

NEH APPLICATION COVER SHEET

OMB No. 3136-0050
Expires: 6/30/95**1. Individual applicant or project director****a. Name and mailing address**Name KEEFE, SUSAN A.
(last) (first) (initial)Address THE DIVINITY SCHOOL
DUKE UNIVERSITY
DURHAM NC 27708
(city) (state) (ZIP code)**b. Form of address:** 6**c. Telephone number**
Office: 919 / 660-3469 Home: 919 / 490-6253
(area code) (area code)**d. Major field of applicant or project director** EUROPEAN HISTORY A6
(code)**e. Citizenship:** X U.S. Other
(specify)**2. Type of applicant****a.** X by an individual **b.** 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
d. Status**3. Type of application** **a.** X new **b.** supplement
If b, indicate previous grant number**4. Program to which application is being made**Summer Stipends 6211
Endowment Initiatives:
(code)**5. Requested grant period**From: JUNE 15, 1995 To: AUGUST 15, 1995**6. Project Funding****a.** \$4,000 Summer Stipend
b. X \$4,750 Summer Stipend with Travel**7. Field of project** A1
(code)**8. Descriptive title of project**CREED COMMENTARIES AND THE MAKING OF A
CHRISTENDOM IN THE CAROLINGIAN ERA**9. Description of project (do not exceed space provided)**

My project is to collect, identify (as to manuscripts), critically edit, and analyze a substantial representation of the creed commentaries and explanations of the faith that circulated in the Latin west during the era of the Carolingian Reform (eighth and ninth centuries). These documents, intended for the clergy and reflecting the instruction of the people in the Christian faith, offer a hitherto unexploited source for the study of the Christian transformation of society during the emergence of the first Europe.

10. (If applicable) Name of the primary research institution to which travel is proposed; city, state, or country:EUROPEAN ARCHIVES (THERE IS NO ONE PRIMARY INSTITUTION. PLEASE SEE PROPOSAL.)**11. Institutional data****a. Institution or organization:**DUKE UNIVERSITY
(name)
DURHAM NC
(city) (state)**b. Employer identification number:** Not Applicable**c. Name of nominating official:**WEINTRAUB, ROY E.
(last) (first) (initial)**d. Name and mailing address of nominating official:**WEINTRAUB ROY E.
(last) (first) (initial)114 ALLEN BLDG., BOX 90046DUKE UNIVERSITYDURHAM NC 27708
(city) (state) (zip code)ACTING DEAN OF THE FACULTY OF ARTS & SCIENCES Telephone: 919 / 684-4510 Form of address Dr.
(title) (area code) (date)

(signature)

12. Certification. By signing and submitting this application, the applicant is providing the certification regarding federal debt status, debarment and suspension, and a drug-free workplace as set forth in the appendix to these guidelines.Susan A. KEEFE Susan A. Keefe 9/22/94
(printed name) (signature) (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.

13. Nomination StatusX Junior Nominee Senior Nominee Exempt**For NEH use only**Date received
Application #
Initials

RÉSUMÉ FOR NEH SUMMER STIPEND

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)

UNIVERSITY 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.

TEACHING EMPLOYMENT

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.

PUBLICATIONS

Book (in press), 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, 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 VIe 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.

PUBLICATIONS IN PROGRESS

- Book, The Making of a Christendom: Creed Commentaries in the Carolingian Empire (Texts, Manuscripts, Editions), 3 vols., projected publication date: 1998.
- Article, "Creed Commentaries in the Carolingian Period: A Handlist of Texts and Manuscripts," submission date: Spring, 1995.

ACADEMIC HONORS AND AWARDS AND RESEARCH GRANTS

- Mellon Postdoctoral Research/Teaching Fellowship, California Institute of Technology, 1981-83
- Mellon Fellow in Early Christian Studies at the Catholic University 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, Summer of 1991 (\$3,000)
- Duke University Major Faculty Research Grant, July, 1991 to June, 1992 (one semester on leave, \$4300)
- Duke University Faculty Research Grant, July, 1992 to June, 1993 (no leave, \$2,000)

CREED COMMENTARIES AND THE MAKING OF A
CHRISTENDOM IN THE CAROLINGIAN ERA

The Nature and Significance of the Project in Relation to the Humanities

The research for which I am seeking NEH support in the Summer of 1995 concerns a project to collect, identify (as to manuscripts), edit, and analyze the creed commentaries and explanations of the faith that circulated in the west during the Carolingian period (eighth and ninth centuries).

The significance of this project lies in its relation to the Carolingian Reform, long acknowledged as one of the greatest historical enterprises of western civilization. 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. 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.

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.

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. In order to teach, however, the pastors themselves needed to be taught. Hundreds of manuals or libelli were compiled containing expositions on the creeds among many other kinds of texts pertaining to the education of pastors.

The kinds of texts I wish to make accessible to historians are at the heart of the Carolingian Reform in its fundamental aim to educate an entire society. The creed commentaries and explanations of the faith that incessantly appear in manuals for the instruction of parish priests and missionaries, in bishops' handbooks, in schoolbooks, in psalters, in reference volumes of libraries and scriptoria, and in missi vade-mecums, have long needed attention.

These brief documents, written in Latin, include word-by-word explanations of the three most popular creeds the people memorized (the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian). They also include more general expositions on the meaning of the word symbolum (creed), its origin, and its importance in the Christian life. They may begin, very simply, in interrogatory form: "Quid est symbolum?" ("What is a creed?") Clerical handbooks are not the only context in which creed commentaries are found; however, they are the most common, and they establish the role of these texts in the instruction of the people.

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? Commentaries on the creeds, used by the clergy, show by what explanations the people were brought around to accepting such articles of the faith as a triune Godhead, a virgin birth, and a resurrection of the flesh. Interestingly, my research 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.

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.

The texts must also be appreciated as tools for the primary education of the clergy. Many of them use the words of the creed to form quizzes on biblical knowledge, or to teach Greek words, or even to teach grammar and word usage. A number of them pass on traditional legenda as well as teach Scripture. Thus, the creed commentaries have importance for 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 the medieval associations made with such concepts as "kingdom," "person," "adopted," or "corpus."

Made accessible, scholars will be able to use these texts to

show students and generalists not only the great ideals of Charlemagne, but the actual literature that began to transform those ideals into reality. The Carolingian era, named after the descendants of Charles (Carolus) Martel (d. 741), 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.

Conception and Definition of the Project

The project, which will not be completed until the Fall of 1988, is massive, due to the number of manuscripts that must be examined and to the number of anonymous creed commentaries that exist. A good many have been published, many more have never been published. Even of those that have, their editions, often dating to the nineteenth century, are now inadequate because many more manuscripts of the texts have been found. Finally, no one has ever attempted to offer an inventory of all of the creed commentaries and explanations of the faith, so that the research must begin on a very fundamental level of culling hundreds of manuscript catalogues and incipit files, visiting manuscripts in Europe that are poorly catalogued, and calling on the aid and contributions of Carolingian scholars currently engaged in manuscript research.

The final form of the project will be a three-volume book entitled, The Making of a Christendom: Creed Commentaries and Explanations of the Faith in the Carolingian Empire. The first volume will describe the kinds of manuscript books in which the creed commentaries are found, while volumes II and III will offer critical editions of the creed commentaries, giving priority to those that have never been published. The corpus of texts will make available a significant representation of the teaching on, and interpretation of, the creeds in the era of the Carolingian Reform.

The NEH Summer Stipend in Relation to the Plan of Work and Methodology of the Project

Currently, I am in the process of establishing a computer database of approximately three hundred different creed commentaries based on manuscript research to date. I will spend most of the next two years of the project continuing the identifying and collecting of the material. While catalogue searching, correspondence with scholars, and ordering microfilm will alert me to the majority of the material, it is also necessary to travel to European libraries to see manuscripts in person. This is because catalogue descriptions of manuscripts are often incomplete, and microfilm of whole manuscripts is not always allowed or available, especially if the manuscript is in fragile condition. Furthermore, catalogues do not always supply a physical description of the codex, which tells much about where and how it was used.

It is important to stress that while the creed commentaries are the focus of my study, the entire manuscript-book in which they are contained must be taken into consideration in order to understand the ninth-century context and intended purpose of any creed commentary. While libraries will sometimes send photographs of a few folios, the value of my project hinges on this attention to the manuscript context of the creed commentaries.

My application for an NEH Summer Stipend is to cover the expense of visiting European archives from June 15 to July 15, 1995. Travel is absolutely essential to see specific manuscripts in France, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, and Spain, in many cases in cathedral or monastic libraries. July 15 to August 15 I would spend at Duke analyzing and identifying the material (as to content and whether previously published) and entering it into my database.

Four weeks in Europe will total \$4500 (Summer airfare round trip to Paris: @ \$1,000; 1-month Eurorail Pass: \$800; per diem lodging and food (30 x 90): \$2,700). In order to maximize my time in Europe, prior to departure I will write to the libraries I wish to visit, which have been most warm and cooperative in my past experience, asking permission to see specific manuscripts.

My project, in its largest context, addresses the question of how Europe became Christian. The creed commentaries, so far ignored as a corpus, played an essential role in that transformation, and can, made accessible to historians, vastly increase our understanding of how, in fact, and with what local contours, the Carolingian ideal became a reality.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PRIMARY MATERIAL AND PUBLICATIONS
BY OTHER SCHOLARS OF GREATEST RELEVANCE TO THE PROPOSED STUDY

Manuscript Descriptions

Bischoff, Bernhard, Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit, 2 vols., Wiesbaden, 1974, 1980.

Brommer, Peter, Capitula Episcoporum: Teil I, Hannover, 1984.

Contreni, John J., The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its Manuscripts and Masters, Munich, 1978.

Ganz, David, Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance (Beihefte der Francia, Bd. 20), Sigmaringen, 1990.

Mordek, Hubert, Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich: Die Collectio Vetus Gallica, die älteste systematische Kanonensammlung des frankischen Gallien: Studien und Edition Berlin/ New York, 1975.

Text Descriptions and Studies

Burn, E. A., The Athanasian Creed and Its Early Commentaries, Cambridge, 1896.

Capelle, D. B., "L'origine antiadoptianiste de notre texte du symbole de la messe" in Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiéval 1 (1929), pp. 7-20.

Caspari, C. P., Kirchenhistorische Anecdota, Christiania, 1883.

Caspari, C. P., Ungedruckte, Unbeachtete und Wenig Beachtete Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel, 3 vols., Christiania, 1866, 1869, 1875.

Hahn, August, ed., Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der Alten Kirche, Breslau, 1897.

Haring, Nicholas M., "Commentaries on the Pseudo-Athanasian Creed" in Medieval Studies 34 (1972), pp. 208-52.

Kattenbusch, Ferdinand, Das Apostolische Symbol, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1894.

Küstle, Karl, Eine Bibliothek der Symbole (Forschungen zur Christlichen Litteratur- und Dogmengeschichte, Bd. 1), Mainz, 1900.

Kelly, J. N. D., The Athanasian Creed, New York, 1964.

Ommanney, G., Early History of the Athanasian Creed, London, 1880.

NAMES OF TWO PEOPLE WHO WILL WRITE REFERENCE LETTERS

1. Roger E. Reynolds, Professor of Liturgy and Senior Fellow,
The Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies
59 Queen's Park Crescent East,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 2C4
2. David Ganz, Professor of Classical Studies
Department of Classics
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27599-3145