

Among the TEXTS, however, with less than four scriptural passages the following repeated (not unique) references are found: Mt. 5:13, "You are the salt of the earth..."; Mk. 7:33, "...he put his fingers into the man's

ears..."; Jn. 6:53, "...if you do not eat the flesh of the Son of Man..."; Jn. 6:55, "For my flesh is real food..."; 1 Cor. 3:17, "...the temple of God is sacred and you are that temple."; Rom. 10:10, "By believing from the heart you are made righteous..."; Ps. 133:2, "...as oil on the head, running down the beard, Aaron's beard"; Zech. 3:2, "...may Yahweh rebuke you, Satan..."; Jn. 20:22, "After saying this he breathed on them and said, 'Receive the Holy Spirit...'"; and 2 Cor. 2:14, "...makes us, in Christ, partners in his triumph, and through us is spreading knowledge of himself, like a sweet smell...". Most surprisingly, there is not a single direct reference to baptism among these citations.

Out of all the different scriptural passages listed above, there are forty-four passages that are found more than once (not including scriptural citation due to direct citation of Isidore or TEXT 1). Most of the passages, like the few examples from them just described, are quite obscure and do not specifically refer to baptism either. Table 3 is a list of these forty-four passages repeated in the baptismal tracts. The TEXTS that have less than four scriptural quotations are circled.

This list includes many scriptural citations that are not obvious references to baptism. It has been said that even the TEXTS with only a few passages from Scripture contain unexpected quotations. Nevertheless, their selections

Table 3.   Scriptural Passages Found More Than Once
             In The TEXTS.

Scriptural Passage   TEXTS in which it is found

Job 27:3 ---------------------- 20,27,28
Psalms (Ps.) 23:2 ------------ 28,35
Ps. 45:8 ---------------------- 24,27,32
Ps. 131:9 --------------------- 23,25,27
Ps. 133:2 --------------------- ⑰,28
Ecclesiastes 9:8 ------------- 28,35,36,37,38,39
Song of Songs (Sg.) 1:3 ------ 23,24,27,28,35
Sg. 3:6 ----------------------- 27,28,29
Ecclesiasticus (Eccli.) 2:2 -- 28,35
Eccli. 28:28 ------------------ 28,35
Zechariah 3:2 ---------------- 16, ⑱ ,23,24,28,29,35
Matthew (Mt.) 5:13 ----------- ⑩,21,23,24,29,31, ㉝ , ㉞
Mt. 7:24 ---------------------- 16,23
Mt. 11:15 --------------------- 23,24,27
Mt. 11:28-30 ------------------ 23,24
Mt. 28:19 --------------------- 20,23,24,28,29,36,37,38,39
Mark (Mk.) 7:33 -------------- ⑤,20,24,27,28, ㉚ ,31,32
Mk. 9:49 ---------------------- 16,24,28,29
Luke 8:21 --------------------- 16,20,27
John (Jn.) 2:24 -------------- 23,24
Jn. 3:5 ----------------------- 23,28,32,35,36,37,38,39
Jn. 6:51 ---------------------- 21,28
Jn. 6:53 ---------------------- ⑲ ,20,23,31,32,36,37,38,39
Jn. 6:55 ---------------------- ⑲ ,21,23,24,28
Jn. 6:56 ---------------------- 16,21,23,24,26,28,31,32,35,
                                36,37,38,39
Jn. 20:22-23 ------------------ ⑩ ,20,28,29
Acts 19:1-6 ------------------- 20,23,24
Romans (Rm.) 6:3-5 ----------- 23,24,25,28,36,37,38,39
Rm. 10:10 --------------------- ⑰ ,20,21,24,35
Rm. 10:17 --------------------- 27,28
1 Corinthians(1 Cor.)1:23-24 - 23,25
1 Cor. 3:17 ------------------- 16, ⑰ ,20
2 Cor. 2:14 ------------------- ⑪ ,16,26,28
2 Cor. 2:15 ------------------- 16,20,23,25,26,27,28
Galatians (Gal.) 3:27 -------- 25,28
Gal. 6:6 ---------------------- 24,29
Ephesians 4:22-24 ------------ 21,24
Colossians (Col.) 2:9 -------- 23,27
Col. 3:1 ---------------------- 24,36,37,38,39
Col. 4:6 ---------------------- 24,25
1 Peter 2:9 ------------------- 23,24,26,27,31
Revelation (Rev.) 2:7 -------- 23,26,27
Rev. 7:13-14 ------------------ 21,28
Rev. 16:15 -------------------- 23,35

of seemingly obscure scriptural references are not in
most cases unique but can be found in other baptismal
tracts. This suggests that the appearance of Scripture
in the TEXTS that contain very few direct quotations is
due to the dependence, at least indirect, of these TEXTS
on a lengthier and more learned baptismal composition.
It is inconceivable that the composers of these brief
tracts independently selected their passages from the
Bible. Their citations are too infrequent and often too
obscure for their similarity to other baptismal treatises
to be thought coincidental. The scriptural quotation
found in the TEXTS collectively suggests, rather, the
interrelationship of the literature.

In sum, there are two points to be emphasized about
the evidence for the use of Scripture by the composers
of our tracts. First, the lack of scriptural quotation
in the great majority of our tracts is striking. The
use of Scripture does not seem to have been essential
to baptismal instruction. It has more the appearance
of a remnant of edification that trickled into the brief
baptismal tracts, derived perhaps from longer more learned
commentaries on baptism from one of a few Carolingian
treatises or a patristic author. In any case, it is
evident that the composers of the brief tracts that were
designed to educate parish priests on the meaning of the
ceremonies of baptism felt it was unnecessary to provide

a scriptural basis for their explanations. It should be emphasized that there is almost nothing that indicates the composers' interest in the higher theology of baptism. This is borne out in their omission of scriptural citations that more sophisticated theologians include in their treatments of baptism. For example, Jn. 3:5, "Unless one is born from   water and the Spirit" appears in only two TEXTS besides Leidrad, Theodulf, and the florilegial tradition of TEXTS 36, 37, 38 and 39. Mt. 28:19, "Go, teach all nations, baptizing them" is in only one TEXT besides the treatises of Leidrad, Jesse, Theodulf, and the florilegial TEXTS 20, 36, 37, 38 and 39. It is most interesting to note that a quotation often found in later medieval theologies of baptism is not found once among any of our TEXTS. This is Jn. 13:8, "If I do not wash you, you can have no part with me."

The second point brought out by examining the use of Scripture is the interrelationship that is suggested between our tracts. It was shown that the references cited in the TEXTS with few scriptural quotations are almost always identical with the references found in the TEXTS with many scriptural quotations, and that this cannot be coincidental. The paucity and the obscure nature of the scriptural passages in the majority of the TEXTS, because these quotations nevertheless are not unique to one TEXT, imply that our composers were using one another's works to fashion their commentaries.

C.   Interrelationships of Our Baptismal Tracts.

The interrelationship of our baptismal literature
is the second major concern of this section. It has
been seen in the above summaries of the explanations of
the rite how much similar and how much different infor-
mation the TEXTS contain. In part, the extent of the
similarity between the TEXTS is explained by the common
use of Isidore, TEXT 1, and Scripture. None of these
three sources, however, can account for all of the similar
explanation in the literature, as the summaries show.
The evidence regarding the common use of Scripture sug-
gests that similar explanations could be due to the rela-
tionship of the TEXTS to each other, rather than to the
common use of a few popular sources. On the following
pages the interrelationships of the TEXTS will be investi-
gated. It will be shown that, in fact, our literature
is intimately related not only in its cause and purpose,
but in its actual textual composition. At the same time,
the element of unique explanation is constantly present
in all of the TEXTS. The combination of both features
of similarity and uniqueness will, in conclusion, be
discussed in terms of the creativity of the Carolingian
composers.

In order to investigate the possible interrelation-
ships of the baptismal literature, the explanations

found in every TEXT must be compared, topic by topic, to see if they are identical explanations.

In preparation for this investigation, a comparison of all the TEXTS was made. A number of cases of word-for-word identical explanation in two or more TEXTS were found. At the same time, explanation was found in individual TEXTS that was never repeated in another TEXT. In fact, it was found that any one of five different levels of association could exist between any two tracts in terms of the identicality or uniqueness of their explanations. First, the entire explanation of a topic was sometimes identical with the entire explanation of that topic in another TEXT. Second, the entire explanation of a topic was in some cases an abbreviation of an explanation of that topic in another TEXT. Third, a part of the explanation of a topic was on occasion identical with a part of an explanation of that topic in another TEXT. Fourth, at times the entire explanation of a topic was unique. Fifth and finally, it was found that sometimes only part of an explanation of a topic was unique.

1.   Identical Explanation.

The first three of these five levels of association deal with degrees of identicality among the TEXTS; the

remaining two levels deal with uniqueness in the literature. The extent to which either identicality or similarity was found to occur can best be demonstrated in chart form. Chart G , following, shows for each of our twenty-two topics five columns with the number of TEXTS that have an explanation that is: I, identical in its entirety with another TEXT; II, entirely an abbreviation of another TEXT; III, identical in part with another TEXT; IV, unique in its entirety; and V, unique in part.

Also on Chart G , beside the "number of TEXTS" that are listed under each of the five levels of association, the specific TEXTS that were found to have identical or unique explanations are identified. The identifications in the first three columns, since these deal with degrees of identicality, obviously involve two or more TEXTS that are in some way identical for an explanation of a topic. Thus pairs of TEXTS are shown with a slash. For example, "39/38" beside the topic "catechumen" in column I means that the entire explanation of the catechumen in TEXT 39 and TEXT 38 is the same. Under column II, "33/34" beside the topic "catechumen" means that the entire explanation of the catechumen in TEXT 33 is an abbreviation, or contained within, the explanation of the catechumen in TEXT 34; and under column III, "15/19" beside the topic "catechumen" means that part of the explanation of the catechumen in TEXT 15 is identical with part of the explanation of the catechumen in TEXT 19.

These combinations of TEXTS marked by slashes show occurrences of one of the three degrees of identicality. It could be simply coincidental use of the same source that is responsible for two TEXTS having identical explanation, or it could be that there is a direct relationship between the two TEXTS. These combinations of two TEXTS are potentially more significant of a direct relation between the two if we know their identical explanation is not due to their common use of the three most popular sources used in our tracts. For this reason, Chart G does not reflect any identicality between two TEXTS that is the result of their common quotation of Isidore, TEXT 1, or Scripture. Because the twelve TEXTS modeled on TEXT 1 are almost entirely identical with their model, these TEXTS are not shown on the chart. Thus Chart G deals with twenty-five TEXTS describing the entire rite (that is, thirty-nine less Charlemagne's TEXT 14 which has no explanation, less TEXT 1, and less the twelve TEXTS modeled on TEXT 1), but not with their explanation that is a direct quotation from Isidore, TEXT 1, or Scripture.

Finally, before presenting Chart G , it is important that the terms "identical", "unique", and "abbreviation" in the Chart be clarified. "Identical" means that exactly the same Latin phrase or sentences are repeated in more than one TEXT. There may, however, be very slight

orthographical variations. "Unique" means: 1) any vari-
ation from an identified source, such as Isidore, by
supplementation, abbreviation, rearrangement, or partial
substitution of the direct quotation; 2) a rephrasing
of the direct quotation as a different expression of
basically the same information; or 3) information diffe-
rent from that found in any other TEXT, either from an
unidentified source or an original statement. Regarding
the term "abbreviation": when the explanation in one
TEXT is entirely an abbreviation of another, this means
that the explanation can be found in its entirety and
unaltered within the explanation of another TEXT.

If the reader has examined Chart G he will have
noted the extent to which cases of both identical and
unique explanations occur in our TEXTS. Evidence of
identical explanation, shown by the first three columns
of the Chart, will be discussed first.

The evidence, it should be recalled, excludes iden-
ticality between any two TEXTS due to their common use
of Isidore, TEXT 1, or Scripture. Nevertheless, the
fact that two TEXTS share identical explanation could
be due to their common use of another source, and not
to borrowing from each other. In fact, there are a num-
ber of ways two TEXTS with identical explanation could
be indirectly related through a common source or even

as independent derivations from the same archetype.
It is, admittedly, hypothetical work to establish a
direct relationship between two TEXTS because they have
identical explanation; that is, that a composer of a
specific TEXT "X" possessed and used a specific TEXT "Y"
in order to compose his instruction. Yet it is not im-
possible that in some cases the combinations of TEXTS
marked with slashes in the first columns on the Chart
represent two TEXTS that are directly related to each
other. It is of great interest to investigate to what
extent our composers were using one another to create
their baptismal instructions. It might allow us, for
example, to establish relations between different geo-
graphical areas, if we know who the composers were or
where they wrote.

A combination of two TEXTS that occurs only once
on Chart G might have resulted because of their com-
posers' coincidental use of the same source. But if a
combination of two specific TEXTS is repeatedly found
for more than one topic on Chart G , it is more likely
that the two TEXTS are directly related. For example,
if one casts his eyes down column II he will see that
TEXT 35 is entirely an abbreviation of TEXT 28 in its
explanation of eleven different topics. This very
strongly suggests that the composer of TEXT 35 used
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TEXT 35 is entirely an abbreviation of TEXT 28 in its
explanation of eleven different topics. This very
strongly suggests that the composer of TEXT 35 used
TEXT 28 to create a briefer baptismal instruction.

In order to permit the reader to see more easily which and for how many topics TEXTS are identical to others, the following Chart H has organized the information on Chart G according to the twenty-five TEXTS. On Chart H , in a column on the left are listed the twenty-five TEXTS (all twenty-five have some element of identicality with another TEXT) in the order of their Inventory-number. Beside each TEXT are listed horizontally the other TEXTS with which it is identical in one of three ways: 1) if the TEXTS are identical for their entire explanation of a topic, they are circled; 2) if the TEXTS are an abbreviation for their entire explanation of a topic, they are set in a triangle; 3) if the TEXTS are identical for a part of their explanation of a topic, they are listed without a circle or triangle. A superscript over the TEXTS listed horizontally indicates for how many topics the TEXT is identical to the TEXT in the left hand column in one of the above three ways. For example, adjacent to TEXT 19 the reader will see:

$\triangle{15}$, 15, 16, 17^4, 21, 23^4.

This means that TEXT 19 and TEXT 15 have one topic whose explanation in TEXT 15 is entirely an abbreviation of TEXT 19 and another topic whose explanation is in part identical. Further, TEXT 19 and TEXTS 16 and 21 have one topic whose explanation is in part identical, and finally TEXT 19 and TEXTS 17 and 23 have four topics (superscript 4)

whose explanation is in part identical. (On the far right on Chart H the instances of unique explanation in each TEXT are also shown. This information is for a later discussion.)

After examining Chart H , the reader will be aware that some TEXTS have a great deal of explanation that is identical with other TEXTS, and some do not. It is impressive that all twenty-five TEXTS are in some way identical with another TEXT. Even if it cannot be stated that identicality always signifies a direct relation between two TEXTS, the interrelationship of the baptismal literature is vary apparent from Chart H .

On Chart H there are ten combinations of TEXTS that have identical explanation in one of three ways for more than one topic. Every possible combination due to identical explanation cannot be investigated, but these ten with identical explanations for more than one topic are more likely to be TEXTS that are directly related. They are: 1) 19/15; 2) 17/19; 3) 23/19; 4) 34/33; 5) 35/28; 6) 36/37/38/39/27; 7) 30/31/32; 8) 20/28; 9) 16/20; and 10) 26/16.

The first three combinations involve the association of three TEXTS with TEXT 19, the response of Archbishop Magnus of Sens to Charlemagne's baptismal questionnaire.

1) 19/15: TEXT 15 is an anonymous indirect response to Charlemagne's questionnaire published by Baluze from

a MS. he failed to identify (see Inventory). This TEXT has an explanation of the scrutiny that is entirely an abbreviation of Magnus' explanation (TEXT 19) of scrutiny, and the two TEXTS are also identical for part of their explanation of a catechumen. The association between these two works has never been noticed before.

Although TEXT 15 contains reference to Charlemagne's questionnaire, it is not a direct response to the Emperor, but a synodal address. The TEXT begins, "Haec sunt causae quas domnus imperator Augustus nobis ad utilitatem semper sanctae ecclesiae per sacram suam mandavit epistolam..."[65] After opening remarks about the need to increase sound doctrine in matters of faith, the composer of TEXT 15 states, "... Et pro hoc hic plus non loquimur, ne sanctam prolixus offendat synodum sermo."[66] Not only is there this direct reference to the synod, but TEXT 15 is in the form of a series of capitula, chapters containing decrees or legal material, numbered and with titles corresponding to Charlemagne's questions. The synodal address was probably delivered in the aftermath of the five regional councils of 813, when the bishops convened with their priests in diocesan synods to pass down to the parishes the decisions issued from those regional councils. TEXT 15 has already been discussed in regard to the role of Charlemagne's questionnaire in the decrees of those councils.[67]

The similarities of the diocesan synodal address of
TEXT 15 and Magnus' response suggest how the baptismal
legislation of 813 may have been implemented in the arch-
diocese of Sens. Magnus perhaps circulated a copy of
his own response to the questionnaire with the decisions
of the five regional councils as a model instruction for
his suffragan bishops, who were obliged to hold local
synods with their priests to implement the reforms of
the regional councils.

2) 17/19: TEXT 17 is an anonymous tract represented
in only one MS., Troyes, Bibl. mun. 804 (s.IX, origin
undetermined). Magnus' explanation of exorcism is
entirely an abbreviation of the explanation of exorcism
in TEXT 17, and these two TEXTS are identical for part
of their explanations of four other topics.

One possible reason for the identical explanations
in TEXTS 17 and 19 could be that TEXT 17 was composed
in a scriptorium in the diocese of Sens with the help
of Magnus' (TEXT 19) model as well as with the model of
Charlemagne's questionnaire. This suggestion is based
on the fact that TEXT 17 is an anonymous tract that
conforms almost identically to the sequence of topics
in Charlemagne's questionnaire. The reason there can
be anonymous tracts identical in sequence with the ques-
tionnaire that were never direct responses to Charle-
magne has already been discussed.[68]

There is another possible reason that TEXT 17 may be identical in part with Magnus (TEXT 19). Magnus may have used TEXT 17, rather than vice versa. This would better explain the fact that Magnus' entire explanation under one topic is an abbreviation of TEXT 17, and not the reverse. TEXT 17 may, in fact, be the work of one of Magnus' suffragans to whom Magnus wrote requesting an explanation of how this suffragan taught baptism. To explain this hypothesis further, it is helpful to discuss at this point our third combination.

3) 23/19: TEXT 23 is the work of Theodulf of Orleans. Magnus' (TEXT 19) entire explanation of the Creed is an abbreviation of Theodulf's (TEXT 23), and the two TEXTS are identical for part of their explanations under four further topics. It is known from Theodulf's prefatory remarks that Magnus of Sens, his metropolitan, asked Theodulf to write a response to the imperial question- naire, presumably that Magnus would use to compose his own direct reply to Charlemagne. Magnus, however, did not only use Theodulf's TEXT as a source. His response to Charlemagne has as much identical explanation with TEXT 17 as with Theodulf (TEXT 23). Because it is known in the case of Magnus and Theodulf that Magnus borrowed from Theodulf and not vice versa, it could be that the identical explanation in Magnus and TEXT 17 means that Magnus also borrowed from TEXT 17, just as he borrowed

from Theodulf (TEXT 23). Magnus could have used Theodulf
much more extensively than he did. Perhaps the reason
he did not was that he had other sources that he wished
to include in his response to Charlemagne. It is possible
that Magnus requested not only Theodulf to respond indi-
rectly to the questionnaire for him, but also that he
asked others of his suffragan bishops in other parts of
his archdiocese to do this. Charlemagne stated in his
questionnaire: "Nosse itaque per tua scripta aut per
te ipsum volumus qualiter tu et suffraganei tui doceatis
et instruatis sacerdotes Dei et plebem vobis commissam
de baptismi sacramento..."[69] Magnus may have taken this
quite literally and written to his suffragans to find
out how each taught and instructed his priests and the
people commissioned to him on baptism, and then sought
to fashion from the replies a response to Charlemagne
that was a composite of explanations from around his
archdiocese.[70]

A final feature regarding the MS. of TEXT 17 is
perhaps significant. The scriptorium of Troyes, Bibl.
mun. 804 has not been determined, but it is at least of
interest that Troyes belonged to Magnus' archdiocese,
only a stone's throw from Sens.

4) 34/33: TEXT 33 is an abbreviation of TEXT 34
for its entire explanation of five different topics and
identical for its entire explanation of three further

topics. Each TEXT is represented by only one MS.. In both of these MSS. the TEXTS are in interrogatory-response form and are contained within a larger interrogatio sacerdotalis. By comparing the entire contents of both interrogationes sacerdotales it looks as though the composer of TEXT 33 had several sources under his eyes, one of which was the interrogatio sacerdotalis of TEXT 34. The composer of TEXT 33 began his interrogatio with a long series of questions on the clerical grades and parts of the Mass not found in the interrogatio of TEXT 34. Then, when he came to the subjects of the Church, baptism, and the faith, he picked up the interrogatio of TEXT 34 and extracted only some of its information on all of these topics. The information in the interrogatio of TEXT 34 is never an abbreviation of any of the material in the interrogatio of TEXT 33, which suggests that TEXT 33 was composed with the help of TEXT 34, not vice versa.

The clerical interrogations alone of all the material in each MS. are similar. This indicates that the relation between TEXTS 33 and 34 is due to a common textual tradition, not MS. tradition, and that TEXT 33 could have been composed from another copy of the interrogatio of TEXT 34 in another MS..

5) 35/28: Out of seventeen topics contained in TEXT 35, its entire explanation is identical with TEXT 28

for one, an abbreviation of TEXT 28 for eleven, and
identical in part with TEXT 28 for two further topics.
TEXT 35 is an anonymous commentary contained within a
clerical interrogation in a MS. from southern France,
Albi, Bibl. Rocheg. 43 (s.IX 4/4). TEXT 28 is the re-
sponse of Leidrad of Lyons to Charlemagne's baptismal
questionnaire. One of its MSS. that will concern us
momentarily is Barcelona, Bibl. Univ. 228, s.XI (X^2).

In Section 1 of this chapter dealing with the struc-
tural models used by our composers, it was described
how the composer of TEXT 35 took his explanations from
Leidrad's treatise, but altered Leidrad's sequence of
topics that reflect the Roman _ordo_ so that in TEXT 35
the sequence of topics reflected a Gallicanized rite of
baptism.[71]

It is very clear from a comparison of the contents
of Albi, Bibl. Rocheg. 43 and Barcelona, Bibl. Univ. 228
how the composer of TEXT 35 compiled a manual for priests
using the material in Barcelona, Bibl. Univ. 228. Almost
the entire contents of ff. 1-24 of Albi, Bibl. Rocheg. 43
are found in Barcelona, Bibl. Univ. 228. Six blocks of
material, although the blocks are arranged differently
in each, are identical in the two MSS., or else Albi,
Bibl. Rocheg. 43 contains an abbreviated form of the
block of material. One of the cases of abbreviation is
Leidrad's TEXT 28 in Barcelona, Bibl. Univ. 228, which

in Albi, Bibl. Rocheg. 43 is transformed into our anony-
mous TEXT 35.

Even though Barcelona, Bibl. Univ. 228 is an s.XI
(perhaps s.X^2) MS., the earlier MS. of Albi (s.IX 4/4)
is modeled on its contents. This means that there was
an earlier form of Barcelona, Bibl. Univ. 228 in circu-
lation in southern France in the ninth century. One
brief example will show the dependence of the Albi text
on the Barcelona text:

Barcelona, Bibl.Univ.228,
    f. 2r:

...Docet enim canon quo-
modo iuste vivere quisque
debeat vel qui declinat a
via recta qualiter corri-
gendus sit. Est enim quod
ammodo lex legum qui omnes
praeminet leges que humano
arbitrio composita sunt.
    Post agnitionem fidei
canonice adnotandum est
qualiter fides catholica
et observetur...   (f.2v)
...de habitu religionis...

Albi, Bibl. Roch. 43,
    (between ff.16v.-18v.)

...Docet enim canon quo-
modo iuste vivere quisque
debeat vel qui declinat a
via recta qualiter corri-
gendus sit. Est enim quod
ammodo lex legum quia omps
praeminet legis quia humano
arbitrio composita sunt
post agnitionem fidei.
    Int. Dic nobis de abitu
religionis tuae...

The identical explanations in TEXT 35 and TEXT 28
are able to tell us something about the MS. tradition of
Leidrad's TEXT, because it is clear from the use of Leid-
rad's TEXT in Albi, Bibl. Rocheg. 43 that there were more
MSS. of Leidrad in southern France than are now known.
Chart H, it might be noted, shows the relative frequency
with which Leidrad's explanations are identical with other
TEXTS. Perhaps he was a more popular source for composers

of baptismal instructions than his known MS. tradition
suggests. One wonders if this was due to the particular
information he offered or to his geographical location
in an area perhaps more active in clerical educational
reform than others.

6) 36/37/38/39/27: The similarity between TEXTS
36, 37, 38, 39, and 27 is due to the fact that they
share a common textual archetype, although they are
independent derivations. In Section 1 of this chapter
TEXTS 36, 37, 38 and 39 were discussed under a fifth
model, John the Deacon's letter to Senarius. TEXT 27
is similar to these four because its composer also made
use of a florilegium consisting largely of John the
Deacon.

A comparison of the contents of TEXTS 36, 37, 38
and 39 shows that each is independent of the others,
but that there is a core of material common to all four.
TEXT 36 has sixteen citations not found in TEXTS 37, 38
or 39. TEXT 37 has ten citations not contained in the
other three TEXTS. TEXT 38 has nine and TEXT 39 has
seventeen citations not found in the other three TEXTS.
At the same time, all four TEXTS have fourteen identical
citations. These occur, with only one exception, in
the same order under nearly identical chapter titles in
all four TEXTS. The citations are from Isidore, Pope
Celestine, John the Deacon, and Augustine, but in the

following proportion (parentheses indicate variations among the four TEXTS):

De caticuminis (De catechumenis et exorcismis)

1. Isidore.

De exsufflatione et exorcismo (De sufflatione et exsufflatione)

2. Pope Celestine

3. John the Deacon

De salis acceptione

4. John the Deacon   (Isidore)

5. Isidore   (John the Deacon)

De scrutinio

6. John the Deacon

De tactu aurium (De eo quod neoffitorum aures... lineatur)

7. John the Deacon

De tactu naris (narium)

8. John the Deacon

De pectoris unctione (De unctione pectoris et scapulae)

9. John the Deacon
10. John the Deacon

De albis vestibus

11. John the Deacon

De communicatione corporis et sanguinis Domini

12. Augustine
13. Augustine

De impositione manus pontificis

14. Isidore

It is interesting that this group of citations common to all four TEXTS is a description of a complete ordo of baptism in its own right, and that it consists largely of excerpts from John the Deacon. It was for this reason that John the Deacon was used as the model and suggested as the archetype of TEXTS 36, 37, 38 and 39 in Section 1.

The variations among the four TEXTS consist mostly in the length of their excerpts from John the Deacon, Isidore, and Augustine and in the supplementation of these sources with such authorities as Scripture,

Cyprian, Ambrose, Bede, Jerome, Pope Leo I, Pope Gregory I and Pope Celestine. Probably the archetype of TEXTS 36, 37, 38 and 39 was a baptismal commentary consisting basically of John the Deacon and Isidore, on which subsequent redactors expanded with their own florilegial material. Between the archetype and our TEXTS were perhaps subarchetypes that might explain certain features common to only two of the TEXTS in the group of four.

TEXT 27 is the letter of Angilmodus described under the first model in Section 1. It contains some excerpts from John the Deacon not found in TEXTS 36, 37, 38 or 39, as well as longer extracts of this source than in TEXTS 36, 37, 38 and 39, where in those four TEXTS the Deacon excerpts are concluded with "etc." or "et reliqua". TEXT 27 does not seem to have borrowed from a complete text of the letter of John the Deacon but from a florilegium containing the Deacon's text in extracted form juxtaposed to other authorities on baptism. This is suggested by the fact that the explanation in TEXT 27 that is identical with TEXTS 36, 37, 38 and 39 is not only from John the Deacon but from John the Deacon and Isidore. No other explanation in TEXT 27 is identical with TEXTS 36, 37, 38 or 39 except John the Deacon and John the Deacon followed or preceded by Isidore. Angilmodus perhaps had access to a florilegium containing

essentially John the Deacon and Isidore similar to the archetype of TEXTS 36, 37, 38 and 39.

In sum, it seems probable that the similarities among all five TEXTS are due to a common archetype of which they are independent derivations.

7) 30/31/32: The association among these TEXTS is also due to a common textual tradition. These TEXTS were discussed in the previous section under the Gallicanized model of the PRG. Each is based on extracts from Rabanus Maurus. While they have identical passages for this reason, a comparison shows that they independently derived from Rabanus and not from each other.

It can probably be assumed on the basis of these three TEXTS, all slightly different redactions of Rabanus' baptismal material in the De institutione clericorum, that there were many more commentaries based on Rabanus. Certainly, his reputation could account for this, but one might wonder if the popularity of his text for composers of baptismal instruction could also have been due to the Gallicanized ordo Rabanus describes, the ordo that, probably for reasons of popularity, would eventually be included in the PRG in the tenth century.

8) 20/28; and 9) 16/20: These two combinations of TEXTS involving TEXT 20 may be due to independent borrowing or even to coincidental use of the same source. In TEXT 28 (Leidrad) part of the explanation of "nose"

and "Eucharist" is identical with part of the explanation of these topics in TEXT 20. TEXT 16 is entirely an abbreviation of TEXT 20 for "ears" and in part identical for "nose". It is possible that the composers of TEXTS 28 and 16 borrowed from TEXT 20, because TEXT 20 is a florilegium of extracts of identified Church authors and a very suitable source for composers of baptismal instruction. Also, TEXT 20, or a form of it, was almost certainly in existence by 812, when Leidrad (TEXT 28) composed his treatise. However, since florilegial tracts were popular, as TEXTS 36, 37, 38 and 39 attest, the identical explanation in TEXTS 20 and 28 and TEXTS 20 and 16 might not imply any direct relation between these TEXTS, but only their composers' common use of another florilegium collecting similar material.

10) 26/16: Again, this combination is very likely due to the coincidental use of the same source by the composers of these TEXTS. TEXTS 26 and 16 have identical explanation under two topics, but their identical explanation is also in TEXT 20.

The ten combinations that have been examined are, of course, only a fraction of the associations indicated on Chart H. Perhaps a number of the combinations of TEXTS due to identical explanation for only one topic are indicative of direct relationships between two TEXTS.

When it is recalled that in addition to all the identical explanations between two TEXTS shown on Chart H there are many more due to the common use of Isidore, TEXT 1, and Scripture, it is certain that our literature is not only intimately related in its cause and didactic intent, but in its actual textual composition.

Given the singular context of the literature as part of a concerted effort to educate the clergy under the pressure of reform legislation, borrowing between the TEXTS is perhaps not surprising. It is, however, of more than passing interest, because relationships among specific TEXTS can be seen that tell us, for example, how the reform legislation might have been implemented throughout the dioceses. What is most surprising, however, is the number of unique explanations that accompany the identical explanations in the tracts.

2.   Unique Explanations.

In Chart G, columns IV and V show the extent of unique explanation among the twenty-five TEXTS. In terms of topics, unique explanation occurs under almost every topic. Some topics, it can be seen, have a great deal more unique explanation from different TEXTS than others. This could reflect the greater interest in some topics by our composers than in others. In order to facilitate

an examination of which and how often TEXTS have unique
explanations, the information on Chart G under columns
IV and V has been translated in Chart H according to
TEXTS instead of topics.

On the far right in Chart H beside each of the
twenty-five TEXTS is listed, first, the number of topics
for which each has an explanation that is unique in its
entirety, and second, the number of topics for which
each TEXT has an explanation that is unique in part.

It will be noted in the Chart that twenty -one of the
twenty-five TEXTS have at least one explanation that is
unique in its entirety. Moreover, all twenty-five TEXTS
have at least one explanation that is unique in part.
Some TEXTS have far more unique explanations than others.
There is a vast number of possibilities as to why unique
explanations are found in all the TEXTS. It should be
recalled that "unique" can mean anything from a variation
of a well-known source to information different from
that in any other TEXT. It has already been shown in
the summaries of the explanations at the beginning of
this section to what extent there is different informa-
tion in our TEXTS. From the collective evidence it can
be stated that unique explanation in a substantial number
of cases means different information.

D.   Conclusion.

This chapter has examined the contents of thirty-
nine TEXTS describing the entire liturgical rite of
baptism in terms of their structure and their explana-
tion of the rite. It was found, first, that one way
the TEXTS differ is in their structure. Of the five
models, it was seen, first, that some of the TEXTS re-
flect the Roman rite of _Ordo_ XI in their selection and
sequence of topics. Despite, however, the baptismal
legislation that imposed the Roman _ordo_, only a very
small percentage of our composers described this rite.
Moreover, it appears that most of the TEXTS that are
modeled on the Roman _ordo_ were not intended for parish
priests. Second, it was seen that there was a distinct
preference for a Gallicanized rite. In six TEXTS cer-
tain features completely contrary to the Roman rite,
but found in sacramentaries of the "Gelasian of the
s.VIII-type", are repeated. Third, the model preferred
by more of our composers than any other was TEXT 1. It
was seen that this TEXT, used by Alcuin and Charlemagne
and closely associated with clerical reform legislation,
in fact describes a Gallicanized rite of baptism.
Fourth, some of the TEXTS are modeled on Charlemagne's
sequence of topics in his baptismal questionnaire sent
to the archbishops of his realm and probably used in the

reform legislation of 813. Here it was found that Charlemagne himself did not describe the Roman _ordo_ of baptism. Fifth, a small group of TEXTS are modeled on a florilegium that combines both Romanisms and Gallicanizations, perhaps because of the use of this florilegium in different geographical locations. The evidence of these particular structural models suggests that one reason for the variety in the baptismal literature must have been a preference for Gallicanized or locally familiar rites of baptism that responded better to the needs of the priests who were being instructed than the Roman _ordo_. But also the variety in structural models may not have seemed contradictory to reformers like Charlemagne and Alcuin whose notion of Romanity could have included necessary adaptations of the Roman rite on Frankish soil. In Charlemagne's eyes clerical education had a clear priority over liturgical conformity regarding baptismal instruction.

A second major area in which the TEXTS differ is in their explanations of the baptismal rite. The simultaneous combination of both identical and unique explanations in all of the TEXTS shows the interrelationship of the literature and yet the independent creativity of our composers. The unique explanation consists not only of alterations in quotations from a few popular sources, but of different information. Usually this information

is not contradictory, but simply additional. It is obvious, however, that clerics everywhere were not receiving the same instructions on baptism. A number of reasons were suggested to explain the appearance of the additional explanations. These reasons, like the reasons for the variety in the structures of the TEXTS, point to local influences and concerns. Regarding the most common sources for the tracts, Isidore could be quoted either very frequently or rarely, and often he was referred to indirectly in a unique variation. TEXT 1 was cited extensively by some of our composers and avoided altogether by others. Here again, it was more common to find variations of TEXT 1 than direct quotation. In the use of scriptural citations, only a few TEXTS were responsible for the high number of quotations under the topics. The paucity and obscurity of the quotations in most of the TEXTS that could also be found in a few of the TEXTS with many other quotations suggested there was an interrelationship among the tracts.

All the instances of identical explanation of the rite in two or more TEXTS were charted in order to investigate the interrelationship of the baptismal literature. The extent of identical explanations was impressive, and it was possible to suggest some direct relationships between TEXTS that had identical explanations for more than one topic. Most significant, however,

were the unique explanations that were found to exist side by side with the identical explanations.

The combinations of unique and identical explanations imply that the baptismal instruction was a living literature, not merely a reiteration of the well-known sources, but an expression of Carolingian creativity, reflecting the influences and concerns of that age. The originality of the tracts is found in the way our composers pieced together their instructions by selecting and adapting their sources, borrowing horizontally from their contemporaries, and by supplementing, omitting, substituting or rephrasing their material in a way that expressed their own ideas.

The fact that the baptismal tracts were a creative enterprise means that they are an important, and it might be added new, source of information about the Carolingian era. The implication too is that other Carolingian literatures hitherto ignored are a potentially valuable source of information. In the case of the baptismal literature, its variety both in terms of its structure and its explanations of the rite can be explained by local influences on individual composers and specific Carolingian concerns and ideas.