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April 26, 1999

**To:**

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1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.  
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**From:**

Project Number: RE-21238-95  
Award Recipient: Duke University  
Director: Susan A. Keefe  
Project Title: The Making of a Christendom: Creed Commentaries and  
Explanations of the Faith in the Carolingian Empire.

**Subject:**

Final Performance Report  
Due Date: 06/30/1999  
Period to be Covered: 04/01/1995 to 03/31/1999

## Narrative Report

### I. Recapitulation of the Project Proposed in 1995

#### a) Importance of the Project

In the history of Christian thought, the period of the eighth and ninth centuries, often known as the Carolingian Renaissance or Carolingian Reform, stands as the crucial link between late antiquity and the Scholastic age. What it chose to save and pass on of Christian and pagan teaching largely makes up the foundation of western culture. No subject was more important to the Carolingians than the *fides recta*, the belief handed down from the apostles and confirmed by the fathers. This they passed on in hundreds of works of an enormous variety of genres. The Carolingians are famous as compilers and copyists of patristic texts, but they were also interested editors of the works they copied whole or in part. Their passion for the subject of the creed is discovered in the sometimes slight, sometimes extensive, changes they made in their sources. Because of their influence on the interpretation of the faith, it is critical for scholars and students of Christian history to have access to these Carolingian texts.

#### b) Goal of the Project

My proposal to the NEH was to edit unpublished Latin creed commentaries and explanations of the faith in Carolingian manuscripts. The project would involve three stages: 1) expanding my initial list of unpublished creed commentaries by further investigation of more manuscripts, including library catalogue research and visiting European libraries to investigate some manuscripts in person; 2) acquiring microfilm of the manuscripts containing the creed commentaries and preparing editions of these texts, as well as securing a publisher for them; 3) writing an introduction to the Latin editions that would explain their interest for students and specialists of Christian history. The hitherto unpublished texts have much to tell about how western Europe became Christian through missionaries, monks, and local pastors explaining the faith to the people and gradually converting a fundamentally pagan mindset. There was also a need to combat heretical notions in many people that had been superficially converted to Christianity. The introduction would describe the contents of the creed commentaries, showing which aspects of the faith received the most attention, and the social and political milieu in which they were written. The introduction would also include a description of the books (manuscripts) in which the creed commentaries circulated, showing the many different kinds of books in which the texts appeared.

#### c) Form of the Project

The entire project would be presented in the form of a book entitled: *The Making of a Christendom: Creed Commentaries and Explanations of the Faith in the Carolingian Empire*. I envisioned three volumes would be necessary, the first containing the introduction to the texts, and the second and third containing the Latin editions. Each edition (the number of individual commentaries I would edit was not yet determined) would have a critical apparatus collating variant readings when there were two or more manuscripts of the same text, and a source apparatus identifying the sources upon which the author of the commentary drew.

d) Timetable for the Project

The project I estimated would take three years. The first year would be spent preparing a computer database (inventory) of as many creed commentaries and explanations of the faith in Carolingian manuscripts, both published and unpublished, as possible (no such inventory existed). I was aware, at the start of the project, of some three hundred different creed commentaries and explanations of the faith, but I did not know how many more there were, and the proportion of them that had been edited. The inventory was necessary in order to distinguish which texts have never been brought to light; which texts have been published, but only in old, uncritical editions, whose editors did not always report what manuscripts they used; and which texts have received modern, critical editions. The inventory would be alphabetical by incipit (the first words of the text), because almost all of the texts are in anonymous or pseudonymous form. In order to compile this inventory, I would use a combination of tactics, including catalogue hunting, ordering microfilm from European archives, and visiting the manuscripts in person (the month of July). At the end of the year I would submit the inventory to the journal *Medieval Studies*, with a request for readers to alert me to further texts and manuscripts I missed. Also in the first year I would begin to pursue a publisher for the final book form of my project.

In the second year I planned to 1) continue adding to the computer database and, by the year's end, to complete this identifying phase of the project. (I was well aware my inventory would not be exhaustive, because it draws on an indefinable number of manuscripts. Since the hunt for creed commentaries could go on indefinitely, it was necessary to set a limit on the searching phase, but allow for *addenda*.); 2) confirm a publisher; 3) travel to Europe again in July to see manuscripts which were not able to be microfilmed, which were brought to my attention since the previous July, or which I was not able to see previously due to time constraints, especially manuscripts in Spain.

In the third year I planned to take a year's sabbatical from my teaching duties to devote full time to finishing the project. At that point I would be in a position to identify a large corpus of material that had never been published, to select the texts I would

edit, and to prepare the editions using microfilm obtained from Europe. In the final six months of the project I would complete the proofreading of the editions and the writing of the historical introduction and analysis of the creed commentaries (volume one of the three-volume book). I hoped to submit the book to the publisher in the Fall of 1998, following the April 1, 1998, termination of the Grant.

## II. The Present State of the Project

### a) Three Books

The project has assumed the form of three independent, but cross-referenced books. After long and thoughtful discussions with Dom Lucas Jocqué, Editor-in-Chief of *Corpus Christianorum* (a series of *Brepols Publishers*), his suggestion was to submit the Latin editions to his series, to be published as a volume in *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*; to submit the inventory of published and unpublished creed commentaries to the *Brepols* series *Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia*; and to submit my historical introduction and analysis of the texts, entitled, *The Making of a Christendom: Creed Commentaries and Explanations of the Faith in the Carolingian Empire*, to the *Brepols* series *Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin*.

### b) Editions Contracted

As of the date of this report, I have completed the Latin editions, with textual and source apparatuses. They include sixty hitherto unedited creed commentaries and explanations of the faith. I have submitted the editions to *Corpus Christianorum*. The Editorial Board has reviewed the work and sent me a contract to publish the Latin editions in a volume of *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, with the agreement that I make certain changes in the editions to conform to their editing principles (discussed below). I have signed the contract, the volume to be entitled: *Symbola, Expositiones, et Explanations Fidei Karolini Aevi*, and must now make these alterations in my editions before submitting their final form for press, which I hope to do in the Fall of 1999.

### c) Inventory Submitted

I have also completed a second volume, entitled: *Inventarium Symbolorum, Expositionum et Explanatum Fidei in Codicibus Karolini Aevi*. This consists of the inventory of published and unpublished creed commentaries and explanations of the faith in Carolingian manuscripts, that is, the computer database that I compiled in the first two years of the Grant project. The inventory

proper, consisting of the incipit/explicit (first and last words) of the text, author (if known), previous editions (if any), and manuscripts of the text, is followed by a *Descriptio Codicum*, describing every Carolingian manuscript cited in the inventory, as to its more precise date between an. 750-900, its place of origin (if known), its intended use (such as "schoolbook" or "missal"), and its contents in addition to the creed commentary material. The inventory is written in Latin, except that at this date I have not finished translating my English descriptions of the manuscripts into Latin. I am doing this because it is expected by *Brepols* that all *inventarii*, *claves*, and *instrumenta* of Latin works will be written in Latin. I have recently submitted this volume as a sample to the Editorial Board of *Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia* for consideration in their series. Because I have already talked with them, I hope to receive a favorable reply; however, the reply may be a while in coming, because it will take some time for the Board to read it and critique it (160 pp. without the description of manuscripts, of which there are over three hundred). If accepted, I assume they will require certain adjustments, which I hope to have completed, as well as the description of the codices, no later than the end of this year.

#### c) Historical Commentary Proposal Accepted

I have written to the Editor-in-Chief of *Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin* describing the nature of a book which I am still in the process of writing, entitled: *The Making of a Christendom: Creed Commentaries and Explanations of the Faith in the Carolingian Empire*. This, as I explained to him, is my historical commentary and analysis of the Latin editions to be published in *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*. He wrote me back Dec. 10, 1998 to say that the Editorial Board had discussed my proposal and thought that my volume would fit into their series. He invited me to submit it "in due course."

### III. Major Activities That Occurred During the Grant Period

#### a) Reconceptualization of the Final Form of the Project

Two major events helped me to reconceptualize the final form of the project. One was at the end of my first year of the project, when I first submitted the inventory to the journal *Medieval Studies* to be published simply as an article. The response of the editor was that it was long and important, and should be published as a book. No list of the works pertaining to the confession and interpretation of the faith in Carolingian manuscripts had previously been compiled. The need for such an inventory has been expressed by a few students and scholars of Christian history, but most have had no way on knowing the nature, large extent, and influence of this literature. It was not my intent originally that

the inventory would be part of the final publication of the project, but, in fact, it is a necessary part of the Latin editions, showing their relation to a far greater corpus of literature concerned with the creed.

The second factor in my reconceptualizing the final form of the project was the very happy acquaintance I made with Dom Lucas Jocqué, Editor-in-Chief of *Corpus Christianorum*. The way it occurred I certainly had not anticipated, but in the second year of the project I discovered that a scholar in the Netherlands was also working on editions of hitherto unpublished Latin creeds and creed commentaries. I immediately wrote to him, and he wrote back. His plans were to edit in a volume of *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* a number of texts that are identified in the *Clavis patrum latinorum* (ed. E. Dekkers, 1995 edition; also a publication of *Corpus Christianorum*). The *Clavis* does not extend as far as the Carolingian period, so that, while there was some overlap between the texts we were both planning to edit, I had many that he had no plans to edit. At that point I wrote to Lucas Jocqué and asked if he thought it would be possible for both of our projects to be published by *Corpus Christianorum*. He presented the very agreeable solution that I publish my texts in the series *Continuatio Mediaevalis*, that is, that I confine my editions to those texts that have no *Clavis* number and probably originated in the Carolingian period. This solution helped me to set a reasonable limit on the amount of material I would edit, and was an invitation to submit those editions, once completed, to the most ideal publisher possible. It did mean, however, that the inventory and historical introduction would have to be accommodated in some other way, and thus the solution proposed by Dom Jocqué described above (under II. a).

b) Alteration in Timetable

At the start of the project I could only estimate how much more creed-related material I would find in the collecting and identifying phase of the project. I vastly underestimated this amount of material and the complexity of determining how much of the material had never been published, because of the great number of *variations* of edited creed commentaries I found, as well as entirely unedited texts: Were these variations important? Should they be published as "new" texts? Thus, at the end of the second year I requested a one-year extension of the project (no change in budget). I also shifted my year's sabbatical from teaching duties to the final fourth year of the project (partly due to the sudden announced departure of a colleague which would leave no one to teach medieval church history if I took a leave at that time).

Another aspect of the project that consumed far more time than I had anticipated was the identification of the sources used by the authors of the creed commentaries. The computer data bases *PL ROM* and *CETEDOC* were extraordinarily helpful in searching for sentences

quoted from patristic works, but the very availability of these tools meant hours and hours of "searches" in the hopes of identifying passages in the texts I was editing. Also, the way in which the composers of my editions had used their sources was often very complex, and sometimes whole paragraphs were needed in the source apparatus to explain what the composer had done. Twice, for example, a text had major significance for the dating of another work thought to be post-Carolingian. Elucidating such discoveries greatly prolonged completion of the editions.

Even with the extension, the project could not be finished as of this April 1. While I am anxious to have all aspects of it completed in the coming year, one simply cannot hasten the meticulous, time-consuming work of rechecking the Latin transcriptions and references to manuscripts and folios.

#### c) Reallocation of Funds

For some aspects of the project I could and did employ a research assistant. I was fortunate to have the same graduate student throughout, who knows Latin, and who could print-out microfilm, track down obscure articles in foreign languages, and help check for the sources of my texts using *PL ROM* and *CETEDOC*. To increase the hours he could assist me, I asked for a reallocation of some of the money I had budgeted for purchasing microfilm to pay my research assistant. (I had over-estimated the amount I actually spent on microfilm of manuscripts, because several libraries from which I hoped to receive microfilm were closed for temporary renovation, or the manuscripts were in too fragile a condition to be photographed. See the attached list of microfilm that was able to be purchased during the Grant period.)

In regard to the Grant funds, I am glad to report that taking care of payments and reimbursements did not become a major activity of the project. Duke University kept my account and quickly and efficiently handled payments to my research assistant and prepayments for my trips to Europe, as well as reimbursements for microfilm purchased from European archives and other budgeted expenses. There were no difficulties to report at any point regarding the budget or permission to reallocate some of the funds.

#### d) Trips to European Archives

The highlight of the activities that occurred during the Grant period were the two sequential visits to European archives in July of 1995 and July of 1996. In July, 1995, I saw manuscripts in Paris, Albi, Montpellier, Rome, Vatican City, Florence, Pavia, Vercelli, Zürich, St. Gallen, Wolfenbüttel, Fulda, Merseburg, Naumburg, Leiden, Valenciennes, and Arras. In July, 1996, I saw manuscripts in Montpellier (again), Barcelona, Seo de Urgel, Madrid, León, the monasteries of Montserrat, El Escorial, and

Silos, and in Laon and Paris. Both trips began and ended in Paris, where I worked at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, and Institut de Recherche et d' Histoire des Textes as much as time permitted. I wrote to all of these libraries ahead, describing my research and the manuscripts I wished to see. As a result, I was very graciously received. Especially, the monks at Montserrat, Silos, and El Escorial were generous in their time and attention, and allowed me to work in rooms not opened to the public where they had readied the manuscripts I wished to see, as well as brought out old catalogue books and other resource material they thought might be of help. I was very touched at their interest in a young American coming to "invade" their treasures.

There is no substitute (microfilm, detailed catalogue description, even facsimile edition) to seeing the manuscripts "in living flesh." These 1200 year-old parchment codices, by their physical appearance, can reveal in a instant what is often missed in written descriptions. Answers to my questions regarding who used these books, or where or how were they used, was sometimes immediately answered in an eye-opening way. At Barcelona, at the Archivo General de la Corona de Aragon, it took three men to carry down one manuscript I wished to see, for which I had no measurements (it was over four feet tall). It certainly was never any pastor's *vademecum*. Or sometimes the codex was no bigger than a Collins Gem Dictionary. The crudity or finesse of any illustrations, doodles in the margin, the amount of wear and tear, the quality of the parchment, the clarity or crowdedness of the script, and numerous other factors immediately inspired ideas as to how and by whom the book could have been used. In addition, the contents of the books almost always included small items not mentioned in their catalogue descriptions. Once seen, and the presence of creed-related material confirmed, I was able to obtain microfilm of most of the codices, although some could not be photographed and I sat and copied them by hand on site. In one comical instance at Fulda, they took a manuscript out of a glass case for me and set me up a card table on the spot to peruse it. Of course, every passer by in the museum wanted to know what I was doing and to be told about the manuscript. On these trips far more takes place than my interchange with ancient books. I forged friendships with librarians, I brought the name of our University to new places, I showed them my gratitude, and they showed me their generous spirit and desire to help. The NEH should know that my Grant had these humanitarian benefits.

#### IV. Self-Evaluation of the Success of the Project

The success of the project is two-fold. First, while there is still work to be done, the goal of making the creed commentaries accessible is guaranteed by my contract with *Corpus Christianorum*.



No more desirable place could be found for the editions. *Corpus Christianorum* is dedicated to preserving the entire works of the Christian past, both Greek and Latin, in modern critical editions. It is the definitive source to which all scholars turn today in their researches. Anyone in the field of patristic, medieval or Reformation/Renaissance studies is familiar with the "CC" and must cite its new editions over older less accurate editions in Migne's *Patrologia graeca* and *Patrologia latina*, or in the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, of the nineteenth century. It has now over four hundred volumes, while growing every year; is on computer as well as in hardback, and will remain into the unforeseeable future our principal access to the past. To have my editions of mostly anonymous Carolingian creed commentaries and explanations of the faith included in this series will bring attention to this untapped corpus of literature and assure permanent and easy access to it by students and scholars.

Second, I have hope that all three aspects of my project- the Latin editions, the inventory, and the historical commentary, will see the light under one same publisher. The three books will be cross-referenced. While the Latin editions themselves lie at the core of my project, they would have little value (because anonymous) for historians if not contextualized by means of the inventory and an historical introduction and commentary relating the editions to the very extensive body of creed-related material produced under the Carolingians. All three parts of the project are equally important to the whole.

The present arrangement is an improvement of my original conception of the project because each part of the project (the editions, the inventory, the the historical commentary) will receive more attention from a more diversified audience. Readers of the *Publication of the Journal of Medieval Latin*, for example, will be introduced to the contents of the creed commentaries, who might never have thought to explore the Latin editions themselves for ideas related to their interests in social anthropology, art history, drama, and political ideology.

## V. Outside Evaluation of the Project

This has come in the form of two separate Editorial Boards' reviews of my work for publication in their series. First, the Editorial Board of *Corpus Christianorum* was "particularly positive" regarding my Latin editions and "would definitely like them to be published in the *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* series" (as conveyed in a letter from Lucas Jocqué, head of the Board). I was impressed by the reviewers' detailed examination of my editions and the extensive list of corrections and changes they wanted to see. I am grateful for their criticisms, and have learned

a good deal more about editing texts in the process. I originally favored a "diplomatic edition," that is, duplicating all errors of the manuscript in the page of the text, presenting the text to the modern reader just as the Carolingian reader would have received it. *Corpus Christianorum*, however, would like to see a "critical edition," that is, one in which the errors of the manuscript are emended (but preserved in the *apparatus criticus* beneath the page of the text). The reviewers argued that a diplomatic edition, however faithful it may be, is reproducing only one manuscript; other manuscripts that present the same text but without the same errors probably existed, even if they are now lost. The reviewers were also helpfully critical of my selection of texts. They felt that some, which are mere excerpts from a patristic work without substantive changes, did not need to be edited. They did feel, however, that it was very important to draw attention to these *excerpta* texts, and that they should be listed in my inventory and discussed in my historical commentary. Finally, they discouraged long comments in English in the source apparatus, wishing to see them in my historical commentary volume. I agreed to all these changes when I signed the contract them them to publish the editions.

The second review of my work came from the Editorial Board of *Publications for the Journal of Medieval Latin*. What I submitted to them was only the plan of a volume, entitled: *The Making of a Christendom: Creed Commentaries and Explanations of the Faith in the Carolingian Empire*. As I explained, the volume would describe the texts edited in *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, and the role and significance of these texts and others (listed in my inventory) in relation to the Carolingian Reform. I stated, however, that the volume would not be simply a "companion volume" to the Latin editions and the inventory. It is aimed at a general audience, who need not have read the Latin texts. Rather, it puts those texts in a larger framework of historical inquiry, namely: the making of a Christendom. I then described their relation to the Carolingian Reform.

The response that came from the General Editor was very brief and positive. The Editorial board had apparently thought through the nature of my book with some care, because the General Editor apologized for his delay in responding to my proposal, and said that "in the end, our concerns that your proposal would fit into our series were resolved satisfactorily, and we look forward to seeing your manuscript in due course." They, of course, are taking a risk that anonymous, didactic, doctrinal texts have historical worth and will capture the interest of a general audience. I consider publishing with them a breakthrough in bringing an unexploited genre of literature to the attention of social historians, art historians, social anthropologists, and political historians.

## VI. Plans to Continue the Project

Beyond completing the project as proposed for this Grant, my research and editing of Carolingian texts pertaining to the creed will continue for years to come. I know there are manuscripts I have not seen and there are more texts to be discovered. Students are constantly surprised at this; they assume that all the extant manuscripts are well known, and all the extant works identified. My travels to European archives, which have ranged from the humblest public libraries, where I have sat and read ninth-century manuscripts at a large open window with children playing at my feet and a villager smoking his pipe across the table, to the grand reverential halls of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and the Vatican Library, to the dusty, dimly-lit attic of the cathedral in Monza, have increased my awe at the work that remains to be done, the texts yet to be brought to light, and the understanding of our past to be made more complete and more accurate. I am deeply grateful to the National Endowment for the Humanities for their recognition of the value of my project and decision to fund it. My subject, concerning western Europe, an exclusively male body of authors, and Christian doctrinal material, is hardly considered a "hot" one at the moment, when scholars are leaping to more exotic topics, such as marginalized communities, heretical sects, women writers, non-Christian religions, and Asian, African, Latin and South American studies. Nevertheless, European culture is usually the antagonist or the measuring rod against which all these hot topics are approached. By making accessible a group of early medieval texts that explain the Christian faith to the people of nascent Europe, students and scholars will be permitted to see that the interpretation of the Christian faith was far from homogeneous. The root causes of this diversity one is invited to ponder-- the Germanic Gothic element, the Scandanavian Norse element, the Spanish Mozarabic element, the Slavic Byzantine element. In the anguish of Serbia and Kosovo at this very moment, historians are grasping for understanding and explanation of the time-old failure of European unity, the same challenge of Charlemagne and the authors of my texts.