

NEH APPLICATION COVER SHEET

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2. Type of applicant

a. _____ by an individual b. X through an org./institution
If a, indicate an institutional affiliation, if applicable, on line 11a.
If b, complete block 11 below and indicate here:c. Type EDUCATIONALd. Status PRIVATE NONPROFIT

3. Type of application

a. X new b. _____ supplement

4. Program to which application is being made

EDITIONSEndowment Initiatives: _____
(code)

5. Requested grant period

From: 4/1/95 To: 3/31/98
(month/year) (month/year)

6. Project Funding

a. Outright funds \$ 149,235.00
b. Federal match \$ _____
c. Total from NEH \$ 149,235.00
d. Cost sharing \$ _____
e. Total project costs \$ 149,235.007. Field of project A6
(code)8. Descriptive title of project THE MAKING OF A CHRISTENDOM: CREED
COMMENTARIES AND EXPLANATIONS OF THE FAITH IN THE
CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE.

9. Description of project (do not exceed space provided)

This project proposes to edit Latin creed commentaries and explanations of the faith found in Carolingian manuscripts (ca. 750 - 900 A. D.), bringing to light for the first time a large quantity of previously unpublished material. The texts, intended for the instruction of the clergy and people across Carolingian Europe in the articles of the creeds and orthodox belief, brought together for the first time, will offer a new source for historians of early European mentalities and civilization. As a contribution to the study of the Carolingian Reform, the critical editions will demonstrate a significant diversity of ideas and concerns regarding belief during the time of attempt to unite the "first Europe."

10. Will this proposal be submitted to another government agency or private entity for funding? (if yes, indicate where and when): NO

11. Institutional data

a. Institution or organization:

DUKE UNIVERSITY
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12. Certification--By signing and submitting this application, the individual or the authorizing official of the applicant institution (block 11c) is providing the applicable certifications regarding the nondiscrimination statutes and implementing regulations, federal debt status, debarment and suspension, a drug-free workplace, and lobbying activities as set forth in the appendix to these guidelines.

Lorna C. Hicks
(printed name)Lorna C. Hicks
(signature)5/26/94
(date)

NOTE: Federal law provides criminal penalties of up to \$10,000 or imprisonment of up to five years, or both for knowingly providing false information to an agency of the U.S. government. 18 U.S.C. Section 1001.

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Application #

Initials

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE AND IMPACT OF THE PROJECT

THE MAKING OF A CHRISTENDOM: COMMENTARIES ON THE CREEDS AND EXPLANATIONS OF THE FAITH IN THE CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE

My project is to edit the Latin creed commentaries and explanations of the faith found in over two hundred Carolingian manuscripts (mid-eighth to end-ninth century). The project will 1) make known and accessible a large number of entirely unedited Latin texts; 2) supply new, critical editions of older, often inaccurate, published commentaries on the creeds, employing manuscripts not used in previous editions; and 3) bring together for the first time a significant portion of the Carolingian literature pertaining to the interpretation of the creeds.

In its larger context, this project is a contribution to the study of the Carolingian Renaissance, or Carolingian Reform. Long acknowledged as one of the greatest historical enterprises of western civilization, its implementation and transforming effect on the lives and institutions of the people across nascent Europe are still little explained.

The texts I propose to edit have much to reveal about the implementation of the Carolingian Reform, the immediate aim of which was the education of the clergy and the people in order, ultimately, to unite all in a single belief. The manuscript context of the creed commentaries and explanations of the faith reveals that they were intended for the instruction of the clergy to enable them to teach the people, as the Carolingian Reform legislation required. Interestingly, my study of these texts indicates a far greater range of diversity in explanations of the articles of the faith than one might expect at a time when the leaders of society were demanding unity of belief and understanding. The editions will be valuable to a broad spectrum of scholars, from political and social historians to historians of religion, liturgy and theology, to art historians. The creeds played a central role in the lives of every man, woman, and child in their Christian progress in the rites of baptism, the mass, confession, ordination, and dying. The creed commentaries supply evidence for ideas and images that shaped the people's attitudes toward God and neighbor, sin, death, and life after death; yet many of these texts have never been exploited.

The editions comprising this project, in their final form in a three-volume book publication, will provide an untapped resource for scholars engaged in understanding Carolingian mentalities and the effective nature of the Carolingian Reform. The education of every man, woman, and child in the basics of the Christian faith was the seed of the idea of education for all, which is taken for granted today. These texts are no less important to the student or generalist who puzzles over how, in fact, the cultural, moral, and spiritual development of early medieval Europe took place.

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NARRATIVE DESCRIPTION

I. Nature and Significance of the Project

Nature of the Project. The texts I propose to edit belong to the era of the Carolingian Renaissance, or Carolingian Reform, of the mid-eighth to tenth century, long acknowledged as a critical turning point in the history of western civilization. During this era, often called the "first Europe," peoples from as far apart as Spain and Bohemia, Denmark and southern Italy for a brief time were united politically in a single empire after three centuries of barbarian division. Renewed interest in this era is evident in an enormous number of recent scholarly publications on every aspect of life under the Carolingians. Current attention to the history of literacy and orality, women, tribal cultures, heterodox behaviors, and popular belief and education has helped to feed the interest in the Carolingian age.

This new research has been made possible because of the secure dating of thousands of Carolingian manuscripts, once not certain to belong to the Carolingian period. The groundbreaking work of Bernard Bischoff of Munich, working in the last half of this century (died 1992), identified the particular scripts of dozens of Carolingian schools and scriptoria (centers for the copying of books), and even of individual scribes. The texts contained in these manuscripts are the key to understanding the actual nature, implementation, and success of the Carolingian Reform, but many of

them have not yet been studied.

The Carolingian Reform in the broadest sense has been called a program, educational in nature and religious in content, aimed at the thorough Christianization and moral transformation of all levels of society. What was at stake were the habits, thought patterns, activities and traditions of people engrained over centuries. Could such a program succeed, and by what means? The program was spelled out in a profuse and steady stream of royal and ecclesiastical reform legislation beginning in the eighth century and continuing through the ninth. The ideals expressed in these reforms, designed to create a true Christendom, set moral, religious and political standards that in many ways were to shape the course of European history. However, it is still poorly understood to what extent, how, by whom, and with what alterations these ideals were put into practice at the parish level.

One of the greatest concerns of the reforms was the education of the clergy and the people in the Christian faith. Education was considered the key to the moral improvement of the whole of society, which, if it faithfully followed the biblical demands and apostolic precepts, would flourish in unity, harmony, and stability. For the Carolingian kings, 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 the linchpin to the Carolingian endeavor to Christianize society, 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 hundreds 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 itself of their parish priest were, for most, the people's only Christian education.

With the local pastors, then, lay the task of the true conversion of Europe to Christianity-- that very slow, gradual change, through education, away from age-old polytheism and animism. In order to teach, however, the pastors themselves needed to be taught.

The creed commentaries and explanations of the faith I propose to edit were used to instruct the clergy and to enable them to explain the creeds, as reform legislation required they must be able to do. As a result of this legislation, hundreds of manuals or libelli were compiled containing expositions on the creeds among many other kinds of texts pertaining to the education of pastors. Clerical handbooks are not the only context in which creed commentaries are found; however, they are the most common, and they establish the importance of these texts for showing what the people of Carolingian Europe were taught about the Christian faith.

The creed commentaries were an especially effective means to teach the people because the people were required to learn the creed by heart. No one was allowed to sponsor a candidate for baptism unless he or she could recite the creed. Even if there is evidence that the people did not always live up to this ideal, 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 people, the creed, not the Bible, was the deposit of their faith. The two most widely memorized creeds-- the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene-- have a story character, which surely encouraged their remembrance by the people and appeal to children. The articles of the faith are laid out in a saga of an omnipotent Father who reigns in heaven and his Son whom he sends to save the world, who is miraculously born of a virgin, suffers and is put to death, rises from the dead and returns to his Father, whence he will come again in glory at the end of the world. The words of the creeds inspired the imaginations and creativity of the people, as is manifest in their art and legenda.

The Significance of the Project: The Importance of the Creed Commentaries. The creed commentaries, then, are a window into the actual implementation of the Carolingian Reform. These were documents used to instruct the people in the fundamental beliefs of the Christian faith, expressed in the creeds. Much work remains to be done on the mentality of the ninth-century men and women struggling or being taught to live "Christian" lives. What did this mean to people of an age-old Germanic race and not easily eradicated pagan sensibilities? The creed commentaries are important for showing by what explanations the people were brought around to accepting the belief in a triune Godhead, a virgin birth, and a resurrection of the flesh. Some tell what will take place in the after-life. One text, for example, contains the statement, "I

believe...that after I die I will rise on the Day of Judgment as a thirty-year-old, and I will come for judgment to the Mount of Olives, which marks the middle of the world, from where Christ the Son of God ascended to the Father and where he will come to judge the living and the dead and to give to each according to each's works." Another text calls the author of the Book of Revelation a "fabulous dreamer," and declares that there will not be two judgments, first of the just and after a thousand years a second of sinners (cf. Rev. 20:4-5), but only one, of all; nor will there be an earthly reign of Christ for a millenium, nor a final great battle with Satan's forces (cf. Rev. 20:7-8).

The texts are also important for showing the large variety of heterodox ideas, apparently still rampant in the Carolingian Empire, that had to be refuted. One intriguing question the texts raise is why specific heresies were selected for mention.

Value of the Editions to Scholars. Despite what these creed commentaries and explanations of the faith tell about the variety of teaching and the diverse concerns regarding the faith across the Carolingian Empire, as well as what they tell about the transmission of popular ideas and images, they have not been easily accessible to historians and other scholars.

A project that makes them available, critically edited, in a single corpus would be of unquestioned value to historians currently wrestling with a vast array of problems presented by the complexity and richness of the Carolingian world. A select bibliography (see Appendices) gives some idea of the work being

done, from imagining for whom books with creed commentaries were intended (Contreni), to interpreting the illustration of the Athanasian Creed in the famed Utrecht Psalter (Chazelle), to correcting traditional views about the nature of the Adoptionist controversy between Spain and the court of Charlemagne (Cavadini). These authors could have benefited from the evidence of the creed commentary literature, had they had access to it. For example, Cavadini was not able to discuss the actual spread of the influence of Adoptionism at the popular level because he could not survey the creed commentary literature intended for the instruction of the clergy and people. (I have found that Christ as the "adopted" Son of God is an issue of concern in some creed commentaries that circulated in the southern France to Narbonnaise region where Adoptionist ideas seemed to have taken hold.)

The Potential Users of the Editions. The editions will be of use to a broad spectrum of scholars, from philologists, cultural anthropologists and literary theorists studying the transmission of words and ideas, to historians of art, liturgy, church law and political science seeking to find the origin of the creative ideas of people, whether it be their concept of "kingdom," "hell," "communion of the saints," or "person."

One reason for the editions' usefulness to a broad range of scholars is the wide variety of purposes the creed commentaries served for the Carolingians. Some of their composers attack specific heresies, for example, the Manichaean practice of denigrating marriage. Scholars debate whether Manichees were still

active in the Carolingian period; the creed commentaries indicate that their ideas, at least, were still influential. Other composers use the articles of the creed as a sort of schoolroom quiz on biblical knowledge ("Why was Christ not simply born from a simple virgin, but from an espoused virgin? The first reason is so that she would not be stoned by the Jews as an adulteress...").

In other commentaries the creed is used to teach Greek ("God in Greek is called deos, that is, fear, which those should have who worship God"), or to teach grammar and word usage ("God is properly called essence, not substance, because in Greek 'substance' is understood to mean 'person'"). Some composers, perhaps writing for missionary priests, provide ways of imagining the Trinity as three persons yet one substance ("The Father is the sun, the Son is its ray, the Holy Spirit is the tip of the ray"). Some, perhaps with catechists in mind or perhaps to stress the apostolicity of the creed against later heretical teachings, assign each of the twelve apostles authorship of one of the twelve articles of the "Apostles' Creed" ("Peter said, 'I believe in God the Father Almighty;' Andrew said, 'And in Jesus Christ...'"), continuing the belief that the twelve apostles sat down and composed the creed before separating to evangelize the world-- a belief echoed in art throughout the medieval period.

The value of the editions to students who do not read Latin, and to general readers in the humanities, will come indirectly from scholars who use the information in these texts in their classroom lectures and in their books for the public (as J. Lynch did with

Latin texts in his study, Godparents and Kinship). Students, for example, can be shown not only the great ideals of Charlemagne, but the actual texts that began to transform those ideals into reality. The Carolingian era is famous, but we have far from fully realized the fermentation of medieval Europe that was taking place at its grass roots. The education of every man, woman, and child in the basics of the Christian faith was the seed of the idea of education for all, which is taken for granted today. These texts are no less important to the student or generalist who puzzles over how, in fact, the cultural, moral, and spiritual development of early medieval Europe took place.

Description of the Material to be Included in the Editions.

I propose, then, to collect, edit, and publish as a single corpus a significant representation of the creed commentaries and explanations of the faith found in Carolingian manuscripts, in order to make this material accessible to scholars. For the purpose of defining the material, the texts I propose to edit may be classified in four groups. These groups are my own construction, because, although the manuscripts sometimes name these texts similarly with titles such as "Expositio symboli," "Explanatio fidei," and "De regula fidei," their authors do not all try to accomplish the same thing.

The first group consists of true creed commentaries. The composer proceeds through the entire creed word by word or phrase by phrase, interspersing after each word or phrase an explanation of it. These "glosses" of creeds were popular on the three most

utilised creeds, the Apostles,' the Nicene (Nicene-Constantinople), and the Athanasian. Sometimes, however, the words being glossed do not follow precisely any one of these creeds, but combine phrases from two or more creeds, or vary in other ways. Is this an indication of a variant creed in use in a specific location? Does the creed commentary represent the text of a creed familiar to the Carolingian expositor but unknown to us? It is known from some manuscripts containing whole "libraries" of creeds, such as Karlsruhe, Landesbibl. Aug. XVIII, that many more creeds circulated in the Carolingian period than the three mentioned. These glosses, or interspersed explanations, may be extremely brief or quite lengthy, including scriptural passages supporting the creed text.

The second group of creed-related material includes works whose authors, rather than quote the creed text (at least in its entirety), may begin with a general definition of the word "symbolum" ("creed") and the origin of the creed, and finish with a general summary of the content of Christian belief found in the creeds. (Isidore's chapters XXIII and XXIV, "De symbolo" and "De regula fidei," in Book II of his De ecclesiasticis officiis, were a popular model for this category of texts.)

A third category of texts may consist of only one topic, such as the Trinity, or the essence of God, or the interpretation of a creed-related scriptural passage, such as Phil. 2: 5-7 ("Christ Jesus, who, though he was in the form of God...emptied himself, taking the form of a servant..."). I consider these "explanations of the faith" only if their manuscript context indicates they were

intended to serve as instruction on a creed. For example, the opening chapters of Gennadius of Marseilles' De dogmatis ecclesiasticis dealing with the unity of God are extracted from the remainder of the work in one Carolingian manuscript that also has other creed explanations. Since Gennadius' words were widely used within many Carolingian creed commentaries, there is reason to think that a Carolingian redactor used Gennadius' opening chapters as a gloss on the words of the Nicene Creed, "We believe in one God...."

A fourth category are personal professions of faith (often falsely attributed to a famous authority, such as Augustine or Jerome). These could be called creeds themselves; however, they were copied in Carolingian manuscripts as explanations of the faith. They expanded understanding by expressing the articles of the faith in different words and by their additional clarifying remarks. (An example is the circulation of Gregory of Tours' personal declaration of faith extracted from the beginning of his History of the Franks.)

Relationship of the Proposed Editions to Any Previous Editions of the Same Material. Given our new ability, through Bischoff's paleographical work, to date hundreds more manuscripts with certainty to the Carolingian era, many anonymous creed commentaries that once were ignored by publishers need to be edited for the first time. My first priority is to edit the creed commentaries that have no known previous publication; my second priority is to edit those previously published, but for which new manuscripts have

been found not used in any previous editions. In other words, every text I propose to edit will be based on material never before published. (The most extensive previous collections of creed commentaries date to the turn of the century: Künstle, 1900; Caspari, 1875-1883; Hahn, 1897; Burn, 1896, for example, and many more manuscripts of their editions have appeared since.) I will collate with the new manuscripts a previously used manuscript when the old edition contains errors.

The collection of unpublished material proposed here I do not claim to be exhaustive (see "Project Methodology"). Because of the state of manuscript research, it is not even possible to say what proportion of the creed-related material that circulated in Carolingian manuscripts my project represents. The dating and contents of thousands of medieval manuscripts are still not established. Furthermore, many creed commentaries have been irretrievably lost. The value of my collection is not in its completeness, but in its variety.

II. History and Duration of the Project

History of the Project to the Present: Research Already Conducted and Financial Support Already Received. My focus directly on creed commentaries began in the summer of 1991 when I received a \$3,000 Grant-in-Aid from the American Council of Learned Societies for the purpose of visiting manuscripts in European libraries. This creed research resulted from my work over fifteen

years in medieval manuscripts, related to a project on Carolingian baptismal commentaries. I had established a substantial collection of manuscripts that definitely, probably, or possibly contain creed commentaries. (The catalogue descriptions are often inadequate; furthermore, their dating of the manuscripts is sometimes incorrect.) While in Paris I worked for several weeks at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in their file of incipits (opening words of texts), acquiring over two hundred new incipits of creed commentaries.

For 1991/2 I also received a Duke University Major Faculty Research Grant of \$4300 to supplement the ACLS Grant-in-Aid, permitting me to work in Europe and order microfilm.

In 1992 I received a Duke University Faculty Research Grant of \$2000 to purchase more microfilm of the manuscripts I had seen in Europe. While generous, these funds were able to pay for microfilm of thirty-nine manuscripts, only a tiny proportion of the several hundred manuscripts I am currently aware of containing creed-related material that still needs to be identified. An essential component of the budget is funds for microfilm or photographs of manuscripts from which I will identify and edit the texts.

Currently, I am in the process of establishing a computer database of approximately three hundred different creed commentaries. Of the one hundred and seventy-five recorded at this stage, seventy-one have no edition known to me. While I must check some of these further, that is still a significantly large body of material that has never been available in print.

Duration of the Project. Because of the nature of the project drawing on an undefinable number of manuscripts, the hunt for unedited creed commentaries could go on indefinitely. Thus, it is necessary to set a limit on the project. Three years will allow two further trips to visit manuscripts in the summers 1995 and 1996 and a year's sabbatical in 1997/8 to complete the project.

Resources or Research Facilities Available to the Project. Duke University, as a leading research institute, has excellent library facilities and technological services. In addition, Perkins Library of Duke University is currently purchasing two computer databases that will greatly assist the annotating of the creed commentaries (see "Additional Apparatus") as to the sources upon which the Carolingian composers drew. One is the CETEDOC Library of Christian Latin Texts on CD-ROM, which contains all the volumes of the Corpus Christianorum Series Latina and Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, as well as selected texts from Migne's Patrologia Latina not yet critically edited in the CCSL. Another is the Patrologia Latina Database (PLD), which, when completed this January, will have Migne's entire Patrologia Latina on CD-ROM. For those working with medieval Latin texts, the PL is still indispensable until critical editions of all the texts in its two hundred and seventeen volumes are undertaken.

Non-Duke research facilities I will use include the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library at St. John's University in Collegeville, Minnesota (which has filmed all the manuscripts in German archives prior to 1400 A. D. as well as selected archives in

Austria and elsewhere), and the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris (which often, but not always, has microfiche of manuscripts I wish to see in municipal libraries in France).

III. Project Staff

Director. My extensive experience editing Carolingian baptismal expositions has familiarized me with the special problems text editing and publication formating involve. This year The University of Notre Dame Press will publish Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire: A Study of Texts and Manuscripts (2 vols., in folio). In it I edit sixty-four baptismal expositions. Many of the principles I adopted to edit the baptismal texts I will apply to the creed commentary editions. The manuscript research for this book in European archives (from the major national libraries to dozens of municipal and monastic libraries) allowed me to establish valuable contacts with scholars here and abroad working with Carolingian manuscripts. Also, articles I have published on the baptismal material (see my Curriculum Vitae) have led to communication with many scholars, whose knowledge of particular manuscripts I will draw upon for this project (see "Project Methodology").

By virtue of my appointment at Duke University, I will spend fifty per cent of my time on the project during the academic years 1995/6 and 1996/7. In the critical third year of the project, I will take a sabbatical to enable me to devote full time to the

project. I will work full time on the project in the summers of 1995 and 1996. As project director, I will take responsibility for the work of transcribing and collating the texts from microfilm and proofreading the editions.

Research Assistant. A project of this magnitude requires a research assistant working part time over three years (twenty-eight weeks per year, twelve hours per week). It will be a graduate student who can read Latin and is familiar with the computer systems in the library, the manuscript catalogue collections, and microfilm readers and printers. The graduate student will help me 1) make print-outs of the microfilm I receive and label the pages; 2) track down catalogue descriptions of manuscripts here and through interlibrary loan; 3) xerox articles; and 4) help run checks through databases for unidentified texts.

IV. Project Methodology

Collection of the Materials. I will spend much of the first two years of the project continuing the collection of materials through the following combination of strategies. First, to alert me to creed commentaries in insufficiently catalogued manuscripts, I will ask colleagues for their input. To do this I am writing an article entitled: "Creed Commentaries and Explanations of the Faith in the Carolingian Period: A Handlist of Texts and Manuscripts." This article will enable readers to report to me texts and manuscripts they may have come across that I have missed. The value

of this article lies in unraveling a great amount of material that begins with the same incipit. I provide enough of the incipit, explicit, and even excerpts to help readers identify similar texts they may have found. This article, now half complete, I will submit in early Spring, 1995 to Revue Bénédictine (which edited some of my baptismal texts) or Medieval Studies (which is willing to print extensive lists of texts and manuscripts and which printed an article in 1972 by N. M. Haring listing by manuscript the commentaries he knew on the Athanasian Creed).

A second strategy is catalogue hunting, but the limitations of this include poorly catalogued libraries or unavailable (in this country) catalogues, erroneous dating of manuscripts, and inadequate descriptions of their contents. Because of these limitations, I will devote a large amount of time to reading catalogues at the risk of dismissing manuscripts in them that may, in fact, contain uncatalogued creed material.

A third strategy is ordering microfilm of manuscripts known about through my baptismal work, correspondence with colleagues, and articles and books, that are inadequately catalogued and only may contain a previously unpublished creed commentary. The expense of microfilm is a factor here. My method has been to order microfilm of a limited number of folios, and if these show new creed-commentary material, then to write for a microfilm of the entire manuscript, so that I can describe its entire contents (see Section VI).

A final strategy for collecting the material is to visit the

European libraries in person. This is obviously expensive and time-consuming (including the time spent writing ahead to the libraries, some of which like to be forewarned and are only opened at very limited hours and days of the week). However, when microfilm is unavailable (some libraries, especially monastic ones in northern Italy and Spain, have not filmed their manuscripts that are in fragile condition), there is no alternative. Furthermore, catalogues do not always supply a description of the size, hands, and quality of the codex. In July, 1995 I have planned to see manuscripts, for example, in France at Cambrai, Colmar, Gotha (in Alsace), and St. Mihiel (near Verdun); in Italy at Ivrea, Monza, and Vercelli; and at Leiden (Belgium) and St. Paul im Lavanttal (Switz.).

Criteria for Selection. Two overriding considerations will guide the selection of material I edit: 1) the text has an eighth- or ninth-century manuscript witness (or be undisputedly Carolingian even if preserved only in a post ninth-century manuscript); and 2) the text has never been published before using my manuscript(s), as far as I can determine.

Editing Principles. My chief concern is to allow the reader access to the unemended form of the text in all of its (Carolingian) manuscripts, supplying every variant no matter how minor in the critical apparatus. If there is only one manuscript witness of the text, I will give the orthography as it appears, aiding the reader where necessary with the use of brackets containing sic or lege ("it should read") and the correct form. If

there are two or more manuscripts of the text, the critical apparatus will record all the variant readings, however minor. One reason this must be done is that none of the manuscripts of these texts contains the original author's hand. It is known that the texts are copies because their manuscripts are collection volumes, in each of which a compiler brought together a selection of many different texts. It is not possible to establish a stemma (a tree showing the relationships of the manuscripts of a literary work) taking us to the original text. With every copy the copyist was to some degree an editor, making certain emendations, omissions, or additions as well as unconscious copying errors. Also, because of the copyist's familiarity with the words of one creed, he may alter his adherence to the model he is copying. Thus, in lieu of the "original," what these editions offer is the "living" nature of the texts as they were actually used and read in the Carolingian period.

It is crucial to preserve the actual state of the texts. Small differences in orthography may indicate the geographical location in which they were copied. Interlinear corrections may indicate a commentary's use in a library as a reference copy, or in a scriptorium as an exemplar. Also, scribal errors show the often less than ideal state of learning in the Carolingian world. Finally, the ability to date or locate anonymous texts often begins by recognizing identical errors, additions, or omissions between two manuscripts.

It is also necessary to determine what I shall treat as a

separate text and what I shall treat as simply a variation of another text. If a Carolingian editor intentionally reworked a text in a significant way by omitting, adding, rewording, or reinterpreting phrases, I treat the reworked form as a separate text.

In the critical apparatus, following the line number corresponding to the principal text, I will repeat the word(s) in the principal text before listing variations of it, unless it is obvious which word in the line of the principal text has the variant. A semi-colon will be used to separate a series of different variations of the same word, and abbreviations will be used, such as in marg. (in the margin); om. (omits); add. (there is added); praep. (a word is put before).

As to punctuation, I will provide a minimum amount to make the text legible (there are often no word, sentence, or paragraph divisions in the manuscripts, no periods or question marks, and erratic capitalization of letters). I will not capitalize the beginning of each word following any period marks I supply, to remind the reader that the punctuation is open to debate. I will expand all abbreviations, standardizing \overline{pr} as prae (not pre), \overline{c} as con (not com). In the principal edition I will present as readable a text as possible, using the best (orthographically intelligible and unmutilated) exemplar. The physical condition of the manuscripts varies from excellent to very poor. In some the text is incomplete at the beginning or end due to loss of folios, and I must use two manuscripts in the principal edition.

When the text consists of a gloss of a creed, I will set off the creed text itself with the use of capital letters. This is for the ease of the reader, since there are no paragraph divisions (see SAMPLE). Sometimes this means I must impose my judgment on what the Carolingian copyist thought was the creed text and what he thought was gloss. These problems will be explained in the preface to the editions.

Additional Apparatus. Each text will be annotated in a separate section for footnotes above the critical apparatus on each page. These notes will identify the original sources of phrases, where I can find them. Most of the creed commentaries are florilegia, pulling together a wide variety of excerpts from patristic authors, the Bible, and contemporary works. Most interesting is to see what any Carolingian author chose from a rather more stock repertoire of explanations, or passed over for an explanation different from the usual. Identifying sources can be helpful to scholars looking for the popularity of a particular ancient writer in the Carolingian period, such as Boethius or Cassian. Fortunately, there are several databases now available that will make this task possible, as described above.

Identifying the original sources does not, however, mean that the Carolingian compiler necessarily had access to the original source. He may have worked from a collection of patristic sentences, or earlier creed commentaries. Another problem is that while an author may appear to be simply quoting Augustine or Isidore, he has actually made subtle changes. In the notes I will

warn the reader when there are these slight changes from the original sources. I will also identify all biblical quotations, noting when they disagree with the Vulgate version. Since the Bible was the center of all Carolingian intellectual endeavor, a crucial concern is the use of different Bibles in the Carolingian period, despite attempts to standardize the text.

Finally, it cannot be guaranteed that an explanation is original with the Carolingian author when I cannot identify it elsewhere. The Carolingians would be jealous of our "authoritative and annotated" editions of their own works. What is more valuable to establish than authorship is the amount of unique explanation they contain, different from what is found in other creed commentaries.

Each edition will be introduced with a title page giving the composer (most are anonymous), any previous editions, its manuscripts and their date within the eighth or ninth century and place of origin (if known). I will state the manuscripts used in my edition, because sometimes it is not possible to use them all due to their damaged or faded condition. I will provide a very brief description of the contents of the text, noting any unusual features. One difficulty is determining how to name the texts, since they are usually anonymous and their incipits are often the same. My solution is to assign them an arbitrary number name, as I did with my baptismal editions. It may be possible to present the texts in groups according to their geographical area of circulation, such as "North-Italian," "Spanish," as I sort out the

manuscripts of the texts. Otherwise, I will present them in the four separate categories given above, within each group ordering them alphabetically by incipit.

Indexes. For the greater usefulness of the editions, there will be four indexes: 1) a word index listing alphabetically all the significant words in the texts and the line number where they occur (nouns and adjectives listed in the nominative form; verbs in the present infinitive; spelling standardized; my model is the index J. M. Hanssens provided in his three-volume edition of the works of Amalarius, Archbishop of Trier, Amalarii Episcopi Opera Liturgica Omnia, Studi e Testi, vols. 138-140, Vatican City, 1948-50); 2) an index of citations from Scripture contained in the texts; 3) an index of ecclesiastical authors and liturgical books cited in the texts or identified in the notes; and 4) an index of incipits of the texts (given in Volume One; see Section VI).

Preparation of the Editions for Publication. The editions will be close to camera-ready when I submit them, due to the help of a software program that records variants by line number; however, I will expect the press to type-set my editions from disk. I am not preparing an electronic publication.

V. Work Plan

Timetable:

(Early Spring, 1995)

-Submit article offering a Handlist of Creed Commentaries known to date.

Apr. 1, 1995 - Oct. 1, 1995 (Grant period begins)

- continue collecting texts and establishing a computer database of incipits and explicits, or entire texts if unedited.
- continue ordering microfilm of manuscripts brought to my attention to date.
- July, travel to Europe to see manuscripts for which film is not obtainable, or which need to be seen physically, especially in France and northern Italy.

Oct. 1, 1995 - Apr. 1, 1996

- order microfilm of manuscripts seen in Summer 1995 trip.
- continue collecting and establishing computer database.
- continue pursuing the appropriate publisher for the editions.

Apr. 1, 1996 - Oct. 1, 1996

- continue collecting and establishing computer database.
- confirm a publisher.
- July, travel to European libraries to see manuscripts brought to my attention since July, 1995 and other manuscripts not seen earlier.

Oct. 1, 1996 - Apr. 1, 1997

- complete the collecting and identifying phase of the project, as to whether the materials have ever been published.

Apr. 1, 1997 - Oct. 1, 1997

- begin a year's sabbatical from academic duties in order to work full time collating the manuscripts, constructing the principal text and critical apparatus, and proofreading.

Oct. 1, 1997 - Mar. 31, 1998 (Grant period ends)

-while still on leave finish the project, including
annotating the editions and preparing a word concordance.

Fall, 1998

-Complete Volume One of the final book form of the editions
(see Section VI) and submit to publisher.

VI. Final Product and Dissemination

Form. The final form of the project will be a three-volume printed book, entitled The Making of a Christendom: Commentaries on the Creeds and Explanations of the Faith in the Carolingian Empire. The editions will take up Volumes Two and Three of the book. I am estimating that two large volumes will contain the amount of new material I am able to collect and prepare in three years. In Volume One I will explain the origin, function, and importance of commentaries on the creeds and explanations of the faith in relation to the Carolingian Reform. I will include a detailed description of the manuscript books in which the texts are found (their size, quality, and other textual contents), showing for whom the creed instructions were intended. I will show how the creed commentaries reflect the particular needs or problems of a specific geographical area, where possible, and I will comment on major issues. For example, an issue of wide political consequence was the use of filioque in the creed (the Holy Spirit proceeds equally from the Father "and the Son"; Charlemagne opposed the pope in adding

the word to the creed). Some of the creed commentaries avoid filiogue, while others repeat it numerous times with protracted explanations, as if well aware of its controversiality (see SAMPLE). Again, some texts emphasize the singing of the creed in the Mass, a custom Charlemagne adopted against the practice in Rome. It must be seen where the manuscripts of these texts originated and how independent certain episcopal centers were from either the royal court or the Roman curia.

Finally, in Volume One I will also provide a list, alphabetically by incipit (also giving explicit and manuscripts), of all the creed-related material I have found in Carolingian manuscripts, published and unpublished. Such a list is very valuable to all those attempting to identify the contents of various Carolingian manuscripts. Scholars working in post ninth-century manuscripts may find copies (and perhaps better copies) of the texts.

Most Efficient Method of Publishing. Although I will be happy to discuss with publishers the possibility of making the editions available on disk after they appear in book form, these documents belong to the permanent heritage of our past. The amount of new, hitherto unpublished material involved makes it essential that the editions be accessible in a universal medium, here and abroad. Book form is still the most universally available, and by far the most desirable, form in which to read and possess Latin texts. Historians still like to have books, especially of editions of texts that they refer to again and again and "use" as much as

"read." The University of Notre Dame Press is publishing my baptismal editions on extra-heavy paper to handle long library use, and this can be done with the creed commentary editions as well.

Publisher. At this point in time I have made no commitment to a press to publish the creed commentary project with them. I am discussing with colleagues several options, including The University of Notre Dame Press, because they are currently publishing my Latin baptismal editions in two folio-size volumes. Due to the fact that I will be able to present the entire project on disk, the difficulty of type-setting such a large endeavor and the risk of errors is lessened.

I estimate that the three volumes sold as a set will cost about \$150 (libraries here and abroad will be the main purchasers). The presses do their own advertising of the book, but I will assist them by demonstrating letters from scholars expressing need for these materials to be published.

Permission From Foreign Libraries to Edit the Materials. The European libraries are on the whole very cooperative in photocopying the folios I request, and are also willing to let me publish these folios, as long as I agree to secure written permission from them (as I did with over fifty libraries for my baptismal editions) and to acknowledge them in the publication (sometimes to send them a copy of the publication).

VII. Computer Use

I am requesting Grant funds to purchase a text editing program to install on my hard-drive, IBM compatible, 386 computer. The program is simply a means to ease the complexity of collating several manuscripts of the same text. Nota Bene is one possibility, although I am discussing others with colleagues doing editions.

To conclude, the significance of this project lies in the large amount of previously unpublished material that will be made readily accessible for the first time, and its potential value to scholars in a wide range of fields. These texts were intended to teach the pastors and the people; they had a wide distribution, and they express a rich diversity of ideas and concerns. This project will contribute to our endeavor to reconstruct how the Carolingian Reform effected the transformation of European society.

non & ^{hinc} mte uobiscum ^{scilicet} & dīsimu lēnter uos dīsimu
humo ^{hinc} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne
um pri ^{hinc} ^{thes.} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne
nb, quod ^{hinc} ^{thes.} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne
dem ^{hinc} ^{thes.} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne
quod com ^{hinc} ^{thes.} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne
em & ^{hinc} ^{thes.} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne
ū. p. & ^{hinc} ^{thes.} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne
comum ^{hinc} ^{thes.} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne
nerabā ^{hinc} ^{thes.} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne
rcum ^{hinc} ^{thes.} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne
it. & or ^{hinc} ^{thes.} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne
ptas ^{hinc} ^{thes.} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne
astim ^{hinc} ^{thes.} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne
& sus ^{hinc} ^{thes.} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne
n. p. p. ^{hinc} ^{thes.} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne
or aut ^{hinc} ^{thes.} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne
i. sua. ^{hinc} ^{thes.} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne
Et er ^{hinc} ^{thes.} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne
inducā ^{hinc} ^{thes.} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne
frumē ^{hinc} ^{thes.} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne
omne ^{hinc} ^{thes.} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne
or em ^{hinc} ^{thes.} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne
chiel ^{hinc} ^{thes.} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne
na uos ^{hinc} ^{thes.} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne
in quo ^{hinc} ^{thes.} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne
ne meae ^{hinc} ^{thes.} hī & uos me ^{supplectas} hī & intulisti uos pigne

declinare, quia non ē adoptiuus sed prop
rius dī filius unigenitus conceptus
quippe ē. de spū scō. in trāc uterum
uirginis. in cōtrīs. quem illa. ita re
uoc uirginitate. edidit quem. eod modum
recluc uirginitate. concepit. ita nāq
eum. cōrch angelo. gabrielo. nuntian
concepisse. credimus. Quid dixit. spū scō
sequem & in te. & uirtus celsissimi ob
brauit tibi. Ideoq; quod natus ē. & te
re nō uocabitur filius dī. Et quia con
ceptus uirginis. diuinus fuit operis.
Itē de naturā. concipientis. fuerit
re concipienti. Sed non ita. intellege
de ē. Itē. Lc generatio. singulariter
mirabilis. & mirabiliter singularis. &
prouatē creationis. p p r i d c s r e
m t c s s t. g e n e r i s. f d u n d i t a t e u i r g i n
r o r e f d e d i t. U e r t a s c u t. c o r p o r i s
r a m p t a d d o r p o r e e s t. & a e d i f i c a m
r l r e c p i e n t i e d o m u u e r b u m. c a r o f a c
t u m e s t & h a b i t a u t i n m o t. H o c e m a
r e q u e r u p r e. & h o m i n e. & q u a s p u
r a t i o n a b i l i r. c o m m a u t. S a l u t i g i t u r
p r o p r i d c t e. u t r i u s q u e n a t u r e & r e d
f i d e n t i e i n u n a m c o e u n t e m p r o n a m
d i u r c a q u e. & n o n c a d o b t i n u e m. X p i



prop
epur
erum
tarec
modu
tanag
miam
rpr
miob
exte
econ
eris
erit
ellege
riter
aris
ces
rgm
pori
fican
rofa
cēma
p
igit
e
am
xpr

et homo est. beati apti & euange
e. iohannis testimonio dicente.
drī. rpr qui confitetur ih̄m xpm in car
nem re. & dō est. & om̄s rpr qui solut
& dō. non est. & hic est. antechris
tur quid cutem est. rolvere ih̄m in
humanū ambo. rpercere naturam
& rcrec. mentū diuinū p quod recludat
rur. **Finit, amen.**



169
121
in & patre filio que procedentem, his tribus sen-
sibus: omnium fesse. hereticoz machine destruit.
um enim de & omnipotens & pater creditur consensu
idem filius demonstratur. In nullo & patre disse-
ris quia de deo de. De omnipotentia omnipotens De-
us natus est coaeternus; Non potest tamen esse
potere non inferiore potestate. **¶** Non
similis generis non diuisus essentia.
Ergo sempiterni genitoris unigeni-
tus. Natus de maria: uirgine
e naturas temporalis illi; naturam diuinam
in patre. **¶** Nihil contulisti. scilicet separe deo
nisi quod deceptus impendit. **¶** Et mox
est. **¶** Et diabolum qui mortis ab eodem impendit.
nisi ut distingeret. **¶** Non enim. **¶** **¶** propterea pot-
nus & peccati. **¶** Et mox. **¶** audito. **¶** nisi naturam
m. ille suscepit. **¶** & sua. **¶** facere. **¶** quod nec pecca-
contaminaret. **¶** nec mors potuit. **¶** deinde qui
est. **¶** ad optatum. **¶** sed propter. **¶** deus filius unige-
nus. **¶** Conceptus quippe. **¶** de sps sco. in coitra-
rum uirginis matris. **¶** Quam illa ita salua
ginitate edidit. **¶** quam admodum. **¶** salua
ginitate concepit. **¶** ita namque tam. **¶** archangelo
dicente concepit. **¶** et eo in. **¶** qui dixit. **¶** Spis scis

superuenit in te & uisus altissimi obumbrabit tibi, p
 quod nascetur de te scilicet uocabitur filius dei, uir
 conceptus uirginis & uirum scilicet opus & non de uirgine
 concipientis fuit. Caro concipitur, sed
 non ita intelligenda est illa generatio singulariter
 mirabilis & mirabiliter singularis. Uir
 natus est aeterni operationis, proprius & assecuratus sit
 generis secunditatem: uirginis spiritus sanctus de
 ma. cl. g. Tertius autem corporis sumptus de
 ad domum corpore est. & edificante sibi sapien
 tia domum; uir b. caro facta est. & habitauit
 in nobis; hoc est in carne quam sumpsit & hominem
 & uicem spiritus uere rationabilis animauit. Salu
 gatur proprietas utriusque nature. & substantie
 inuicem. & inuicem in diuinitate que con
 obtinam; Christus deus & homo est; Beati apostoli & euang
 geliste iohannis testimonio dicente. Omnis spiritus
 qui confitetur ihesu christum in carne uenisse & deo
 & omnis spiritus qui soluit ihesum de deo. & hic est
 antecristus; quid autem soluit ihesum nisi humana
 ab eo separare. Naturam & sacramentum
 uel pas humanum propter quod saluati sumus; fuit autem
 ca. **E**rat autem ibi maria
 magdalena & alia & maria sedentes contra seculum

capitulum scimmolarum in pascuis dno. Dita Leonis qm

R. Credo & spm scm expecare filioq: pcedentē. Dicitur.

enunciado de la primera opción consensuada en el

penicillium pondiculus glaucum

100

SAMPLE D: EDITION

(TITLE PAGE)

"Text 1: Dicta Leonis"

Composer: Anonymous (attributed to Leo)

Previous editions: A. DuFourcq in Étude sur les Gesta Martyrum Romains, t. IV, Paris, 1910, pp. 65f., using Paris, BN lat. 2175. There are five errors in DuFourcq's edition. I have collated Paris, BN 2175 in my edition here.

Manuscripts known to exist: Paris, BN lat. 2175 (s. VIII-IX), ff. 127r-128r; Orléans, BM 313 (s. IX), pp. 232-233; Cologne, Erzbisch. Diözesan- und Dombibl. LXXXV (s. IX 1/2), ff. [to be completed]; New York, Columbia Univ. Lib. Plimpton 58 (s. IX 2/3, so. France), ff. 120v-121v; Paris, BN lat. 614 A (s. IX-X), ff. [to be completed]; Paris, BN lat 10612 (post s. IX?) [to be completed].

Manuscripts used in this edition:

O = Orléans, BM 313 (principal text)
P = Paris, BN lat. 2175
N = New York, Columbia U. Lib. Plimpton 58

Description: A commentary on the first four articles of the Apostles' Creed and the article (abbreviated) of the Nicene Creed to which was added the word filioque by the Third Council of Toledo in 589. Text 7 also has the words, "non est adoptivus." Minus the sentences with these words, Text 7 is extracted from the famous "Tome" of Pope Leo I of 449 against the Monophysites. DeFourcq (op. cit.) suggests our text was compiled in Spain in the sixth century, among the clergy of Bishop Lucretius of Braga who consulted the letters of Leo to combat the Priscillianist heresy. Its recopying in many manuscripts in the ninth century is perhaps related to the concern of the Adoptionist heresy in S-E France (Septimania).

The title "Dicta" is in the tradition of works consisting of short, pithy extracts of ancient authors collected together to form a summary of moral or doctrinal instruction (cf. a very different text also entitled "Dicta Leonis," analyzed by F. Dolbeau, "Deux Manuels Latins de Morale Élémentaire" in Haut Moyen-Age: Culture, Éducation et Société: Études offertes à Pierre Riché, ed. M. Sot, C. Lepelley, P. Contamine, et al., La Garenne-Colombes, 1990, pp. 185-96).

(NOTE TO THE READERS OF THIS SAMPLE: The microfilm print-out of Orléans, BM 313 is very dark, and I had to transcribe it directly from the film reader, not the print-out you see (Sample C). Also, the print-out of f. 121 of New York, Columbia Univ. Plimpton 58 (Sample B) is obscured on the inner margin and I must still see this manuscript in person.)

DICTA LEONIS EPISCOPI. CREDO IN DEUM PATREM OMNIPOTENTEM. ET
 IN IESUM CHRISTUM FILIUM EIUS UNICUM DOMINUM NOSTRUM, QUI
 CONCEPTUS EST DE SPIRITU SANCTO, NATUS EX MARIAE VIRGINE.
credo et spiritum sanctum ex patre filioque procedentem. his
 5 tribus sententiis omnium fere hereticorum machine destruuntur.
 cum enim deus et omnipotens et pater creditur, consempternus
 eidem filius demonstratur in nullo a patre differens, quia de
 deo deus, de omnipotente omnipotens, de aeterno natus est
 coeternus. non posterior tempore, non inferior potestate, non
 10 dissimilis gloria, non divisus essentia. idem vero sempiterni

Lines 1-41 consist essentially of extracted sentences from the
 "Tome I" of Pope Leo I addressed to Bishop Flavian of
 Constantinople in 449 (PL 54: 757B-771A). However, two whole
 sentences (underlined) are not in "Tome I," and there are
 other small differences (mostly omissions) that change the
 meaning of "Tome I."

3 spiritu corr. ex spirito N maria P,N 4 et] in P; add. in
 N 5 sententiis N heretichorum N 9 coaeternus P,N
 posteriore N inferiore N 10 idem] id est P; (illegible in my
 photo of N)

genitoris unigenitus sempiternus natus ex maria virgine. quae
 nativitas temporalis illi nativitati divine et sempiterne
 nihil minuit, nihil contullit, sed totam se reparando homini
 qui erat deceptus impendit, ut et mortem vinceret et diabolum
 15 qui mortis habebat imperium sua virtute destrueret. non enim
 nos superare poteramus peccati et mortis auctorem nisi naturam
 nostram ille susciperet et sua faceret, quem nec peccatum
 contaminare nec mors potuit detinere, quia non est
adoptivus, sed proprius dei filius unigenitus. conceptus
 20 quippe est de spiritu sancto intra uterum virginis matris
 quem illa ita salva virginitate edidit quemadmodum salva
 virginitate concepit. ita namque eam archangelo gabrielo
 nuntiante concepisse credimus, qui dixit: 'spiritus sanctus
 superveniet in te et virtus altissimi obumbravit tibi. ideoque
 25 quod nascetur ex te sanctum vocabitur filius dei.' (Lc. 1:35)

11 genitoris corr. ex genitores P mariae P quae] qui corr.
ex quia P 12 divinae N sempiternae P,N 13 nihil minuit] om.
 N contullit] corr. ex contullisti N se reparando] separando
 P,N hominae N 14 erat] aerat P impendit P impendit N ut et]
 ut aet P vincerit P 16 poteramus] add. et N; poterat P
 peccatum P 17 susciperaet (sic) P suam P,N 19 proprius]
corr. ex propprius N 20 spiritu corr. ex spirito N intra]
corr. ex incontra N 22 virginitate N gabrielo] om. N?
 (illegible in my photo) 23 nuntiante N concepisse] corr. ex
 concepisset N 24 obumbravit] corr. ad obumbrabit N

ut quia conceptus virginis divini fuit operis, non de natura
 concipientis fuerit caro concipienti. sed non ita intellegenda
 est illa generatio singulariter mirabilis et mirabiliter
 singularis ut per novitatem creationis proprietates remotas sit.
 30 generis fecunditatem virginis spiritus sanctus dedit. veritas
 autem corporis sumpta de corpore est: 'et aedificante sibi
 sapientia domum.' (Prov. 9:1) 'verbum caro factum est et
 habitabit in nobis.' (Io. 1:14) hoc est, in carne quam
 sumpsit ex homine et quam spiritus vitae rationabilis
 35 animavit. salva igitur proprietate utriusque nature et
 substantiae in unam coeuntem personam indivisamque et non
 adoptivam christus deus et homo est, beati apostoli et
 evangelistae iohannis testimonio dicente: 'omnis spiritus qui
 confitetur iesum christum in carne venisse ex deo est, et
 40 omnis spiritus qui solvit iesum ex deo non est et hic est
 antichristus.' (1 Io. 4:3) quid autem est solvere iesum, nisi
 humanam ab eo separare naturam et sacramentum divinum per quod
 salvati sumus? EXPLICIT.

27 concipientis] concipientis P concipienti] corr. ad
 concipientis N 29 novitatem] nativitatem N 30
 faecunditatem N 32 sapiencia N verbum] corr. ex verbo N 33
 habitavit P,N 34 vite P,N rationabilis N 35 naturae P 37
 adoptivam (sic) P adoptivam N 38 evangeliste P,N iohannis
 (sic) N 41 antechristus P antecristus (sic) N est] om. N 42
 humanum P ab eo] ambo P 43 EXPLICIT] FINIT. AMEN. P,N

(THE FOLLOWING TRANSLATION OF "TEXT 1: DICTA LEONIS" IS ONLY FOR THE CONVENIENCE OF THE READERS OF THIS SAMPLE.)

SAYINGS OF BISHOP LEO. I BELIEVE IN GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY AND IN JESUS CHRIST HIS ONLY SON OUR LORD, WHO WAS CONCEIVED BY THE HOLY SPIRIT, BORN OF THE VIRGIN MARY. I believe also [in] the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father and the Son. With these three sentences the contrivances of nearly all the heretics are destroyed. For when God is believed [to be] Almighty and Father, the Son is shown to be coeternal to Him, in no way differing from the Father, because he was born God from God, Almighty from Almighty, Coeternal from Eternal; not later in time, not less in power, not dissimilar in glory, not distinct in essence. But this same eternal only Son of the eternal Father was born from the Virgin Mary. This birth in time took away nothing from, conferred nothing to, that divine eternal birth, but he weighed it out entirely for repairing humanity, which had been deceived, so that he might conquer death and by his power destroy the devil, who held the command of death. For we would not be able to conquer sin and the author of death unless he had taken on our nature and made it his, whom neither sin could contaminate nor death could detain, because he is not an adopted, but the true only-born Son of God. Indeed, he was conceived by the Holy Spirit in the womb of the Virgin Mother, whom she thus, saving her virginity, brought forth, just as, saving her virginity, she conceived. For we believe she conceived in this way when the Archangel Gabriel announced: "The Holy Spirit will come upon you and the power of the Most High will overshadow you; therefore what is born from you will be called holy, son of God." (Lk. 1:35) Because he was conceived by a virgin the work was divine. Not of the nature of the one conceiving was the flesh of the one [being conceived]. But that singularly marvelous and marvelously singular birth must not be so understood that through the novelty of the birth the proper characteristics of a birth were removed. [For] the Holy Spirit gave the fruitfulness of the virgin; however, the reality of the body was taken from a body: "with wisdom building for herself a house," "the word was made flesh and dwelt among us" (Prov. 9:1, Jn. 1:14) --that is, in the flesh which he took from humanity and which the rational spirit of life animated. Therefore, saving the propriety of each nature and substance, Christ is God and man in one conjoined and undivided and not adopted person, as the blessed apostle and evangelist John testified: "every spirit who confesses that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is of God, and every spirit who dissolves Jesus is not of God and this one is an antichrist." (1 Jn. 4:3) What, moreover, is it to dissolve Jesus, unless to separate the human nature from him and [to make void] the divine mystery through which we are saved? **IT ENDS.**

National Endowment for the Humanities
BUDGET FORM

OMB No. 3136-0119
Expires: 1/31/96

Project Director <u>Susan A. KEEFE</u>	If this is a revised budget, indicate the NEH application/grant number:
Applicant Organization <u>Duke University</u>	Requested Grant Period From <u>Apr. 1, 1995</u> to <u>Mar. 31, 1998</u> <small>mo/yr mo/yr</small>

The three-column budget has been developed for the convenience of those applicants who wish to identify the project costs that will be charged to NEH funds and those that will be cost shared. FOR NEH PURPOSES, THE ONLY COLUMN THAT NEEDS TO BE COMPLETED IS COLUMN C. The method of cost computation should clearly indicate how the total charge for each budget item was determined. If more space is needed for any budget category, please follow the budget format on a separate sheet of paper.

When the requested grant period is eighteen months or longer, separate budgets for each twelve-month period of the project must be developed on duplicated copies of the budget form.

SECTION A — budget detail for the period from Apr. 1, 1995 **to** Mar. 31, 1996
mo/yr mo/yr

1. Salaries and Wages

Provide the names and titles of principal project personnel. For support staff, include the title of each position and indicate in brackets the number of persons who will be employed in that capacity. For persons employed on an academic year basis, list separately any salary charge for work done outside the academic year.

name/title of position	no.	method of cost computation (see sample)	NEH Funds (a)	Cost Sharing (b)	Total (c)
Graduate Student/Research Assistant	[1]	28 weeks x 12 hrs per week x \$9 per hour	\$ 3,024		\$ 3,024
	[]				
	[]				
	[]				
	[]				
	[]				
	[]				
SUBTOTAL			\$ 3,024		\$ 3,024

2. Fringe Benefits

If more than one rate is used, list each rate and salary base.

rate	salary base	(a)	(b)	(c)
_____ % of \$ _____		\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____
_____ % of \$ _____		\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____
SUBTOTAL		\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____

3. Consultant Fees

Include payments for professional and technical consultants and honoraria.

name or type of consultant	no. of days on project	daily rate of compensation	(a)	(b)	(c)
		\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____
		\$ _____			
		\$ _____			
		\$ _____			
		\$ _____			
SUBTOTAL			\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____

7. Other Costs

Include participant stipends and room and board, equipment purchases, and other items not previously listed. Please note that "miscellaneous" and "contingency" are not acceptable budget categories. Refer to the budget instructions for the restriction on the purchase of permanent equipment.

item	basis/method of cost computation	NEH Funds (a)	Cost Sharing (b)	Total (c)
_____	_____	\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
SUBTOTAL		\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____

8. Total Direct Costs (add subtotals of items 1 through 7)

\$ 20,307. \$ _____ \$ 20,307.

9. Indirect Costs [This budget item applies only to institutional applicants.]

If indirect costs are to be charged to this project, check the appropriate box below and provide the information requested. Refer to the budget instructions for explanations of these options.

- ☒ Current indirect cost rate(s) has/have been negotiated with a federal agency. (Complete items A and B.)
- ☐ Indirect cost proposal has been submitted to a federal agency but not yet negotiated. (Indicate the name of the agency in item A and show proposed rate(s) and base(s), and the amount(s) of indirect costs in item B.)
- ☐ Indirect cost proposal will be sent to NEH if application is funded. (Provide an estimate in item B of the rate that will be used and indicate the base against which it will be charged and the amount of indirect costs.)
- ☐ Applicant chooses to use a rate not to exceed 10% of direct costs, less distorting items, up to a maximum charge of \$5,000. (Under item B, enter the proposed rate, the base against which the rate will be charged, and the computation of indirect costs or \$5,000, whichever sum is less.)

A. DHHS 10-14-92
name of federal agency date of agreement

B.

rate(s)	base(s)	NEH Funds (a)	Cost Sharing (b)	Total (c)
<u>50.8</u> %	of \$ <u>20,307</u>	\$ <u>10,316.</u>	\$ _____	\$ <u>10,316.</u>
_____ %	of \$ _____	_____	_____	_____
TOTAL INDIRECT COSTS		\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____

10. Total Project Costs (direct and indirect) for Budget Period

\$ 30,623 \$ _____ \$ 30,623.

OMB No. 3136-0119
Expires: 1/31/96

7. Other Costs

Include participant stipends and room and board, equipment purchases, and other items not previously listed. Please note that "miscellaneous" and "contingency" are not acceptable budget categories. Refer to the budget instructions for the restriction on the purchase of permanent equipment.

item	basis/method of cost computation	NEH Funds (a)	Cost Sharing (b)	Total (c)
		\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____
		_____	_____	_____
		_____	_____	_____
		_____	_____	_____
		_____	_____	_____
		_____	_____	_____
		_____	_____	_____
		_____	_____	_____
	SUBTOTAL	\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____

8. Total Direct Costs (add subtotals of items 1 through 7)

s 20,031, s _____ s 20 031.

9. Indirect Costs [This budget item applies only to institutional applicants.]

If indirect costs are to be charged to this project, check the appropriate box below and provide the information requested. Refer to the budget instructions for explanations of these options.

- ☐ Current indirect cost rate(s) has/have been negotiated with a federal agency. (Complete items A and B.)
- ☐ Indirect cost proposal has been submitted to a federal agency but not yet negotiated. (Indicate the name of the agency in item A and show proposed rate(s) and base(s), and the amount(s) of indirect costs in item B.)
- ☐ Indirect cost proposal will be sent to NEH if application is funded. (Provide an estimate in item B of the rate that will be used and indicate the base against which it will be charged and the amount of indirect costs.)
- ☐ Applicant chooses to use a rate not to exceed 10% of direct costs, less distorting items, up to a maximum charge of \$5,000. (Under item B, enter the proposed rate, the base against which the rate will be charged, and the computation of indirect costs or \$5,000, whichever sum is less.)

A. DHHS 10.14.92
name of federal agency date of agreement

B.	rate(s)	base(s)	NEH Funds (a)	Cost Sharing (b)	Total (c)
	<u>50.8</u> %	of \$ <u>20,031.</u>	\$ <u>10,176.</u>	\$ _____	\$ <u>10,176.</u>
	_____ %	of \$ _____	_____	_____	_____
	TOTAL INDIRECT COSTS		\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____

10. Total Project Costs (direct and indirect) for Budget Period

\$30,207. \$_____ \$30,207.

OMB No. 3136-0119
Expires: 1/31/96

4. Travel

For each trip, indicate the number of persons traveling, the total days they will be in travel status, and the total subsistence and transportation costs for that trip. When a project will involve the travel of a number of people to a conference, institute, etc., these costs may be summarized on one line by indicating the point of origin as "various." All foreign travel must be listed separately.

from/to	no. of persons	total travel days	subsistence costs	+ transportation costs	= NEH Funds (a)	Cost Sharing (b)	Total (c)
_____	[]	[]	\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____
_____	[]	[]	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	[]	[]	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	[]	[]	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	[]	[]	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	[]	[]	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	[]	[]	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
SUBTOTAL					\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____

5. Supplies and Materials

Include consumable supplies, materials to be used in the project, and items of expendable equipment; i.e., equipment items costing less than \$500 or with an estimated useful life of less than two years.

item	basis/method of cost computation	(a)	(b)	(c)
_____	_____	\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
SUBTOTAL		\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____

6. Services

Include the cost of duplication and printing, long distance telephone, equipment rental, postage, and other services related to project objectives that are not included under other budget categories or in the indirect cost pool. For subcontracts over \$10,000, provide an itemization of subcontract costs on this form or on an attachment.

item	basis/method of cost computation	(a)	(b)	(c)
Print-outs of microfilm	50 folios x 200 manuscripts (est.)	2,000	\$	2,000
	@ 20 ¢ per folio (I anticipate			
	the need to continue making print-outs in			
	3rd year of project, although I will			
	not be purchasing new microfilm			
	in 3rd year.)			
Xeroxes of articles	50 articles x 30 pages	105		105
	x 7 ¢ per page			
SUBTOTAL		\$ 2,105	\$	\$ 2,105

7. Other Costs

Include participant stipends and room and board, equipment purchases, and other items not previously listed. Please note that "miscellaneous" and "contingency" are not acceptable budget categories. Refer to the budget instructions for the restriction on the purchase of permanent equipment.

item	basis/method of cost computation	NEH Funds (a)	Cost Sharing (b)	Total (c)
		\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____
		_____	_____	_____
		_____	_____	_____
		_____	_____	_____
		_____	_____	_____
		_____	_____	_____
		_____	_____	_____
		_____	_____	_____
		_____	_____	_____
SUBTOTAL		\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____

8. Total Direct Costs (add subtotals of items 1 through 7)

s 58,624 s s 58,624

9. Indirect Costs [This budget item applies only to institutional applicants.]

If indirect costs are to be charged to this project, check the appropriate box below and provide the information requested. Refer to the budget instructions for explanations of these options.

- ☒ Current indirect cost rate(s) has/have been negotiated with a federal agency. (Complete items A and B.)
- ☐ Indirect cost proposal has been submitted to a federal agency but not yet negotiated. (Indicate the name of the agency in item A and show proposed rate(s) and base(s), and the amount(s) of indirect costs in item B.)
- ☐ Indirect cost proposal will be sent to NEH if application is funded. (Provide an estimate in item B of the rate that will be used and indicate the base against which it will be charged and the amount of indirect costs.)
- ☐ Applicant chooses to use a rate not to exceed 10% of direct costs, less distorting items, up to a maximum charge of \$5,000. (Under item B, enter the proposed rate, the base against which the rate will be charged, and the computation of indirect costs or \$5,000, whichever sum is less.)

A. DHHS 10.14.92
name of federal agency date of agreement

B.	rate(s)	base(s)	NEH Funds (a)	Cost Sharing (b)	Total (c)
	<u>50.8</u> %	of \$ <u>58,624</u>	\$ <u>29,781</u>	\$ _____	\$ <u>29,781</u>
	_____ %	of \$ _____	_____	_____	_____
	TOTAL INDIRECT COSTS		\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____

10. Total Project Costs (direct and indirect) for Budget Period

\$88,405. \$_____ \$88,405.

SECTION B — Summary Budget and Project Funding

SUMMARY BUDGET

Transfer from section A the total costs (column c) for each category of project expense. When the proposed grant period is eighteen months or longer, project expenses for each twelve-month period are to be listed separately and totaled in the last column of the summary budget. For projects that will run less than eighteen months, only the last column of the summary budget should be completed.

Budget Categories	First Year/ from Apr. 1, 1995 to Mar. 31, 1996	Second Year/ from Apr. 1, 1996 to Mar. 31, 1997	Third Year/ from Apr. 1, 1997 to Mar. 31, 1998	TOTAL COSTS FOR ENTIRE GRANT PERIOD
1. Salaries and Wages	\$3,024.	\$3,145	\$45,869	= \$52,038.
2. Fringe Benefits			10,650	= 10,650.
3. Consultant Fees				=
4. Travel	4,688.	4,781.		= 9,469
5. Supplies and Materials	10,490	10,000		= 20,490
6. Services	2,105	2,105	2,105	= 6,315
7. Other Costs				=
8. Total Direct Costs (items 1-7)	\$20,307	\$20,031	\$58,624	= \$98,962
9. Indirect Costs	\$10,316	\$10,176	\$29,781	= \$50,273
10. Total Project Costs (Direct & Indirect)	\$30,623	\$30,207	\$88,405	= \$149,235

PROJECT FUNDING FOR ENTIRE GRANT PERIOD

I. Requested from NEH:

Outright \$ 149,235
 Federal Matching \$ _____
 TOTAL FROM NEH: \$ 149,235

II. Cost Sharing:¹

A. Third-Party Contributions \$ _____
 B. Applicant Contributions \$ _____
 TOTAL COST SHARING: \$ _____

III. Funding from Other Federal Agencies: \$ _____

TOTAL COST SHARING AND FUNDING
 FROM OTHER FEDERAL AGENCIES (II + III): \$ _____

TOTAL PROJECT FUNDING (Total of I + II + III)² = \$ 149,235

¹ Under Cost Sharing, line II.A. should indicate the amount of contributions to be made by third parties (including any third-party cash gifts that will be raised to release federal matching funds). On line II.B., indicate the amount that will be contributed to the project by the applicant institution. NOTE that the Endowment's cost-sharing expectations may be met either through contributions from third parties or from the institution's own resources.

² Total Project Funding should equal Total Project Costs.

Institutional Grant Administrator

Complete the information requested below when a revised budget is submitted. Block 11 of the application cover sheet instructions contains a description of the functions of the institutional grant administrator. The signature of this person indicates approval of the budget submission and the agreement of the organization to cost share project expenses at the level indicated under "Project Funding."

Lorna C. Hicks, Assistant Director, Office of

Telephone (919) 684-3030
 area code

Research Support
 Name and Title (please type or print)

Date 5/26/94

Signature

NEH Application/Grant Number: _____

VITA

SUSAN ANN KEEFE

PERSONAL

Date and Place of Birth: May 21, 1954; Rye, New York
Address: 2920 Chapel Hill Rd., 6-C, Durham, NC 27707
Phone: 919-660-3469 (office); 919-490-6253 (home)

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

1988 to present: Assistant Professor of Medieval Church History,
The Divinity School, Duke University, Durham,
NC.
1987-88: Mellon Faculty Fellow, History Dept., Harvard
University.
1983-87: Assistant Professor of Medieval History, Davidson
College.
1981-83: Mellon Instructor in History, California Institute of
Technology.
1976-81: Teaching Assistant, Centre for Medieval Studies,
University of Toronto.

EDUCATION

1981 Ph.D. University of Toronto (Medieval Studies)
1976 M.A. University of Toronto (Medieval Studies)
1975 B.A. University of Pennsylvania (History and Classics)

PH.D. DISSERTATION

Title: Baptismal Instruction in the Carolingian Period: The
Manuscript Evidence.
Supervisor: Roger E. Reynolds, Professor of Liturgy, Centre for
Medieval Studies and Senior Fellow, Pontifical Institute
of Mediaeval Studies, University of Toronto.

HONORS AND AWARDS

Greek Prize, Classics Dept., U. of Penn., 1975
B.A. Magna Cum Laude, U. of Penn., 1975
Phi Beta Kappa, U. of Penn., 1975
U. of Toronto Open Fellowships: 1975-76, 1976-77, 1977-78
Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst Scholarship, 1978-79
Mary H. Beatty Fellowship, U. of Toronto, 1978-79 (declined)

Ontario Graduate Scholarships: 1979-80, 1980-81
 Hill Monastic Manuscript Traveling Fellowship, 1980
 Mellon Postdoctoral Research/Teaching Fellowship, California
 Institute of Technology, 1981-83
 Mellon Fellow in Early Christian Studies at the Catholic Uni-
 versity of America, 1983-84 (declined)
 Medieval Academy of America Van Courtlandt Elliott Prize for
 First Published Article, "Carolingian Baptismal Expositions:
 A Handlist of Tracts and Manuscripts," 1985
 Mellon Faculty Fellowship at Harvard University, 1987-88
 American Council of Learned Societies Grant-In-Aid, 1991
 Duke University Major Faculty Research Grant, 1991
 Duke University Faculty Research Grant, 1992

PUBLICATIONS

- Book (forthcoming), Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire: A Study of Texts and Manuscripts. 2 vols., University of Notre Dame Press, 1994.
- Article, "Baptism" in Dictionary of the Middle Ages, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, vol. II, 1983, pp. 83-86.
- Article, "Carolingian Baptismal Expositions: A Handlist of Tracts and Manuscripts" in Carolingian Essays, ed. by Uta-Renate Blumenthal, Catholic Univ. of America Press, Washington, D. C., 1983, pp. 169-237.
- Article, "An Unknown Response to Charlemagne's Baptismal Questionnaire from the Archiepiscopal Province of Sens," in Revue Bénédictine, XCVI, nos. 1-2 (1986), pp. 48-93.
- Article, "The Claim of Authorship in Carolingian Baptismal Expositions: the Case of Odilbert of Milan" in Fälschungen im Mittelalter. Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, 15.-18. September 1986 (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 33.2;) Hannover, 1988, pp. 385-401.
- Review, Pierre J. Payer, Sex and the Penitentials, Toronto, 1984, in Speculum, 61 (April, 1986), pp. 453-455.
- Review, Edward James, transl., Gregory of Tours: Life of the Fathers, Liverpool, 1985, in Church History, 54, no. 4 (Dec., 1985), pp. 512f.
- Review, Luce Pietri, La Ville de Tours du IVe au VI Siècle: Naissance d'une Cité Chrétienne, Rome, 1983, in Church History, 56, no. 1 (Mar., 1987), pp. 109f.
- Review, Joseph H. Lynch, Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe, Princeton, 1986, in Church History (forthcoming).
- Review, Michael J. Enright, Iona, Tara, and Soissons: The Origin of the Royal Anointing Ritual, Berlin/New York, 1985, in Church History, (forthcoming).
- Review, Pierre-Marie Gy, La Liturgie dans l'Histoire, Paris, 1990, in Speculum, vol. 68 (1993), pp. 161f.

RESEARCH AT COLLECTIONS

- 1978-79 Handschriftenabteilung, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich; Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin; Staatliche Bibliothek, Bamberg
- 1980 Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota
- 1981-83 The Huntington Library, San Marino, California
- 1985 Paris, Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale; Sélestat, Bibl. Municipale; Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana; Vatican, Bibl. Apostolica Vat.; Naples, Bibl. Naz. Vitt.-Eman.; Florence, Bibl. Med. Laurenz.; Novara, Bibl. Arch. Dioces.; Nîmes, Arch. Dépt. du Gard; Barcelona, Bibl. Univ.; Madrid, Bibl. Naz.; El Escorial, Real Bibl. de San Lorenzo
- 1991 Paris, IRHT; Paris, Bibl. Nat.; Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale; Brussels, Bibl. Royal Albert Ier; St.-Omer, Bibl. Mun.; Cambrai, Bibl. Mun.; Laon, Bibl. Mun.; Troyes, Bibl. Mun.; Verdun, Bibl. Mun.; Sélestat, Bibl. Mun.; St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek; Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibl.; Turin, Bibl. Naz.; Turin, Bibl. Reale; Verona, Bibl. Capitolare; Padova, Bibl. Ambrosiana; Vatican, Bibl. Apost. Vat.; Rome, Bibl. Naz. Centrale Vitt.-Emman.; Albi, Bibl. Mun.; Barcelona, Arch. de la Corona de Aragon; Barcelona, Arch. Capitolare; Barcelona, Bibl. Universitat; Vich, Arch. Capitular; El Escorial, Real Bibl. de San Lorenzo; Madrid, Bibl. Naz.; Montpellier, Bibl. Interuniversitaire; Lyon, Bibl. Mun.

PH. D. DISSERTATION DIRECTOR

On the Medieval Ordo for the Dedication of a Church, 1992-current.

SCHOLARLY ACTIVITIES

Participant: "Alcuin Colloquium," U. of Winnipeg, Feb., 1983.

Participant: Medieval Symposium, Queens College, Charlotte, Oct., 1983.

Lecture: "Carolingian Baptismal Instructions and the Carolingian Reform" delivered at Harvard University, Center for Literary Studies, Feb. 8, 1988.

Presentations of my Research: Mellon Faculty Fellows, Harvard University, March, 1988; Grad. Dept. of Religion, Duke University, Oct. 26, 1988.

Paper: "Carolingian Baptismal Commentaries" delivered at 24th International Congress of Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 6, 1989.

Organizer: Talk by Professor John Van Engen, Chairman of the Medieval Institute, Notre Dame at Duke, Feb. 7, 1990.

Lecture: "The Sacraments and Consolation" delivered to United Methodist pastors at a Greensboro District Seminar, March 12, 1990 (organized by the Duke Divinity School Center for Continuing Education).

SCHOLARLY SOCIETIES

Medieval Academy of America, 1976-
Friends of the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, 1980-
American Historical Association, 1982-
Medieval Academy of the Pacific, 1982-87
American Society of Church History, 1982-
Southeastern Medieval Association, 1983-87

EXTRA-ACADEMIC ACTIVITIES

Catechetical Instructor and Eucharistic Minister, Immaculate Conception Parish, Durham, NC.
Member of the Academic Council of Duke University, 1989-91.
Faculty Secretary, Duke Divinity School, 1989-current.

REFERENCES

Prof. Arnold Angenendt
Kath.-Theol. Fakultät
Johannisstr. 8-10
4400 Münster
Germany

Prof. Roger E. Reynolds
Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies
59 Queen's Park Crescent East
Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 2C4

Prof. Leonard E. Boyle, Prefect
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Porta S. Anna
Cortile di Belvedere
00120 Citta del Vaticano
Italy

Prof. David Ganz
Dept. of Classics
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
212 Murphey Hall 030 A
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RECENT WORKS ON THE
CAROLINGIAN REFORM PERTINENT TO MY PROJECT

Bullough, Donald, "Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven" in Carolingian Essays, ed. Uta-Renate Blumenthal, Washington D. C., 1983, pp. 1-69.

Cavadini, John, The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul 785-820, Philadelphia, 1993.

Chazelle, Celia, "Ebo, Hincmar of Reims, and the Utrecht Psalter," unpublished, 1994.

Contreni, John, Carolingian Learning, Masters and Manuscripts, Variorum Press, Hampshire, Gr. Britain, 1992.

Ganz, David, Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance, Sigmaringen, 1990.

Gibson, Margaret and Nelson, Janet, eds., Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom, 2nd rev. ed., Variorum Press, Hampshire, Gr. Britain, 1990.

Godman, Peter and Collins, Roger, eds., Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840), Oxford, 1990.

Hildebrandt, M. M., The External School in Carolingian Society, Leiden/New York/Köln, 1992.

Lynch, Joseph, Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe, Princeton, 1986.

McKitterick, Rosamond, The Carolingians and the Written Word, Cambridge, 1989; The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe, Cambridge, 1990.

Nees, Lawrence, A Tainted Mantle: Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court, Philadelphia, 1991.

Noble, T. F. X. and Contreni, J., eds., Religion, Culture and Society in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan, Kalamazoo, 1987.

Paxton, Frederick, Christianizing Death, Ithaca and London, 1990.

Sullivan, Richard, "The Carolingian Age: Reflections on its Place in the History of the Middle Ages" in Speculum 64 (1989), pp. 267-306.

STATEMENT OF HISTORY OF GRANTS

Pertaining Specifically to the Project:

1. Summer, 1991: American Council of Learned Societies Grant-in-Aid of \$3,000.
2. July 1, 1991 - June 30, 1992: Duke University Major Faculty Research Grant of \$4300.
3. July 1, 1992 - June 30, 1993: Duke University Faculty Research Grant of \$2,000.

LIST OF PROJECT PARTICIPANTS

1. Director and Executor of the Project:

Susan A. Keefe, Asst. Prof. of Medieval Church History
The Divinity School
Duke University
Durham, NC 27708 (919-660-3469)

2. Graduate Student Research Assistant:

Student (not yet assigned)
c/o Gay Trotter, Secretary
Graduate Dept. of Religion
Duke University
Durham, NC 27708

LIST OF SUGGESTED REVIEWERS

- 1) Name: Roger E. Reynolds, Professor of Liturgy and Senior Fellow
Institution: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies
Address: 59 Queen's Park Crescent East, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 2C4
Appropriateness as an evaluator: As my dissertation director, he is familiar with my scholarship, but I have not discussed this grant proposal with him. I list him first only because of his extremely wide knowledge of editing projects going on here and abroad and his capability to explain to NEH judges the current scene of medieval manuscript scholarship from an international perspective.
- 2) Name: David Ganz, Professor of Classical Studies
Institution: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Address: Dept. of Classics, CB 3145, U. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3145
Appropriateness as an evaluator: He has numerous contacts here and in England and France with scholars engaged in work with Carolingian manuscripts and scriptoria; he is a shrewd critic of the value of different editorial projects.
- 3) Name: Rosamond McKitterick, Reader in Early Medieval European History
Institution: University of Cambridge
Address: Newnham College, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, CB3 9DF, England, UK.
Appropriateness as an evaluator: Her books on the Carolingian era have become required textbooks for college students; she is extremely knowledgeable in manuscript studies and bases her rewriting of the history of the Carolingian era on the kinds of texts I am editing.
- 4) Name: John Contreni, Professor of Medieval History
Institution: Purdue University
Address: Dept. of History, Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN 47907
Appropriateness as an evaluator: He is respected internationally for his book, The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930; Its Manuscripts and Masters (1978); he works on the history of education and has long recognized the impact of didactic texts intended for the education of the clergy on popular learning.
- 5) Name: Donald Bullough, Professor of Medieval History
Institution: University of St. Andrews
Address: History Dept., University of St. Andrews, Fife, KY 169AJ Scotland
Appropriateness as an evaluator: Author of The Age of Charlemagne (1966) and Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage (1991), he is a widely respected Carolingian scholar;

he explains the importance of that age in the broader picture of the emerging Middle Ages; he has worked particularly on Alcuin, whose scriptorium at Tours produced the kinds of texts I am editing.

- 6) Name: John Van Engen, Professor of Medieval History and
Director of The Medieval Institute, U. of Notre Dame
Institution: University of Notre Dame
Address: 715 Hesburgh Library, U. of Notre Dame, Nore Dame, IN
46556

Appropriateness as an evaluator: He understands the complexity and special problems of editing medieval texts; he is very familiar with my editions of Carolingian baptismal expositions.

- 7) Name: Joseph Lynch, Professor of Medieval History
Institution: Ohio State University
Address: Dept. of History, Ohio State University, Columbus, OH
43210

Appropriateness as an evaluator: He has worked on culture and society and popular practice and belief in the Carolingian world in relation to godparents and kinship; he can relate my project to the concerns of a broad range of scholars.

- 8) Name: Leonard Boyle, Secretary of the Vatican Library and
Professor of Paleography
Institution: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Address: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Porta S. Anna,
Cortile di Belvedere, 00120 Citta del Vaticano,
Italy.

Appropriateness as an evaluator: He knows my work transcribing medieval texts and my experience working with manuscripts in the Vatican and other European archives; he has intimate knowledge of editorial projects comparative with mine published in the Vatican Library series, Studi e Testi.