CAROLINGIAN BAPTISMAL INSTRUCTIONS AND THE CAROLINGIAN REFORM

From the title of my talk, you are probably wondering, first of all, what is a "Carolingian baptismal instruction"? I'll try to answer this briefly, as well as why a significant number of them were written in the early ninth century. Then, I'd like to share with you one baptismal instruction that I have been working on recently. I discovered it last summer in El Escorial and I believe it is of Spanish origin. If so, it should be of great interest to historians of the Carolingian Reform.

The CBIs are a unique genre of literature. They describe the ceremonies constituting the rite of baptism -- what we now know as the separate sacraments of penance, baptism, confirmation and first Holy Communion constituted a single rite, called baptism. Some are very complete, describing all the ceremonies from the initial making of the catechumen to the final post-baptismal hand-laying, and explaining their purpose and symbolism. Others are very brief, describing only some of the ceremonies and simply defining some of the terms, such as "catechumen," competent," "scrutiny," or "pomp of the devil."

The vast majority of the CBIs are anonymous. The didactic intent is obvious in many written in Q-R form. Usually their explanations are highly repetitive of one another, taken mostly from the same sources, especially Isidore, Augustine, and Alcuin. All of this partly explains why nobody has paid much attention to these texts in the past.

I have collected over 60 different instructions in 142 mss compiled in the late 8th or 9th century, or whose contents date to the Carolingian period. This is some indication of the large number of them that were written, considering the percentage of mss we have lost and that none of
the instructions we do possess are in the original author's own hand.

Why, then, were so many of them written? Who were they intended for, and what was their purpose? I have already partly answered this by calling them "instructions." Their function became clear to me after examining their mss, in which the baptismal instruction is just one of many items. It must not be forgotten that every ms is the work of some compiler with a specific purpose, and probably a specific recipient, in mind. The BIs are found either in bishop's manuals, school-books, or what I have come to call "clerical instruction readers," a handy volume for a parish priest combining instructions on baptism, the mass, the creeds, the Lord's Prayer, as well as interrogationes to test a priest's knowledge on a wide range of subjects and other material to raise his intelligence. Again and again the contents of these clerical instruction readers correspond to the items spelled out in Charlemagne's reform legislation and bishops' capitularies listing the texts a priest must know and be able to explain. Sometimes the capitularies are also included, as if to remind the priest of the connection between these study guides and clerical reform legislation.

The education of a cleric in the duties of his office had a lot to do with the Carolingian Reform, in fact. The Carolingian Reform, sometimes called the Carolingian Renaissance or Carolingian Achievement, was the result of the effort of the Frankish kings to work together with the leaders of the church, the abbots and bishops, to bring unity to their realm.

By the year 800 the Carolingian empire stretched from Barcelona to Frisia, from the Atlantic to the Elbe and Budapest, and down the Italian peninsula almost to Naples. Within these boundaries existed a formidable diversity of peoples, languages, codes of law, and ancient customs and
beliefs. The only common bond extending over all the members of Carolingian society was their baptism into the Christian faith. From this sacred sign a vision was made possible. Under Carolingian leadership a people of God were to be united together in peace and strength in their one faith, understanding and worship. The aspirations of church and state were one. Whatever political advantages unity might bring, Charlemagne considered himself a religious man, and he surrounded himself with servants of God. It is not to be wondered that they saw the liturgy as the cornerstone of their great building project, odd as it may seem to us who have so totally separated religion from politics.

Charlemagne saw that the parish priest, who on a daily basis baptized the infants, married the young, absolved the sinners, buried the dead, celebrated the mass, and in his Sunday sermon gave the people whatever Christian teaching they knew, was a key figure in creating cohesion in his realm. If the clergy everywhere were supplied with the right books and were properly informed, the people would be brought together. The reform of the clergy was the first step. Charlemagne repeatedly issued capitularies stating that bishops were to see to it that their priests be able to explain the ceremonies of baptism and teach the people. In response, the bishops had issued in their scriptoria or in the monasteries with which they had close connections, manuals of instruction for their priests. The CBIs are found in bishops' manuals because bishops wrote some of them, or asked confreres for copies of theirs, to authorize their copying and dissemination to their clergy. They are found in schoolbooks because the monastic school and the bishop's school prepared some clerics for serving as parish priests and missionaries. The instructions intended for schoolbooks tend to be lengthier and more sophisticated. They are found in clerical instruction readers because they were sent out to the
parishes and placed in the hands of parish priests in order to prepare them for an examination by their bishops. Judging from some of the instructions in these books, many priests were barely literate and the expectations placed upon them were minimal.

Understood from their ms context, the CBIs, if studied collectively, allow us a way to see how and to what extent the Carolingian Reform was successful at the grass-roots level. Did the educational level of the clergy really improve? Was a greater awareness of the people's one Christian faith achieved through the liturgy? Or of what did the Reform really consist as it was undertaken from diocese to diocese, once the capitularies had set the ideal? The baptismal instruction grubbied in the rural parish priest's hands offers concrete evidence.

The old idea about the Carolingian Reform is that a Roman model was simply imposed upon everyone and voila, the liturgy was standardized. The reality we find in the CBIs is diversity in the teaching and celebration of baptism. We need to rethink what were, in fact, the goals of those who were left with actually implementing the Carolingian Reform.

With an eye to the instruction I'd like to look at with you in a few moments, let me say that although the instructions are not, for the most part, intended as liturgical expositions, a composer's arrangement of the ceremonies or terms he chooses to describe often indicates which liturgical ordo of baptism he has in mind. Baptism was not everywhere celebrated the same way. Liturgists speak of the Roman rite; the Milanese or Ambrosian Rite; the Visigothic or Mozarabic Rite; the Gallican Rite; and the Irish Rite. They are referring to certain distinctive features, but dismiss any idea of 5 monolithic rites, one for Rome, one for Northern Italy, one for France, one for Spain, and one for Ireland. The reality we find in
any specific liturgical book is a mixture of features that makes every ordo of baptism in any single ms slightly unique. It is sometimes possible to match up the distinctive procedure of ceremonies of a specific liturgical book with the sequence of ceremonies described in a baptismal instruction.

One impression I have gained from reading the baptismal instructions is that their authors knew what they were doing—that is, for whom they were writing. They liked a specific way of celebrating baptism and altered or partially rejected the sequence of ceremonies in certain standard models, like Alcuin’s baptismal instruction, or they chose an entirely different model for explaining the ceremonies. The CBIs are not disinterested rehashings of the sentences of the church fathers. Rather, they respond to the needs or preferences of individual people in different places.

You have before you an anonymous baptismal instruction. My goal this afternoon is very simple. I want to show you that it is possible to locate the place of origin and the approximate date of this anonymous tract. It will be possible because its author spoke to the needs of a particular area. I am in one sense only proving my claim that a CBI reflects a real situation for someone, somewhere. Together they enable us to see what was happening from place to place across Carolingian Europe at the time and in the context of the Reform.

Now let us look at Text 7, as I have un glamorously, but I am afraid, irrepairably, labeled it.

Its anonymous composer attached it to the end of Isidore’s Differences, undoubtedly in order to give it greater authority. The only witness of the entire TEXT known to me is a 13th c. ms in El Escorial. But a fragment (the first 7 sentences of my edition) exists in a 9th century ms compiled in
Reichenau (on Lake Constance in Switz.). It is not without significance that the Reichenau ms has only the first 2 lines. Its compiler made a deliberate choice to stop copying TEXT 7 and instead substitute some different baptismal instruction. The Reichenau ms was compiled by Reginbert of Reichenau with the help of a student in the 2nd third of the ninth century. Reginbert’s student finished copying Book II of Isidore’s Differences and started copying TEXT 7. Perhaps he thought it was still part of Isidore’s work, but stopped when he realized it was not. He asked Reginbert if he should continue copying TEXT 7, Reginbert said “no,” and instead supplied some different baptismal instruction, consisting of the material on the next 19 folios, copied in Reginbert’s own hand.

Obviously, Reginbert wanted to include baptismal instruction in this collection volume intended probably as a schoolbook for a cleric. There is a good reason to see why he rejected TEXT 7: TEXT 7, in fact, describes an ordo of baptism foreign to the Reichenau area. It contains oddities that can only be explained if one was baptizing according to Spanish liturgical books, as I will try to show.

Let us now look at its contents. Beginning on line 3 the author sets out 4 grades of coming to the faith: "We recognize [he says] that everyone who presses forward to receive the faith of the sacrament is first a catechumen. Then he is made a competent or an elect; after that a fidelis, and finally, a Christian." This is a variation of Isidore’s 3 grades of catechumens, competents, and the baptized, which emphasizes the importance of post-baptismal chrismation before one is considered fully a Christian. The variation is not original with the author of TEXT 7. The Spanish monk Beatus of Liébana describes these 4 grades in the prologue to Book II of his Commentary on the Apocalypse, written between 776-786. Beatus’ words
are: "When anyone who is still a pagan comes to the faith, when he has been instructed so that he believes, he is called a catechumen. When rightly he has believed and he demands to be baptized, he is named a competent. When, indeed, he has been dipped in the water of baptism he is called a fidelis. When, truly, he is chrismed by chrism, that is, by an anointing, he is called a Christian."

The author of TEXT 7 undoubtedly borrowed Beatus' schema to elaborate these 4 stages. Compare Beatus' words to what he says on p.1, line 5, following: "For when anyone, converted from paganism, receives the Creed and is made a hearer of the word of God, he is named a catechumen. This one is first of all only anointed, but not yet baptized, according to what St. Augustine said, "The catechumen is only anointed, not yet washed." Then, after his recognition of the faith, when he has given in his name and, associated among the number of the elect, demands the waters of the font, he will be an elect or competent. Indeed, he is called a competent from seeking (petendo), just as first he was called a catechumen from hearing. After this, when he is signed with the sacrament of baptism, he is called a fidelis. Finally, when he is anointed with chrism, he is marked out with the title Christian."

If the author of TEXT 7 was familiar with Beatus' Commentary, this indicates Spain as the place of origin of TEXT 7, because Beatus' work was apparently not known outside of Spain in the Carolingian period. Beatus reworks Isidorian passages throughout his lengthy prologue. A reason for his altering somewhat Isidore's 3 stages of coming to the faith so that the final act of chrismation is seen as necessary to baptism's completion may be due to the importance chrismation had for Beatus at the end of the 8th century. Beatus took an active role in combatting the Adoptionist
heresy led by Elipandus of Toledo. Chrism in Spain was required along with
hand-laying to receive heretics, including Adoptionists, back into the
church. Chrism confirmed one’s full orthodox standing. In other words,
for Beatus chrism was politically as well as religiously important. We
will see later on TEXT 7’s interest in chrism in relation to heretics.

The author’s distinction between a catechumen and a competent that
we have just heard in three respects is very puzzling in comparison with
the Roman ordo of baptism (that is, the ordo Romanus
lat. 316).

Notice that the first event he associates with the catechumen is the
reception of the creed (simbolum accipit). The catechumen is anointed.
And the name-giving (nomen dederit) is associated with the competent or
elect.

The traditio symboli, when the words of the creed were delivered to
the baptismal candidates, was the one most significant, essential event
for the catechumen prior to baptism itself. But in the Roman ordo it takes
place not among the initial ceremonies for the making of a catechumen,
or at the first scrutiny, but a week later, at a special ceremony called
"the opening of the ears." Also, in the Roman ordo there is no anointing,
that is, use of oil, on the candidates until the very day of baptism.
And the giving in of the candidates’ names comes at the very beginning
of the catechumenate.

Yet TEXT 7's association of the delivery of the creed and the anointing
with the catechumen, and the name-giving with the competent can be explained
by recourse to Spanish liturgical books and descriptions of baptism.

Regarding our sources for the celebration of baptism in Spain, no
liturgical book with an ordo of baptism survives before the 10th century
Léon Antiphonary and the Liber Ordinum represented in one 10th and two
11th century mss. The LO contains 2 ordos for baptism, one entitled "quolibet
tempore," for any time, the other for the Paschal Vigil. These ordos,
however, go back to the seventh century. They agree in many respects with
the descriptions of baptism by Isidore of Seville (d. 636) and Ildefonsus
of Toledo (d. 667).

In Ildefonsus' De cognitione baptismi we find the clearest evidence
for the day of the tradition of the creed effectively marking the start
of the preparation for baptism in Spain.

Since the 6th century, in Spain, as elsewhere, not only the increase
in infant baptisms, but the spread of the church into the countryside effected
the death of the Roman Lenten catechumenate. Access to a cathedral city
and regular attendance at a series of scrutinies during Lent was difficult
if not impossible for many Christian families of rural parishes. Parents
probably often did not present their infants for baptism until the very
day of baptism. In the 6th century Martin of Braga (an import from Tours
and a zealous advocate of the Roman tradition against the Arian tendencies
of the Visigoths) tried to revive a 20 day catechumenate at the 2nd council
of Braga, but probably without much success.

In the next century Ildefonsus' De cognitione baptismi gives us a
detailed description of the ceremonies. There, the first ceremonies of
the catechumen-- the leading of the infants over goatskin rugs as a sign
of penance; exorcism with exsufflation; and the anointing of the ears and
mouth with oil while the priest says the words, "effeta, be opened," take
place only one week before Easter, on the same day as the delivery of
the creed. Now, Ildefonsus' De cog. bap. is a very complete exposition
on the entire process of coming to the faith. Almost certainly, if there
had been any earlier ceremonies for the catechumen in Toledo, he would
have mentioned them. In the LO as well, which its editor, Dom Feroti~
says was originally compiled for Toledo, a rubric indicates that the effeta
ceremony is done on Palm Sunday, and there are no ceremonies for the catechumen
before this day, on which day also the creed is delivered.

The Leon Antiphonary shows some effort to lengthen the catechumenate,
as Martin of Braga had tried to do. It has an invitation to enroll and
the initial ceremonies for a catechumen that we find in the Roman tradition
(except salt) on the 4th Sunday of Lent, that is, 2 weeks before Palm Sunday
and the delivery of the creed. However, this opportunity is to be repeated
on the 5th Sunday of Lent, and exorcisms are to be offered daily up to
Palm Sunday, so that it looks like these ceremonies were not considered
essential, but only for those infants who were able to attend. 7th century
Toledo may or may not have known any ceremonies prior to Palm Sunday for
the initial making of the catechumen, but even in the 10th century, in
Léon, any ceremonies before the day of the delivery of the creed appear
to have been optional.

To conclude, then: the day of the tradition of the creed, Palm Sunday,
essentially marked the beginning of the catechumenate in Spain, at least
in some areas, and can explain why the author of TEXT 7 associates the
tradition of the creed with the beginning of the first stage of the catechumen.

TEXT 7 says the catechumen is anointed. Only in Spanish sources can
one find an anointing before the delivery of the creed. In the effeta
ceremony the priest anoints the ears and the mouth of the catechumen with
oil. In the Roman and Gallican rites the effeta ceremony is not an anointing
with oil, but a touching of the ears and the nose with the priest's saliva,
done after the tradition of the creed. Also, the Spanish effeta-anointing was given special significance among the pre-baptismal ceremonies by Ildefonsus, who calls the day on which the first ceremonies take place the "day of anointing" in honor of the effeta anointing. This may explain why TEXT 7 singled out the anointing ceremony.

Finally, Spanish sources can explain why our author associated the name-giving ceremony with the competent. The term had long ago lost its original meaning as an advanced stage of the catechumen. In different liturgical books it is used at different places in the text. In the Léon Antiphonary there is a particularly impressive name-giving rite in which a deacon proclaims 3 times that any one who wishes Easter baptism should give in his name, and at the end of which the candidates who have given in their names are addressed with the words, "Competentes, orate..." for the first time. Probably our author was groping for some way to make this archaic term still a relevant word, by explaining it in terms of its liturgical usage in a Spanish book.

More distinctive features of the Spanish liturgy are found in TEXT 7's description of the post-baptismal ceremonies. On p. 2, lines 22-25 we find: "After this [the immersion], he is anointed with the sacrament of chrism so that (ut) he is called a Christian. For Christ is interpreted "anointed" from this [word chrism]. Through the priest's imposition of hands the Holy Spirit invoked upon him flows down and by these 4 grades he is made a member of the body of Christ..."

What TEXT 7 appears to describe -- a single chrismation immediately after the font directly followed by an imposition of hands and invocation of the Holy Spirit, all performed by one minister, who is a priest, stands in stark contrast to the post-baptismal procedure in the Roman rite. This
has 2 post-baptismal chrismations. The first is administered by a priest of presbiteral rank immediately after the infant is raised from the font, on the top of the infant's head. It is accompanied by a brief blessing which is not an invocation or bestowal of the Holy Spirit. Then the infant is vested and led before the bishop to be confirmed. The bishop imposes his hand and recites a prayer calling down the 7-form gift of the Holy Spirit. Then he anoints the infant with chrism on the forehead. It had been established by Pope Innocent I in 416 that only bishops might impart the Holy Spirit when they signed the neophytes with chrism, and only bishops might sign the forehead with chrism.

But TEXT 7's single chrismation followed by the imposition of hands and invocation of the Holy Spirit by a priest is precisely what we find in the LO's ordo for baptism at "any time" (which I will refer to as "Q. T."). After the infant is raised from the font the rubrics state: "The priest (sacerdos) anoints him with chrism, making the sign of the cross on his forehead alone (in sola fronte)...Then he lays his hands upon him and says, 'God...pour forth upon these thy servants thy Holy Spirit. Amen, The spirit of wisdom and understanding. Amen. The spirit of counsel and might, Amen..." and so forth, invoking the 7 gifts of the Holy Spirit.

Especially striking is TEXT 7's choice of the term sacerdos for the minister of confirmation, the same term used in "q. t." We said that in the Roman tradition only a bishop, episcopus, not a presbyter, could impart the Holy Spirit. Sacerdos was sometimes used to refer to a priest of episcopal rank, but it is generally agreed that the sacerdos referred to in "q. t." must mean a presbyter and not a bishop, because this ordo is for "any time" baptisms, when "bishops could hardly be available." Dom Ferotin believes that the ordo is evidence that in Spain simple priests were confirming.
J.D.C. Fisher, a well-known authority on baptism in the medieval west, points to the 2nd council of Seville (619) as further evidence: He states: "When, however, the 2nd council of Seville (619) presided over by Isidore himself, forbade presbyters to consecrate chrism or to sign with chrism the foreheads of the baptized—a clear indication that they had been doing so—a deliberate attempt was being made to bring the Spanish rite into closer conformity with that of Rome, by introducing the episcopal consignation of the forehead and hand-laying, and by removing from the presbyter the right to impart the Holy Spirit." (p. 93)

Isidore's reform attempt seems to have failed. The ordo "q.t." was probably written after his death at the end of the 7th century. However, we have no actual proof of the ongoing use of this ordo, that is, of simple priests performing confirmations in Spain, between the 7th century and our earliest ms of the L0, from the 10th century. That is why it is extremely important if it can be shown that the author of TEXT 7 knew and used "q.t."

After I read TEXT 7 more closely with the words of "q.t." in mind, a number of other parallels leapt out. The first is TEXT 7's use of the plural "hands" instead of "hand" when describing the hand-laying of the sacerdos in the act of confirmation (p. 2, line 23). The plural expression, if not the actual use of both hands by the priest in confirmation is found nowhere else in the west except Spain. Fisher, noting that Isidore used "hands," plural, when describing confirmation, presumes it was because he referred to bishops in the plural, and states that, "without exception the fathers from Tertullian onwards and the ancient baptismal liturgies in this context [that is, confirmation] have the word "hand" in the singular, so that there is no justification whatever in the ancient tradition for the use of both hands in the administration of confirmation." (p. 92)
Fisher's statement makes it all the more noteworthy when we find the plural expression for confirmation in "q.t." There are 2 references to the hand-laying. In its rubric directing the priest to confirm, only one ms, Silos 3, has the plural "hands." In its alternate confirmation prayer all the mss have the phrase, "with the imposition of hands (manuum) (plural). This confirmation prayer is unknown anywhere outside of "q.t." Also, elsewhere in the "q.t." other hand-laying references are in the plural. In each case the rubrics or prayers containing them are unique to "q.t.," as far as I can establish. One, a blessing of the font, has TEXT 7's exact phrase, "per impositionem manuum."

Another similarity between TEXT 7 and "q.T. is TEXT 7's addition to Beatus' statement that one is anointed with the sacrament of chrism so that he is called Christian. On p. 2, lines 22-23 he adds: "For Christ means 'anointed' from this [word chrism]." He may have been thinking of the confirmation prayer in "q.t" which closes with the words: "...so that, confirmed in the name of the Trinity, they merit to be made Christs through the chrism, and through Christ, Christians." This prayer is unique to "q.t," according to Fisher.

Three further examples of parallel expressions of ideas in TEXT 7 and in "q.t." may be conscious or unconscious borrowing of the words of "Q.T." One is TEXT 7's juxtaposition of the terms trina and triplex when discussing the triple immersion. The terms are also contrasted in the alternate confirmation prayer I mentioned, which is not known outside of "q.t." Another is TEXT 7's use of the phrase terram sq[u]alentem, also in a prayer for the blessing of the font in "Q.t."

Finally, it may not be coincidence that the author of TEXT 7 actually uses the words "quolibet tempore" when, later in the TEXT, he speaks about
the celebration of baptism outside of the 2 normally permissable times. On p.3, lines 1-3, he states, "Truly, the authority of the apostolic see has commanded that the grace of regeneration is only to be given on Easter and Pentecost. Nevertheless, for that one who is in any sort of danger, the mystery of regeneration must not be put off at "any time", "quolibet tempore." "Quoquumque tempore" was the expression used for this injunction in 517 at the Co. of Gerona.

I mentioned already that since the earliest known ms of the LO's ordo "q.T." is 10th century (Madrid 56) positive evidence of the practice of presbiteral confirmation earlier than the 10th century would be very significant. It would indicate the ongoing practice of the simple priest performing the entire rite of baptism, at least in some areas, after the 7th century reforms, or "romanizations" legislated by Isidore. W.C. Bishop remarked over 80 years ago: "Dom Férotin has one of his concise and useful notes on the custom of priests administering confirmation: it would be interesting if we had some evidence as to the actual practice of the Spanish church in later times. We suppose that the evidence of the ms may be accepted as conclusive evidence of the survival of the custom down to the middle of the 11th century." (The Mozarabic and Ambrosian Rites (Alcuin Club Tracts XV), London, 1924, p. 14)

There is almost no doubt that TEXT 7, with its single crismation followed by an imposition of hands (plural) for the bestowing of the Holy Spirit, performed by a priest (sacerdos), and with expressions found nowhere else but in ordo "q.t," is this much desired evidence of the circulation of the ordo "q.t." -- hitherto only attested in 10th and 11th century ms-- in the Carolingian period.
I have said Carolingian. TEXT 7 has to have been written before the Reichenau ms was compiled in the 2nd third of the ninth century. If the author used Beatus of Liebana's Commentary on the Apocalypse he would have to have written TEXT 7 after 786. A date at the very end of the 8th century or beginning of the ninth seems most likely.

For one thing, TEXT 7 belongs to a very distinctive literary genre which began to proliferate at the very end of the 8th century. It is only one of many brief, anonymous baptismal instructions, attached to a well-known authority in their mss, citing Augustine or other early greats, intended to raise the intellectual level of the reader, and following a liturgical model of baptism in the selection and arrangement of the ceremonies they describe.

But there are other reasons to argue that TEXT 7 was written in Spain around the turn of the 9th century, at a time when the liturgy was open to some romanizations, due to a desire on the part of many orthodox Spanish to align themselves more closely with the Roman rite being adopted by the leaders of the Carolingian Reform.

One is TEXT 7's inclusion and even emphasis of the ceremony of the giving of salt. Spain alone did not traditionally observe this ceremony. Ildefonsus acknowledged that some places did, but that there was no scriptural grounds for it, and so no obligation to do so. Neither the LO nor the Léon Antiphonary have any mention of salt. Although Isidore does speak of it, Ferotin believes (col. 25, note) that Isidore was only describing a custom that was "instituted by the fathers," and that salt was never the custom in Spain as it was in the rest of the west.

But after our author has outlined the 4 stages of becoming a Christian, salt is the only pre-baptismal ceremony he specifically identifies and
explains (see p. 2, lines 2-4). Furthermore, later on (on p. 4, line 8) he states that, "the church has 4 sacraments: salt, baptism, chrism, and the Body and Blood," adding salt to Isidore's well known definition of the 3 sacraments of the church, "baptism and chrism and the Body and Blood..."

Why the special attention to salt alone of all the catechumenate ceremonies, and the restructuring of Isidore's definition to include salt?

A second statement of some surprise in TEXT 7 regards the number of immersions. This was a far more controversial issue than salt, vis-a-vis Spain's orthodoxy in Western eyes. Spain practiced a single immersion contrary to the Roman practice of a triple immersion. Single immersion had been introduced innocently in order to avoid any suggestion of Arianism. 3 separate immersions while reciting, "I baptize you in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" might imply a lack of complete one-ness in the Trinity; that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit could in some way be different from one another, that is, not fully equal, as the Arians held. In the late 6th century Pope Gregory the Great wrote a letter to Leander of Seville allowing the practice of either a single or a triple immersion, even recommending a single immersion, to help him in fighting the Arianism of the Visigoths, for, he said, "differing customs within the one faith of the church can do no harm." (!) In the early 7th century Isidore used Gregory's letter to legislate a single immersion.

But the author of TEXT 7 acknowledges triple immersion as well as single. On p. 2, line 11 he states: "Once or 3 times the infant is immersed."

Then he paraphrases Pope Gregory's letter, but only the part where Gregory approves equally one or three immersions. On line 11 he continues: "Nothing opposes [this] within the one and the same church and the unity of faith. For in a single immersion the one-ness of the holy divinity is demonstrated."
In the triple immersion the 3-fold substance of the divine Beatitude is signified, or the figure of the 3 days of the Lord's death...

TEXT 7's ambivalence regarding one or 3 immersions would be astonishing if it was written outside of Spain. Alcuin, in a letter of warning to the monks of Septimania along the Spanish March in 798, went so far as to suggest that the letter of Gregory the Great allowing a single immersion was a forgery, and insisted on the Roman practice of a triple immersion.

Allowance for a single immersion could only come from a tract written in Spain. What is surprising in TEXT 7 is that there is also allowance for the triple immersion. However, both the un-Spanish allowance for a triple immersion and emphatic approval of salt in a Spanish baptismal instruction correspond to what was going on in Spain at around the turn of the 9th century.

For one, many Spaniards opposing Adoptionism, like Beatus of Liebana, were sensitive to the accusation of unorthodoxy against them by the Frankish Reformers and wished to show their unity with Rome in their liturgical practices.

For another, the Carolingian Reform was effecting the Spanish liturgy. We now know that ca. 800 in the Narbonnaise or Septimania region (an area stretching along the Mediterranean from the Rhone River south to the Pyrenees, held by the Visigoths from the 5th to 8th century) the Visigothic liturgy was being combined with Romano-Frankish liturgical books. In one recent article, Anscari Mundo attributes this largely to the activity of Benedict of Aniane, in Septimania. This Goth worked closely with Charlemagne's court and was responsible for the supplement to the Gregorian Sacramentary Charlemagne received from Pope Hadrian. Benedict was given a copy of the Gellone Sacramentary—a Franco-Roman type written in the north of France,
which undoubtedly had an influence on the Gothic liturgists when it arrived
in Septimania. In another recent article, M.S. Gros reconstructs from
later mss a baptismal ordo he believes was written ca. 800 in Narbonne,
in Septimania. Its creator combined features we find in the Roman ordo
with the Spanish ordos of the Léon Antiphonary and the LO. The author
of TEXT 7 may have actually been introduced to liturgical books in Spain
that incorporated the ceremony of the giving of salt and a rubric specifying
3 immersions. Both of these romanizations appear in Gros' ordo of Narbonne.

Another surprise is that no less than 27 lines are taken up with explain­
ing why heretics returning to the church are not to be re-baptized (see
p.4, line 4ff.) Such a disproportionate concern with this subject corresponds
to Spain's wrenching troubles with Adoptionism in the late 8th and beginning
9th century. The leading bishops and abbots of the west were embroiled
in the battle against Elipandus, Archbishop of Toledo and Felix of Urgel.
The council of Frankfurt convoked by Charlemagne in 794 condemned Elipandus
and the Spanish bishops who sided with him. Alcuin wrote 7 books "Contra
Felicem" and in 799 Pope Leo III anathematized Felix. Felix recanted but
Elipandus never did. The author of TEXT 7 was writing his instruction
for priests. At the turn of the ninth century the Spanish clergy were
confronted with a population that had been persuaded by Adoptionism and
now wished to return to orthodoxy, or the clergy themselves were thought
to have administered their baptisms invalidly because of their siding with
Felix and Elipandus. Our author's sensitivity to their needs is apparent.

Our author was obviously influenced by the events going on around
him. The clergy for whom he wrote were Spanish. He warns them that heretics
are to be received back with chrism (p. 4, line 4), the Spanish custom.
Outside of Spain simple hand-laying was considered sufficient. But Isidore
says that heretics receive the chrism and the imposition of hands, and
in the LO there is a rite for reconciling an Arian which includes a chrisma-
tion.

In conclusion, I believe TEXT 7 is Spanish, and that it was written
around the turn of the 9th century. It shows the wide effect of the Carolingian
Reform, but also that its undertaking differed across Carolingian Europe.
Someone on the Spanish peninsula wrote a clerical instruction on baptism.
He spoke to a specific, local situation. The clergy to whom he wrote did
not know a catechumenate with ceremonies before the time of the delivery
of the creed. They used oil to anoint in the effeta ceremony, and they
were accustomed to performing the entire rite of baptism, including confirm-
ation. It is little short of astonishing the way we have been able to see
even a single ms of the ordo "q.t." reflected in the cursory lines of this
didactic tract. This tract must be brought to the attention of liturgical
historians. It is our first positive evidence of the ongoing practice
of presbiteral confirmation between the 7th and 10th centuries. It must
also be brought to the attention of other historians of the Caro-
lingian Reform who have hitherto neglected sources relating to the liturgy.
It is a witness to the ongoing variety that was obviously felt possible
in the very act of unifying. This, perhaps, is what the Carolingian Reform
was all about.