

publish editions of the
 ● The goal of this project is to ~~offer an edition of~~ ~~edit a large collection of~~ Latin ^{Carolingian} ~~all the~~ creed commentaries and explanations of the faith (expositiones fidei) ^{lying in over 200} ~~extant in~~ Carolingian mss. (mid 8th c to end of 9th c.)

● The purpose of the project is to ^① make known and available to scholars and students a large ^{number} body of ~~hitherto~~ ~~un~~ ^{texts} ~~edited~~ material; ^② to ^{identify by ms. number to} ~~make~~ ^{and to identify by ms. the extensive} accessible in one collection the ~~complete~~ ^{published + un published} corpus of literature pertaining to interpretation of the creeds; ^③ to supply new ^{critical} editions using manuscripts not used in previous editions of the published creed-commentary material.

● The Significance of the project lies in the fact that no one has ever brought together the literature pertaining to the instruction of the faith in Carolingian mss.

● The final form of the project for the public will be a book, the first volume of which will explain the ^{origin, function, +} importance of the ~~collection of~~ ~~texts~~ ~~and their~~ ~~origin and function~~ during the era known as the Carolingian Renaissance or Carolingian Reform, and their ^{value} ~~usefulness~~ to scholars and students currently researching and writing on ^{a wide range of topics, from} the history of education ^{and} the process of the conversion of Europe from paganism ^{to Christianity, to} the knowledge and understanding of ^(doctrines) ~~heresies~~ that were major political issues influencing diplomacy, royal legislation, ecclesiastical and lay appointments, etc, such as Adoptionism, Predestination, Iconoclasm, ^{filioque} The texts are

yet the Creed + its interpretation were at the center of the lives of the Carolingians ^{people}. For our value of these texts for ^{understanding} the era of the late 8th - 9th c., a critical moment in historians

poli'tio-religious issues such as

also an invaluable resource for art historians
~~currently doing~~ attempting ~~the~~ interpretation of such items as the
illustration of the Athanasian Creed in the
famed Utrecht Psalter or the iconography
on the precious Arnulf Ciborium, or the iconography or
Carolingian architecture ^{of Carolingian churches}. The texts offer
evidence for the use of creeds and explanations of the faith in
the liturgy. ~~will have access to the popular~~
~~teaching of the faith in preparation for~~
relation to baptism, ~~and~~ the celebration of the mass, the ordo
of penance, consecration and dedication rites, and
rites for death, dying, & burial. Theologians
will for the first time have a substantial
corpus of material ^{from the time between Augustine^{8th c.} & the Scholastics (12th c.)} ~~to report on the development~~
of ~~the~~ ~~the~~ Christian thought regarding
the ^{popular teaching &} understanding of fundamental creed
statements such as ~~God is triune,~~
~~Jesus Christ is both God and man,~~ and the
resurrection of the flesh. Social historians
~~are~~ attempting to provide some picture of
popular belief and ^{the} popular instruction of
the people will have access in these texts to
clerical instructions and sermons. ~~which~~ reflecting
what the people ^{were} ~~might have been~~ taught.

The second (and third?) volume of this
book will contain editions of ~~all the extant~~
texts. ~~No one has ever looked at the Creed literature as it~~
~~identified to date in Carolingian MSS~~
pertains to the Carolingian period and attempted to bring together the
~~pertaining to the explanation of the creed or the~~
faith (symboli, fidei). instruction on the faith that
circulated in late 8th c. mss.

Each text edition will be introduced by a brief description giving the author (if known; most are anonymous); date + place of origin (if known; or the date and area of circulation of its earliest mss); any previous edition of the text and which ~~ms~~(s) the editor used; mss of the text known to me and used in my edition.

As to the quality of the edition I propose to give: 1st, regarding the texts that are known only in a single ms, I will preserve the orthography, errors, ~~and~~ I will provide ~~only~~ a minimum amount of punctuation and expand ~~contraction~~ abbreviations for ~~the~~ ease of reading. 2nd, regarding texts with more than 1 ms witness, an app. crit. will provide every variant, no matter how minor. This is essential ~~to~~ in order to appreciate these texts as "living" monuments, always slightly transformed by every copyist. Also, spelling alternatives often reveal geographical location. Always, the possibility that 2 mss can be linked rests on identical errors, omissions, additions. These will be "working" editions, not establishing a stemma (the most accurate (original) form of the text), because with these texts that is impossible in ^{almost} every case. The reason is that the texts are anonymous. We

possess only a copy, always, never the original page of the composer himself. There is no way to recover what the original composer himself wrote (or at least know that, for certain). We can only deal with its redacted form by copyists in various scriptoria. The purpose is not to ~~provide~~ ^{recover} the "original" form of the text, but to provide all of the variant forms in which it circulated. It was these copies, in all their variety, that were used to teach clergy, monks; + the people.

Essential to the book is an appendix describing the entire contents of every ms. in which a Creed commentary is found. This description enables one to discern how the ms, as a whole, was intended to be used -- whether it was a liturgical book proper, such as a psalter or sacramentary, or a school book, or a homiliary, or a bishop's handbook, or a library exemplar, or a priest's instruction-reader, etc. In fact, explaining the function + importance of these texts in vol. 1 will be based largely on the ms descriptions showing the contexts in which they were used.

- The ^(nature) (implementation) of the project will necessitate: 1) visits to European libraries;

2) ordering of MF ; 3) computer software to record the texts (w/ an app. crit. program) so that a publishing house will publish them w/ the least amount of error and expense ; 4) time off from teaching responsibilities (1 yr's leave) to complete the project in 3 yrs ; 5) the publication of ~~a~~ a major article (currently in progress) providing a list of incipits of all the texts I have amassed to date, in order that scholars can notify me of texts + mss I missed.

There are some 6,000 (7000 if fragments are included) extant 9^m-c. mss and it will not be possible for me to see them all. I depend very heavily on communication w/ other scholars working closely with the contents of Carolingian books to supply me w/ information. The article will generate this needed supplement to my own research in ^{library} catalogues, incipit files, + descriptions of mss in recent articles + books.

Thus, the nature of the project is research-oriented to a great degree. The editions will be the result of extensive manuscript research identifying the texts that will be edited.

286-1737

Time table

Summer 1994		article submitted (Speculum, Medieval Studies, Revue Bench.)
Apr. 1 1995		Scholarship begins
Summer 1995	5,000	travel to European archives
Acad. yr. 95/96	5,000	While teaching, order MF prepare editions
Acad. yr. 96/97	40,000	request yr's leave of absence to work full time on editions
End of Summe 97		submit project in book form to a publisher

- The Nature of my project:

Introduction: An Historical Inquiry

The study and writing of history today is overwhelmingly concerned with what the "little people" thought and did. It is not, in fact, a new interest. Mattland opened his monumental work, (The Domesday Book & Beyond) in 1893 history of England, with the words, "to know the common thoughts of common men

Especially in those times and places where the thoughts and activities of the people are barely, if at all, ~~recoverable~~ ^{known}, historians have recognized the work that remains to be done. It is a surprise to many to hear the field of History today spoken of as a new frontier, but technologies are making information accessible that is virtually revolutionizing the way we diagnose and interpret any given society.

The Carolingian era of the mid 8th to 10th century is no exception. Interest in this turning point in Western Civilization, often called the "1st Europe", when peoples from as far away as Spain and Bohemia, Denmark and Southern Italy were united in a single Empire, is evident in the rash of scholarly publications on every aspect of life under the Carolingians. "Hot topics" such as literacy and orality, women, and heterodox behaviors have ^{fed new interest} ~~received~~ new attention in that era.

The vast majority of all this new knowledge has come about, not through archeological work, but through editions of texts hitherto lying dormant in some 7000 extant Carolingian mss or fragments of mss. Ms research is the "frontier" which, as we step into it, is unlocking secrets we have long sought to know.

My work, in particular, concerns the beliefs and understandings of the men and women of the grass roots level of Carolingian society -- the 99% of the people who were illiterate and never more than a footpath away from their pagan past.

Is it important to recover their thoughts + activities? Should the historian's task be to search out what was on the mind of every Bodo or Mary as they hitched their oxcart, came to a church building, and presented their infant for a rude dowsing in a basin of cold water?

In one sense, it does not "matter" what this particular couple were thinking. But it matters enormously for the historian what a society of similar couples were thinking in relation to ideals, models, or norms that typically characterize that society. Bodo + Mary may change their thoughts + activities

from one year to the next, while ideals are a reflection of that to which a society is striving. ^{History is the study of ideals} ~~So ideals, rather~~ ^{is much as the reality,} ~~do make history,~~ ^{bec/ ideals are what cause change, or "make" history.} and The history of the Carolingian period from the point of view of its reform legislation -- a profuse + steady stream of conciliar activity from the time of Chlg's father down thru Charles the Bald -- tell us much about the perception of those people at whom the reforms were aimed. We have, in other words, one history, and an absolutely valid and accurate one, of what the leaders of society, lay and ecclesiastical, perceived their condition to be.

But to understand any given society, and to learn from it, ^{the} historian's task is to make history interesting, that is, to ask what is (est) between (inter) the ideal and the perception. Why, after all, all those reform laws, that dealt with every aspect of the peoples' lives? How did they live that became the object of concern to the reformers of society, such that standards ^{of belief + practice} were set in place, ^{which were to} ~~that~~ shaped the course of European history? Here is where we recognize that history is incomplete until it can answer the reason for the tension

out of which reform legislation arose.

One of the greatest concerns of the Carolingian Reform (the name given to the latter 8th + 9th centuries because of this legislation) was the education of the clergy and the people in the Christian faith. Education was perceived as the key to the moral improvement of the whole of society, which, if it faithfully followed the biblical demands + apostolic precepts, would flourish in unity, harmony + stability. While these were political goals, Charlemagne was a religious man and the goals of church and state were one. The care of souls, a pastoral problem for the church, was also the focus of royal legislation aimed at the clergy. The clergy were key to the Carolingian endeavor to ^{thoroughly} "Christianize all of society" (McKitterick?) because they were the only contact ^{the vast majority} had with the world of learning. ^{The celebration of the sacraments,} The Sunday Sermons ^{heard} in 100's of village churches across the Carolingian empire, the words said to the people in preparation for their baptisms, marriages, and deaths, and the life-style ^{for most,} itself of their parish priest were ^{for most,} their only Christian education.

The texts with which my research is engaged concern a distinctive genre of literature that arose only in the era of the

Carolingian Reform. This literature was intended for the instruction of the clergy, to enable them to be able to explain the mass, baptism, the creeds, and the Lord's prayer to the people, as reform legislation required they must be able to do. As a result of the legislation, hundreds of brief treatises, tracts, or manuals were written consisting of liturgical commentaries and expositiones of the creeds + L.P. (A flood of other genres of literature pertaining to the education of the clergy and their function as pastors was also produced, including canon law collections, penitential books, sacramentaries, homiliaries, interrogationes sacerdotales, etc.) The miss in which Creed commentaries and explanations of the faith are found are in ^{almost} every case "collection volumes" where they are juxtaposed beside these other genres of literature, or incorporated into them.

What is a "creed commentary", or what will my project include under this term? The first category of texts my project includes are unambiguously commentaries, or glosses, on the text of a specific creed. The three creeds most often glossed are the Apostles', the Nicene (that is, the Nicene-Constantinopolitan), and the Athanasian Creed. The commentator goes through the entire

creed, quoting each phrase and after it giving an explanation of that phrase. These interspersed explanations may be extremely brief or quite lengthy, including scriptural passages supporting the creed text. One can usually tell which creed the commentator is glossing, but sometimes the phrases he gives differ slightly from the "textus receptus" or he combines phrases from different creeds. In such cases, does the creed commentary represent the text of a creed known to the commentator, but unknown to us? One thing that can be said, is that there were far many more creeds in use for various purposes during the Carolingian period than the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian.

⇒ One unknown this project will shed light on is the variety of uses to which creeds were put, and which creeds were employed. One phenomenon the ms research has already revealed are a handful of mss which consist of, or contain, a whole "library" of creeds and creed commentaries. Why were these collections of creed material put together? One possibility is to arm a bishop sent as a missus to denounce a heresy in a particular area. He could draw on this ^{cupboard} ^{armoire} ~~schedule~~ of authoritative texts to attack the claims of an heretical bishop. This

is exactly what Leidrad, Bishop of Lyons did, when he was sent to Spain to refute the Adoptionist errors taught by Felix (Elipandus). It is recorded that he took with him a collection of creeds.

Or, creed material might have been collected pertaining to the defense of a specific issue, such as the use of the filioque clause in the creed ("We believe in the H.S.], who proceeds from the Fr "and the son"), or the nature of the Trinity. Again, creed material might have been collected only to preserve antique texts, or to serve as library reference volumes, or as exemplaries (copy-books) for scribes who would copy out one of them best suited to their purpose (such as for a clerical instruction reader intended for parish priests in a specific area).

This first category of creed commentaries raises the question of the ability to distinguish between a creed, unless it is a well-known one, and a creed commentary. The second category of texts I include in this project are texts that appear to be commentaries on a specific creed, but the commentator does not quote the creed text (at least in its entirety) nor does he give a phrase by phrase exposition on a

only 9th c. ms

creed text. He might start by giving a general definition of the word "symbolum" ("creed") and of the origin of the creed, and finish with a general summary of the content of Christian belief found in creeds. (An example is Isidore's De regula fidei in De eccl. offic. II, 26) One of my criteria for including these texts in my project is if a Carolingian himself has called his text an "expositio fidei" or "explanatio symboli", whether the text comes in the form of a sermon, or Q-R "interrogatio sacerdotalis" or catechetical instruction.

There remains a third category of texts pertaining to the explanation of the faith. These ^{address} ~~but~~ perhaps only one topic, such as the Trinity or the Essence of God, or the interpretation of a single scriptural passage such as Phil. 2:6 (God "emptied" himself, taking the form of a slave...?) To include all of these texts in my project is not feasible, but I do include some such texts which seem clearly aimed at tackling the difficulties of a specific statement of a creed. For ex., the opening chapters of Gennadius of Marseille's De dogmatis ecclesias, dealing with God as Trinity are extracted from the remainder of the work for use as a creed commentary in one Carolingian ms. Since Gennadius' words are used

Very popularly in many other Carolingian Creed commentaries, there is further reason to think a commentator who used Gennadius' first chapters intended the text as a gloss on the words "We believe in one God..." in the Nicene Creed.

This project does not include texts found in post s. IX mss, unless ~~the~~ the author is clearly known to be Carolingian. The texts included may ~~have~~ be ones composed before the Carolingian period, if they circulated in Carolingian mss. In other words, the aim is to identify all the Creed instruction in use during the Carolingian era, that fed the minds of clergy + people. If it was Augustine's or Isidore's teaching that fed their minds, this is as important to know for the Carolingians' understanding of the Christian faith as learning what contemporaries told them.

mentality
prayed creed?
ordination
defense of orthodoxy
at councils

Another unknown this project will attempt to shed light on is the perception of the Creed's uses and benefits; when it should or could be employed. For ex., was the Creed viewed as a "prayer"? A formula (statement of faith) at ordination? A test of orthodoxy at a council gathered to address a heresy? A penitential rite like the Confiteor? A chant repeated at

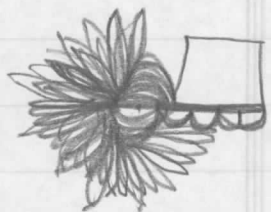
The death bed to ward off demons? A
test in order to be allowed to sponsor a person at
baptism? A missionary's ^{vade-me-cum}

No one of these uses excludes
the others, of course, but through the Creed
commentaries it will, it is hoped, be
shown how the creeds themselves functioned
in the lives of the people.

ex: Isidore's
Commentary
explains Creed
as armor ag. the
devil.
De ecc. II, 23.5

The editions of the Latin texts will not and
be accompanied by English translations, but the
introductory volume I will describe their contents
and translate especially interesting passages
from them. One reason for not supplying
complete English translations is length. It
is difficult enough to get an American University
press to undertake books of the scope I am
describing. While the Latin is vital to scholars +
students, in order that word comparisons + connections
with other texts can be made, the English is not vital

Enormous inroads are being made to our understanding and assessment of the importance of the Carolingian era, due to several factors. One is our ability to label 1000s of mss or ms fragments Carolingian, which until the latter 1/2 of this century were not able to be dated with any certainty. The man primarily responsible for a virtual revolution in paleographical studies is the late Bernhard Bischoff of Munich^(d. 1992), with whom no one working with early medieval mss is unfamiliar. Through his untiring work over 26 decades, the particular script of dozens of Carolingian schools, or scriptoria, as well as the hands of individual scribes, have been identified. Scholars now have models against which to compare the script of recently "discovered" texts, ~~and~~ allowing them to date and locate the place of origin of the script. This has allowed us to map out geographically as well as chronologically the beliefs and the activities of the Carolingians, to learn what was taught and what was practiced where, and to assess the actual effect of the Carolingian Reforms. If, as we are learning, there was a great variety of beliefs, practices throughout the Carolingian era, this is



of tremendous importance to ~~our~~ ^{the} teaching of ^{European history} ~~our medieval past~~. ~~Students are forced to~~ ~~query~~ The understanding of many of the problems of western society today -- ethnic fears + wars, religious diversity, cultural blindness, which have led to two World Wars and ^{ever} imperil another, go back to the time of the "first Europe" and the diversity of the peoples Charlemagne sought to unite.

A second factor that is greatly increasing our accessibility to the real world of the Carolingians is the technological ability to record vast amounts of information on - computer, which can then be systematized. We can, for ex., "reconstruct" the books which an individual library possessed. Fundamental questions such as the contents of school books or the knowledge accessible to Carolingians have only been partially answered. The Carolingian world ~~was~~ ~~complex~~ ~~people~~ debated complex ideas such as predestination.

In sum, ^{Why} ~~How~~ would the edition of a collection of creed commentaries be worthwhile?
1) becl not been edited 2) window into CR 3) history of education

• Project Methodology

- 1) list all known, published CCs
- 2) comb library catalogues for CCs possibly unknown or not used in a previous edition (I assume every copy usually has some variations)
- 3) visit mss which the catalogues + incipit files of HMMZ, IRHT, say do, or seem likely to, contain CCs.

- 4) order MF of the mss
PUBLISH A MAJOR ARTICLE "HANDLIST of TEXTS + MSS" TO ASK FOR ASSISTANCE IN FINDING MORE MSS.
- 5) enter the texts from MF into computer
 - 6) w/ app. crit program, annotate the texts, giving sources, as far as possible. ①
 - 7) supplement the editions w/ a cover page for each ~~describing~~ briefly describing significant contents + author, mss, previous edition if known ② descriptions of the (entire contents of the) mss in which CCs are found in the 9th c.

In sum, 2 stages: 1) collecting + identifying; 2) editing ^{"critically"}.

As to collecting + identifying: this is what I have done so far, and what still remains to be done:

Despite the recognized value of these texts that bring us as close as we can come to the ^{at process of mental transformation} faith as it was memorized ^{by} and explained to the people, no one has made an attempt to collect the creed commentaries and treat them systematically in comparison to one another and to the kind of mss in which they are found.

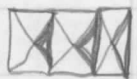
Carolingian reform legislation required that the people learn the Creed by heart. No one was allowed to sponsor a candidate for baptism unless he or she could recite the creed from memory. Even if there is evidence that the people did not always live up to this rule, it was a primary task of every parish priest to teach the people the creed. They learned it in their own vulgar tongue, not Latin, further evidence of its importance in the eyes of the Carolingians. For most of the people, the creed, not the Bible, was the ^{deposit} content of their faith. One can easily see, in this light, the value to the clergy of expositions which explained the words of the creeds. The clergy were required by the reform decrees to be able to explain the creed to the people. The creed explanations ^{with which} this study is concerned ~~were~~ ^{were} ~~all~~ written for the clergy, and are in Latin. Their contents were presumably ~~translated~~ ^{mixed} orally to their

parishioners. Thus, the texts that I propose to edit are a window into the ~~process of~~ education of the clergy + people

But the Creeds were also used for other purposes and ^{among the Creed commentaries} ~~in these texts~~ a wide variety ^{exists} in their sophistication and contents.

Some addressed doctrinal issues ~~currently~~ being debated in the 9th c., or were used simply as Latin primers

Some ^{either} stress, or refer to, particular doctrinal issues such as Adoptionism ^{or} the filioque clause. Adoptionism, the belief that Christ, in respect to his human nature, can only be termed the "adopted" and not natural, son of God, was a Spanish heresy that ~~spread in the Southwest corner of Chlg's~~ attracted many people in the area of the Spanish marsh conquered by Chlg. Its leaders were repeatedly condemned at councils called by Chlg, ^{in the 790's,} but ~~they~~ ~~confuse~~ threat of the confusion this teaching would create in the mind of the people was felt as late as the 820's by the Bishop of Lyon.



The appearance of the words "non adoptivus" in some of the Creed commentaries may reveal their area of origin and the actual depth of concern this heresy created at the parish level. The "filioque" clause refers to the words "and the Son" added to the original words of the Nicene Creed, [We

believe in] the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son"; ~~The double procession of the H.S.~~ was first at a Spanish Council in 589 to guard ag. the Arian belief of an inequality in the 3 Persons of the Trinity. Chlg. used the ^{filioque} addition when he introduced the creed into the mass at Aachen, although the addition was firmly rejected by the pope in Rome and by the Eastern church. The support for the clause in the Creed commentaries is evidence of the "living" quality

of these texts, whose authors were sensitive to what they were ~~writing~~ compiling rather than simply stringing together excerpted sentences from the ~~early~~ earlier Church Fathers to explain the creed. Most recently John Cavadini has

studied the Adoptionist Controversy in The Last Christology, In the West (U. of Penn Press, 1994); but he did not have access to and could not make use of the large body of material reflecting ~~popular instruction~~ the extent to which this issue was shared by the people. When the closeness of these texts to the

instruction of the clergy + people, or to the doctrinal debates of the day is known, it is perhaps surprising to hear that they have received almost no modern attention as a corpus. ~~A few articles have~~ An article in MS in 19__ listed the mss known to the author of commentaries on only 1 creed, the Athanasian, but on the whole there is a tremendous gap in scholarship in this area despite the rich source of information the creed

commentaries hold out for social + political historians, liturgical historians of the liturgy and theology, and art historians investigating all aspects of Carolingian belief and practice to interpret everything from the success of Chlg's reforms to educate the clergy + people, to the choice of depiction of the A.C. in the Utrecht Psalter.

Although my project does not include translating the editions into English, this will be possible for others to do once the Latin editions themselves are accessible. I have had a similar experience in my editions of over 60 Carolingian baptismal commentaries in Water + the Word. Prof. Michel Goncas of the Dept. of _____ at Auburn _____ is now translating these baptismal commentaries for publication ~~so that~~ for students. I hope that my editions of the Creed commentaries as well will encourage translations of them for use in classes. These are the kinds of documents students must be exposed to in order to conceptualize how an ideal such as the "Carolingian Reform" actually ^{took shape} ~~worked itself out~~ in a rural parish with an illiterate congregation and an often half-literate parish priest. Students

today can hold in their hands the very texts held by the rural pastors as they tried to live up to the new demands on their learning. We can offer students no greater excitement ^{in their ~~study~~ study of history,} or greater spur to their imaginations, than the primary documents.

My previous extensive work on the Carolingian baptismal literature will help to explain why it is appropriate for me, among my colleagues in Carolingian studies, to tackle this project. There is no question that it is a huge one, and undoubtedly there will be more Creed commentaries found after my editions. To include as many as possible, I am currently preparing an article of major length which will list by incipit and ms all the CCs currently known to me, and ^{will} invite readers to alert me to others ~~if~~ they have found in their own work in Carolingian mss. To explain how I have been gathering these creed commentaries to date, and what I hope to do in the 1st 2 yrs of this 3 yr. project, I began investigating the contents of Carolingian "collection volumes" 15 yrs ago when writing my doctoral dissertation on Carolingian baptismal commentaries. I wished to publish the dissertation, but in a greatly expanded form

after visiting or reading via Microfilm, a far greater number of Carolingian mss. These "collection volumes" that drew my interest for their baptismal material contain a large number of other kinds of texts, such as penitentials, Canon law collections, sermons, liturgical ordines, creed commentaries, mass commentaries, episcopal capitularies, Scriptural exegesis, ^{clerical} interrogations, glossaries, calendars, and ~~and~~ texts on grammar. Part of my concern when I ~~completed~~ ^{wrote} Water + the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire: A Study of Texts + Mss. (forthcoming in 2 folio vols. or 3 vols from U of NDP, 1994) was to describe the entire contents of the mss in which the baptismal commentaries circulated in the 9^m c. Thus, ~~I was aware of a no. of~~ I have been recording creed commentaries in those mss, an important start to my work ~~series~~ on CCs directly. In ~~the~~ the summer of 1991 I received a grant from the ACLS to visit libraries in Europe. In 1992 I received a \$2000 grant from Duke Univ. to purchase MF of the mss I had seen in Europe. I have exhausted these funds, but there remain a great no. of mss w/ creed material that still needs to be identified. Often catalogue descriptions of these Carolingian collection volumes ~~do not~~ indicate but do not identify creed material, and I must

order MF of the folios or visit the library.

To

~~This project~~ I have conceived this project in 2 stages over the next 3 yrs. The 1st stage involves the continuing collection of mss and identifying of texts. (transcribing them, trying to find out if they have ever been published). The 2nd stage involves actually editing the texts critically using an app crit computer program. For the reasons I ^{will explain below} (have explained above), every variant should be recorded. The ~~1st stage would~~ ~~begin Apr.~~ funds I have requested would be divided as follows:

The importance of the editions for historians is that it will give them access to an untapped source regarding what Christian men and women were actually taught. Some of the creed commentaries are in sermon form, others are in Q-R form, as if between a bishop and a cleric or between a teacher and his discipulus.

A major difficulty is deciding what should be included under the term "creed commentaries and expositions on the faith." Because the goal of this editing project is to present as complete a picture as possible of the ~~Carol~~ ^{Carolingian} instruction on the faith in the Carolingian world, ~~whereas~~ I have chosen to include forms of instruction on the faith that are not strictly speaking creed commentaries. Thus, the editions will include sermons, Q-R interrogationes, personal professions of faith. These latter could also be called "creeds" themselves. It is the context in which all of the texts are found in their 9th c. ms. that has guided my decision whether to include it among "instruction on the faith." ~~For example,~~ ~~sometimes a major work~~ It may be that I will offer an incipit list ~~of texts~~ that includes texts I will not actually edit. The 1st

Stage of my project, identifying the creed-related material, has forced me to investigate a large amount of literature that deals with subjects (beliefs) ~~stated~~^{found} in the creeds, but is not a creed commentary strictly-speaking. It is helpful to scholars, however, to list the ~~xxx~~ incipits of this para-creedal literature so that they can identify texts they may find. For ex., the 1st part of Gennadius of Marseille's De dogmatis eccles. begins exactly like many CCs, and in fact, is one. But most of his work is not. Scholars need to be able to know that a text they find is Gennadius and not another unidentified CC. ~~Gennadius' work and excerpts from his work.~~ Excerpts from Gennadius' work were widespread in Carolingian CCs, so that it is important to know what is simply a copy of De dogm. eccles. or what may be a distinct CC.

It is a formidable undertaking for any American University Press to publish a large collection of Latin texts, but the readers' letters of recommendation (professionals in the field) and the ~~vigorous~~ strong support for the project by the Director of the Medieval Institute ^{at Notre Dame}, resulted in a contract w/ UND Press to publish ~~Water + the Word~~, including the Latin editions in their entirety and with the full apparati critici I felt were vital to their historical interest. The editions will appear in vol. 2 (or vols. 2-3) of Water + the Word. Scholars have already cited the editions (planned to be out in 1994) in print, and a professor from Auburn State is currently preparing English translations of a selection of them for teaching material in his classes. This is tremendously encouraging to me. Scholars are keenly aware of the potential value of the seemingly obscure, yet-unidentified and yet-unpublished texts scattered in Carolingian collection volumes. The problem is not the interest in these texts, but the availability of them. They are the key to unlocking what we have called the Carolingian Renaissance or Carolingian Reform without a real ability to assess whether that Reform actually

Each stage of my project needs to be explained in some detail. First, the task of **collecting** the texts:

(here describe) ① how I began working w/ mss in re baptism ② catalogue huntings ③ visits to European archives, yr. in Munich, summer trips, be explicit, say see Vita for list of archives I have visited ④ receiving of grants to order MF; the MF ordering process + expense ; ⑤ now writing a major article to solicit more mss + texts

2nd, the task of **identifying** the texts. This is probably the longest, most difficult part of the project.

These questions arise: ① has it been edited before?

② author? extremely difficult to determine. Even when there is an attribution in the title or text, these are often false

③ sources? who does the author quote that might give a terminus post quam.

④ my resources: incipit lists of Vattasso (PL); Morin, Caesarius, CEDEDEX on Computer PL on computer (Duke currently prepay to Purchase!))

3rd, the task of editing the texts, using an app. crit. computer program. This is more complex than simply recording the variants of each ms. witness of the text. Decisions have to be made regarding which reading of the text to present above the app crit; how much identification of sources should be done, practically, in terms of length of each edition

At the same time, this stage of the project involves a truly close "reading" of the texts in terms of reflecting on the significance of their contents and variations. Here the work of ^{critically} analysing the texts and showing the value of this corpus of literature begins -- that is, the writing of vol. I of the book at which this project aims.

stemma

V Work Plan (Proposed Implementation plan of the project)

In 6-mo. periods detail the stages + timetable
 + say what will be accomplished in each stage
 (and when my TA will be employed, my negotiating w/ a publisher, when I'll be in Europe) In 3rd yr of project state clearly I will be in control of final editing, I will not have assistants do the actual editing. I will also do triple checking before galley.

VI Final Product + Dissemination

- explain why book form is best
 bec/ book is intended for a more general audience ~~that~~ who can read it for free in the library
 (still) most accessible form for scholars + students
 bec/ I believe in books 1000 times over film if you are "reading" the book as opposed to just using it (like a telephone book)
 The book form itself expresses one of the central themes of the book @ the importance of the Carolingian books, apprec. as book(ms) understands the context of any Carolingian text,

- my consultation w/ publishers

- Notre Dame? Van Engen
- Cambridge? McKitterick
- I hope W+W will generate offers from publisher
 Freiburg Series (Mordek)
- No final agreement yet

VII Computer Use

- I will use computers in this project for:
- 1) identify fym (quellengeschichte) by PLD + CETEDOC
 - 2) editing (app-crit. program) available from PIMS

126
 120
 0

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24
 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36
 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48
 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60
 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72
 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84
 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96
 97 98 99 100

14 weeks
 10 hrs week
 488 an hour

3 14 0
 11 20 8

permission to edit
 getting publisher

Narrative Description

I Nature + Significance of the Project

value to scholars, students + general readers in humanities

- 1. The Carolingian ~~World~~ ^{Reform}
- 2. ~~The Importance of CCs~~
- 3. ~~The Goals in CR~~

relation to larger issues or themes in humanities
- diversity of intended audience

- 3. The Importance of CCs in CR

View of whole effort of "Book"

- 4. Not obvious sources for historians - nature of CCs anonymous, repetitive. It is as a collection when they can

- 5. audience - who valuable to?

be compared, that they become valuable
no one done this

II History + Duration of the Project

History: my preliminary research - what I've done so far

amount of \$ already received for it

grew from relation to my bap. work - explain that its final form is 2 folio vols or 3 vols, partly due to concern of UNDP for long-lasting; less bulky book has its longer + extra thick paper to guard ag. research facilities available (at Duke) wearing.

good library

CERESOC

PL

encourage research willing to grant me 1 yr absence

III Project Staff

proof-reading?

- ask Liz Clark what we pay a grad stud to be a RA ^{each term}

The tasks of the TA will be printing-out MF, ~~skimming~~ articles, labeling P-O, ~~checking~~

IV Project Methodology

~~here explain 3 stage process to produce a "Book"~~

- how the materials have been + will be collected

- cat. hunting
- ordering MF
- writing article
- visits in Europe

- Scope of the search for the material

- estimate of what remains to be done

- criteria informing the selection of materials

here say "what I shall call a CC..."
and 175 doubled

- what proportion of all the existing CCs my project will represent.

↓

Costs

MF

P-O (10¢ page!)

Research asst.

1 yr salary

2 summers in Europe

software - app. crit. program

- in detail! ↓
- principles to be followed in my editions
 - (annotated - identify all sources?)
 - Bibl. quotators
 - but probl. w/ "variations of Isidore, Aug, Caesarius"
 - any special problems my materials present
 - emending practices (how I will use sic + lege, but always give the ms. reading)
 - regularization or modernization - I will supply a minimum of punctuation + set off the creed text itself in bold letters if the text is a phrase by phrase gloss of the creed. Also I will put biblical ~~quotes~~ passages in Quotation marks. Special problems here are variations from the Vulgate Version of Bible (so use cf.) Also putting creed text itself in Bold can sometimes mean imposing my judgement of what is creed + what is gloss. All this problems will be explained + how I resolve them in my preface to the editions

secured
 ^ permission from foreign libraries to edit their folios.

word
 ^ index - very useful for scholars!! Easily possible since all the texts are on computer and every word has been entered manually + can be coded + tagged, rather than scanning texts into computer is impossible ~~in the~~

- state (condition) of the mss used to edit
 Mostly working from MF, but sometimes the mss are faded or damaged + I must go to Europe

took place in the society as a whole, or if so, how ~~it was implemented~~ or in what way and w/ what long-term effects. All of these kinds of texts I have in mind ~~are~~, from creed commentaries to baptismal expositions, to penitential books, canon law collections, etc, were for the education of the clergy in order, ultimately, to teach the people. The Carolingian Reform was dedicated to an ideal to re-create all of society morally, spiritually, intellectually. The Carolingian rulers might even be compared ~~to~~ to the leaders of American society in 1994 calling for a ~~renewal~~ moral, spiritual + intellectual renewal.

But any inquiry into how these ideals effected real change at the grass roots level of society must find evidence other than reform laws.

The creed commentaries have a special fascination because the creed was so essential in supplying every Christian w/ their faith. In a few short lines they had a complete summary of the articles, which if they steadfastly maintained, would keep them in Christ's camp, victorious over the army of Satan. If their thinking was ~~more~~ black + white, one cannot ignore the importance of religious belief in the

Carolingian world. If we knew how people understood and kept the articles of the creed taught to them at baptism, or after by their parents + sponsors and pastor, we would have, not just a small slice of their thought + activity, but the central guiding force of their lives. In the Carolingian world, worship of God or gods was ~~not~~ how one dealt w/ every ^{uncontrollable} danger, fear + disaster in human life, from sickness to accidents, plagues, droughts, fires, storms, ~~with animals~~, and death. Instructions on the creeds will not uncover all we wish to know about the people's attitudes toward death ^{or} sin, ~~the gods of paganism~~. But they point us in the direction we must take as historians.

My ^{purpose} ~~task~~ in editing these texts is to make them available for the kind of critical analysis and comparison that will bring alive a society in the process of ^{being} reform.

One text denies that there will be a 1,000 year reign after Christ's return, followed by a battle of Armageddon. (Gennadius)
Another text points out that Jesus increased in wisdom for 30 yrs before his public ministry.

↑ The interest of the Creed commentaries in regard to their different contents is increased when one considers some of the roles the Creed played for the people of the Carolingian world. For ex., the Creed was recited in the rite of confession, according to the ordo of confession described by Theodulf, Bishop of Orléans, ca 818. Lay people should confess at least 1st a year, if not 2 or 3 times. Little by little, their sense of sin was undoubtedly refined in their dialogue with the priest, hearing of the 8 vices + virtues + 7 penitential psalms. Did the recitation of the Creed in ~~this postulation~~ ^{the rite of confession} process take on the character of a prayer, equivalent to the later Act of Contrition? Did a sense of the Creed as a prayer of hope, (culminating in the ~~above~~ words: "[I believe in] the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body and eternal life! Amen") develop, and did the Creed become, ^{viewed as} a prayer, offering personal comfort to the meditator, less than a formula of belief, a profession of faith (such as it was used in the

rite of baptism) or even a sort of magical chant that kept the devil at bay (such as it might have been viewed in the rite for the sick and dying)? The ordo of confession, was, in any case, consisted of prayers to God for his mercy. There was no solemn declaration of sacramental absolution, and the penitent did not feel assured of his forgiveness by the ordo itself (a directive of prayers to say + sins to recall), but only after completing a penance given to him by the priest.

(Chelini)

2 mostly ~~rapidly~~ memorized creeds -- the Apostles' & the Nicene,
The ~~creed~~ ^{creeds} have a story character, which surely encouraged its remembrance by the people and its appeal to children. If its words could be illustrated, the creed begins with a Father, ^{reigning} ~~sitting~~ all-powerfully in heaven. He has an only Son, dearly beloved, whom he sends into the world. He is miraculously born of a virgin. Nevertheless, a tragedy results - he ~~was~~ scorned, derided, betrayed by friends, arrested, tortured + killed. But then a 2nd miracle occurs -- after 3 days he rises to life, and eventually ascends to his Father in heaven. But that is not the end -- here the story's plot draws in you, me, the child. The Son invited us to join his kingdom through his Holy Spirit working in

baptism into a church, ~~the~~ communion ~~of~~ w/ the
Saints, forgiveness
Believers, confession of our sins, and his
same resurrection from the dead + ^{eternal} life w/ the Father.

The creed is a comedy. Much work remains to be done on the mentality of the 9th c. men + women struggling or being taught to live "Christian" lives, what did this mean in the 9th c., and to people of an age-old ~~face~~ Germanic race and not easily eradicated pagan sensibilities?

For example, no one has used the corpus of Creed commentaries to help discern what the people were taught about the after-life and a final judgement. ~~Yet what could be more~~ One's belief ~~in an immediate judgment at the moment of death,~~ ~~or delay until the final judgement day~~ in the reversability of merits ^{of the dead} ~~due to the intercession~~ prayers of those still living would shed a profound light on Carolingian piety. The CCs reflect some of the Carolingians' ^{solution to the problem of} ~~ambiguity about~~ 2 judgements (and (the purpose of a last judgement if the soul is judged at the moment of death) by their different explanations of "the living + the dead" in the article of the creed "He will come to judge the living + the dead"