

BEYOND THE MANUSCRIPT

Inquiries into a ninth-century local priest and his social environment by
means of his handbook (BSB Clm 14508)

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Abbreviations

MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
Cap. I	Capitularia regnum Francorum I, A. Boretius ed. (Hannover 1886/1960)
Cap. eps. I	Capitula episcoporum I, P. Brommer ed. (Hannover, 1984)
Cap. eps. III	Capitula episcoporum III, R. Pokorny ed. (Hannover, 1995)
Cap. eps. IV	Capitula episcoporum IV, R. Pokorny ed. (Hannover, 1995)
Ep. V	Epistolae V, Karolini aevi (III), E. Dümmler ed. (Berlin, 1899)
Gerbald I-III	Gerbald of Liège, 'First/second/third episcopal statue', MGH, Cap. eps. I, pp. 3-21/pp. 22-32/pp. 32-42.
Theodulf I-II	Theodulf of Orléans, 'First/second episcopal statue', MGH, Cap. eps. I, pp. 73-142/pp. 142-184.
Bavarica	Capitula Bavarica, MGH, Cap. eps. III, pp. 189-198.
Parisiensia	Capitula Parisiensia, MGH, Cap. eps. III, pp. 16-35.
Corbeiensia	Capitula Corbeiensia, MGH, Cap. eps. III, pp. 3-15.
Frisingensia	Capitula Frisingensia teria, MGH, Cap. eps. III, pp. 216-230.
Frisingense	Capitula Frisingense, MGH, Cap. eps. III, pp. 231-234.
Moguntiacensia	Capitula Moguntuacensia, MGH, Cap. eps. III, pp. 175-180.
Trecensia	Capitula Trecensia, MGH, Cap. eps. III, pp. 166-174.

In the text or in the footnotes, referrals to the used episcopal capitularies will be done in this way: Gerbald I c.6 or GI c.6, which corresponds with 'Gerbald of Liège, first episcopal statute', MGH, Cap. eps. I, caput 6, p. 18'.

PL *Patrologia cursus completus series Latina*, J.-P. Migne (ed.), 221 vols. (Paris, 1841-62).

Coll. Sang. *Collectio Sangermanensis XXI titulorum*, M. Stadelmaier (ed.).

The collection has been divided into chapters (I-XXI) and then in sections, for instance chapter I contains 66 sections. When referring to chapters and sections it will be done as follows: 'Coll. Sang., Chapter XX, section 2' will be 'XX,2', all in correspondence with the edition by Stadelmaier.

Coll. 53

Collectio 53 titulorum

I. Introduction

In the year 848, a priest by the name of Norbertus was living comfortably in the village of Ville-en-Selve, located – as the crow flies - about 15 kilometers from the archiepiscopal seat of Reims. Because he had cared for a local villager until his death, Norbertus was seated at this church, which had a rich inventory containing, among other liturgical items, a gold-plated box that could be filled with books. These books he possessed as well, and also a moderate house with four servants, about six *iornales* of arable land and even three vineyards.¹ We know this because the information has been recorded in a 9th-century polyptyque of the abbey of Saint Remi located in the town of Reims. In this codex, all the domains that provided for the monks of Saint Remi were listed, with their respective inhabitants and yields. For this reason, we know that Norbertus attended to a community consisting of approximately 265 adult souls,² who themselves contributed to the upkeep of the abbey in the form of various grains, barrels of wine, carts of wood and other products.³ Unsurprisingly, Ville-en-Selve was not the only community recorded in the polyptyque; another ten settlements are included, of which seven also had their own local priests to serve them.⁴ Norbertus is the only local priest who is referred to by name, probably

¹ J. -P. Devroey, *Le polyptyque et les listes de cens de l'Abbaye de Saint-Remi de Reims (IXe-XIe siècles)* (Reims, 1984), p. 14: 'EST ibi ecclesia .I. in honore sancti Remigii habens vestimenta .II. sacerdotalia ; corporales .II. ; velamina altaris .VIII. ; capsam auro deauratam .I. ; calicam et patenam et crucem de stagno ; missales Galesii cum martirologio et poenitentiale, volumina .II. ; lectionarios .II. ; passionalem .I. ; psalterium .I. ; antiphonarium .I. ; canones volumen .I. omiliarum Gregorii .XL., volumen .I. ; coccleas ferreas .II. Habet ibi mansum ingenuilem .I. et mancipia .IIII. Nortbertus presbyter ipsius ecclesiae pascit quendam hominem usque ad mortem ; quam ob rem dedit idem homo ad eandem ecclesiam sessum .I. ubi aspiciunt de terra arabili iornales .VI. ; vineolas .III. ubi possunt colligi de vino modios .X. Datur est etiam ad ipsam ecclesiam pro loco sepulture, vineola .I. ubi possunt colligi de vino modius .I. et dimidius.' On local priests and their churches see as well: T. Kohl, 'Presbyter in parochial sua: Local priests and their churches in early medieval Bavaria', in: S. Patzold and C. A. van Rhijn (eds.), *Men in the middle. Local priests in early medieval Europe* (Berlin, 2016), pp. 50-77, esp. p. 62.

² More precisely there were 107 men, 125 women and 134 children. Additionally, there lived 20 male and 12 female slaves (*manicipia*, which were purchased slaves) in the village. These numbers were acquired by counting all the inhabitants of the village, see: Idem, pp. 10-15.

³ Idem, p. 14: 'SUMMA : Excepto manso dominicato et presbyteri beneficio quod subsequitur, mansi ingenuiles .XXVII. et dimidius, seruales .XVII., accola .I. ; omnes mansi donant araticum ; in tertio anno decimam de ueruecibus. Hinc exeunt frumenti modii .XVI. et dimidius, mixtae annone modii .LX., pastae .XII., pulli .CLXXXIII., oua .DCCCCLXV., vini modii .CCLXIII. et dimidius, argenti solidi .XLIII., dinarii .II., scendulae .IIIDCC., ligni carri .CXLVIII., faculae .CCLV., de diurnariis ingenuis forensibus librae .III., dinarii .XII., de seruis et ancillis interius et exterius manentibus solidi .XII. presbiteri solidi .X. SUMMA argenti : librae .VI., solidi .VI. dinarii .II.' Whether Norbertus and his church were affiliated with the abbey of Saint Remi remains to be seen, since he owned the other half of the church in the village of Louvois (Lupiuiia), which was controlled by the cathedral or archbishop of Reims, see: Devroey, *Le polyptyque*, p. 15; J. Barrow, *The clergy in the Medieval world* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 328-329.

⁴ Devroey, *Le polyptyque*, pp. 9-55. However, a part of the polyptyque is missing and three churches and the communities they attended to were not listed, see: Idem, p. XCV. The priests mentioned in the polyptyque seem to

because of his noble deed of attending to the dying man who eventually granted him access to the village's church.

Together with his fellow priests Norbertus was a subject of the bishop, at the time Hincmar of Reims (845-882), who as head of the archbishopric of Reims was an important figure in the Carolingian empire under Charles the Bald (840-877).⁵ By that time, most of Europe, Asia-minor and Northern Africa was divided into a network of 'civitates', better known as dioceses, which were based on the civil structures of late-antiquity, and provided a bishop with an area in which he had jurisdictional authority concerning matters related to the church.⁶ Everything that went beyond their power was dealt with by the secular authorities, mostly represented by local counts, who jointly with the bishops and the Carolingian king governed a realm spanning a large portion of modern-day Western Europe. Were it not for the notion of a certain God-given responsibility, it would be hard to imagine that the magnates operating on such a level were genuinely concerned with people like Norbertus and his colleagues, and the faithful they had to care for in their parishes, in particular from the beginning of the reign of Charles the Bald's famous grandfather Charlemagne (774-814).⁷ This duty, by modern scholars often referred as *ministerium*, was a heavy burden to bear. Far too heavy for the king alone,

be associated with churches, and were therefore *presbyteri parrociani*. On other types of priest, the *cappellae* and the *presbyteri proprii*, see: S. Patzold, 'Correctio an der Basis. Landpfarrer und ihr Wissen im 9. Jahrhundert', in: J. Becker, T. Licht and S. Weinfurter (eds.), *Karolingisches Klöster. Wissentransfer und kulturelle Innovation*, Materiale Textkulturen 4 (Verlin, 2015), p. 235 and on 'Eigenkiche': Idem, p. 229, especially the footnotes. On the various forms of local churches and their clergy, see: C. Mériaux, '*Boni agricolae in agro Domini*' *Prêtres et société à l'époque carolingienne (VIII^e-X^e siècle)* (unpublished research, University of Lille, 2014), pp. 59-63.

⁵ Hincmar also ordered the creation of this polyptyque, since he was the abbot of Saint Remi as well in 847: C. Mériaux, C., 'Ideal and reality: Carolingian priests in northern Francia', in: S. Patzold and C. A. van Rhijn (eds.), *Men in the middle. Local priests in early medieval Europe* (Berlin, 2016), pp. 85. See among others on Hincmar's prolific life: J. Devisse, *Hincmar. Archevêque de Reims: 845-882* vol. 1-3. (Vienna, 1975) and idem, pp. 354-360 on his relation with Charles the Bald; R. Stone and C. West (eds.), *Hincmar of Rheims: Life and work* (Oxford, 2015); and Mériaux, *Prêtres et société*.

⁶ R. E. Reynolds, 'The organization, law and liturgy of the Western church, 700-900', in: R. McKitterick (ed.), *The new Cambridge medieval history*, vol. 2 (Cambridge 1995), pp. 599-600.

⁷ The usage of the term 'parish' is problematic. In 9th-c. texts the word 'parochia' would be used to refer to a diocese, while later this term was also applied to rural settlements that priests administered with pastoral care, see: Idem, pp. 600-601 and Barrow, *Clergy in the Medieval world*, pp. 311-312. Yet the term 'parish' is used throughout this text. Since the development of this divisional unit is not elaborated upon, the term, while perhaps anachronistically used, will be implemented, because to the modern reader it refers exactly to the main subject of the thesis: a small rural community attended to by a local priest. For an (partial) overview of the debate that related to the development of the 'parish', see the aforementioned Barrow, pp. 311-312, especially the notes 2 to 9; and C. A. van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord: priests and episcopal statutes in the Carolingian period* (Turnhout 2007), p. 22, n. 51. The same applies to the rather unstable term 'village' and 'community', respectively: C. Wickham, *The inheritance of Rome: A history of Europe from 400 to 1000* (London, 2009), p. 212; Mériaux, *Prêtres et société*, p. 92.

which is why this moral responsibility was delegated down the ‘chain of command’ from the king to the bishops, and eventually down to the priests who attended to the village dwellers, such as the inhabitants of Ville-en-Selve.⁸

From the second half of the eighth century onward, Charlemagne imposed a sequence of extensive reforms upon his empire of which the *Admonitio generalis* (789) is a prime example. In this visionary document the king presented himself as Josia, the Old Testament ruler who reintroduced the divine law to the people of Israel to ‘correct and amend’ them, in order to bring them back into the service of the true God.⁹ After a period of war, Bavaria had just been added to the realm two years prior, and comparing himself to the more war-like biblical king David would not have been a strange occurrence. Nevertheless, Charlemagne decided to display himself as a law-giving king to emphasize his commitment to implementing his grand vision of a Christian empire under a Christian king, who solely ruled a pious Christian people.¹⁰ By basing the first part of his admonishment largely on the 6th-century canon law collection *Dionysio-Hadriana*, he tried to incorporate not only the distant biblical past into his reform programme, but also a more recent authoritative past.¹¹ Similarly to the rediscovery of the ten commandments by Josia that brought the king and his subjects closer to God, since they knew how to live according to God’s

⁸ S. Patzold, ‘Bildung und Wissen einer lokalen Elite des Frühmittelalters: Das Beispiel der Landpfarrer im Frankenreich des 9. Jahrhunderts’, in: F. Bougard, R. Le Jan en R. McKitterick (eds.), *La culture du haut moyen âge, une question d’élites?* (Turnhout 2009), p. 380; Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 33-34. For *ministerium* as moral responsibility see: C. A. van Rhijn, ‘Charlemagne and the government of the Frankish countryside’, in: J. Duindam, J. Harries, C. Humress and N. Hurvitz (eds.), *Law and empire. Ideas, practices, actors* (Leiden/Boston, 2013), pp. 160-161; and also M. Innes, *State and society in the early Middle Ages* (Cambridge 2000), p. 262; J. Nelson, ‘Kingship and royal government’, in: R. McKitterick (ed.), *The new Cambridge medieval history* vol. 2 (Cambridge 1995), p. 426; M. de Jong, ‘Charlemagne’s church’, in: J. Story ed., *Charlemagne: empire and society* (Manchester 2005), pp. 107-109; S. Patzold, *Episcopus: Wissen über Bischöfe im Frankenreich des späten 8. bis frühen 10. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg, 2008), pp. 306-308. See for a different perspective on *ministerium*, as a translation of office with much less of an ideological undertone: J.R. Davis, *Charlemagne’s practice of empire* (2015), pp. 118-127.

⁹ For the *Admonitio Generalis* see the most recent edition, with a translation in German: H. Mordek, K. Ziechiel-Eckes and M. Glatthaar eds., *Die Admonitio Generalis Karls des Großen*, MGH Fontes Iuris Germani Antiqui (Hannover, 2012), pp. 179-239. On Charlemagne as Josia: Idem, p. 182: ‘Nam legimus in regnorum libris, quomodo sanctus Iosias regnum sibi a Deo datum circumeundo, corrigendo ,ammonendo ad cultum veri Dei studuit revocare.’ See also De Jong, ‘Charlemagne’s church’, p. 112. See note 19 for more references on the ‘extensive reforms’ by the Carolingians.

¹⁰ R. McKitterick, *The Frankish church and the Carolingian reforms, 789-895* (London, 1977), p.1.

¹¹ Y. Hen, ‘The Knowledge of Canon Law among Rural Priests. The Evidence of Two Carolingian Manuscripts from around 800’, *Journal of Theological Studies* 50 (1999), p. 118. See nn. 6-7 for more information on the *Dionysio-Hadriana* collection; McKitterick, *The Frankish church*, p. 4. An old edition of the text can be found here: *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana*, J. Hartzheim (ed.), *Concilia Germania* I (Cologne, 1795), pp. 131-235.

law, Charlemagne wanted to change the way in which the people of his realm interacted with God and lived their daily lives.

In the *Admonitio generalis* the Carolingian king stressed the importance of correctness while praying to God, for which reason he addressed all the priests in his empire, who had the task to be watchful for the corruption of prayers through the use of bad books.¹² Illustrated by its last sentence, as well as arising from the *Admonitio Generalis* as a whole, is a certain responsibility borne by the people in power for the correction of the realm's inhabitants and their behaviour towards God, who could only under the right guidance become one true *populus christianus* (Christian people).¹³ As can be observed in the *Admonitio Generalis*, it was evident to the authors that this idea of an entirely Christian society could only become reality when everyone participated; it could not be an ideal supported only by those from the royal and episcopal courts in the realm.¹⁴ For that reason, there is a notable emphasis on priests, who were in charge of the governing of souls in their parish. In the royal *capitula* their bishops are told to make sure 'that they understand the faith correctly, are able to administer the catholic baptism and know how to celebrate Mass with the right prayers'.¹⁵ To the priestly mandate a few things were added, such as singing of psalms and the praying of the Lord's Prayer, and so much so that Rosamund McKitterick calls the tone of the visionary document by the Frankish king 'pedagogic', which is a suitable term for the detailed attention that goes out to all the different kinds of bearers of *ministerium*, all the way down to the *presbyteri*.¹⁶

¹² MGH, Cap. I, c. 72, pp. 59-60: 'Psalms, notes, cantus, compotum, grammaticam per singula monasteria vel episcopia et libros catholicos bene emendate; quia saepe, dum bene aliqui Deum rogare cupiunt, sed per inemendatos libros male rogant. Et pueros vestros non sinite eos vel legendo vel scribendo corrumpere [...]'. On the role of prayer in the Carolingian empire, see: M. de Jong, 'Charlemagne's church', p. 104.

¹³ Nelson, 'Kingship and royal government', p. 423; T. M. Buck, *Admonitio und Praedicatio. Zur religiös-pastoralen Dimension von Kapitularien und kapitulariennahen Texten (507-814)*, Freiburger Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte 9 (Freiburg, 1997), p. 82. Again from Nelson on another cohesive element of Carolingian politics, namely 'latinity': J. Nelson, 'Literacy in Carolingian government', in: R. McKitterick (ed.), *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 258-296, there. pp. 261-268.

¹⁴ On the putative authorship of the *Admonitio*, see: Mordek, *Die Admonitio Generalis*, MGH, pp. 47-63, who suspects a large influence from Alcuin on the creation of the text. For an analysis of the concept 'admonitio' that is so pervasive in the *Admonitio generalis*, but can be observed in many other sources as well, see: Buck, *Admonitio und Praedicatio*, pp. 75-84.

¹⁵ Mordek, *Die Admonitio Generalis*, MGH, p. 220: '[...] ut fidem rectam teneant et baptismum catholicum observent et missarum preces bene intellegant.'

¹⁶ For the Carolingian novelty of incorporating priests into the king's and bishops' *ministerium*, see: Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 80-81; Van Rhijn, 'Charlemagne and the Frankish countryside', p. 166 and p. 170; McKitterick, *The Frankish church*, p. 6; and Buck, *Admonitio und Praedicatio*, pp. 116-139. The latter explains the

These local priests did not remain merely the indirect addressees of Charlemagne's royal decree, but were directly called upon by their bishops, who heeded the king's request by means of episcopal statutes.¹⁷ In these documents bishops translated the pious ideals formulated in the royal capitularies to pragmatic measures, which told the priests in their dioceses what kind of knowledge to possess, in what subjects to educate the laity and how they were expected to behave under certain circumstances.¹⁸ In short: how they should bear their *ministerium* properly. A lot of variation can be observed between these different texts, in their form, length and the topics addressed, yet in their efforts to correct local priests and through them the laity they are connected. That these episcopal statutes found their way to their intended audience can be observed, for instance, in copies incorporated in handbooks for local priests, which will be discussed at greater length later on.

The series of reforms that Charlemagne initiated from the late 8th century onwards are identified by modern-day historians as the 'Carolingian reforms', characterized by the emphasis on the admonition and correction of the peoples' lives by means of education and preaching, which made the reforms a lasting influence on early medieval society.¹⁹ Be that as it may, even the mighty Carolingians had problems with shaping reality after their grand vision. A set of royal *capitula* issued in 789 shows us the importance of correct practice during the ritual of baptism, which in this case is the Roman ritual, and that this should be used by all bishops and priests.²⁰

need for priests and their ability to reach to the lower social strata by analyzing the role that preaching played in the reforms, for example as a tool in the ongoing process of Christianization.

¹⁷ On the relation between the royal capitularies, the *Admonitio generalis especially*, and the cap. eps., see: P. Brommer, *Capitula episcoporum: die bishöflichen Kapitularien des 9. Und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Turnhout 1985), p. 18; Buck, *Praedicatio et admonitio*, p. 31. Important literature on the understanding of the cap. eps. is: Pokorny, MGH, Cap. eps IV, pp. 1-68 (introduction); Brommer, *Die bishöflichen Kapitularien*; Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*; Patzold, 'Bildung und Wissen', pp. 377-391.

¹⁸ See chapter 4 pp. 34-66 for an elaboration on the cap. eps.'s problematic definition. On the pragmatic nature of the cap. eps. see: Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 48-49.

¹⁹ The interpretation of the Carolingian reforms is a difficult matter, on which there still is no consensus. For example, the extent to which uniformity in religious practice was pursued by the Carolingians is a topic that still divides historians, since historical sources can be used to argue both for and against it. Canonical works on this phenomenon are: McKitterick, *The Frankish church*; G. Brown, 'Introduction: the Carolingian renaissance', in: R. McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian culture: emulation and innovation* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 1-51; and J. J. Contreni, 'The Carolingian renaissance', in: R. McKitterick (ed.), *The new Cambridge medieval history* vol. 2 (Cambridge 1995), pp. 709-757. Especially the bibliography of the latter is extensive and thus very useful. On the religious and theological aspects that this process of reform had, see respectively: Buck, *Admonitio und Praedicatio*, pp. 37-44; idem, pp. 45-54.

²⁰ MGH, Cap I., p. 64: 'Ut audiant episcopi baptisterium presbyterorum, ut secundum morem Romanum baptizent'. Also see: J. -P. Bouhot, 'Explication du rituel baptismal à l'époque carolingienne', *Revue de Études Augustiniennes* 24 (1978), p. 280.

Several years later, between 811 and 812, in his old age Charlemagne sent a letter to the realm's archbishops, perhaps to evaluate his own policy from twenty years before, asking them how they instructed their bishops and priests to perform baptism, and to educate the laity on this sacrament and the Apostles' Creed.²¹ From the responses the king received, it is evident that the customs concerning the performance of baptism and the education on the sacrament greatly diverged.²² Susan Keefe commented extensively on this episode, by saying that there was apparently no uniform interpretation of the sacrament of baptism, even though it was one of the fundamental parts of the Christian doctrine, not even among the leaders of the Carolingian reform movement.²³ While it might be interpreted as a failure, since the modern mind is quick to connect uniformity with successful policy, unity in practice was never the purpose of the reforms, but rather the uniformity of shared morals. The way in which baptism was explained to priests by their bishops, to eventually be practiced in their respective parishes, varied from diocese to diocese.²⁴ We should not consider the reform's content to be a uniform set of teachings and rituals, but instead a fixation on the fundamentals of the Christian faith to which a wide range of approaches was applicable; apparently many roads led to Rome.²⁵

To interpret these differences in understanding and execution of the Carolingian reforms, Peter Brown developed an interesting framework in *The rise of western Christendom* called

²¹ The letter sent to archbishop Alamarius of Trier has been preserved and can be found here: MGH, Ep. V, pp. 242; PL 99, Col.0892A.

²² A summary of these responses can be found here: Bouhot, 'Explication du rituel baptismal', pp. 286-291.

²³ S. A. Keefe, *Water and the word: baptism and the education of the clergy in the Carolingian empire* vol. I (Notre Dame, 2002), pp. 116-131.

²⁴ As an illustration of the variation in baptismal rituals, in this case the answers on the priest's exam *Dic mihi pro quid*, see: C. A. van Rhijn, 'Et hoc considerat episcopus, ut ipsi presbyteri non sint idiothae': Carolingian local *correctio* and an unknown priests' exam from the early ninth century', in: R. M. J. Meens, D. B. van Espelo, B. Hoven van Genderen, J. Raaijmakers, I. van Renswoude, and C. A. van Rhijn (eds.), *Religious Franks. Religion and power in the Frankish Kingdoms. Studies in honour of Mayke de Jong* (Manchester, 2016), pp. 162-180.

²⁵ J. M. H. Smith, 'Religion and lay society', in: R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History II, ca. 700-ca. 900* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 654; C. A. van Rhijn, 'The local church, priests' handbooks and pastoral care in the Carolingian period', in: *Chiese locali e chiese regionali nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 2013), pp. 695-97; P. Geary, 'Peasant religion in medieval Europe', *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 12 (2001), pp. 203-205. Van Rhijn and Marco Mostert provide examples of the focus on correctness during the reforms in their articles on respectively the Romanization and standardization of liturgy and the correction of mistakes in the *Admonitio generalis*: C. A. van Rhijn, 'Zoeken naar zuivere geloofspraktijken. Romanisering en uniformering van de liturgie onder Pippijn de Korte en Karel de Grote?', *Millennium* vol. 1-2 (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 5-21; M. Mostert, '... but they pray badly using corrected books': errors in early Carolingian copies of the *Admonitio generalis*', in: R. M. J. Meens, D. B. van Espelo, B. Hoven van Genderen, J. Raaijmakers, I. van Renswoude, and C. A. van Rhijn (eds.), *Religious Franks. Religion and power in the Frankish Kingdoms. Studies in honour of Mayke de Jong* (Manchester, 2016), pp. 112-127.

‘micro-christendoms’.²⁶ According to Brown, every community, may it be a monastic, rural or more urbanized one, had its own ‘true’ version of Christendom. And between these groups there was a common culture that possessed all the aspects of Christianity, but in different shapes and forms.²⁷ These groups all had a shared pool of images and attitudes, in which several parallels can be recognized that were actively pursued by higher authorities, such as the correct belief in the Trinity and predestination, but there was also very much doctrinal flexibility.²⁸ The importance of the argument made by Brown is that if every local community had its own customs and needs, the people who attended to them by providing pastoral care would need material that reflected first the fundamentals of faith as highlighted during the Carolingian reforms, and secondly the characteristic local approaches to these basic principles. Manuscripts made for or used by clerics in these communities can, therefore, tell something about the inner workings of these micro-christendoms and the knowledge that was needed to create these shared images and attitudes.²⁹ We should keep this thought in mind until we arrive at the central questions of this thesis.

Resulting from Brown’s idea of micro-christendom, as well, besides an explanation for the great variety of responses to the effort by Charlemagne and his successors, is a clear image of the all-pervading influence of Christianity and its institutions on the culture and social relations within small communities. The church greatly benefitted from the Carolingian reforms, by the increased spread of its doctrine, the centralization of ecclesiastical power in the hands of the bishops, the wide dissemination of canon law and the improved education of the clergy.³⁰ In her article on religion and lay society, Julia Smith observes a growing influence of religion on all aspects of life from the 7th century onwards to the 9th century. During this time, almost all of ‘the cultural’ and ‘the social’ found a religious expression as the church’s liturgy shaped the way of

²⁶ See chapter 16 in P. Brown, *The rise of western Christendom. Triumph and diversity, A.D. 200-1000*, second edition (Oxford, 2003), pp. 355-382.

²⁷ Brown, *The rise of western Christendom*, pp. 359-364.

²⁸ Idem, p. 378.

²⁹ Idem, p. 365. Brown talks about ‘encyclopedic’ works, such as Isidore’s *Etymologies*. While this is not comparable to the mss. used by a local priest, it did have a similar discursive nature and contained a form of highly concentrated Christendom. Keefe and Frederick Paxton both seem to agree on local mss. representing something of the society they were used in, see: Keefe, *Water and the word I*, p. 13; F. S. Paxton, ‘Bonus liber: A Late Carolingian Clerical Manual from Lorsch’, in: L. Mayali and S.A.J. Tibbetts (eds.), *The Two Laws: Studies in Medieval Legal History dedicated to Stephan Kuttner* (1990), p. 3.

³⁰ Reynolds, ‘The organization, law and liturgy’, p. 616.

life.³¹ Consequently, the importance of the church increased as it provided essential guidance for the faithful from their first steps into this world to their last. With its church bells, present as well in the church inventories of the polyptyque of Saint Remi's abbey, it even dictated the course of the day.³² According to McKitterick, this is the greatest merit of the Carolingians and their programmatic reforms; all aspects of life were gradually touched by Christianity, which led to an increased attention by the church for the social and community-focused parts of life. In their provision of pastoral care, the priests educated the people of the realm on (more or less) uniform ethics, morals and faith, by using an abundance of tools that were suitable for this purpose, such as episcopal capitularies, sermons, penitentials and various forms of liturgy.³³ It was the very final stage of the realization of Charlemagne's vision he formulated in the *Admonitio Generalis*.

Yet, the communities that were part of this last step are still largely invisible to us today. Aside from the basic information on the economic yield and composition of the population of a 9th-century village in the Reims region, taken from sources like the polyptyque - which we should only use carefully since generalizing is a dangerous deed³⁴ - we only know a few other things. For instance, that almost all settlements in this territory had a church and a local priest who provided them - his respective parish - with the pastoral care they required.³⁵ We know that parish priests mostly lived alone, except for perhaps some close female relatives as can be observed in the episcopal capitularies and sometimes they lived with other clergy, who took care of the local school for example.³⁶ Furthermore, in the polyptyque we can observe that the

³¹ Smith, 'Religion and lay society', pp. 672-678. Also: J. M. H. Smith, *Europe after Rome: a new cultural history 500-1000* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 220-230, esp. 222, where she argues that reason behind Christianity's successful spread during the early Middle Ages was its small-scale form of organization, multiple social definitions and doctrinal flexibility. See also Geary, 'Peasant religion', p. 191 for the increased control over (the later sacrament of) marriage.

³² The iron bells can be found in the polyptyque in two different places, namely Ville-en-Selve and Courtisols: Devroey, *Le polyptyque*: 'coccleas ferras .II.', p. 14 and 'cloccas .III., de metallo .I., de ferro .II.', p. 27. On the time of the church (and the development of 'merchant time'), see: J. le Goff, *Time, work and culture in the Middle Ages*, translated by A. Goldhammer (London, 1982), pp. 29-42. Furthermore, on the rhythm of yearly feast, keeping of the Sunday and social status: Smith, 'Religion and lay society', pp. 660-665.

³³ McKitterick, *The Frankish church*, p. 206.

³⁴ Both Julia Smith and Chris Wickham show that variety in the composition of social groups and their way of living was considerable, see: Smith, *Europe after Rome*, pp. 53-54; Wickham, *The inheritance of Rome*, p.206. The latter explicitly warns against generalization by the use of polyptyques: Idem, pp. 535-536

³⁵ Only two out of the ten settlements did not have a priest living in their midst, namely the settlements of Chézy and Gerson: Devroey, *Le polyptyque*, pp. 15-16 and p. 47. On the foundation of churches: C. Wickham, 'Rural society in Carolingian Europe' in: R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge medieval history II* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 515.

³⁶ In various cap. eps. bishops refer to priests and them living with women, see for instance: MGH, Cap. eps. I, Gerbald I, c. 15, p. 20; Idem, Gerbald III, c. 1, p. 37; Idem, Theodulf I, c. 12, pp. 111. Also: Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of*

produce of the villages was mainly crops and goods made from these crops such as wine, which suggests that the community can be characterized as an agrarian community of peasants.³⁷ The word ‘peasants’ should nevertheless be avoided in this context, since in the 9th-century source material people are referred to as ‘ingenuus’ or ‘ingenua’ in the case of a free man or woman, and ‘servus’ or ‘ancilla’ for their unfree counterparts. The usage of ‘peasant’ in order to refer to a village dweller emerged during the 11th century.³⁸ Therefore, since for this paper the social status of the village’s inhabitants is not relevant, after all everyone was equal in the eyes of God, we will refer to the people who inhabited these rural parishes in very general terms, mostly as faithful members of a small social community. The definition of the peasant, given by Paul Freedman, is nonetheless useful in this context, because it strongly resembles the content of the polyptyque and hence gives some context to these faceless communities. As families of farmers they lived on the harvest of their own land, but produced enough to be part of a larger economy. They had access to a piece of land, but in general did not own it and had to pay a lease in the form of produce, labor or coinage.³⁹ For instance, the inhabitants of Ville-en-Selve payed tribute to the abbey of Saint Remi, which is rather obvious; otherwise, they would not have been included in its property inventory, in the form of a portion of their harvest and a ‘sum of money’.⁴⁰ The geographical mobility of the people in this social stratum was low, since moving typically only occurred under the pressure of war or other life-threatening circumstances.⁴¹ Furthermore, the villagers were dependent on a local lord, who lived in a *mansus dominicus* with several additional buildings, that could be a wine press or stables, and some orchards, from

the Lord, pp. 16-17. However, there was a lot of variation between clergy living alone or with others, depending on time and place: Barrow, *Clergy in the Medieval world*, pp. 310-343; F. Tinti, ‘Looking for local priests in Anglo-Saxon England’, in: S. Patzold and C. A. van Rhijn (eds.), *Men in the middle. Local priests in early medieval Europe* (Berlin, 2016), pp. 146-147.

³⁷ See note 3.

³⁸ W. Rösener, *Bauern im Mittelalter* (1985), p. 19; Smith, *Europe after Rome*, pp. 153-159. For more on the development of the peasantry in combination with the aristocracy in the 11th-c., see: Idem, pp. 26-27 and Wickham, *The inheritance of Rome*, pp. 529-551 on ‘The caging of the peasantry, 800-1000’.

³⁹ P. Freedman, *Images of the medieval peasant* (Stanford, 1999), pp. 9-10. The rest of the book provides a noteworthy discussion on the image of the medieval peasant as an alien and exemplary figure in writing and art.

⁴⁰ See note 3, especially the last part on the coinage that the abbey received from the villagers: ‘SUMMA argenti : librae .VI., solidi .VI. dinarii .II.’ On landowning by abbeys, monasteries and churches: Smith, *Europe after Rome*, pp. 163-173.

⁴¹ Nelson, ‘Kingship and royal government’, p. 386. The mobility of the higher social strata must have been much greater, since they owned various pieces of land or ‘villae’ over a much larger area, see: Innes, *State and society*, pp. 107-108.

whom they received protection in exchange for payment in kind.⁴²

We should not forget, however, that in many cases neither a local lord nor any other secular authority or even the bishop was able to represent the public and social order; this was done by the parish priests, who were members of a rural and very local elite in its own right.⁴³ From the brief overview above we learned about their role as the caretakers of the faithful in their parish, by administering them with pastoral care in the form of education on Christianity's essentials and the sacraments of baptism, Mass, confession and the viaticum. Their importance as 'feet on the ground' fulfilling the last step in the aim of the Carolingian reforms is already evident from the attention they received in the *capitula episcoporum*; in which they figure as main addressees. This is supported by the biannual meetings that priests had with their bishop, first during the bishop's yearly visitation of the local priests in his diocese and secondly at the annual resupply of the chrism, for which the priests went to see their bishop.⁴⁴ While the episcopal capitularies are regulations and can therefore not be equated to reality, it is clear that priests were not left to fend for themselves, they were closely monitored and admonished when needed. These admonitions perhaps occurred during the encounters that the priest and bishop had twice a year, yet sadly there are no transcriptions of these meetings available. We do, however, have the episcopal statutes in which, as Carine van Rhijn has pointed out, a bishop advises his priests 'not to store hay in their churches' and 'to ward off people who are a disturbing presence in the church by discussing loudly or talking about idle things'.⁴⁵ Both statutes show some of the things the bishop likely encountered during his visits and wanted to warn all his priests against. As Gregory the Great said: 'bad priests are the cause of the ruin of the people', parish priests

⁴² Devroey, *Le polyptyque*, p. 10: 'In villare habetur mansus dominicatus cum aedificiis et viridiariis seu adiacentiis conuentibus sibi.' Other places refer more specific to the *aedificiis* with words like '[...] torculari, curte et scuriis et horto.' meaning 'presses, atrium, stables and a garden', see: Idem, p. 3.

⁴³ Patzold, 'Bildung und Wissen', p. 379.

⁴⁴ Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 108-109; P. Brommer, 'Die bischöfliche Gesetzgebung Theodulfs von Orléans', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung* 60, vol. 1 (1974), p. 42; Barrow, *Clergy in the Medieval world*, pp. 333-334; Mériaux, *Prêtres et société*, pp. 65-69.

⁴⁵ Theodulf I, c. 8, pp. 108-109: 'Videmus crebro in ecclesiis messes et fenum congeri. Unde volumus, ut hoc penitus observetur, ut nihil in ecclesia praeter vestimenta ecclesiastica et vasa sancta et libri recondantur, ne forte, si alia ibi, quam oportet, negotia exerceantur, a domino audiamus: *Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur, vos autem fecistis eam speluncam latronum.*' And idem, c. 10, p. 110: 'Non debere ad ecclesiam ob aliam causam convenire nisi ad laudandum deum et eius servitium faciendum. Disceptationes vero et tumultus et vaniloquia et ceteras actiones ab eodem sancto loco penitus prohibenda sunt. [...].' See also: Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 115-116.

were therefore worthy of the attention of bishops and kings, because they shared in their *ministerium*.⁴⁶

While the importance of a local priest's work can be observed in various early medieval sources, the priests themselves and the communities they attended to remain largely unknown. If we assume that the Christian faith during the 9th century was a highly pervasive force that touched upon peoples' lives from many different angles, and that a parish could have functioned like a micro-christendom, containing all aspects of Christianity in a shared pool of images and attitudes, the pivotal role of a local priest as representative of this faith becomes clear and the knowledge that a priest had to possess in order to fulfil his task was hence vital. A unique manuscript containing this knowledge functioned thus as a 'norma vivendi' (rules on how to live) and should therefore provide an excellent opportunity to get a broad and detailed picture of a local community when analyzed comprehensively.⁴⁷ That is why, to get a glimpse of a priest like Norbertus and his parish, a priest's handbook from the same region will be examined. This type of codex can be classified as a manuscript that was specifically compiled to assist a priest in his tasks of educating the laity and providing them with pastoral care, which is reflected in the content and the material aspects of the book.⁴⁸ The selected manuscript is a composite codex from the 9th century, currently held in Munich at the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* with the shelf mark Clm 14508 (hereafter: M).⁴⁹ Its content strongly resembles the aforementioned short definition (which will be elaborated on in chapter III) and has been written by several different hands, in all likelihood from the region around Reims.⁵⁰

The purpose of this thesis is twofold. In the first place, since the approach to a priest's handbook as an individual and complete source is rather new, we have to establish a framework

⁴⁶ Coll. Sang., II,4, p. 169: 'GREGORIUS DIXIT: Causeꝝ ruineꝝ populi sacerdotes mali.' PL77, Col.1031A.

⁴⁷ On priests' handbooks being unique in their composition see: Keefe, *Water and the Word I*, p. 38.; Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 64-65. As example of how texts were tailored to a certain need: Keefe, *Water and the Word I*, pp. 70-79 and pp. 80-99. The term 'norma vivendi' as referring to a priest's handbook is coined by Frederick Paxton, see: Paxton, 'Bonus Liber', p. 28.

⁴⁸ Keefe, *Water and the Word I*, pp. 23-26.

⁴⁹ BSB Clm 14508 will be referred to from now on as 'M', since it is a manuscript from Munich for the sake of brevity.

⁵⁰ H. Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regnum Francorum manuscripta* (MGD.H. 15 1995), p. 339. Hubert Mordek cites Bernard Bishoff who speaks of 'Reims-ähnliche Hände'. See also *appendix I* for detailed information on the used ms., based on the most recent entry in the catalogue of the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* and some of my own findings.

and context in which the source can be examined appropriately. By using Gabrielle Spiegel's concept of social logic as an underlying structure, different sources will be used to contextualize the manuscript. First to a general degree by using the *capitula episcoporum* in order to see how the manuscript's content relates to the standard of knowledge originating from these statutes, and how they were interpreted by the compiler of the codex. Additionally, it provides evidence on the nature of M as well, because it makes it plausible that M was used as a handbook for priests by excluding other possibilities. Lastly, by delving into one specific text, namely an excerpt of a compilation of canon law called the *Collectio Sangermanensis* (hereafter: Coll. Sang.), the editorial behaviour of the compiler will be mapped. By observing the omissions, inclusions and rearrangements that the compiler made, which correspond with the value that the information had or did not have for someone living in a 9th-century world, a rough image can be reconstructed of the initial user of the manuscript and the community it was supposed to be utilized in. With these layers of context we are able to see how much a sole handbook can reveal about the priest and parish behind the codex. This is the first aim, to demonstrate how these early medieval sources can provide access to previously inaccessible territory.

Secondly, this thesis intends to be a case study of the first aim as stated above. By contextualizing a priest's handbook to various degrees, some idea of the user and its operational environment can be drawn. Especially the last layer of context is important in this case, since it provides us with retraceable editorial choices made by a compiler who either did or did not copy texts on the basis of their expected use within a 9th-century rural community. The wide range of topics that the compilation of canon law addresses and the level of detail of the selection provides us with the opportunity to compose an outline by contrasting the positive evidence from the included content with the negative evidence from what the compiler chose to exclude from the manuscript. The outline should be an example of how a priest's handbook proves to be important source material to inquire upon medieval rural communities and their priests. However, we should not forget that M was not used for a short period of time by only one priest and then ended up in a library, but on the contrary was used by multiple individuals over a few hundred years in an ever-changing world.⁵¹ Its contents might be read and used in various different ways over the course of the centuries. This case study is therefore trying to construct a

⁵¹ The different hands in the margins demonstrate this, for a small step towards these multiple users see *appendix I*.

snapshot of the manuscript's initial user and the rural community it was meant to be used in, but nothing more.

The sequence of the chapters and paragraphs maintains the order as set out above, by providing a theoretical framework first in chapter II, followed by the analysis of the manuscript and its contents in chapter III. Eventually, this paper ends with the analysis of the choices that the compiler made in his copying of the Coll. Sang. and subsequent interpretation of these adjustments within the previously created context in chapter IV. The attached *appendices* provide additional information on the manuscript itself and its contents, and the composition of the selected canon law excerpt, of which a description would have otherwise stretched the length of this text beyond the desirable. I am aware of the possible fruitful further addition of a detailed discussion of the manuscript's palaeographical traits, especially since this could be of importance with regard to the content outside of the known compilations that has been added to several texts. However, this has been refrained from because of the absence of satisfactory experience with the subject, which may be present in the future, but now sadly is too limited to be of use. What can be said about the scribes that worked on M, whose hands Bernard Bischoff characterizes as 'Reims-ähnlich', is that they probably did not work as professional scribes in a scriptorium, but were a group of educated individuals amongst whom a village priest would not stand out.⁵² This does not say much, but it does leave room for the idea, as will be presented later, that priests worked on their own handbooks. Furthermore, for the sake of focus, additional source material to contextualize the early medieval region of Reims, for instance charters, and the case of the curious presence of our manuscript at the abbey of St. Emmeram at Regensburg already during the 9th century, has not been incorporated.

⁵² M. Stadelmaier, *Die Collectio Sangermanensis XXI Titulorum: Eine Systematische Kanonessammlung Der Frühen Karolingerzeit. Studien Und Edition* (Freiburg, 2004), p. 339.

II. Social logic

Small social communities like the village of Ville-en-Selve, as described in the introductory chapter, or any other settlement that has been recorded in the 9th-century polyptyque of the abbey of Saint Remi, are difficult groups to examine for a historian. Caused by the sheer absence of written evidence from such places and the one-sidedness of the material that is available, for example the polyptyque, primarily provides information on the social composition and economical produce of a village; this results in an incomplete and blurred image when looking at the lower social strata in the early Middle Ages.¹ That is why we will try to find a way into one of these social communities by using a priest's handbook, which was utilized by a priest to educate the laity and provide them with the pastoral care they needed. This source gives us the opportunity to examine a manuscript with pastoral content and shed light on a small village community from a different angle. Before properly interpreting the manuscript's content and how it relates to the people that were the subjected of its texts, a theoretical basis is needed. This conceptual framework will serve to indicate the nature of the relation between the manuscript, its user and audience, and furthermore provide us with the possibility to contextualize and interpret our final results.

In order to examine this social community through a medieval manuscript, the concept of 'social logic' seems suitable. Social logic was first elaborated on by the American historian Gabrielle Spiegel in an article of the journal *Speculum* on new ways of philological inquiry after the linguistic turn.² In the following, we will shortly touch upon the impact of the linguistic turn as a major shift of paradigm in philosophy for historical research, in order to clearly explain the need for a theoretical basis like social logic. Then we will elaborate upon social logic itself, its most common uses, and its possible weaknesses. To conclude, the specific use which this conceptual framework has for this particular project will be explained, and the way this manner

¹ With regard to the lack of written material, see on literacy and the use of the written word: Nelson, 'Literacy in Carolingian government', pp. 258-296 and R. McKitterick, *Carolingians and the written word* (Cambridge 1989). Both historians comment on the different forms of literacy, Nelson talks about 'numeracy' among peasants (p. 273), while McKitterick comments on the level of pragmatic literacy which was high enough to make the ideal of the capitularies, writing that required a written response, a reality (p. 33).

² G. M. Spiegel, 'History, historicism, and the social logic of the text in the Middle Ages', *Speculum*, 65 (1990), pp. 59-86.

of use deviates from that of the most prominent figures in my bibliography, namely Gabrielle Spiegel and Helmut Reimitz.

From the 1970s onwards a new way of language analysis developed, which was influential far beyond its original scope.³ Naturally, historical research was also affected by this ‘linguistic turn’, since its main sources consist of textual evidence from the past. For historical research this meant that the nature of the knowledge that could be gained through the study of the past became questionable. The ‘objective science of history’, which since the 19th century was founded on the positivist assumption that knowledge of the past was possible, underwent radical changes.⁴ The investigation of historical texts had become much more complex; because of the newfound interest in the analysis of language, the author and his text had become separated.⁵ The result of this was a multiplicity of meaning, which made it impossible for the historian to determine the original importance of a text; the real past was now beyond retrieval.⁶ Textual evidence from now on was subject to an ever-changing interpretation of the content, which depended on a variety of factors that were impossible to recreate. Therefore, it is not surprising that Spiegel should ask herself if ‘[...] illusion is our only hope for the past?’, since the result of historical research apparently never seems to surpass the qualification of ‘highly doubtful’.⁷

As a response to the developments of the past decades, the latter historian has formulated a protocol for the analysis of historical texts called ‘social logic’. She argues that if one assumes that a text is the product of the social environment in which it was written, and that it also had a formative function within the past’s context, then the meaning of a text could be recreated by

³ For the development of the ‘linguistic turn’ and its initial usage, which was mainly focused on ‘linguistic philosophy’: P. Lamarque, ‘Criticism, aesthetics and analytic philosophy’, in *The Cambridge history of literary criticism*, ed. by C. Knellwolf and C. Norris (Cambridge, 2001) pp. 323-334.

⁴ G. M. Spiegel, *The past as text* (Baltimore and London, 1997), p. 45, see also: G. M. Spiegel, *Practicing history. New directions in historical writing after the ‘linguistic turn’* (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 2-6.

⁵ See for example the famous essay by Roland Barthes: ‘The death of the author (La mort de l’auteur)’. Also for more references to essential literature on the topic of history and its relation to reality: G. M., Spiegel, ‘The future of the past. History, memory and the ethical imperatives of writing history’, *Journal of the philosophy of history* 8 (2014), pp. 149-179, esp. p. 150.

⁶ T.J. McDonald (ed.), *The historic turn in the human sciences* (Ann Arbor, 1996), pp. 215-216. See also W. Pohl, ‘History in fragments: Montecassino’s politics of memory’, *Early Medieval Europe* 10, vol. 3 (2001), pp. 343-374.

⁷ Spiegel, *The past as text*, p. 48. On the influence of post-modernism on historiography see: P. Joyce and C. Kelly, ‘History and post-modernism’, *Past & Present*, 133 (1991), pp. 204-213, esp. p. 206.

researching the historical and social context out of which it appeared.⁸ The relation of a text to its social environment is the key to understanding - at least something - of its past's meaning.

Similar to this is the writing of Roland Barthes, who indirectly contributed substantially to the theory of Spiegel, in *The semiotic challenge* on the topic of the semiotics of objects. When looking for a definition of an object, he qualifies an 'object' as something which is subject to norms of fabrication and quality, and has an element of consumption to it. An object is 'something that is used for something', it lets man interact with the world in which he lives and therefore has a social component. By quoting the French anthropologist Levi-Strauss's work (*Le Totemisme aujourd'hui*) on the relation of the tribe and the totem, Barthes shows that the bond between the signifier and the signified refers to the society from which it originated.⁹ Objects therefore have a meaning in society that is more than just the information they communicate, they 'constitute a system of signs'.¹⁰ In order to explain this Barthes uses the example of a phone on a desk. Having a phone does not only show that the person behind the desk makes and receives calls, but shows something about his status, supported by the appearance of the phone which also provides some clues about its user.¹¹ However, when an object is a medieval manuscript, the relation between the signifier and the signified becomes increasingly complex, especially with the earlier mentioned multiplicity of meaning of texts in mind and the possibility of manuscripts being used for multiple purposes over a longer period of time.

In her elaboration on social logic Spiegel is well aware of these difficulties. That is why she tries to combine the analysis of the social environment in which a text was formed and functioned, and the text itself as a 'literary artifact' that is henceforth subject to a multitude of divergent interpretations.¹² Spiegel reckons that since texts consist of these two realities, a social and a linguistic one, her protocol of analysis can only grant the historian 'mediated' access to the past. Mediation in this context refers to the formative function of the language in a historical text, causing the historian to deal with two different forms of the past: the text as literary artifact, as mentioned earlier, and as a product of its social environment. According to Spiegel this

⁸ Spiegel, *The past as text*, p. 30; Idem, 'Social logic', p. 77. McKitterick uses a similar method in R. McKitterick, *History and memory in the Carolingian world* (Cambridge, 2004), especially p. 22.

⁹ R. Barthes, *The semiotic challenge*, transl. by R. Howard (Berkeley, 1994), p. 169. It is striking that Barthes refers to this relation as 'socio-logic', while Spiegel does not seem to mention him when she writes about 'social logic'.

¹⁰ Idem, pp. 180-181.

¹¹ Ibidem.

¹² Spiegel, *The past as text*, pp. xviii-xix. For the idea behind the coining of the term 'social logic' see: Idem, p. xviii.

dichotomy sadly always prevents the historian to have a clear idea of past events.¹³ Regarding this problem it is therefore not surprising that historian Helmut Reimitz quotes Barthes: ‘A historical text is a volume of traces in displacement [...]’, when writing on the social logic of Carolingians historiography and its obstacles.¹⁴

According to Reimitz, in order to understand these displaced traces, one has to look for a ‘contextual referent’, by which he means the relationship of a text to the reality beyond itself.¹⁵ Only in this way, by studying the historical context in which the text was created, the misplaced traces can be correctly interpreted, so that the historian can get a glimpse of the historical reality that lays beyond the object of study. While investigating, the historian needs to be aware of the multiple forms in which these traces can manifest themselves, because they are not limited to the content of the text and can occur in many forms, such as in the appearance of a manuscript, the transmission of a codex, indications of use on parchment, or even the language that has been used.¹⁶ However, besides being a product of the historical reality at a certain place and point in time, due to usage a text becomes part of the context that generates reality as well. This is important to keep in mind, because it ties a text to a broader spectrum of the past than just the period prior to its production. To conclude the elaboration above, Spiegel helpfully summarizes the usage of the concept as follows: by looking for the social logic of a text, the historian tries to recover ‘[...] some sense of the material world of the past’.¹⁷

Along with the quote above goes the implicit acceptance that language can actually ‘convey information about historical forms of life’.¹⁸ According to the British historian Alun Munslow, Spiegel positions herself with her theory of social logic as a reconstructionist or contextualist in the current debate about the possibility of acquiring knowledge of the past. Despite the fact that the latter clearly states that her theorizing is not an attempt to secretly reintroduce 19th-century positivism, Munslow is not convinced and blames her for a weak ‘realist

¹³ Spiegel, *The past as text*, pp. 49-51; Idem, ‘Social logic’, p. 85. For additional information on the symbolic ground from which texts and their realities are generated, see: Idem, ‘Future of the past’, p. 158.

¹⁴ H. Reimitz, ‘The social logic of historiographical compendia in the Carolingian period’, in *Herméneutique du texte d'histoire*, ed. by Osamu Kano (Nagoya, 2012), p. 18; Barthes, *The semiotic challenge*, p. 7.

¹⁵ Reimitz, ‘The social logic of historiographical compendia’, p. 19.

¹⁶ Idem, 20; Spiegel, ‘Social logic’, p. 83; S. Nichols, ‘The new philology. Introduction: philology in a manuscript culture’, *Speculum*, 65 (1990), p. 7; on the transmission of text as possibility to reconstruct the nature of a text, see: H. Reimitz, ‘The art of truth. Historiography and identity in the Frankish world’, in *Texts and identities in the early Middle Ages*, ed. by R. Corradini et al., (Vienna, 2006), p. 95.

¹⁷ Spiegel, *The past as text*, p. 53.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

compromise'.¹⁹ By using the idea of mediation she is looking for a middle ground between the reconstructivist idea of using the historical context to interpret a source and the deconstructivist belief that a text requires literary analysis, through which knowledge about the past is still a possibility.²⁰ For a deconstructivist like Muslow, this is of course an unacceptable combination of two mutually exclusive modes of thinking. Nevertheless, I would like to join Spiegel in her attempt to contest the far-reaching grasp of deconstructivism that in the end forces historical inquiry to be a rather meaningless endeavour. Since historical texts were produced by real people, a 'relational reading' of the text and its context can limit the multiplicity of meaning textual evidence can have, allowing the historian to decrease the level of uncertainty while interpreting a source and understand at least something of the past.²¹

After having explained the concept of social logic, the use of social logic for the study of medieval manuscripts will be illustrated by means of an example, which is the work of Helmut Reimitz on the formation of a Frankish identity in Gregory of Tours' *Historiae*, and the later usage of this source in order to achieve similar or entirely different goals. According to Reimitz, when a text is a product of shared knowledge and conflicts about collective history and identity, it enables the historian to compare the strategies used in the various manuscripts of the *Historiae* to look for new ways to explore the 'specific [social] location of texts [...]', by which phrase he is actually quoting Spiegel.²² By using social logic as a framework in which new aspects of a text can come to light, he shows that the arrangement of a historiographical source like Gregory's *Historiae* was used to convey messages and ideas to its readers which were previously 'hidden' to the modern eye.

To identify these messages Reimitz carefully analyses Gregory's writing and arrangements, which display some striking features. For example, the casual pointing out of family members or people related to him shows that he clearly had a goal in mind while constructing his history. By letting his relatives appear in his writing every now and then, the reputation and authority of his family increased. This was rather convenient for Gregory and his kin, who at the time of his birth held the bishoprics of Lyon, Tours and Langres and were well

¹⁹ A. Munslow, *Deconstructing history* (London, 1997), p. 20 and p. 98; Spiegel, *The past as text*, p. 53.

²⁰ Munslow, *Deconstructing history*, pp. 114-116.

²¹ Spiegel, *The past as text*, pp. 53-56.

²² Reimitz, 'The social logic of historiographical compendia', p. 28; Reimitz, 'The art of truth', pp. 102.

connected in the higher social strata of Gallo-Roman society. According to Gregory himself he was in some degree related to thirteen of the eighteen bishops that have ever resided in Tours and had various saints and martyrs as his ancestors. Reimitz suspects him of using his important predecessors to further legitimize the bishop seat he obtained in 573 at Tours.²³ However, after completion the content and arrangement of the *Historiae* were not final. Despite the strong discouragement at the end of the tenth (and last) book, Gregory's work functioned as a historical outline used by many scribes that provided reworked versions with adjusted purposes.²⁴ Reimitz points to a version that consists of only six of the ten original books, and in which chapters have been omitted on the basis of the saints and bishops that are mentioned in the titles.²⁵ The editors of this version had a clear literary and historical strategy, namely to support exactly those pious figures of importance to their patrons. Other versions were edited to be geographically separated from the area the original was related to, so the influence of the *Historiae* would also appear to be extendable to the north instead of just the central part of what is now France.²⁶ In one instance, some scribes did not even hesitate to cut Gregory's work into pieces and use it to write a whole new history of the Lombards.²⁷ All the above mentioned strategies to use the work of Gregory to communicate an altered or even a new message can be identified by connecting the source material to its historical context. Looking for the social logic of a text enables the historian to determine more than just the changes that separate the different versions of the *Historiae* from each other. In this case it enables Reimitz to tie a manuscript to the social and political context of its writers and readers, and to see how the text was shaped by this historical context, and was used by its authors to further form and adjust the ideas of their direct audience and the people beyond.

²³ H. Reimitz, 'Social networks and identities in Frankish historiography. New aspects of the textual history of Gregory of Tours' *Historiae*, in *The construction of communities in the early Middle Ages. Texts, resources and artifacts*, ed. by R. Corradini, M. Diesenberger and H. Reimitz (Leiden, 2003), p. 245; idem, p. 254.

²⁴ For the strong discouragement see: Gregorius Turonensis, 'Historiarum Francorum libri X', 2016 <https://la.wikisource.org/wiki/Historiarum_Francorum_libri_X> [accessed June 17, 2016], Book X, XVIII: '[...] sic numquam confusi de ipso iudicio discedentes cum diabolo condempnemi, ut numquam libros hos aboleri faciatis aut rescribi, quasi quaedam eligentes et quaedam praetermittentes, sed ita omnia vobiscum integra inlibataque permaneant, sicut a nobis relicta sunt.'

²⁵ Reimitz, 'Social networks and identities', p. 244. See for more on the arrangement of the *Historiae* to construct a Frankish identity: H. Reimitz, *History, frankish identity and the rise of western ethnicity, 550-850* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 21-23.

²⁶ Idem, p. 255.

²⁷ Idem, pp. 229-230.

When looking at the ingenious research done by Spiegel and Reimitz the nature of their source material can generally be characterized as historiography. The latter used mainly Gregory's *Historiae*, while the former used a variety of medieval historiographical sources like the chronicles of Saint Denis, also known as the *grande croniques*, or the *vitae* of Saint Denis and Louis VI.²⁸ All these texts share a narrative character, mostly possess a more or less chronological structure, and are recounted as a coherent story that is descriptive rather than analytical. The usage of social logic is therefore quite similar in these instances, because the material is relatively undivided and homogenous. For this project, however, we have to examine a different kind of source material, one that is on the other side of the spectrum in terms of cohesion and uniformity. A priest's handbook and its content are very diverse in comparison to the aforementioned sources, as it had to serve all kinds of different purposes from aiding a priest in his administering of penance to teaching the laity on the importance of baptism. Nonetheless, I think that it is possible to apply the same methods Spiegel and Reimitz used in studying their historiographical sources on these medieval manuscripts. This does not mean that the approach is identical to the one used by the two historians mentioned above, and that is why, because of the varied content, the analysis of a priest's handbook must be done by two consecutive procedures. First, the individual texts should be analyzed separately, in order to determine their particular content and relation to other versions in earlier or later manuscripts. This will help to assign the codex to a certain place and time of composition, and hence enables the historian to investigate the historical context in which it was put together and aided a priest in his daily practice. Secondly, the connections between the individual texts should be investigated in their political and social environment, since the collection was composed for a specific reason and therefore its character is determined by its context. This means that social logic should be applied on two different levels, namely to that of the separate texts, but also to the codex as a whole. In doing so the historian is able to use a manuscript as a window on the past, and in this case a very local and rural one. For this project a priest's handbook serves as an instrument to investigate the social context, or the 'common world of meaning' - as eloquently formulated by Spiegel, that is confined within the manuscript and flows from its deployment by a priest in his parish.²⁹

²⁸ See for the various examples of source material used by Gabrielle Spiegel: Spiegel, *The past as text*, ch. 5-11.

²⁹ Spiegel, *The past as text*, p. 13.

Shortened version appendix I – Description of the manuscript

Munich, Bayerisch Staatsbibliothek, 14508, s. IX 3/4, Northeastern France (Reims)
85 fol., 226x154 mm

Contents:

Folia	Characterization [Beginning], editions/transcriptions and relations to other manuscripts
Ff. 64-65	Exposition on the Pater Noster
Ff. 65-66 ^v	Sermon on the Pater Noster
Ff. 67-70	A sermon on the Apostles' Creed
Ff. 70-71	Exposition on various articles and statements of the Apostles' Creed
Ff. 71-75	Exposition on the Athanasian Creed
F. 75 ^r	Oratio de <i>beatae Mariae virginis</i>
Ff. 75-105 ^v	Excerpt from the <i>Collectio Sangermanensis</i> with additions
Ff. 84 ^v -85	Compilation of excerpts on baptism from Isidore's <i>Origines</i> VI., xix. 43-49
F. 87 ^v	A calendar table <i>Dies aegyptiaci</i>
Ff. 106-118	First episcopal capitularies of Theodulf of Orléans
Ff. 118-119	First episcopal capitularies of Gerbald of Liège
Ff. 119-121	Glosses on the words from the prayer of the baptismal rite
F.121	Exposition on the <i>credo</i>
Ff. 121 ^v -125 ^v	Florilegium on baptism, Mass and penance
Ff. 125 ^v -126	Ordinal of Christ, an Irish version
F. 126	On seven ways of preaching
F. 126 ^v	<i>Damnationes mortis</i>
Ff. 126 ^v -127	Exposition on the seven petitions of the Pater Noster by question and answer
Ff. 127-128 ^v	Exposition on the Apostles' Creed by question and answer
Ff. 128 ^v -146 ^v	The 'collection in 53 titles'
Ff. 146 ^v -147	Blessings for iron and water added later in the 9th-c.
Ff. 147 ^v -148	Many <i>probationes pennae</i> and (probably) an overview of the yearly <i>lectiones</i> in a later 9th-c. hand.
F. 148 ^v	Possible list of tithe payments, used for localizing the ms. in the diocese of Regensburg. See for example 'Gundolf de Perindorf' (Pörndorf) and Perahart de Hasalpah' (Haselbach).

III. A priest's handbook

After having established in what kind of historical context a priest's handbook was used in the first chapter and subsequently having determined how social logic can be used to decrypt something of a manuscript's past meaning, it is now time to analyze in greater depth our manuscript within this historical framework by using the aforementioned concept. In order to do this, we first need to establish the nature of M. By formulating a few characteristics by which a priest's handbook can be recognized, the manuscript's content and appearance will be evaluated, so its label can be justified. Furthermore, a general overview of the content of M should give an impression of the ideas behind the compilation of the manuscript. The choices made by the compiler compiling this manuscript give away something of its initial purpose and use, or at least how this was expected to be. This is the first level on which the social logic behind this manuscript will be analyzed. Subsequently, since analysing every text in a composite manuscript like M is too big a task for now, one text has been selected and will be studied in greater detail in order to apply not only social logic to the manuscript's content as a whole, but also to examine the workings of social logic within a text. This text is a version of the *Collectio Sangermanensis*, that provides a clear example of content suitable to examine within the context of social logic, since it is the product of an extensive process of selection, adjustment and rearrangement. Having completed this sequence, we should be able to formulate a few general conclusions on how priests' handbooks can be used to inquire into early medieval communities by using social logic and what can be gained from such an undertaking in this particular case.

As stated by Susan Keefe, in her quest to identify Carolingian baptismal material, it is difficult to classify composite manuscripts, since there has never been a medieval model of some sort that prescribed certain texts for a codex to be suitable as a schoolbook or episcopal handbook.¹ The content was determined by what the user of the manuscript needed or - to be more accurate - what his superiors thought he required in order to fulfil his task properly. Keefe identifies four different types of composite manuscripts, namely instruction-readers for priests, episcopal

¹ Keefe, *Water and the word* I, p. 22. The first to stumble upon this problem of classification was Niels K. Rasmussen, who in 1987 tried to distinguish between an episcopal and priestly *sacramentarium* by using textual, but also external characteristics such as the format of the codex and the quality of the parchment, see: N. K. Rasmussen, 'Célébration épiscopale et célébration presbytérale: un essai de typologie', *Segni et riti nella chiesa altomedievale occidentale* vol. 33 (Spoleto, 1987), pp. 581-603.

pastoral manuals, episcopal reference works and schoolbooks.² Each of these types has its own characteristics, however the frames provided by these features are not applicable in every situation. There was no typical pastoral manual for a bishop. Texts used by bishops and priests could overlap, for example, the episcopal capitularies issued by the influential Carolingian bishops Theodulf of Orléans (798-818) and Gerbald of Liège (785-809). While Rosamund McKitterick at one point interpreted these texts as having a sole legislative purpose, and therefore making a manuscript which contained them episcopal property, Keefe on the other hand also believes the statutes to function as moral guidelines and hence qualifies the same codex as an instruction-reader for priests.³ Furthermore, manuscripts could be used over a longer period of time, since they were valuable possessions, and their purpose changed by adding texts or even removing them if deemed not useful or fitting.

Establishing a precise label for a composite manuscript is a difficult task, it is however important to do so, because it enables the historian to get some sense of its purpose, its users and connects the codex to other codices that share a similar function. In the following we will touch briefly upon the characteristics that Keefe used in *Water and the word* to label the manuscripts she used, of which M is also a part, and then elaborate further on the criteria applicable to our manuscript.

a. Content overview

Before looking at the different types of content individually to see what kind of information is contained in the texts and how this is presented, a few remarks can be made about the manuscript's content in general. On the one hand, our manuscript was clearly meant to be used as a tool to educate the laity, as can be observed in the texts that address the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed and the Athanasian Creed in various forms. On the other hand, the priest's handbook also served as a reference work on the topics of baptism, and to a lesser extent penance, that enabled the priest to increase his own knowledge on the sacraments that he had to perform as well as educate the laity on those same topics. The didactic function of the manuscript's content was therefore twofold. The manuscript was furthermore used for preaching,

² Keefe, *Water and the word* I, pp. 23-38.

³ McKitterick, *The Frankish church*, p. 56, on this basis M is here qualified as an episcopal handbook; Keefe, *Water and the word* I, p. 26, here the same ms. is described as an instruction reader for a priest.

as the material for sermons on the *Pater Noster*, the *damnationes mortis* possibly in combination with the eight principal vices, and the Apostles' Creed demonstrates. An element of admonition is also present in the manuscript in the form of the episcopal capitularies; both texts were meant to steer the local priests, and through them the laity, to the correct practice of the Christian faith.⁴ Combined, these observations sketch a rough picture of the pastoral care and instructions that the priest provided his community with. Finally, the manuscript was used for several centuries and material was added at later dates, which meant that it was not only a useful collection of information for its initial user, but also for many people succeeding him.⁵

The content of M can be organized in several categories of texts, all to be used by a local priest in his daily course of business. The manuscript begins with an *expositio* on the Lord's Prayer (ff. 65-66^v), a theme that returns in the shape of a succeeding sermon (ff. 65-66^v) and an explanation on the seven petitions of the prayer (ff. 126^v-127) nearing the end of the codex. The prayer was employed on a large scale during the end of the 8th-century by Charlemagne, when it was mentioned in the *Admonitio generalis* for all priests to know what to make everyone understand, so that the faithful knew what to ask from God.⁶ Carolingian bishops and intellectuals continued in the same grain, for instance with Theodulf writing on the Lord's Prayer as the fundament on which all of the Christian faith rests, together with the Apostles' Creed.⁷ According to Patzold its main purpose was to bind all the Christians together in one peaceful community, which prayed equally together to 'Our Father' (*Pater Noster*), even when they were in a hurry.⁸ In M the two expositions enabled the priest to explain clearly what every petition meant, especially with the question-and-answer structure of the last *expositio*. The use of the cohesive nature of the Lord's Prayer is obvious in the sermon on the same topic, where besides an elaboration on the prayer is stressed that even bishops and saints need to pray for forgiveness,

⁴ On a priest's handbook as a 'correctio-dossier', see: Van Rhijn, 'Carolingian local *correctio*', p. 170.

⁵ On the manuscripts later use, see *appendix I* and also its entry in the BSB catalogue.

⁶ Mordek, *Die Admonitio Generalis*, MGH, p. 220: '[...] et dominicam orationem ipsi intellegant et omnibus praedicent intellegendam, ut quisque sciat quid petat a Deo [...]'].

⁷ Theodulf I, c. 22, p. 119: *Commonendi sunt fideles, ut generaliter omnes a minimo usque ad maximum orationem dominicam et symbolum discant. Et dicendum eis, quod in his duabus sententiis omne fidei christianae fundamentum incumbit. See for other examples by Alcuin and Einhard also: S. Patzold, 'Pater Noster: Priests and the religious instruction of the laity in the Carolingian *populus christianus*', in: S. Patzold and C. A. van Rhijn (eds.), *Men in the middle. Local priests in early medieval Europe* (Berlin, 2016), pp. 208-210.*

⁸ *Idem*, pp. 221-224. On reciting the Lord's Prayer even when time was short, see: Theodulf I, c. 29, p. 126: 'Si vero tempus ad haec omnia peragenda minus sufficiens fuerit, sufficiat tantum: ' Qui plasmasti me, miserere mei' et 'Deus, propitius esto mihi peccatori' et oratio dominica tantum cum gemitu et contritione cordis.' For other functions of the Lord's prayer, i.e. as a tool in polemic and incantation against magical practices: R. Hammerling, *A history of prayer: the first to the fifteenth century* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 231-235; *idem*, pp. 235-240.

since all are equally sinful in the eyes of God.⁹ By including the sermon and the two expositions on the Lord's Prayer, the compiler evidently set forth the policy of the Carolingian reforms, which entailed that the prayer must be known by all because of its unifying function and was hence in all likelihood subject of public preaching.¹⁰

Complementary to the education on the Lord's Prayer, education on other fundamentals of the Christian doctrine was needed.¹¹ As we have seen, the episcopal capitularies required priests to teach the laity on the Apostles' Creed, the Athanasian Creed and on the more complex concepts that are incorporated in these concisely formulated beliefs. In M three texts of this nature can be found, namely an anonymous sermon on the Apostles's Creed (ff. 67-70) and a consecutive exposition of the same article of faith (ff. 70-71). Additionally, M contains a commentary on the Athanasian Creed (ff. 71-75) and another exposition on the Apostles' Creed (ff. 127-128^v). The Apostles's Creed, named after their alleged authors, the biblical apostles, spread across Europe from the 3rd century onward in various forms until the 9th century when Charlemagne issued the use of one form of the creed for his whole empire.¹² In as many as three instances this text is well represented in our manuscript, enabling a priest to educate the laity on the creed in multiple ways. With a sermon on the Apostles' Creed every article could be introduced in detail to a large audience, touching upon various topics that follow from these articles. For example, after the first article ('Credo in pater omnipotem, creatorem caeli et terrae')¹³, God's omnipotence could come into question. Since if he 'would not be able to die or to sin', how would he be omnipotent? The sermon provided an answer in this case: God could

⁹ According to Max Diesenberger's elaboration on the structure of an antique or early medieval sermon, which was written down after being articulated, this sermon is of a later date. Which probably means 5th-century and later. See: M. Diesenberger, Y. Hen and M. Pollheimer (eds.), *Sermo doctorum : compilers, preachers, and their audiences in the early medieval West* (Turnhout, 2013), p. 8. The passage that is referred to is from the 56th sermon of Augustine, see: M, f. 66: 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra si episcopi sunt et sancti, abent aliquit quod dimittantur de fragilitate post baptismum, unde et si non naufragatur tamen oportet ut exsentinetur quia et si non sentinatur paulatim ingreditur unde tota navis mergatur.' For the 56th sermon of Augustine, see: PL 38, c. 7, col.0381-col.0382. Additional information on the usage of Augustine's sermon: Hammerling, *A history of prayer*, p. 172; Idem, *The Lord's Prayer in the early church* (New York, 2010), p. 91.

¹⁰ On the practical nature of sermons, see: Diesenberger, *Sermo doctorum*, p. 6; idem, p. 13; J. McCune, 'The sermon collection in the Carolingian clerical handbook, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France Lat. 1012' *Mediaeval Studies* 75 (2013), pp. 66-68. Several bishops expected their priests to preach, see for example: Hincmar I, c. 8, p. 38; Riculf of Soissons, c. 8, p. 103. However, we cannot be certain that sermons were actually articulated: Diesenberger, *Sermo doctorum*, p. 11.

¹¹ Geary, 'Peasant religion in medieval Europe', pp. 201-202.

¹² For information on respectively the Apostles' Creed supposed authors, time of origin and its standardization by Charlemagne, see: L. H. Westra, *The Apostles' Creed. Origin, history and some early commentaries* (Turnhout, 2002), p. 22; idem, p. 68; idem, p. 74.

¹³ See Idem, pp. 21-22, for the general version of the Apostles' Creed that became common use in the 9th-c.

not sin ‘because he did not want to’.¹⁴ With the two additional expositions, the priest was able to embed the creed into the hearts of the faithful, and even test their knowledge with an excerpt from Pseudo-Acluin’s *disputatio puerorum* if he needed to.¹⁵ Similarly explained, however less frequent than the Apostles’ Creed in M, perhaps because it only emerged in the ‘complete’ form as late as the 9th century, is the Athanasian Creed in the form of the so called ‘Fortunatus commentary’ that mainly focuses on the Trinity.¹⁶ Both creeds express the fundamentals of the Christian faith in memorable small pieces, which in combination with these supplementary information included in the manuscript provided a priest with the tools to coherently educate in multiple ways on these elementary topics.

As initiatory sacrament illustrating a Christian’s rebirth through faith, baptism is well represented in M, possibly as a result of increased attention that the sacrament received during the Carolingian times. In the form of excerpts on baptism taken from Isidore’s *Origines* (ff. 84^v-85), as a part of the Coll. Sang., some essential information on the term ‘baptism’ and the use of water are included. Later on in the manuscripts glosses on the words of the baptismal prayers can be found (ff. 119-121), which are rather concise and only provide minimal information. When ‘per servos suos’ is being said, a priest actually means ‘per sacerdotes’, the same goes for ‘consecrare’ that refers to ‘sanctificare’.¹⁷ Finally, a florilegium on baptism is included (ff. 121^v-125^v), mainly containing excerpts from various authorities on topics related to baptism, such as the catechumen, the salt used during the ritual and having bare feet during the same process.¹⁸ Compared to the two creeds mentioned above, the content related to the sacrament of baptism is of a different nature. Instead of providing information in various forms as a means to educate the laity, for example in the shape of a sermon or a question-and-answer structure, the content of these texts was meant only for the eyes of the priest. The fragmentary excerpts of Isidore’s *Origines* in the first and the multitude of authoritative figures in the last text are rather unsuitable to be used by the priest himself. Similarly, the second text containing the glosses can only be

¹⁴ M, f. 68: ‘Ille dicit non omnipotens, quia deus tres non potest mori falli uel peccare et si ista tria supradicta potiusset omnipotens non esset. Quare non potuit quia non uoluit nec potuit [...]’. Sermons as instructions for secular clergy: McCune, ‘The sermon collection’, pp. 64-68.

¹⁵ Additional information on both texts: Westra, *The Apostles’ Creed*, pp. 371-378; idem, pp. 307-318. For an edition of the text on f. 127-128^v: PL 101, Col. 1136d-1138a.

¹⁶ A. E., Burn, *The Athanasian Creed and its commentaries* (Cambridge, 1896), pp. 28-39 and also: idem, pp. xiii-xv.

¹⁷ M, f. 120: ‘Per seruos suos id est per sacerdotes. Consecrare id est sanctificare.’ See also: Keefe, *Water and the word I*, p. 77.

¹⁸ M, f. 122^v.

navigated by someone already educated in the structure of the baptismal prayers, and is thus able to find the right keywords. Instead of an educative purpose, these texts probably functioned more like a reference work for a priest who needed some additional information. Naturally these texts could be used to educate laity as well, however their form suggests a different primary use.

Because of man's sinful nature, being baptized was not enough and continuous repentance was needed by means of penance.¹⁹ Following the bishop's directions the compiler included different collections of canon law, namely the Coll. Sang. (ff. 75-105^v) and the Coll. 53 (ff. 128^v-146^v), containing penitentials and authoritative information on confession and penance. While the collections were not solely devoted to the subject of penance, both sets of text do provide a priest with a wide range of information to serve his flock with. The first of these are the penitentials that prescribe a number of years penance for a certain crime, for example on murder or adultery (by the wife): 'Si alicuius uxor mechata fuerit, vii annis peniteat'.²⁰ However, additional texts can be found, which remind the priest that in penance there are three important things: 'the confession, the place and the nature' of the sin, and how he should feel afterwards.²¹ The information contained in both collections seems to be directed at the priest and how he should take confession and subsequently impose penance. In this case, the laity only came into contact with these texts while being subject to penance, and consequently learned how to live like a pious Christian.²² Nevertheless, other content does seem to be meant to address laity in particular. In the last section of the florilegium there are two statements on forgiveness after penance, one anonymous and one from the church father Hieronymus. These quotes assure the confessant that repenting will result in 'all his transgression not being registered', which then again increased the chance of obtaining salvation on the day of judgement.²³ Similar to the reading of comforting psalms as suggested by Theodulf after confession, one can imagine that

¹⁹ Interesting observation by the German theologian Johannes Gründel on the process of medieval penance, in which it was not common to actually confess one's sins, but had a priest identify them by suggestion. A priest would not always suggest the sins that were committed, so the transgressions that were 'confessed' received harsh punishment, since many others might be overlooked. See: J. Gründel, *Die Lehre von den Umständen der menschlichen Handlung im Mittelalter* (1963), p. 88. On penance in general see: R. Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe, 600–1200* (Cambridge, 2014).

²⁰ See: M, Coll. Sang., XIX,5, f. 102; XIX,14, f. 101.

²¹ M, Coll. Sang., XX,9, f. 76: 'Tria in penitentiae consideranda sunt confessio locus habitus.' And: XX,22, f. 79^v-80.

²² On the educative nature of penitentials, see: Paxton, 'Bonus liber', p. 19; R. Meens, 'Religious instruction in the Frankish kingdom', in: E. Cohen, M. B. de Jong (eds.), *Medieval transformations. Texts, power, and gifts* (Leiden, 2001), p. 55; Smith, 'Religion and lay society', p. 669.

²³ For the last part of the florilegium, see: M, f. 125^v: '[...] omnium iniquitatem eius quas operatus est non recordabor.'

this serves the same purpose. Lastly, since penitentials had to be applied locally, a priest had to administer penance according to the sins that were confessed to him; it proves to be an excellent example of material that was selected with a certain community in mind.²⁴ A more detailed examination of the penitentials contained in the Coll. Sang. will demonstrate this.

The episcopal capitularies requested a priest to know their canons, to obtain a copy of the bishop's statutes themselves and also an ordinal of Christ (ff. 125^v-126).²⁵ These latter texts served as an educational tool for priests, since they were easy to remember because of their form, and provided them with information on the seven ecclesiastical grades based on various moments out of Christ's life to teach the laity. For example, when Jesus washed the feet of his disciples the grade of the deacon was established.²⁶ The sequence of grades included in M is of Hibernian origin, since the sixth grade is that of the doorkeeper (*ostiarius*), which is a clear indication of having a chronological ordering based on Christ's life instead of a hierarchical one where the priest and bishop would consecutively complete the chain.²⁷ Clearly the compiler copied everything he could lay his hands on into our manuscript; it just had to be useful for educational purposes. Furthermore, it shows that the compiler had manuscripts with texts of Hibernian origin at his disposal. According to Roger Reynolds, an ordinal of Christ also enabled a priest to legitimize its position by tracing its origin back to moments in Christ's life, as if they were instituted at that very moment.²⁸ These ordinals of Christ are locked between a florilegium on the sacraments and an overview of different preaching methods, and were not copied very carefully since the scribe wrote 'quintus' instead of 'quartus' when he began with the fourth ordinal. It therefore looks like this material has been added later to fill some empty space.

When a bishop issued his statutes these were meant for the clergy in his diocese, however, texts travelled over time and the episcopal statutes were therefore not necessarily confined to the boundaries of a bishop's own diocese. M for instance, a manuscript from the

²⁴ See for example the analysis of penitential material by Rob Meens in: Meens, 'Religious instruction', pp. 51-67, there pp. 61-63. And also Carine van Rhijn: C. A. van Rhijn, 'The local church, priests' handbooks and pastoral care in the Carolingian period', in: *Chiese locali e chiese regionali nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 2013), pp. 689-710, there pp. 697-699.

²⁵ Note 94 below.

²⁶ M, ff. 125^v-126: 'Quintus gradus diaconus quando lauit pedes discipulorum suorum et tersit linteo quo erat precinctus.'

²⁷ For an overview of the difference between a 'regular' ordinal influenced by Isidore and the Hibernian version, see: Y. Hen, 'Educating the Clergy. Canon Law and Liturgy in a Carolingian Handbook from the Time of Charles the Bald', in: Y. Hen (ed.), *De Sion exhibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy, and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder* (2010), pp. 43-58.

²⁸ R. E. Reynolds, *The ordinals of Christ from their origins to the twelfth century* vol. 7 (1978), p. 1.

Reims region, contains episcopal statutes from the nearby bishoprics of Orléans and Liège.²⁹ The relative popularity of both sets of episcopal capitularies, respectively listed in twenty-two and forty-nine manuscripts, with only Haito as a distant third with fourteen codices, can be assigned to their early date of appearance, just around the turn of the 9th century.³⁰ Despite that, we do know who wrote the episcopal statutes contained in M; the texts are copied into the manuscript anonymously. Perhaps the authors of the texts were known and hence did not have to be mentioned, or it did not add any weight to the content and has therefore been left unmentioned. When comparing both texts with each other an overlap in content is evident.³¹ Theodulf is in general more elaborate than Gerbald, for instance, when he writes on how to celebrate Mass and touches upon everything from ‘vestments, books and the chalice’, the way in which the bread and wine should be handled, who is and is not allowed to approach the altar, to the *ordo* of Mass.³² The latter limits himself to mentioning that Mass should be celebrated in a church.³³ Regardless of the fact that both bishops are not answering the same question, it is typical for the length and detail of their respective episcopal capitularies.³⁴ Now one might ask if the statutes of Gerbald were not redundant when paired with the statutes written by Theodulf. Zooming in on the subject of priestly conduct, it becomes apparent that Gerbalds primary focus is on his priests and their behavior. For once, he has a wider scope than Theodulf by touching upon topics that the other leaves out, like being drunk in general (not only in a tavern), carrying weapons as a priest and the changing of parishes.³⁵ Theodulf does not seem to have a main emphasis, but because he did issue a great deal more statutes he therefore also covers more ground than his episcopal colleague from Liège, for instance on the subject of fasting, committing perjury and the observance of the Sunday.³⁶ Summarizing, while overlapping on several topics, both sets of episcopal capitularies complement each other with regards to the content and the form.

²⁹ Both the cap. eps. from Theodulf and Gerbald in M have an altered sequence. Theodulf I misses the nineteenth *capitulum* on the places where a priest’s relatives could be educated, see: M, f. 109^v and MGH, Cap. eps. I, p. 115. Gerbald I has an altered order of the first eight statutes, compare M, ff. 118^{r-v} with MGH, Cap. eps. I, pp. 17-18. For more mss. that display this specific altered sequence, see: Idem, pp. 11-14.

³⁰ See for an overview of the mss. in which cap. eps. can be found: Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, p. 257, appendix I.

³¹ Compare in order: Theodulf I, c. 4 and c. 7 with Gerbald I, c. 9; Theodulf I, c. 30-31 with Gerbald I, c. 20-21; Theodulf I, c. 12-13 with Gerbald I, c. 12 and c. 19.

³² Theodulf I, c. 4: ‘[...] vestimenta et libros et vasa sancta [...]’, ; idem, c. 5-7.

³³ Gerbald I, c. 9.

³⁴ See for instance only the length in M of Theodulf ff. 106-118 versus ff. 119-121 of Gerbald, the first one is more than four times longer.

³⁵ Both actions are of course related to lay behavior, see: Gerbald I, c. 14, c. 17 and c. 13.

³⁶ Theodulf I, c. 36-43; idem, c. 26-37; idem, c. 24-25.

Moreover, the first group provides a lot of detail by being more elaborate, but also by means of providing biblical quotes that support the *capitulum* in question, making it a useful text to study. The concise statutes by Gerbald provide its reader with the possibility to use it as a handbook text in order to find specific information quickly, and the added numbers in our manuscript to both collections of statutes seem support this.

b. Identifying a priest's handbook

Keefe formulated a few criteria by which she distributed the labels she used in her study of the early medieval baptismal texts and the Carolingian reforms. As *discussed earlier*, she applies four different labels. The first group of the manuscripts she investigates, is qualified as instruction-readers for priests. These codices provided their owner with the recourses to fulfil their daily tasks as priests, without containing too much liturgical material, because a priest had other books with a purely liturgical purpose, like missals or psalters.³⁷ The *capitula episcoporum* provided a clear list of the requirements for a priest to correctly fulfil his office and the texts he needed in order to do so. Reflecting these sources content-wise is a distinct characteristic for instruction-readers which will be elaborated on further in this paragraph. Additionally, a lack of miscellaneous material is notable, the selection of the content is rather 'limited and economical' especially when compared to Keefe's three other labels.³⁸ Apparently, these manuscripts were compiled to serve a specific purpose. The second group can be described as pastoral manuals for bishops, which is very close to the previous category, but contains additional material that would be unsuitable or superfluous for priests. For example, texts on how to dedicate a church, a task that was reserved only for the highest clerical office.³⁹ The third group is that of the episcopal reference works, which can be distinguished from the last two by its completeness, for instance, by containing multiple texts concerning one topic. In these reference works, texts were copied in their entirety, in contrast to the instruction-reader and the pastoral manual which include mostly excerpts of texts. The reason behind copying complete texts instead of fragments could be that its episcopal user wanted whole texts as an addition to the cathedral library in order to preserve

³⁷ On the inventories of priests and what they should and actually did contain, see: C. I. Hammer, 'Country churches, clerical inventories and the Carolingian renaissance in Bavaria' *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture* 49, vol. 1 (1980), pp. 5-17.

³⁸ Keefe, *Water and the word* I, pp. 23-26.

³⁹ *Idem*, pp. 26-27.

them or to increase their availability. Another use could be for personal study and teaching, for which complete texts on a similar subject are more useful than excerpts that obviously lack the necessary context.⁴⁰ The last group as identified by Keefe is that of the schoolbooks, recognizable by the miscellaneous excerpts, frequently corrected texts and sometimes marginalia. The last two characteristics of course signal heavy use by students.⁴¹

When formulating the characteristics for these model groups, Keefe also included some external features of manuscripts, like the small size and low quality of instruction-readers for priests and large size and high quality of episcopal reference works.⁴² While I do agree that the material aspects of a codex can provide some sense of its function, one should be careful when assigning manuscripts to parish priests based on their appearance. Associating a lower quality of material or language to priests confirms a stereotype of a poor and poorly educated local priest living of the meagre tithes of his village, which does not have to correspond with reality at all. Priests could be relatively wealthy. For example the earlier mentioned 9th-century local priest Norbertus, who was amongst the richer people in his village Ville-en-Selve with ‘a house of a free man, four servants, looking at six days worth of arable land and three vineyards of which he could collect ten *modii* of wine’.⁴³ Furthermore, the quality of the writing and language does not point directly and undoubtedly to a local priest, it is foremost an indication that the manuscript was not produced in a recognizable scriptorium.⁴⁴ External features should only be used as additional evidence in combination with the layout and content to assign a function to a codex.⁴⁵

The characteristics concerning the content of the manuscripts in *Water and the word* would put M in the first group, namely that of the instruction-reader for priests, as Keefe did herself as well. By looking at *appendix I* this is done with relative ease, especially when trying to match our manuscript with the second to fourth group. The manuscript contains many excerpts,

⁴⁰ Keefe, *Water and the word I*, pp. 27-28.

⁴¹ Idem, pp. 28-29. See also on the external characteristics of manuscripts Rasmussen, ‘Célébration épiscopale et célébration presbytérale’, p. 587; Paxton, ‘Bonus liber’, pp. 5-7; Hen, ‘The Knowledge of Canon Law’, pp. 128-129.

⁴² Keefe, *Water and the word I*, pp. 25-28.

⁴³ Devroey, *Le polyptyque*, pp. 10-15, there p. 14: ‘Habet ibi mansum ingenuilem I et mancipia IIII [...] ubi aspiciunt de terra arabili ioranales VI; vineolas III ubi possunt colligi de vino modios X.’ A *modius* is about 8.75 litre, see: M. C. Howatson, *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature* (Oxford, 2011), ‘Measures’ <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199548545.001.0001/acref-9780199548545-e-1925>> [accessed May 20, 2016]. See as well on Norbertus wealth: Mériaux, ‘Ideal and reality’, p. 85. And Idem, *Prêtres et société*, pp. 130-134, on the possessions of local churches.

⁴⁴ M. Wenz, ‘...quails debeat esse pastor aecllesiae...’ Beobachtungen zur Ausbildung von Priestern im 9. Jahrhundert’ (unpublished master thesis, University of Tübingen, 2014), p. 50.

⁴⁵ A good example of this, as performed by Yitzhak Hen, can be seen here: Hen, ‘Knowledge of Canon Law’, p. 129.

even texts that are basically a compilation of excerpts, like the stripped version of the *Collectio Sangermanensis*, and does not have a lot of substantial information on one specific topic.⁴⁶ While there is various content that covers similar subjects like baptism or the Lord's Prayer, the texts are too limited and general to provide someone with decent study material; a lot of knowledge is presupposed. The schoolbook's label also does seem not fit, since the content of M is more focused on providing active pastoral care than teaching someone how to provide it, which makes it seem unlikely that it was used as a schoolbook. Additionally, marginalia are hard to find in M, and when they do occur they are very short and provide little information. They mostly only give an indication as to who the text is addressing or what the subject of the text is.⁴⁷ This leaves us with the first group of the instruction-reader for priests, with which M shares quite a few characteristics. These include: its content is rather limited and economic, it contains liturgical material to a lesser degree, like the prayer to the holy Virgin Mary or a sermon on the Lord's Prayer⁴⁸, and it reflects the early episcopal capitularies in the kind of texts that are included.

This last statement concerning the episcopal statutes, however, is easier made than actually proven, as it is different from all of the other characteristics mentioned by Keefe. Reflecting a certain type of source is something unlike the other features that are primarily concerned with the shape of texts, for example their brevity or completeness, or the extent to which texts have been corrected or marginalia were added to them. Even though what has been said before is still true, that there was no clear model of a manuscript that could be used by priests or bishops, when taken together the episcopal capitularies do provide something like a standard for the composition of a priestly manuscript. The difference between a model and a standard, in this case, is that a model regulates form and structure, while a standard directs ideas and purpose. When a manuscript is modelled after the Bible, it has to have a certain content and arrangement, for instance, a history from the beginning to the end of the world, and a division between an old and a new testament, otherwise it will not be recognized as such. If a manuscript

⁴⁶ For this version of the Coll. Sang., see: M, ff. 75-105^v.

⁴⁷ For example: M, f. 77: a citation from Gregory on penance 'GREGORIVS Qui committit prohibita se abstinere debet a licitis et se reprehendat in minimis qui meminit in maximis deliquisse' (PL 76, Col.1256C), with possibly 'de *commis*' as a short comment to whom it relates. Or M, f. 88: 'de abstin' (de abstinencia) to indicate the topic of a paraphrase of the eighty-first capitulum attributed to the Council of Nicea (325) 'ITEM NICENE cap lxxxi Si quis usuras acceperit uel ex quolibet tale negotio turpi lucra sectauerit uel etiam speties frugum ad sesduplum dederit purgabitur a clero et alienus ab ecclesiastico abiciatur gradu'.

⁴⁸ M, f. 75; idem, ff. 65-66^v.

has to conform to a standard, it has to meet certain requirements derived from an idea or purpose. For example, when a codex has to inform someone about the creation of the universe, this goal can be achieved with a tractate of a philosophical, theological or astronomical nature. A standard employs a point of reference that can be mirrored in multiple ways, while a model delivers a frame from which cannot be deviated. Together the *capitula episcoporum* provide a standard by which priests' handbooks in their manifold configurations can be identified.

The difference between a model and a standard is important for the next paragraph, because of the variety of content that can be found in priests' handbooks that has this common point of reference. In the following, the standard formulated in the episcopal capitularies will be outlined. Subsequently, the content of M will be compared to this standard, in order to see to which extent it 'reflects' its goals.⁴⁹ The difference between these two notions is of course not as static as depicted – I am aware of that. For this thesis, however, it will be viewed as such for the purpose of research.

c. *Capitula episcoporum* as standard

Priests used books, that much is clear. They were required to know by heart several types of texts, as can be seen in the sixth capitula of the bishop Haito of Basel (806-823): 'Sexto, quae ipsis sacerdotibus necessaria sunt ad discendum, id est *sacramentarium, lectionarius, antiphonarius, baptisterium, computus, kanon paenitentialis, psalterium, homeliae* per circulum anni dominicis diebus et singulis festivitibus aptae. [...]'.⁵⁰ However, this does not look like a standard that any manuscript can reflect, in the first place because of the sheer size a codex would have to have to contain the extensive amount of material. Therefore, the episcopal capitularies will be examined across the board, in order to discover a sense of the shared purpose that lies behind these sources.

Before delving into the actual content of the episcopal capitularies, it is useful to first take a look at how these medieval sources were perceived over the last decades by historians studying and editing them. In this case, the German historian Peter Brommer is an important figure; in 1984,

⁴⁹ Keefe uses the same word: Keefe, *Water and the word* I, p. 24, 'It must be assumed that bishops commissioned these instruction-readers that so closely *reflect* the items spelled out in episcopal capitularies.' Emphasis is mine.

⁵⁰ MGH, Cap. eps. I, p. 211. Emphasis is my own.

he edited the early *capitula episcoporum* issued within the two first decades of the 9th century in the MGH, and also wrote extensively on the capitularies of Theodulf of Orléans.⁵¹ The last mentioned statutes and the first statutes by Gerbald of Liège are included in M, which increases the necessity to look especially into Brommer's interpretation of these sources. According to him, the early *capitula episcoporum* can be viewed as synodal statutes that find their origin in the *Admonitio Generalis*.⁵² As explained in the first chapter, this means that the grand vision of Charlemagne for his empire flowed down to his magnates, who – in the case of the bishops – translated this image into new episcopal capitularies to implement the changes as the king desired. Trying to define these documents has proven to be a difficult task, because there is a lot of variety between the sources, given that they all have their own special interests. While according to Brommer the statutes of Theodulf are clearly a collection of legislative material, characterizations such as 'Rechtsammlung' do not always seem to fit the whole group of sources.⁵³ After several attempts, of which 'nicht sehr umfangreiche handbuchartige, in Kapitel gegliederte Rechtssammlungen fränkischer Bishöfe' is an early one, formulating a negative definition turned out to be the most fruitful approach.⁵⁴ The episcopal capitularies had less 'Geltungsbereich' than their royal equivalents, but they had more legislative power than, for example, a letter written by a bishop. The range of topics addressed in the statutes is broader than it is in penitentials, while they had less authority than canon law, since they were initially restricted to be effective only in one diocese.⁵⁵ Other aspects do not seem to provide satisfying features either to characterize the group of sources. The transmission of the episcopal capitularies was not a distinctive attribute, as some statutes were passed down in writing, while other were perhaps transmitted orally.⁵⁶ Equally unusable are the structure and length of the statutes, varying between long and extensive, and short and concise. Some topics were clearly more

⁵¹ See P. Brommer, 'Die Rezeption der bischöflichen Kapitularien Theodulfs von Orléans', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung* 61, vol. 1 (1975), pp. 113-160 and Idem, 'Die bischöfliche Gesetzgebung Theodulfs von Orléans', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung* 60, vol. 1 (1974), pp. 1-120.

⁵² On the cap. eps. as synodal statutes: Idem, *Die bischöflichen Kapitularien*, p. 10. Brommer on the origin of this type of sources: Idem, p. 18; Brommer, 'Bischöfliche Gesetzgebung', p. 36.

⁵³ For Brommer on the legislative character of Theodulf's statutes, see: Brommer, 'Bischöfliche Gesetzgebung', p. 2; idem, p. 41. Brommer, *Bischöflichen Kapitularien*, p. 10.

⁵⁴ Brommer, 'Bischöfliche Gesetzgebung', p. 42.

⁵⁵ Idem, p. 11.

⁵⁶ Brommer, 'Bischöfliche Gesetzgebung', pp. 13-14; R. Pokorný ed., *Capitula episcoporum: Teil IV*, MGH, Cap. eps. IV (Hannover, 2005), p. 8.

important to one bishop than they were to the other.⁵⁷ The moment at which a bishop issued statutes, for example, at the start of one's episcopal career to perhaps consolidate his position, can also not be used to distinguish episcopal capitularies from other sources. To illustrate this, Waltraud of Liège and Riculf of Soissons (884-902) issued their statutes early in their episcopate, while Hildegard of Meaux (856-873/6) and Radulf of Bourges (840-866) wrote their statutes at the end of their office.⁵⁸ Even the terms used by the bishops themselves to identify their episcopal capitularies vary between 'capitula', 'epistoale', 'opusculum' and 'exiguum opus'.⁵⁹ Apparently, the way these sources were interpreted by contemporaries was diverse. Brommer confirms this, by looking at the content that accompanied the episcopal capitularies, and from there at the different contexts in which they were used and from which they derived their meaning. For instance, they were at times paired with texts from the council of Reims (813), episcopal letters or even turned into excerpts and incorporated into new material.⁶⁰ Rudolf Pokorny, who edited the second to fourth volumes of the *capitula episcoporum* for the MGH, also acknowledges this in the introduction of the most recent edition, where he states that in the first half of the 9th century contemporaries viewed the episcopal statutes as a mandate and warning, while after this period the same documents were viewed as additional canon law.⁶¹ For Brommer, this vague definition eventually led him to doubt the effectiveness of the episcopal capitularies, they were perhaps 'too general and therefore not implemented in the end'.⁶²

Defining the *capitula episcoporum* can therefore only be done in relative general terms, since the approach of the 'Rechtshistoriker' did not work. As the (modern) name suggests, episcopal capitularies were issued by bishops somewhere between the 9th century and the first half of the 10th century in a region that corresponds with an area stretching roughly from modern-

⁵⁷ Brommer, *Bishöflichen Kapitularien*, pp. 14-15. The first episcopal capitularies of Theodulf of Orléans and Gerbald of Liège are a good example of this. See for example on the topic of Mass, where Theodulf elaborates to length on various aspects in c. 4-7, namely required objects and attendants, the bread and wine, and woman celebrating Mass. Gerbald is rather brief with only c. 9 on where and where not to celebrate Mass. Respectively MGH, Cap. eps. I, pp. 106-108 and idem, p. 18.

⁵⁸ Pokorny, *Capitula episcoporum: Teil IV*, pp. 35-36.

⁵⁹ Brommer, 'Bischöfliche Gesetzgebung', p. 31. The diverse characterization could be a cause of the abundance of other medieval sources that in content or form are quite similar to the cap. eps., see for a list of these sources: Pokorny, *Capitula episcoporum: Teil IV*, pp. 39-45.

⁶⁰ See: Brommer, *Bishöflichen Kapitularien*, pp. 29-30. Respectively Vienna, ÖNB 751; Leiden, Univ. Bibl., Vulcan. 94B; Troyes, Bibl. Munic. 1979. Other examples mentioned are Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., Clm 3851/3853, where only excerpts of the cap. eps. are copied.

⁶¹ Pokorny, *Capitula episcoporum: Teil IV*, pp. 10-11. On admonition see also: Buck, *Admonitio und Praedicatio*, pp. 108-116.

⁶² Brommer, *Bishöflichen Kapitularien*, p. 17: '[...] zu weit gingen, so dass sie sich letzten Endes nicht durchsetzen liessen'.

day north-western France to southern Germany and also Italy.⁶³ The intended audience of the statutes was twofold, namely the local priests in the diocese of the bishops who issued the statutes and through those priests the laity.⁶⁴ This made them into a tool to reach even the most distant rural places, as long as there was a parish with an active priest. It was therefore a tool of communication.⁶⁵ The episcopal statutes were furthermore normative texts that admonished their addressees on matters concerning the church in general, its clergy and religious life within the diocese, rather than giving them instructions.⁶⁶ In short: the *capitula episcoporum* were flexible texts that could have multiple uses depending on the circumstances they were utilized in.

From this general outline of the episcopal capitularies a few conclusions can be drawn. First of all, that bishops took their God-given responsibility for the faithful, their *ministerium*, very seriously. This was not merely because they noticed a clear neglect of church life or because priests were ignorant, careless and rude, as can be read in some historical research from third quarter of the 20th century.⁶⁷ By providing their local priests with instructions on how to fulfil their office in the correct way, the laity as well would receive the right guidance and pastoral care to become part of the greater *populus christianus*. The stress Charlemagne personally put on this subject in the form of – among other things - royal capitularies, can be seen as an incentive for the bishops to take action of their own accord. The instructions provided by the episcopal statutes were not perceived as casual reminders, but as important information that should be read, memorized and preserved by the priest.⁶⁸

However, bishops did require their priests to be in possession of more than just their statutes, which brings us to the second conclusion. A local priest was expected to know the contents of a few books to aid him in fulfilling his daily tasks, like a *sacramentarium* to pray from during Mass, a *kanon paenitentialis* to subject his faithful to penance to repent for their sins

⁶³ Pokorny, *Capitula episcoporum: Teil IV*, p. 18 on who issued the cap. eps. Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, p. 258, appendix 2, on the geographical distribution of the cap. eps..

⁶⁴ Idem, p. 40; Patzold, *Episcopus*, p. 303; Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 51-52.

⁶⁵ Pokorny, *Capitula episcoporum: Teil IV*, p. 31. On the cap. eps. as a tool used for communicating messages on *correctio* and education, see: Wenz, 'Ausbildung von Priestern', p. 6.

⁶⁶ Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, p. 33; idem, p. 41; Van Rhijn, 'Charlemagne and the frankisch countryside', pp. 171-172.

⁶⁷ For example, see: Brommer, 'Bischöfliche Gesetzgebung', p. 37, '[...] Verwahrlosung kirchlichen Leben[...]' and F. L. Ganshof, *La Belgique Carolingienne*, p. 130: '[...] des clercs incultes, incompréhensifs et brutaux.'

⁶⁸ See c. 35 of the Frisingensia, p. 230: 'Volumus, ut unusquisque presbiter baptismalis ecclesiae ista prae-notata capitula secum habeat in pergamina scripta, quatenus, cum deo adiuvante per venerimus ad suam ecclesiam, nostras admonitiones et iussiones in se ipso populisque sibi subiectis adimpleta esse repperiamus.' Also: Brommer, 'Bischöfliche Gesetzgebung', p. 39.

and a *compotus* to calculate the correct date of Easter.⁶⁹ Additionally, in the capitularies there is much presupposed knowledge that the bishops expected their priests to have; when they tell them to ‘teach the faithful Lord’s Prayer and the Apostles’ Creed’ or to ‘anoint the sick and dying’, they presume that their priests know the content of the *Pater Noster* and the *Symbolum*, and that they are aware of how the *viaticum* has to be administered.⁷⁰ Together the information contained in these requested books, but also the knowledge that bishops supposed their priests to have on various subjects, form something that could be described as what the German medievalist Steffen Patzold calls a *Wissenskanon*.⁷¹ A body of knowledge that serves one purpose, namely enabling priests to ‘correct and emend’ their flock to make them full members of the *populus christianus* and provide them with adequate pastoral care.⁷²

A priest’s task was deemed to be very important. Bishops wrote almost exclusively to their priests for a good reason, which Louis the Pious confirmed, according to his biographer the Astronomer, by expressing his desire that servants of God should not have to be servants of man.⁷³ That is, that unfree priests should be released in order to be fully devoted to their task. These grave matters needed to be conducted in a proper manner, which is why the correctness of a manuscript’s content was a prior concern of the king and his magnates. Mentioned in the *Admonitio generalis* and emphasized in the various royal capitularies, proper conduct and supplying the laity with the correct information were addressed on various occasions, which eventually led to the examination of priests.⁷⁴ Testing their knowledge, for instance before they were ordained or as part of a periodic inspection, became regular practice in various regions.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ Haito of Basel, c. 6: MGH, Cap. eps. I, p. 211.

⁷⁰ C. A. van Rhijn, ‘Manuscripts for local priests and the Carolingian reforms’, in: C. A. van Rhijn and S. Patzold (eds.), *Men in the middle - Local priests in early medieval Europe* (Berlin, 2016), p. 185. The first example of mentioned cap. eps.: Gerbald I, c. 6. Idem, p. 18; Theodulf I, c. 22. Idem, p. 119: ‘Commonendi sunt fideles, ut generaliter omnes a minimo usque ad maximum orationem dominicam et symbolum discant [...]’. Second example: Gerbald I, c. 20-21, idem, p. 21: ‘[...] si quis infirmatur, a sacerdotibus oleo sanctificato cum orationibus diligenter unguatur’.

⁷¹ Patzold, ‘Bildung und Wissen’, pp. 382-383.

⁷² As is written in the introduction of the *Admonitio generalis*: Mordek, *Die Admonitio Generalis*, MGH, p. 182. ‘Nam legimus in regnorum libris, quomodo sanctus Iosias regnum sibi a Deo datum circumeundo, corrigendo, ammonendo ad cultum veri Dei studuit revocare.’ For a recent discussion of the nature and use of the cap. eps. see: Davis, *Charlemagne’s practice of empire*, pp. 211-215.

⁷³ Patzold, ‘Correctio an der Basis’, p. 230. The paraphrase is from MGH, *Scriptores*, SS rer. Germ. 64, pp. 377-378: ‘Considerans etiam isdem piissimus imperator, non debere Christi ministros obnoxios esse humane servituti [...]’.

⁷⁴ On the importance of correct knowledge, see: C. A. van Rhijn, ‘Karolingische priesterexamens en het probleem van ‘correctio’ op het platteland’, *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 125 (2012), p. 160 and especially c. 72 of the *Admoitio generalis*: ‘[...] Psalmos, notas, compotum, grammaticam per singula monasteria vel episcopia et libros catholicos bene emendate; quia saepe, dum bene aliqui Deum rogare cupiunt, sed per inemendatos libros male

The *Wissenskanon* and the standard that the episcopal capitularies constitute are closely tied together, but they are not entirely the same. As part of the goals as set out by Charlemagne in his royal capitularies, the *Wissenskanon* and – for example – corrected baptismal *ordines* are effects of the implementation of these goals. The standard is more than just a body of knowledge, it also discusses correct moral behaviour, praying for the right people and preaching regularly, it combines the textual knowledge with desirable practical behaviour.⁷⁶ However, there is no denying that the *Wissenskanon* forms the largest part of what the bishops in their statutes prescribe. With the priest's handbook, the last step of the Carolingian reforms has been completed, where and ideally after the royal capitularies were translated into policy to be implemented by bishops, and eventually into visible reality in the content of priestly handbooks. Having established a traceable standard for manuscripts to be identified as a priest's handbook, we proceed unto the next paragraph repeating exactly this procedure for M.

d. M as priest's handbook

To establish the nature of M beyond reasonable doubt, we need to assess the codex from different angles. First, we will look at the content and examine the influence of the *Wissenskanon*, as a collection of shared ideas about useful knowledge, on its composition. This will be done by comparing various *capitula episcoporum* to different texts that are included in our manuscript and by paying some special attention to the additions made in hands later than the initial ones from the Reims region. Besides content, the textual structure can also give an indication of how the manuscript was used. In contrasting M with a codex that clearly had a different purpose, its arrangement should become visible. Finally, an examination of the external characteristics should provide a plausible theory on our manuscript's composition.

For this comparison not only the episcopal capitularies that are included in our manuscript have been used, but also other early episcopal statutes that were issued within the same time frame, namely between 800 and 820.⁷⁷ By using this group of early statutes we can

rogant. [...]'. On the creation of priests' exams Van Rhijn, 'Karolingische priesterexamens', pp. 158-171, there pp. 168-169.

⁷⁵ A bishop met his priests on various fixed occasions, see: Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, p. 109, especially n. 136; Brommer, 'Bischöfliche Gesetzgebung', p. 42.

⁷⁶ See respectively: Theodulf I, c. 12-13; Gerbald I, c. 1-2; idem, c. 4.

⁷⁷ For an overview of the different groups of cap. eps. and when they were issued, see: Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, appendix 1, p. 257.

assume that a clergyman who compiled a priest's handbook in the third quarter of the 9th century and who apparently had some sense of what the *capitula episcoporum* required of a priest, probably read one or more documents out of this group. Including the fact that the second group contains capitularies issued from 850 onwards would increase the chance of incorporating documents that the compiler could not have taken note of, and, additionally, it would exceed the limits of this project.

While glancing at the content of M with the standard and especially the *Wissenskanon* of the episcopal capitularies in mind, some initial remarks can be made. The education of the laity was of the utmost importance, as expressed by Waltcaud: 'The Athanasian Creed and other things on the faith, like the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer, should by means of exposition be fully understood.'⁷⁸ By teaching a layman how to recite these texts, a priest could be certain that there was at least a strong foundation upon which a pious faith could be build. As requested by the bishops Waltcaud and Haito, an explanation of the Apostles' Creed can be found in the manuscript, in this case in two different places (f. 121 and ff. 127-128^v). The first is rather short and pays particular attention to heretical movements that denounce the unity of the divine and nature, and separate the Father from the Son and Spirit.⁷⁹ The second one is more extensive and has a question-and-answer structure, which signifies a more didactic aim. Likewise, the Lord's Prayer is mentioned in two expositions (ff. 64-65 and ff. 126^v-127). In the first installment every petition is explained shortly, the second *expositio* directly precedes the commentary on the *Pater Noster* and consequently also structured in questions and answers. Furthermore, a sermon on the same prayer is included (ff. 65-66^v), where the solidarity and equality between all Christians is emphasized, since all need forgiveness to obtain salvation. Not only the topic of the sermon was according to the bishops' wishes, but also the practice of

⁷⁸ Waltcaud c. 2, MGH, Cap. eps. I, p. 46: 'Fidem catholicam sancti Athanasii et cetera quaecumque de fide, symbolum etiam apostolicum, orationem dominicam ad intellegendum pleniter cum expositio.'

⁷⁹ On the importance of the Apostles' Creed, Lord's Prayer and Athanasian Creed: Waltcaud c. 2, Haito c. 2, Gerbald I c. 6, Theodulf I, c. 22 and Parisiensia, c. 2: respectively; idem, p. 46, p. 210, p. 18, p. 120 and MGH, Cap. eps. III, p. 27. Theodulf mentions the Lord's Prayer two other times as a valuable asset for a Christian: Theodulf I, c. 23 and c. 29, MGH, Cap. eps. I, p. 120 and p. 126. The only excuse for not knowing the prayer by heart was for those whose age has not brought them to speak ('[...] quos ad loquendum aetas minime perduxit. Theodulf I, c. 22). Statement on the heretic movements, M, f. 121: 'Non confusa in una persona trinitatis ut sabellius dicit, neque separata aut diuisa in natura diuinitatis, ut arrius blasphematur sed aliter in persona pater, aliter in persona filius, aliter in persona et spiritus sanctus.'

preaching was something that was encouraged.⁸⁰ The listing of seven different ways to preach (f. 126) probably also attributed to this. M's compiler knew how to create a useful manuscript, and apparently read more than just the episcopal capitularies that he included, because he made a copy of an exposition of the Athanasian Creed in the manuscript as well (ff. 71-75).⁸¹

One can imagine that teaching laity on the principles of Christianity did not go without receiving any questions in return. Merely speaking about the Apostles' Creed, difficult concepts like the virgin birth, God's omnipotence and the resurrection of Christ are mentioned within only a few lines. To accommodate this and to educate on similar challenging matters concerning Christianity, an exposition (ff. 67-70) is included in which elaborates on various principles of the faith. Regardless of these questions not being mentioned so explicitly in the episcopal capitularies, bishops did ask their priests to explain 'all of the religion' (*totius religionis*) so that the laity may understand the whole gospel, and these texts provided them with that information.⁸²

Besides teaching the laity on the fundamentals of Christianity and subsequently its more complicated aspects, a priest was required to provide his parish with sacraments. Numerous times in the episcopal capitularies do the bishops refer to the importance of these rituals and their correct performance. The main sacraments that they mention are baptism, penance and Mass. While the anointing of the sick is mentioned as well, this is done rather sporadically compared to the other three sacraments.⁸³ The ritual of baptism forms the initiation into the Christian community, which during the Middle Ages usually happened during Easter and Pentecost. This was preceded by some education on the earlier mentioned fundamentals. Many bishops stressed the importance of adhering to the correct time to perform baptism, apparently this did not always happen as it should.⁸⁴ There was, however, an exception to this rule when children were sick and presumably dying. A priest was allowed to baptize these children, so that if they passed away, they did so as Christians. Failing to do so was considered a grave error, priests were held

⁸⁰ Gerbald I c. 3, MGH, Cap. eps. I, p. 17: 'Ut omnibus festis et diebus dominicis unusquisque sacerdos evangelium Christi populo praedicat.' See also: Theodulf II, c. 1, pp. 148-149; idem, c. 8., p. 152.

⁸¹ The Athanasian Creed is not mentioned in the first series of capitularies of Theodulf and Gerbald, but is communicated in Hauto c.4 and Waltaud c.2, MGH, Cap. eps. I, p. 210 and p. 46.

⁸² Gerbald I c. 6 and Waltaud c. 6, MGH, Cap. eps. I, p. 18 and p. 46.

⁸³ Gerbald has two chapters on the *viaticum*, see: Gerbald I, c. 20 and Gerbald III, c. 11, respectively MGH, Cap. eps. I, 21 and idem, p. 40.

⁸⁴ Gerbald I, c. 10, p. 19; Parisiensia, c. 3, pp. 30-31, Hauto, c. 7, p. 211.

responsible for the souls of the faithful by their bishops.⁸⁵ When a priest was performing baptism, whether on one of the fixed annual moments or in an urgent case, the ritual had to be performed in the right way. Bishops told their priest that they needed to know what action to perform at what time, in which case they were in need of a proper script: an *ordo*.⁸⁶ Despite the fact that M does not contain an *ordo* for baptism, though the priest probably had a *baptisterium* specifically dedicated to this purpose, it does supply its owner with a collection of excerpts on baptism from Isidore's *Origines* (ff. 84^v-85), glosses on the words of baptismal prayers (ff. 119-121) and a florilegium on the sacraments which starts with a section on baptism (ff. 121^v-125^v).⁸⁷ The first text is incorporated into a larger selection called the *Collectio Sangermanensis* and contains information on basic elements, like the meaning of the word 'baptism' and the use of water in the ritual. The second text provides detailed information on the meaning of almost every word in the prayers used during the rite. It starts with 'oratio' (prayer) and ends with 'amen', because that is what the 'os' (mouth) and 'ratio' bring forth together, whereas 'amen' is the word for a final agreement.⁸⁸ The third and last text on baptism offers its reader an elaboration on various topics, for example the usage of salt during the rite, the three-time immersion in water and the white vestments worn after baptism. Comparing all three texts with the *capitula episcoporum*, it is striking that the content in M does not only comply with the statutes related to baptism, of which to take note was probably sufficient, but actually contains information to help people understand their own baptism to a greater extent. The priestly task to inform the faithful of all the aspects of the religion was taken seriously by M's compiler, which Charlemagne would have appreciated according to the first chapter of the capitulary that was issued after the series of reform councils that took place in 813, where the correct baptism of the people had clearly been an important issue on the agenda.⁸⁹

Closely related to baptism is penance, which Theodulf calls the 'second baptism' in one

⁸⁵ Gerbald I, c. 11, p. 19; Corbeiensia, c. 12, p. 14. Theodulf I, c. 17, p. 114: 'Si quis hoc munus petenti concedere detrectaverit et ille parvulus absque baptismatis gratia mortuus fuerit, noverit se ille, qui eum non baptizavit, pro eius anima rationem redditurum'.

⁸⁶ Corbeiensia, c. 3, p. 12; Theodulf II, c. 3, p. 149. For an illustration of how baptismal ordines were used in the Carolingian period, see: Keefe, *Water and the word* I, pp. 116-131.

⁸⁷ See as an example of the implementation of baptismal reforms by the use florilegia: Idem, pp. 70-79.

⁸⁸ M, ff. 119-121: 'ORATIO QUASI ORIS RATIO EO QUOD EX ORE ET RATIONE PROCEDIT' and 'Amen confirmatio est verbi'.

⁸⁹ Keefe, *Water and the word*, pp. 88-89. MGH, Concilia II.I, p. 294: 'De baptismo, ut unusquisque archiepiscopus suos suffraganeos diligenter ac studiosae admonere studeat, ut unusquisque suos presbiteros puriter investigare non neglegat, baptismatis sacramentum qualiter agant, et hoc eos studiose doccant, ut ordinabiliter fiat.'

of his statutes, because it cleanses the sinner from his missteps committed after the ritual of baptism.⁹⁰ When someone confessed his sins, penance was administered by the priest to give the sinner the possibility to absolve his offenses. The bishops wanted their priests to know their penitentials well and judge the confessant with care.⁹¹ The eight principal vices required special attention and also the sin of incest, which is mentioned in multiple occasions in different statutes.⁹² Scattered throughout the manuscript the compiler included various texts that correspond to what the episcopal statutes require in multiple ways. First is the *ordo* on penance included in a capitulum of Theodulf (f. 113^v), who suggests to read a few encouraging psalms after the tears and sighs that accompany the confession.⁹³ Additionally, in the two collections that are part of our manuscript, namely the excerpt of the Coll. Sang. (ff. 75-105^v) and the Coll. 53 (ff. 128^v-146^v) – both texts will be examined to greater length in a later paragraph, contain multiple sections that are related to taking confession and administering penance. In chapter nineteen of the Coll. Sang., the first three sections elaborate on the terms ‘sinner’, ‘punishment’ and ‘crime’, while in chapter twenty the 12th and 23rd section respectively warn the priest not to favour anyone in penance and acknowledge the difficulty of imposing penance, which is like a doctor taking care of his patients: the right cure might be harsh and bitter.⁹⁴ In the same way the Coll. 53 provides the reader with information from multiple authoritative sources, like pope Leo and a capitulum from the council of Nicea, on usury and fornication.⁹⁵ The attention demanded by the bishops for the sin of incest in particular can be found in two sections in chapter nineteen of the Coll. Sang. addressing incest from various angles, for example in the case of committing the sin with virgins or in combination with other sins.⁹⁶ While M does not contain information explicitly referring to the eight principal sins, near the end of the manuscript eight ‘deadly sins’ (*damnationes mortis*, f. 126^v) are mentioned, that describe the degree of judgements that can be

⁹⁰ Theodulf I, c. 36, p. 133-134: ‘[...] per paenitentiam se renovent, quae est secundus baptismus.’

⁹¹ Corbeiensia, c. 4, p. 12; Gerbald I, c. 20, p. 21.

⁹² On the eight principal vices, see: Theodulf I, c. 31, p. 128-129. And for the cap. eps. on incest: Gerbald II, c. 4, p. 27; Parisiensia, c. 10, p. 32; Haito, c. 21, p. 217-218.

⁹³ Theodulf I, c. 30, p. 127-128: ‘Facta etenim confessione cum gemitu et lacrimis domino in oratione recitandus est psalmus L sive XXIII sive XXXI atque alii ad rem pertinentes.’ The psalms seem mainly concerned with the might of God and him being a shield against evil. Perhaps to direct the confessant to God and make him or her stay clear from sin? See also on that stages of penance: Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe*, pp. 15-25.

⁹⁴ Coll. Sang., XIX,1-3, ff. 101^v-102; idem, XX,12, f. 77^v; XX, 23, f. 80.

⁹⁵ Coll. 53, c. 5, M, ff. 131^v-132 (PL 54, Col.0613A-B); idem, c. 39, M, ff. 141^v-142 (PL 84, Col.0097B-C). On the increased emphasis on authority during the Carolingian reforms with regard to penitentials, see: Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe*, p. 135.

⁹⁶ Coll. Sang., XIX,13, M, ff. 103^{r-v}; XIX,15, M, f. 101.

passed for various sins. How this was used we do not know, but combining eight vices with the same number of damnations could possibly make great material for a sermon or any other means of education.⁹⁷

The third sacrament that is mentioned with great frequency is Mass, where the priest leads the faithful in sharing bread and wine referring to the body and blood of Christ, in order to commemorate his death and resurrection. Like the ritual of baptism and penance the bishops emphasized the importance of the *ordo* and its prayers, where and when Mass was celebrated, and that in the chalice the wine should be mixed with water.⁹⁸ The reason behind this last instruction can be found in the florilegium that besides baptism also concerns Mass and penance: the wine and water symbolize the blood of Christ and the people; never to be separated.⁹⁹ Additionally, other crucial information such as a small explanation on what is ‘Mass’ and when and how to celebrate Mass for the dead, is included in the compilation of the Coll. Sang.¹⁰⁰ However, compared to baptism and penance, the manuscript lacks any extensive material on Mass. This seems to suggest that the priest probably has a missal in his possession that contained the information he needed, or perhaps there was no suitable material available during the creation of the manuscript.

On top of content on Christianity’s fundamentals and the sacraments, bishops also ordered their priests to keep certain specific texts or collections at hand, because they wanted them to be able to consult the texts at any time. Through multiple episcopal orders, canon law, statutes and the ordinals of Christ should be owned by priests.¹⁰¹ The compiler of our manuscript seems to have been aware of the fact that these texts were important as well and included the compilation of the Coll. Sang. and Coll. 53, both containing many excerpts of decrees issued at

⁹⁷ The combination of preaching and then hearing confession and imposing penance was common: Meens, ‘Religious instruction’, p. 52.

⁹⁸ On the *ordo* and prayers of Mass, see: Theodulf I, c. 7, p. 108; Waltaud, c. 3, p. 46. For cap. eps. on the Mass’s location and point of time: Theodulf I, c. 11, pp. 110-111; idem, c. 41, pp. 138-139; idem, c. 45, p. 141; Gerbald I, c. 9, p. 18; Waltaud, c. 13, p. 47-48. That the wine should be mixed in the chalice with water: Gerbald III, c. 13, p. 41.

⁹⁹ M, f. 125: ‘Vidimus in aquam populum intellegi in vino vero ostendi sanguinem christi, quando autem in calice vino aqua miscetur christo populus adunatur et infra que copulatio et coniunctio aque et vini sic miscetur in calice domini ut commixtio illa non possit ab invicem separari [...]’.

¹⁰⁰ Coll. Sang., XVI, 1, M, f. 75; idem, XX,36, 38, M, ff. 83^v-84. If the dead concerned the victims of suicide, a priest should not celebrate Mass: XX,40, M, f. 84^v.

¹⁰¹ On the importance of collections of canon law: Walcaud, c. 12, p. 47; Corbeiensia, c. 4, p. 12. That priests should collect and preserve their cap. eps.: Frisingensia, p. 230; Theodulf I, praefatio, p. 103: ‘Obsecro etiam fraternitatem vestram, ut haec capitula, quae ad emendationem vitae breviter igei, assidue legatis et memoriae commendatis et eorum sive sanctarum scripturarum lectione mores componatis [...]’. Priests should know their ordinals: Moguntiacensia, c. 10, p. 180; Trecensia, c. 12, p. 170.

councils and synods, the episcopal statutes of Theodulf and Gerbald, and finally an Ordinal of Christ (f. 125^v), that could have been used as a teaching tool or perhaps to increase the authority of the ecclesiastical grades by demonstrating their antiquity by connecting them to Christ's life.¹⁰² Besides containing information in line with and hence reflecting some of the requirements that can be observed in the *capitula episcoporum*, the many comments made by various bishops on fasting do not appear to echo within M.¹⁰³ This seems to be an exception, to which we will return later on while examining the Coll. Sang., because a considerable amount of the episcopal capitularies' *Wissenskanon* can be found contained in our manuscript in various forms and shapes.

After having examined the content of our manuscript, it is evident that the texts in M have been tailored for a certain function that very much overlaps with the standard as formulated in the episcopal capitularies.¹⁰⁴ A priest with these texts at his disposal, assuming that he also knew the other important pieces of information mentioned in the episcopal capitularies (which could very well be the case),¹⁰⁵ should be able to fulfil his daily tasks quite well. That the manuscript contains more than just required knowledge and can be measured against the larger standard, may be observed in various occasions. For instance, the very last page shows that a priest collected his tithes, since he kept a list of what presumably looks like the tithe payments he received, similar to Gerbald I, c. 6-7.¹⁰⁶ Another example is the list of yearly *lectiones* (ff. 147^v-148) that corresponds with what Theodulf asks from his priests, namely to be able to teach the people about Scripture.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Patzold, 'Bildung und Wissen', p. 385; Reynolds, *The ordinals of Christ*, p. 1.

¹⁰³ Fasting is mentioned multiple times in the cap. eps., see for example: 'Theodulf I, c. 39, p. 137; Gerbald II, c. 8, p. 28; Waltcaud, c. 17, p. 49; Parisiensia, c. 11, p. 49; Bavarica, c. 9, p. 197; Frisingense, c. 1, p. 232.

¹⁰⁴ Van Rhijn, 'Manuscripts for local priests', p. 179.

¹⁰⁵ If the priest Norbert from Ville-en-Selve can still serve as a (suggestive) guideline, then we can assume that most of the books were present. The following cap. eps. prescribe books, namely Gerbald III, c. 9: 'missale, martyrologium, paenitentialem, psalterium' and Haito, c. 6: '[...] sacramentarium, lectionarius, antiphonarius, baptisterium, compotus, kanon paenitentialis, psalterium, homelie per circulum anni dominicis diebus et singulis festivitibus aptae'. On Norbertus's bookshelf there were a 'Missales Galesii cum martirologio et poenitentiale, volumina II; lectionarios II, passionalem I; psalterium I; antiphonarium I; canones volumen I; omiliarum Gregorii XL, volumen I.' as can be read in Devroey, *Le polyptyque*, p. 14. All requested books are there, except for the *baptisterium*. More on priests and the books they owned, see: Kohl, 'Local priests and their churches', p. 64.

¹⁰⁶ See M, f. 148^v where various people, like 'Gundolf de Perindorf' (Pörndorf) and 'Perahart de Hasalpah' (Haselbach) both paid their contributions. On tithes see also: Barrow, *Clergy in the Medieval world*, p. 321; Mériaux, *Prêtres et société*, p. 134.

¹⁰⁷ Theodulf I, c. 28, pp. 125-126: 'Hortamur vos paratos esse ad docendas plebes.'

Nonetheless, the question remains how can we be sure that M is not an episcopal pastoral handbook. To begin with, bishops frequently called their priests *consacerdotes* for a reason; as a local elite of important and learned figures the image invoked of priests in contemporary sources resembles very much that of a bishop, and both carried the same *ministerium*.¹⁰⁸ In order to fulfil their duties, bishops could very well have used content similar to that of our manuscript. Real evidence of M being used by a priest is difficult to obtain, because over the long period of time that the manuscript was used it could have been in the hands of many different people. However, due to the lack of material that is specifically meant for bishops, for instance texts containing information on the dedication of churches, we can argue that M was initially not created to serve as an episcopal handbook.¹⁰⁹ Additionally, there are a few indications that suggest that M could have been utilized specifically by a priest operating in a parish. On the folia 146^v-147 consecrations of iron and water were copied on a later date, in order to administer justice by divine judgement.¹¹⁰ One can imagine that tools such as these were more suitable in a distant rural parish, far away from any other forms of justice or people with the authority to judge. Finally, the inclusion of the episcopal capitularies in M also point directly towards parish priests, who were the primary addressees of these documents. While in the same period and region personal ‘house priests’ were a common aristocratic phenomenon and there were also priests who lived within the enclosed walls of a monastery, the *capitula episcoporum* were meant exclusively for priests outside the walls of the home and community of clergymen.¹¹¹

When comparing another manuscript with M, the nature of its user might become even more apparent. Wolfenbüttel, Cod. 91 Weiss., an episcopal reference work containing an exposition and sermon on the Lord’s Prayer that cannot be found in any other manuscript than

¹⁰⁸ On the term *consacerdotes*, see: Brommer, *Bischöflichen Kapitularien*, p. 14. For priests as a ‘local elite’: Patzold, ‘Bildung und Wissen’, pp. 378-379; Van Rhijn, ‘Manuscripts for local priests’, pp. 187-192. Contemporary images of priest and bishops as equals, see: Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 83-43.

¹⁰⁹ Rasmussen, ‘Célébration épiscopale et célébration presbytérale’, p. 586.

¹¹⁰ For more information on the *iudicium Dei* see the bibliography here: H.-J. Becker, ‘Gottesurteil’, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 10 vols. (Stuttgart: Metzler, [1977]-1999), vol. 4, cols 1594-1595.

¹¹¹ On the concept (*Eigenkirchen*) related to the development of aristocratic people having personal house priests: J. B. Metzler, ‘Eigenkirche, -wesen’, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 10 vols. (Stuttgart, 1999), vol. 3, col. 1705. For more literature, see: S. Patzold, ‘Den Raum der Diözese modellieren? Zum Eigenkirchen-Konzept und zu den Grenzen der potestas episcopalis im Karolingerreich’, in: P. Depreux, F. Bougard, R. Le Jan (eds.), *Les élites et leurs espaces. Mobilité, rayonnement, domination (du VIe au XIe siècle)*, Collection Haut Moyen Âge 5: pp. 225-245, there p. 228, n. 7. For cap. eps. meant exclusively for parish priests: Patzold, ‘Correctio an der Basis’, p. 234; idem, pp. 227-228.

M, has two noteworthy differences when studied in comparison with our manuscript.¹¹² The content included in Wolfenbüttel, cod. 91 Weiss. is much more extensive; it has a lot more complete texts on similar topics, the *expositio* and the sermon in M are basically just part of a much larger section of different clarifications on the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer.¹¹³ A wide range of content on the same subject is one of the characteristics that Keefe assigns to episcopal reference works, while brevity is a feature of the instruction-readers for priests.¹¹⁴ Short texts are preferred when their function is primarily educational, this is evident in our manuscript that contains a number of collections of excerpts, for example on baptism (ff. 84^v-85 and ff. 121^v-125^v). Together with texts that follow a question-and-answer structure, like another exposition on the *Pater Noster* (ff. 126^v-127) and on baptism (ff. 84^v-85), it was meant to give its user quick and easy access to the information he needed. This makes the image of a priest compiling his own handbook by choosing from more extensive manuscripts in a bishop's library, as suggested by Carine van Rhijn in her article on Carolingian priest's exams, quite plausible.¹¹⁵ Whether this is also the relation between Wolfenbüttel, Cod. 91. Weiss. and M is difficult to determine, perhaps further research will tell. Compared to a presumably episcopal reference work, M is relatively brief and short, and clearly compiled to assist in the education on religious matters and therefore suitable as a priest's handbook.

Besides the content of our manuscript matching the *Wissenskanon* and other information that could be useful for priests, the study of the appearance of a codex can produce additional evidence of it being a priest's handbook. With roughly the size of an A5 sheet of paper (226 x 154 mm), the codex is quite portable compared to a few manuscripts that Keefe identifies as bishops' reference works.¹¹⁶ The selected schoolbooks and bishops' pastoral manuals do not differ much in terms of measurements, which is probably insignificant, but M's size does support

¹¹² The concerning *expositio* and sermon: M, ff. 64-65; idem, ff. 65-66^v.

¹¹³ A summary of the content of Wolfenbüttel, Cod. 91 Weiss. can be found here: H. Butzmann, *Die Weissenburger Handschriften. - Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1964.* - (Kataloge der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel: Neue Reihe, Bd. 10), pp. 257-268. For brevity as a characteristic for priestly manuscripts: Rasmussen, 'Célébration épiscopale et célébration presbytérale', pp. 186-187.

¹¹⁴ Keefe, *Water and the word I*, p. 24; idem, pp. 27-28. On brevity see also Hen, 'Educating the Clergy', p. 55. Hen gives the example of the *de institutione clericorum* of Hrabanus Maurus, of which also a lot of shorter versions were made or excerpts were used, see: idem, p. 45.

¹¹⁵ Rhijn, 'Karolingische priesterexamens', p. 170.

¹¹⁶ A5-paper is 210 x 148 mm, see: 'Paper size' <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paper_size> [accessed may 21 2016]. For the sizes of the episcopal reference works: Keefe, *Water and the word I*, p. 28: Troyes, Bibl. Mun. 805 (250 x 200 mm), Freiburg, Univ. Bibl. 8 (305 x 265 mm) and Novara, Bibl. Arch. Stor. Dioc. E Capit. XXX (457 x 305 mm).

the idea that the manuscript was used on the go as a priest was fulfilling his daily tasks.¹¹⁷ The parchment seems to be of reasonable quality, though this is somewhat difficult to ascertain from just the monochrome scans that were used for this research. At least there are no holes in the pages, as can be found in other manuscripts, that scribes had to work around.¹¹⁸ Apparently it was not necessary to use parchment scraps to compile M. Even so, the appearance of our codex is modest. There are no illustrations or decorations, except for some sparse initials or words in capital letters to indicate the start of a new text.¹¹⁹ Rubrication does occur, but is above all functional, for instance to indicate authoritative statements or the beginning of texts.¹²⁰ While modesty does not have to be a characteristic of a priest's handbook, as explained before, it does not invalidate it either.¹²¹ The sporadic marginalia and corrections in the texts, yet, seem to suggest that it has not been used as a schoolbook, whereas it would have been suitable for education because of its brevity and structure, as established earlier. The fact that the manuscript largely lacks corrections supports this as well; only in a few instances texts have been read or studied to such a degree that the language has been corrected.¹²²

Everything combined, the manuscript's content that shows a resemblance with the hypothetical collection of knowledge in the *Wissenskanon*, the additional material that supports the standard as found in the *capitula episcoporum*, its clear educational and referential purpose which can be identified from its brevity and structure, and finally the codex's plain appearance that might dismiss its use as a schoolbook, makes it safe to allow that in all probability M was compiled and used as a priest's handbook. The fact that the content such as the lists of (possible) tithe payments and *lectiones* is really 'additional', which means that they were added in a later 9th-century hand than the initial content, supports M's further use as a priestly instruction-reader. Having established an idea of its purpose and usage, it is time to look behind the text and try to get a glimpse of the compiler's mind.

¹¹⁷ External characteristics being used as additional evidence, see: Rasmussen, 'Célébration épiscopale et célébration presbytérale', p. 187.

¹¹⁸ For example, see: St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 40 part III, pp. 306, 334 and 338.

¹¹⁹ On M, f. 64 'INCIPIT EXPOSITIO DE ORATIONE DOMINI PATER NOSTER' is written in all capital letters to indicate the beginning of this text. A similar example is f. 128^v, which reads 'INCIPIUNT CAPITULUM CANONUM'. On ff. 67 and 71 initials can be spotted.

¹²⁰ See amongst other pages: M, ff. 75^{r-v} and 92^{r-v}.

¹²¹ Hen, 'The Knowledge of Canon Law', pp. 128-129.

¹²² The cap. eps. of Theodulf is the only text that does contain some corrections, see: M, ff. 106-118.

IV. Inside the compiler's mind

No two instruction-readers seem to contain identical content, which means that the compiler of a manuscript, be it the priest who intended to use it himself or a bishop who gave the codex to a newly ordained shepherd of souls, made conscious decisions on what to include and what to omit from texts that were copied.¹²³ As explained in the second chapter as well, because of this a priest's handbook can function as a window on the early medieval community in which it was used, when applying social logic to analyse its content and the selection process embodied in the material. Considering that the scribes who initially compiled M are identified as having 'Reims-ähnliche Hände',¹²⁴ we can assume that our manuscript provides us with a snapshot of a 9th-century parish located in the region around Reims, since it is produced by scribes from that specific region. A snapshot in this sense means an image of what the compiler thought was needed at the time for a priest to take care of the faithful. It enables us to see what conscious choices an anonymous clergyman living in the second half of the 9th century made, based on his knowledge or experience with the community, to compile a manuscript with suitable content to eventually be used in a parish.¹²⁵ The exact location of the place where the manuscript was initially made, may it be a parish in north-eastern France or in southern Germany, is of marginal significance; fortunately, the manuscript itself provides us with ready clues with which to take a look at a hitherto rather invisible community.¹²⁶ However, considering the availability of helpful source material, such as an edited 9th-century polyptyque of the abbey of Saint-Remi, we will interpret our source as written in the upper part of France.

In the following paragraphs we will try to delve into this specific image of the community. First by providing an overview of the manuscript's content as a whole, arranged according to subject or form. This endeavour primarily means to examine the manuscript's surface and determine possible ways in which it could have been of use. Subsequently, we will

¹²³ Van Rhijn, 'Manuscripts for local priests', p. 180-181. On priests compiling their own handbooks: Van Rhijn, 'Karolingische priesterexamens', p. 170. For bishop producing instruction-readers see Van Rhijn, 'Manuscripts for local priests', p. 183.

¹²⁴ H. Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich. Die Collectio Vetus Gallica die älteste systematische Kanonensammlung des fränkischen Gallien* (Berlin, 1975), p. 339.

¹²⁵ Keefe calls this editing, the '[...] careful consideration of text and its appropriateness, the adding and exchanging of other sources, and the rewriting of the order of topics', the actual implementation of the Carolingian reforms. See, Keefe, *Water and the word* I, pp. 70-79, there: p. 79.

¹²⁶ See for more details on the possible travels of M *appendix I. History of the ms.: appendix I, Marks of former owners*.

delve deeper into M by examining one specific text, namely the systematic compilation of the Coll. Sang.. The reason behind this particular selection is that the text provides us with an excellent perspective on the community the manuscript was used in. The excerpt of the Coll. Sang. serves as a means to investigate the choices made by the scribe of our manuscript, by retracing the selection process he carried out by comparing our text with the more ‘complete’ version of the collection. Because the excerpt of the canon law collection in M is unique we can assume that by doing this we will be able to reconstruct something of the image of the 9th-century medieval community that influenced his decisions.¹²⁷ The image of the community will be further explored below.

a. The *Collectio Sangermanensis*

In his episcopal capitularies, Walcaud reminded his priests that they ‘should not be unaware of their canons’, since the texts contained important information.¹²⁸ Not only because it provided the clergy with a system in which they found guidelines to live by and a means to obtain justice if they were wronged by anyone, but also since canon law was used by bishops as part of the Carolingian reforms to promote ‘ecclesiastical discipline, doctrine and conduct.’¹²⁹ The significance of canon law becomes apparent when examining the wide variety of collections that can be found in medieval manuscripts.¹³⁰ Compilations of canon law were copied, rearranged and adjusted in order to fit the needs of its users. The collection of canon law labelled as the Coll. Sang. included in M is a stripped-down copy of the complete version that can be found in Paris, BN lat. 12444. Below, the excerpt of the Coll. Sang. will be analysed, by comparing it with the edition made by the German historian Michael Stadelmaier, which is based on the manuscript from Paris.¹³¹ The selections made by the compiler of M then become apparent and from there we are able to use social logic to interpret the various choices that were made within the context of the Coll. Sang., the manuscript itself and a wider historical and social context as

¹²⁷ On M having a differing selection: Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, p. 13, n. 8.

¹²⁸ Walcaud, c. 12, p. 47: ‘Ut nullus presbiter suos ignoret canones.’ See also: Corbeiensia, c. 4, p. 12. Yitzhak Hen demonstrates that local priests around the year 800 actually know their canon law in this article: Hen, ‘The Knowledge of Canon Law’, pp. 117-134.

¹²⁹ Idem, p. 117.

¹³⁰ Idem, p. 119.

¹³¹ Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, p. 3: ‘Gegenstand dieser Untersuchung ist die Kanonensammlung der Handschrift von Saint-Germain (Codex Sangermanensis 938, heute als Codex Parisinus Latinus 12444 in der Pariser Nationalbibliothek), eine ungewöhnliche systematische Kompilation des Frühmittelalters, deren verschiedenartige kirchenrechtliche und liturgische Texte in 21 Titel eingeteilt sind.’

formulated in the first chapter, of which the communities described in the polyptyque of the abbey of Saint Remi are the prime example. Before we start, let us first look at the Coll. Sang. as a whole, by examining its history and possible use.

During the most recent centuries multiple collections of canon law have been labelled as a ‘*Collectio Sangermanensis*’, a collection of texts from the monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. In light of this, Stadelmaier added ‘XXI titulorum’ to this specific collection, referring to its distinctive division with twenty-one different headings, all containing systematically ordered information on a certain subject.¹³² The compilation as such was identified for the first time during the 17th century as a diverse collection of canon law; two centuries later it was described as ‘an important systematic collection of canons originating from Gaul.’¹³³ Until that time, however, the Coll. Sang. had not been considered a compilation worthy of academic research. During the early decades of the 20th century scholars became interested in various sections, which they deemed to be of Irish origin, because of its resemblance of the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis* and the *Collectio Vetus Gallica*.¹³⁴ The aforementioned Stadelmaier presented an edition in his dissertation in 2003, by which he hopes to increase the historic knowledge regarding the early medieval development of canon law, as well as medieval scholarship and education.¹³⁵

The origin of the collection must be dated before that of Paris, BN lat. 12444, namely in the second half of the 8th century, even though it is the only manuscript that contains a complete version of the compilation. Stadelmaier based his approach on the collection and the topics it addresses, which display the return to the norms of the early church and other matters that were heavily debated around that period. For example, the considerable attention paid to the grade of bishop corresponds with the reforms that were asked for in the same period.¹³⁶ The Paris manuscript has been created around the turn of the 8th century in the scriptorium of the monastery of Fleury, as can be determined from its palaeographical and external traits.¹³⁷ Bernard Bischoff concluded, by analysing the sources that were used to create the original compilation, that the collection as a whole was probably initially conceived at the monastery of

¹³² Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, p. 3.

¹³³ Idem, p. 4.

¹³⁴ Idem, pp. 5-9; Reynolds, ‘The organization, law and liturgy’, p. 616. There are visible connections with other collections of canon law, see: Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, pp. 15-18.

¹³⁵ Idem, p. 9.

¹³⁶ Idem, pp. 24-26.

¹³⁷ Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, pp. 71-72.

Corbie.¹³⁸ The abundance of sources used is visible in the various ways the author quotes the same councils.¹³⁹ Additionally, the rare florilegia incorporated into the collection were only available at a renowned monastery like Corbie, their presence thus supporting this claim.¹⁴⁰ Yet, Stadelmaier does have some doubts concerning this statement, because the compilation is focused primarily on subjects related to bishops and their secular clergy, while the author, who most likely was a member of the clergy himself, did not receive much monastic interest. According to Stadelmaier its creation within the walls of Corbie is therefore rather unlikely.¹⁴¹ The nature of the collection was clearly didactic, as is evident from the classification of the content by subject and the structure in which every new chapter starts with a few introductory questions and answers.¹⁴² Since the numbering of the quotations was added by a second hand of a later date, it is likely that it was used only by clergymen who knew the collection well.¹⁴³ The Coll. Sang. can be found in eight different manuscripts, including M and Paris, BN lat. 12444, created primarily during the 9th century, but extending well into the 11th century.¹⁴⁴ Its relative small tradition of manuscripts can be attributed in the first place to the competition of other canon law collections.

The complete Coll. Sang. includes twenty-one chapters on various subjects, ranging from the clerical offices, to sacraments and martyrs. Together the chapters contain 351 sections headed by a small title describing the content, which consists of one or more quotes from authoritative sources such as synods, councils, and biblical or patristic material. Reforming the

¹³⁸ Idem, pp. 69-70. The sources that were used were indeed available at Corbie: H. Siems, 'Die Collectio Sangermanensis XII titulorum - Kanonessammlung oder Unterrichtswerk?', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 65 (2009), p. 2.

¹³⁹ Idem, pp. 12-13.

¹⁴⁰ Idem, p. 11. The lack of identification by titles suggests that florilegia were used, which can be easily observed on M, f. 96 line 15-23. There, a raised capital indicates a new quotation, as the scribe generally uses, and multiple sentences are pieced together to form one small paragraph on the prophet Isaiih's comment on sinners: Line 15-17: 'Murmurare in flagelis...corripitur emendatur.' Isidore, *Sententiae* III, ch. IV, PL 83, col.0659B-col.0659C; line 17-19: 'Tribus ex causis...imperantiae passionis.' Idem, ch. III, PL 83, col.0658c-col.0659a; line 19-23: 'Discat non murmurare...iudicantis accusat.' Idem, ch. IV, PL 83, col.0659C-col.0660A. The second quote disrupts a text by Isidore on how God's punishments are always just, by way of adding information on how illness can be caused by sin and interrupting mid-sentence. Such a complex and invisible insertion probably was not done by the scribe himself, without him using any signs to mark this. Therefore, it is likely that he used a florilegium. Stadelmaier comes to the same conclusion: Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, pp. 41-49.

¹⁴¹ Idem, p. 35; idem, pp. 71-72. See also: 'Die Collectio Sangermanensis', p. 8.

¹⁴² Keefe, *Water and the word* II, p. 139; Siems, 'Die Collectio Sangermanensis', p. 2 and p. 16; Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, pp. 17-18.

¹⁴³ Siems, 'Die Collectio Sangermanensis', p. 10.

¹⁴⁴ For and overview of all the manuscripts of the Coll. Sang, see: Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, pp. 86-104.

secular clergy as a whole by educating them on their own ecclesiastical grade and other matters related to the Christian doctrine seems to be the primary goal of the collection, since every office has its own chapter including that of the bishop.¹⁴⁵ This in turn corresponds with the renewed emphasis on the norms of the early church during the second half of the 8th century, in which equality between its various members was valued, explaining the attention for bishops and priests as colleagues.¹⁴⁶ Additionally, the collection pays considerable attention to the election process of bishops, which was an urgent issue in the same period as well.¹⁴⁷ Within this context of reform and looking back to the early church, by selecting primarily material from those early periods, the Coll. Sang. should be interpreted.

b. New structure

The version included in our manuscript differs from the other codices, as stated before. Compared especially to the Paris manuscript, it is a highly selective and rearranged edition of the Coll. Sang..¹⁴⁸ Below, the choices made by the compiler of the text in M, in the form of omissions, rearrangements and additions, will be retraced to see whether they can provide us with any information on the community that this version of the collection was supposed to be used in.¹⁴⁹

Selecting texts from a compilation as extensive as the Coll. Sang. for a priest's handbook, one can imagine that only those that would have been of direct use were included, because of the limited space that was available. The compiler of our manuscript clearly had a similar goal, when he dismissed two-thirds of the collection and only selected seven of the twenty-one chapters. In *appendix II* an overview of the selections is available, which will be primarily used as point of reference. At a first glance it is evident that the chapters that the compiler chose, see also the second column of the appendix, were primarily concerned with subjects that are directly tied to the daily tasks of a local priest, for example 'Mass and feast dates', 'penitentials and penance'

¹⁴⁵ Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, p. 24.

¹⁴⁶ Idem, pp. 24-26.

¹⁴⁷ See for an example of attention for the episcopal election process: Idem, Coll. Sang., I,34-35, p. 142.

¹⁴⁸ Idem, p. 13, n. 8: 'In Cod. München 14508 sind die Kanones in ganz anderer Reihenfolge angeordnet als in Cod. Par. Lat. 12444.'

¹⁴⁹ How omission and addition of details can change the meaning of a text, see an article by Rob Meens as an example: Meens, 'Religious instruction', pp. 51-67, there pp. 61-63. See also: Paxton, 'Bonus Liber', p. 23.

and ‘sinners, sin and guilt’.¹⁵⁰ The canon law that was selected provided a body of rules and guidelines for a priest to live by and execute his office, hence the inclusion of chapters on ‘priests’ and on their sole supervisors the ‘bishops’, elaborating on the way both offices relate to each other. Similarly, as administrator of the local church the chapter on ‘churches and baptism’ was probably quite useful as well, just as a miscellaneous part on ‘marriage and other things’. Evidently, the chapters that were excluded are more difficult to relate to a parish priest’s job description. For this reason, the clerical offices other than bishop and priest have been omitted, which included six chapters from the ‘deacons’ to the ‘acolytes, psalmists and cantors’, and even a chapter on ‘clergy in general’. As a local priest, the owner of M was unlikely to be surrounded by other clergy, there were perhaps only a few other clergymen in the near surroundings, so canon law concerning other ecclesiastical offices would only use up precious parchment in the manuscript.¹⁵¹ Other chapters that relate to groups of people have been omitted as well, for instance those on ‘monks’, ‘widows’ and objects related to Mass such the ‘Mass offering’ and ‘vestments’. Apparently the content in these parts was not relevant enough to be copied, for which the most obvious explanations would be that even the nearest monastery was still too far away to have regular contact with, widows were not a prominent group in the community and that the priest had another manuscript that provided him with the information on the eucharist and the required objects for the celebration of Mass.¹⁵² Now, we can reasonably argue that by looking at the selection of chapters a few remarks on the community behind M can be made, yet only to a fairly superficial degree. Therefore, let us examine the chapters that have been copied into our manuscript even further, by looking at every selected part individually.

On a side note, it must be said that besides omitting various chapters, the compiler also rearranged them, as can be observed in the first column of *appendix II*. The compiler put a lot of effort into selecting the exact chapters and sections he needed. Additionally, as will become clear below, the chapters have been internally modified as well. However, the reasoning behind the new ordering is difficult to get hold of, since related chapters do not appear after one another; for instance, XX on ‘penitentials and penance’ is located at the beginning, while XIX on ‘sinners, sin and guilt’ is located almost at the end. Together with the fact that chapter XX is actually split

¹⁵⁰ The names of the chapters are characterizations given by Stadelmaier, see: Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, p. 14.

¹⁵¹ See note 37 of the introduction on the varying living situations of priests.

¹⁵² As he was required to have, see note 68.

up in two sections, this probably did not improve the accessibility of the collection. The same goes for XII on ‘churches and baptism’ and XVI on ‘Mass and feast dates’, both relating to sacraments but nevertheless divided by two sections on the priest and bishop. What is more, the original ordering almost consistently placed related chapters in an understandable sequence. Chapter I-IX concern the different ecclesiastical offices and clergy in general, X-XI are dedicated to monastic life in the form of monks and nuns, XII-XVI contain canon law regarding the sacraments, and, finally, XIX and XXI relate to sin and penance. XVII-XVIII do not seem to be related to any theme and are more or less the odd ones out, but the collection is ordered as expected from an extensive compilation that had to be browsed in order to find information. At this point, we will leave this subject and return to the ordering within the Coll. Sang. in M at a later time, to examine the internal sequence of chapter I and XIX.

By switching our focus from the chapters of the collection to the sections within, it is evident that in our manuscript the individual parts of the Coll. Sang. are edited heavily, through omission, addition and rearrangement. In the third column of *appendix II*, the available sections in a chapter and the number that were actually copied into M are displayed next to each other. As can be seen the compiler was interested in almost all content from the original chapter XX (41/37), he omitted just four of the forty-one sections. The sections that have been removed concern 1 to 3 and 14. On the other hand, chapter XII (22/3) in our manuscript contains only three of the twenty-two sections that can be found in Paris, BN lat. 12444, namely 10, 11 and 18. In the fourth column of *appendix II* the included sections are displayed, in the case of chapter I and XIX even showing rearrangement. For this exercise, it would go too far to examine every chapter and section in detail, wherefore in the following we will look primarily at chapter II on ‘priests’ in detail, after which - with social logic in the back of our minds - a few carefully argued observations can be made on who supposedly used M and in which way. After that the procedure will be reversed; first the commentary will be given supported by evidence from the selections that have been made by our compiler. This will result in a sketch of first our manuscript’s user and in the second place of the community in which the priest’s handbook was utilized.

After the rearrangement of the chapters and sections of the Coll. Sang. has been mapped, the new sequence in our manuscript has to be addressed, since the purpose behind the restructuring is

rather unclear. The complete version of the collection starts with chapter I on bishops, of which the first section is an exposition on the terms ‘canon’, ‘regula’ and ‘concilium’, and is basically explaining itself to the reader.¹⁵³ This seems to be a useful introduction, which adds authoritative weight to the rest of the collection’s content that follows. In our manuscript this explanation is still there, but as can be observed in *appendix II* it only surfaces around half-way into the text and instead the new compilation starts with chapter XX on penitentials and penance. The listing continues with chapter XII on churches and baptism and chapter II on priests; where all three parts were previously well separated by multiple chapters, now they succeed each other in a reversed sequence. This could be a conscious choice: if our compiler was primarily interested in the chapters relating to penance, he probably would put this first so the content would be easily accessible. Yet, the first chapter in the sequence is XX, while the last is XIX concerning material related to penance as well, which is rather inconvenient and strange. Chapters addressing similar topics have not been paired, for instance the parts on the sacraments are interrupted by chapters on the ecclesiastical office and external material suitable for preaching.

Comparable with the observation made above is the internal rearrangement of the sections within the chapters I and XIX. For the first chapter the explanatory sections (I,1-4) on canons and bishops in general have been placed after information on the involvement of clergy in legal matters (I,49-51).¹⁵⁴ This seems to be odd, because why not explain what *canones* in fact are to first increase the reader’s understanding of the actual canon law that follows? Equally strange is the restructuring of chapter XIX. The first segment concerns sexual sins of adultery and incest (XIX,14-15), after continuing with information on swearing and perjury (XIX,16-19). Then, there is a segment containing expositions on ‘the sinner’, ‘punishment’ and ‘crime’ (XIX,1-3), followed by four sections on the communal sins of theft and murder (XIX,4-6 and 8), and then another segment on the sexual sin (9-13) of adultery.¹⁵⁵ The *expositiones* that one would expect at the start of the chapter have been placed in the middle of the sequence, which starts and ends with sections both addressing sexual sins. Consequently, the new compilation seems to be fairly inaccessible except for someone who was already familiar with the way it was structured. Perhaps this is an indication that the compiler and the user were the same person, who apparently had his own particular way of arranging information.

¹⁵³ Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, p. 121-125.

¹⁵⁴ M, ff. 88^v-91. Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, pp. 121-125; idem, pp. 150-152.

¹⁵⁵ M, ff. 101-103^v. Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, pp. 296-306

As established before, the content included in this version of the Coll. Sang. can all be put under the umbrella of ‘useful material for local priests’. The only way in which an arrangement of the compilation as found in M would make sense, is if the compiler knew what was required, for instance information on penance, baptism and the offices of the priest and bishop, yet along the way encountered multiple chapters and sections that might be convenient as well and included them while he browsed the complete collection. Perhaps this could be illustrated by the modern-day example of going to an unfamiliar supermarket while being hungry. Allowing that an empty stomach likely trumps logic, chances are that once back home more items have been bought than there were on the initial list. Additionally, because the store is unknown this could very likely lead to wandering the aisles and repeatedly passing the same shelf to pick up similar items, however inefficient this may be. If the compiler’s editorial behaviour followed a similar route it would explain the strange rearrangement of merely adding more and more sections that appeared useful, with no purpose behind the sequence of chapters and sections. Be that as it may, it would be in stark contrast with the elaborate and sophisticated selection process that will be displayed on the pages below.

The substantial rearrangement and selection of chapters and sections leaves us with a question, namely: is the text that we are looking at still the Coll. Sang.? In Stadelmaier’s view, this is the case, since the text in M is one of the manuscripts that was used to compile his edition. Yet, in the stemma that he drew up, our text is closer to the archetype of the collection than Paris, BN lat. 12444, the main manuscript for the edition, that is.¹⁵⁶ The Paris manuscript is preceded by three other versions of the Coll. Sang., which makes it hard to believe that this late 8th-century codex represents the original collection just because it is the most ‘complete’ one, and that earlier shorter versions are just deviations from the original. Because we have yet to find the archetype and, therefore, no manuscript contains that which was the original Coll. Sang., it is important to remember that the text in M was not meant to function as a lesser version of a more complete one, but that it was what the compiler of our manuscript needed at that time. It was a new text compiled by using what we nowadays call the Coll. Sang, created with its own purpose and to assist the user in the situations he encountered.

¹⁵⁶ Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, p. 111.

Before we continue with our analysis of the Coll. Sang., we first need to attend to two separate issues. First there is the matter of the manuscript's 'user' and 'compiler'. Throughout, various terms have been used to refer to the rural clergyman who actually used the manuscript in his parish, hence the term 'user' and 'parish' or 'local priest'. While it is perfectly possible that the person who used M also made the codex, they do not have to be one and the same.¹⁵⁷ Priests could also receive their handbooks after ordination as a gift from their bishop, who then had the opportunity to provide them with the exact information he wanted them to use. Furthermore, unbeknownst to us multiple people could have used M in a short period of time. Because of this gap in our knowledge, which can sadly not be bridged by using palaeographic methods to identify which hand worked on which text - my skills are not sufficient in that regard, when referring exclusively to the person (or persons) who copied and arranged the texts, the words 'compiler' or 'scribe' are used.¹⁵⁸ When we read the term 'user', it refers in the first place to the initial priestly user that the compiler had in mind while composing M. The individual who compiled and eventually copied the excerpt of the Coll. Sang. into M had to have a profound knowledge of this community living there, so he could determine exactly which sections were relevant and which were not. Therefore, it would make sense if the local priest and the scribe were one and the same person, especially with regard to the more elaborate editorial work. Yet, because we cannot prove this possibility the terms 'user' and 'compiler' will be used separately to clearly distinguish who is referred to. This means that we should be careful when connecting editorial choices made by the compiler to a real parish in northern France, because they might be farther removed from each other than we know.

Secondly, alongside the excerpt of the Coll. Sang. there is another collection of canon law incorporated into M, namely the Coll. 53. Comparing both compilations should enable us to see how they differ in structure and content, hence increasing our understanding of the purpose of the Coll. Sang. in our manuscript. The Coll. 53 is a collection of canon law from the first half of the 9th century, compiled somewhere in present-day France.¹⁵⁹ The compilation of canon law derives its name from the division in fifty-three different titles without any specific ordering.

¹⁵⁷ See note 115 on priests compiling their own mss..

¹⁵⁸ As can be seen in *appendix I*, 'Description of the ms., Script' the exact number of hands has not been determined by experts yet and has been established as 'multiple'.

¹⁵⁹ For additional literature on the Coll. 53., see: L. Kéry, *Canonical collections of the early Middle Ages (ca. 400-1140): a bibliographical guide to the manuscripts and literature* (1999), p. 167. The compilation can be found in two other mss.: St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 679 (s. IX), pp. 152-217 and Vendôme, Bibliothèque municipale, 55 (S. XI), 42-51^v.

According to the French historian Gabriel Le Bras it results from the Carolingian reforms, drawing heavily on the earlier *Collectio Dyionysio-Hadriana*.¹⁶⁰ Similar to the Coll. Sang., the purpose of Coll. 53 was to educate clergy, for instance on the hierarchy of the ecclesiastical offices of the metropolitan and the chorepiscopus; rules for clergymen, who should not commit usury or ignore their canons; and guidelines on how to deal with adulterers and people who do not participate in ecclesiastical fasts.¹⁶¹ The information contained in both collections seems to be comparable, however, whereas the content in Coll. 53 is much less elaborate and solely consists of canon law, the Coll. Sang. also incorporates citations from biblical and patristic sources. Furthermore, in stark contrast to the latter the Coll. 53 is preceded by a register displaying all the incorporated subjects to increase the accessibility. This could perhaps characterize the relation between the compact and focused Coll. 53 and the lengthy and elaborate Coll. Sang.. In this case the former is usable as a handbook text and the latter functions more as a reference work that provides additional information when there is more time at hand, which is very similar to the relation between the first episcopal capitularies of Gerbald and Theodulf as mentioned before.

c. On priests

In addition to the evidence related to the content in M and its external characteristics, the selections made by the compiler of our manuscript in editing the Coll. Sang. show that it was meant to be used by a local priest. The second chapter on priests contains thirty-six sections of which only sixteen have been copied into M in an irregular sequence. Apparently there were criteria that the compiler maintained, which made him include or omit certain sections. When looking at the headings that were left out, it becomes clear that they share some relation to episcopal policy that did concern priests, but was not theirs to implement. For example, II,8 discusses the deposition on bishops, priests and deacons when committing acts of gluttony or drunkenness and II,15 defines what should be done when a priest has been ordained but illegitimately baptized: he should not be allowed to become a priest.¹⁶² These actions were

¹⁶⁰ G. le Bras, 'Manuscrit vendômois du 'Quadripartitus'', *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 11 (1931), pp. 268-269.

¹⁶¹ In order of occurrence: VIII on the metropolitan, M, ff. 132^{r-v}; IX on the chorepiscopus (archpriest), M, f.132^v; V on usury, M, f. 131^v; XLIV on not ignoring *canones*, M, ff. 142^v-143; XXXIX on adulterers, M, f. 141^v; XL ecclesiastical fasts, M, f. 142.

¹⁶² Respectively: Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, p. 171: 'CANON APOSTOLORUM CAPITULO XXXVIII: Episcopus, presbiter aut diaconus gule atque ebrietate deserviens aut desinat aut certe damnetur.'; idem, p. 174: 'ITEM NICEO HERA I: Si quis invalidudine baptizatus fuerit, ad presbiterii dignitatem non potest venire.'

obviously not for a priest to take, otherwise priests would be able to depose their fellow shepherds of souls. Similar omissions on the basis of sections that are related to episcopal policy are II,22-24, on the differences between the office of priest and deacon, what they were allowed to do and how each should be punished if they committed fornication.¹⁶³ Comparable is II,18 on priests who confess severe sins just before or after their ordination; II,19 on priests that are ordained without being questioned first; II,26 on ordination without the local lord's and bishop's knowledge; II,27 on wandering clergy; II,29 on unruly priests erecting their own altars and administering sacraments; and finally II,32 on how a priest should act and be treated after committing a sin.¹⁶⁴ All these sections are exclusively applicable to the ordination and management of clergy, which was a task of the episcopal office, and have subsequently been omitted.

To continue, along with the exclusion of whole sections, the compiler also edited individual parts to increase its relevance and brevity, as we will touch upon later. This can be seen in II,16, where line 1 to 9 have been omitted, concerning various reasons why clergy could not be ordained, for example for having a wife (*matronam*) or a mistress (*concubinam*). The last fragment of the section, though, did end up in the manuscript. It contains information on the consequences for a clergyman in the case of having two wives, which was not allowed in the first place, but also would taint the honour of priesthood as a whole, as nobody should be ignorant of the commands.¹⁶⁵ The noticeable difference here is that the lines the compiler did not copy relate to individual cases, while the last fragment is evidently meant as a reminder to all priests who were stretching the rules to their own liking.

The compiler continued on a similar note when choosing the sections to copy from chapter II on priests. These naturally refer to priests and their conduct, however, not on the same level as the regulations that have been omitted, but more in correspondence with the idea behind the adjustment made to section II,16. Sections that can be found in M are, for instance, II,1 including an exposition on the terms *sacerdos* and *presbiter*; II,2 on the ordination of a priest; II,3 an explanation on the role of sacrifice within Christianity and the church; II,4 authoritative

¹⁶³ Idem, pp. 177-178.

¹⁶⁴ Idem, pp. 176-184.

¹⁶⁵ Line 1-9 are omitted, see Idem, p. 175: 'Maritum duarum post baptismum matronarum clericum non ordinandum neque eum, qui unam quidem non matronam, sec concubinam habuit [...].' Line 10-14 are included, see M, f. 87: 'Eos qui duas acceperunt uxores non solum clericos effecit agnoui, uerum etiam usque summi sacerdotii peruenisse honorem quod contra legis esse precepta nullus ignorat.' Interestingly in the cap. eps. of Radulf of Bourges this was forbidden: MGH, Cap. eps. I, p. 248.

statements on how priests should function within a community; and II,5 on the age at which priests could be ordained.¹⁶⁶ Although it is true that II,2 and II,5 contain information that dictates the course of action a bishop should take, he should after all correctly ordain a priest at the right age, however, every priest is actively involved in what these sections describe. Every priest should be at least thirty when he obtains his office and every priest should take part in the collective ritual for the ordination of new priests.¹⁶⁷ Contrary to the omitted information in the same chapter, these sections relate to priesthood in general or situations that they all would encounter someday. In a similar way do the other included sections involve priests and their conduct as well, such as II,16 on transgressions that are against canon law; II,17 on the deposition of priests that have been made aware of their sins (probably the misconducts mentioned in II,16); II,20 on receiving profits from usury; II,21 on the hierarchy of the clergy from towns and their rural counterparts while celebrating Mass; II,25 priests should not forget their canons; and to end, II, 31 on who can and cannot live with a priest.¹⁶⁸ These sections relate to priests in general and situations that they were all likely to encounter, and hence provided them with adequate regulations to live by and guide their actions.

A similar method can be observed in other chapters, where the compiler selected the information that he thought was useful for priests. For instance, in chapter I on bishops, where only seven of the sixty-six sections are incorporated. These sections are not solely related to bishops, they do concern priests as well, mostly as part of the three highest ecclesiastical offices together with the deacon. I,49-51 are examples of this, and relate to the position of clergymen in the event of legal accusations and how clergy that are convicted of a crime should be dealt with.¹⁶⁹ The remaining sections from chapter I (I,1-4) are expositions on important terms like ‘canon’, ‘regula’, ‘concilium’, ‘synodus’ and the ‘episcopus’ itself. All these sections concern knowledge that a priest should have had if he was to understand his canon law correctly.¹⁷⁰ Subsequently, in chapters outside the one solely dedicated to the highest ecclesiastical grade there are sections related to tasks that were exclusively meant for bishops, such as the dedication

¹⁶⁶ Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, pp. 163-170.

¹⁶⁷ Idem, p. 170: II,5 ‘Presbiter ante annorum XXX aetatis sue non ordinetur, quamvis sit probabilis vite. [...]’ and idem, p. 165: II,2 ‘Presbiter cum ordinatur episcopo eum benedicente et manum super caput eius tenente et iam omnes presbiteri manus suas iuxta manus episcopi super caput illius teneant.’

¹⁶⁸ Respectively: Idem, p. 175-183. II,25 and II,31 very similar to information that can also be found in the cap. eps., for instance: Waltaud, c.12 and Gerbald III, c.1.

¹⁶⁹ Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, pp. 150-152.

¹⁷⁰ Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, pp. 121-125.

of churches (XVI,17 and 20), and to episcopal conduct in general, like the deposition of clergy that were baptized for a second time (XII,14), have been omitted as well.¹⁷¹

In the above, the selection process by the compiler of M might seem to be very obvious; he omitted everything that reeked of bishop policy and copied only those sections relevant for priests in general. Though, as can be expected, this is not always as clear as that. Some sections that have been selected seem to concern obvious policy for bishops. For example, section II,33 on clerics who are engaged in a conflict with another clerical party do not consult the bishop or the episcopal council first, but instantly turn to the secular authorities and should therefore be subjected to canonical correction.¹⁷² Equally fitting sections containing episcopal guidelines for clerical management are II,34-35, on the punishments that priests could receive for committing adultery, theft, forgery or perjury while under oath.¹⁷³ At first sight these three sections seem to relate exclusively to episcopal policy, such as mediation between clashing clerics or disciplining sinful priest, however, when these sections are interpreted within the context of our local priest and his parish they could become relevant as well. For instance, a parish priest might get into conflict with his neighbouring colleague on whether or not to collect tithes in an area, since the borders of parishes were not clearly defined.¹⁷⁴ Sections on penalties could increase the appreciation of episcopal correction that followed upon transgressions, which might work as a deterrent. Concerning the authorship of M, this seems to suggest that the compiler and the user were two different individuals. A priest including pre-emptive warnings for himself in his own manuscripts seems to be unlikely.

Dissecting the second chapter of the Coll. Sang. in our manuscript provides us with some information on its initial user. Apparently he was a priest, who did not have much use for episcopal policy and rules of conduct. He was aware of the consequences that his missteps could

¹⁷¹ Idem, pp. 287-288. Taken from the chapters XVI on 'Mass and ecclesiastical celebrations' and XII on 'Church buildings and baptism'.

¹⁷² M, f. 88^{r-v}: 'Si quis clericus aduersus clericum habet negotium, non deserat episcopum proprium et ad secularia concurrat iudicia, sed prius actio ventiletur apud episcopum proprium vel certe consilio eiusdem episcopi, apud utrasque partes si voluerit, iudicio continebunt. Si quis presbiter haec fecerit, canonicis correptionibus subiacebut.'

¹⁷³ M, f. 88^v: II,34: 'Presbiter qui uxorem duxerit ab ordine deponatur. Quodsi fornicatur fuerit aut adulterium commiserit, ab ecclesia abiciatur, ad penitentiam uero inter laicos redi oportet.' And II,35: 'Si quis adulterauit et confessus fuerit uel conuictus, depositus ab officio comunione concessa in monasterio toto uitae suae tempore retrudatur. Si quis clericus furtum aut falsitatem commiserit, que capitalia et ipsa sunt crimina, comunione concessa ab ordine degradetur. Si quis clericus in causis, qui sub iure iurande sunt ac finiende prebuerit iuramenta et periurauerit, biennio excommunicetur.'

¹⁷⁴ See the Introduction note 7 on the term 'parish'. For more general information, also on the development of borders: J. B. Metzler, 'Pfarrei, Pfarrorganisation', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 10 vols (Stuttgart: Metzler, [1977]-1999), vol. 6, cols 2021-2026.

have and knew that his bishop wanted to be consulted first in the case of a conflict. The selections made by the compiler provide the beginning of an outline, portraying the 9th-century priestly user of our manuscripts by using social logic and interpreting the editorial behaviour within a historical context. In the following chapter, the sketch of our manuscript's user will be completed and, thereafter, we will continue with the examination of the early medieval community in which it was used.

d. The user and his manuscript

Creating a manuscript was expensive, especially because of the use of parchment. It was therefore crucial to fit as much relevant information as possible on the folia of a priest's handbook, while maintaining an intelligible layout. Trimming of 'excess fat', any superfluous texts, was a necessary task that required the compiler to be able to read and understand the content that had to be copied and to know what would be useful information for the user in question. That our compiler had the intention of including only important content in M and thus preferred brevity over completeness is rather evident and can be observed in many instances and various forms. A simple way of reducing the size of a text without changing too much of its meaning, is to omit all the illustrative passages. For instance, in the first chapter of the Coll. Sang. where in section I,49 a large part is omitted, containing a quote from the bishop Maxulitanus of Numidius expatiating on the rule that those who are entangled in criminal charges themselves cannot accuse clergy of anything.¹⁷⁵ Another example can be found in II,31, where two supporting quotes, in the sizeable amount of forty-three lines, on the prohibition of living with women except of a 'true sister' (*sororem veram*) by bishops Veranus and Innocentius are excluded.¹⁷⁶ Similarly, in II,36 various citations from authoritative sources have been omitted.¹⁷⁷ Beyond not including quotes that enhance the weight of the canonical rule to increase the brevity of the collection, the compiler edited individual sentences as well. In II,2 he excluded

¹⁷⁵ M, f. 89: 'Ut qui criminibus implicati sunt sacerdotes uel clericos non accusent.' For missing quotes from the Numidian bishop, see Sta, p. 151: 'Numidius episcopus Maxulitanis dixit: 'Praeterea sunt quam plurimi non bone conversationes, que existimant maiorem natu vel episcopus passim in acusationem pulsandis. Non debent tam facile admitti contra apostolicam regulam. Placet igitur vestra, ut his, quid aliquibus scelericus inretitus est, vocem adversus maiorem natur non habeat accusandam? Ab universis episcopis dictum est: si criminosus est, non admittatur, ut accuset.'

¹⁷⁶ Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, pp. 181-183. Of which is copied into M, f. 88 line 1-6.

¹⁷⁷ Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, pp. 186-189. In our ms. (f. 88^v) only the first four lines have been included.

a small sentence reading ‘who are present’ (*qui in presente sunt*), out of a larger segment that concerns the ordination of a new priest.¹⁷⁸ Everyone attending had to gather around and raise their hands above the head of the new initiate while the bishop blessed him. That this involved all priests present was probably considered obvious, since they were already addressed with ‘omnes presbiteri’, and therefore the short clarification was excluded. More or less duplicate sections, such as XX,13-14, both on the essential and repetitive nature of penance, and including the same biblical sentence from Proverbs 26:11, were also identified and in this particular instance the last one was omitted.¹⁷⁹ It should be mentioned, though, that the shortest section (XX,14) with a question-and-answer structure has not been copied and that the longer and more elaborate one (XX,13) made it into the manuscript. The reasoning behind this seems rather odd compared to the other editorial choices that were made. Be that as it may, brevity was obviously preferred and sections were edited by removing unnecessary quotes and sentences, and excluding sections with overlapping content.

In order to be able to conduct an operation such as described, the compiler was required to have a detailed understanding of the texts he was working with. The examples above of his omitting a small sentence in II,2 and two similar sections XX,13 and XX,14 illustrate this. From the choices made in chapter I on bishops this becomes clear as well. One can imagine that if a section included the word ‘episcopus’ in the first sentence, it probably was not worth copying. On the opposite side would be the word ‘presbiter’ or ‘sacerdos’, which would indicate relevant material for M’s user. In this case, both words would have functioned as markers, and a proper understanding of the text would not be needed. The omitted chapters (I,5-48) confirm this by almost collectively referring to the ecclesiastical office of the bishop in the first sentence. But then again, looking at the incorporated sections (I,49-51 and I,52-58) that same thought is opposed, not because they do not include these markers, but they either refer to the clergy as a whole or the three highest grade in particular.¹⁸⁰ The incorporated sections show that the

¹⁷⁸ M, f. 86: ‘Presbiter cum ordinatur, episcopo eum benedicente et manum super caput eius tenente et iam omnes presbiteri [*qui in presente sunt*] manus suas iuxta manus episcopi super caput illius teneant’. Brackets and emphasis are mine. For the whole section, see: Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, p. 165.

¹⁷⁹ Idem, pp. 318-321. The quote from Proverbs 26:11 in XX,14: ‘Sicut canes revertens ad vomitum suum odibilis sit, ita homo, qui per malitiam suam revertetur ad peccatum suum.’ is fairly similar to the Vulgate, which reads: ‘Sicut canis qui revertitur ad vomitum suum sic imprudens qui iterat stultitiam suam’. XX,13 contains a paraphrase of the same verse: ‘Illi qui post penitentiam tamquam canis aut sues ad vomitos pristinos et volutabra redeuntes [...]’.

¹⁸⁰ To illustrate: I,49: ‘Clericus sive laicus qui accusauerit *episcopum* aut *clericum*, temere atque indifferenter non debent suscipi in accusationem nisi prius eorum opinio fuerit perscrutata. [...]’; I,50: ‘*Episcopus presbiter* aut

compiler was well aware of a bishop's responsibilities and means of power, and did not use marker words to create his compilation. This is visible in the dismissed sections such as I,64, on the restoration to office of bishops, priests and deacons if they showed remorse for their mistakes, and I,65, which contains an *ordo* for a gathering of clergy led by an archbishop, where both contain the words 'presbiteri' and 'sacerdotibus' early on, yet they were not selected by the compiler.¹⁸¹ The compiler understood what these pieces of canon law meant and that they pertained to the duties of a bishop and did not concern priests.

In addition to what the editorial selection process of chapters and sections from the Coll. Sang. tells about its user, it also gives some indication of the different purposes that M was compiled for. First we will look at the selection of chapters and sections, after which we will examine the information that has been added to the compilation from external sources. Glancing at *appendix II* it is immediately apparent that the sacrament of penance is well represented in the chapters XX and XIX, that together account for more than half of the copied sections. The compilation starts with the first mentioned chapter, which is mainly concerned with information on the act of confession and administering penance, though actual penitentials are not included. Examples of this are XX,4 on what is true penance, and a quote from Augustine in XX,6, who encourages confessants to bring all their sins to light and to not hold back because of shame.¹⁸² When a priest took confessions of his parish's inhabitants he had to deal with various kinds of sinners, to which end additional information was included in the form of sections on young and old (dying) sinners, notorious criminals and people who tried to evade confession by only admitting to small offences (*parvis delictis*).¹⁸³ Section twenty-three effectively supported the priest in his difficult tasks, by telling him that imposing penance can indeed be harsh; it is like a doctor who has to prescribe his patient something bitter.¹⁸⁴ The chapter closes with sections on the sensitive topic of obtaining repentance after an unexpected death, in which case a last confession was not possible. Various quotes both in favour and against this practice were

diaconus qui fornicatione aut periuria aut furtu captus est deponatur non tamen communione priuetur dicit enim sancta scriptura non iudicabit dominus bis in id ipsum.' And I,51: 'Si quis *episcopus* aut *presbiter* aut *diaconus* depositus iuste super certis criminibus ausus fuerit ad tractare ministerium dudum sibi commissum hic ab ecclesia omnimodis abscidatur.' Emphasis is mine.

¹⁸¹ I,64-65. Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, pp. 160-162.

¹⁸² Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, pp. 309-311.

¹⁸³ Respectively XX,18, 19 and 21: Idem, pp. 322-324.

¹⁸⁴ Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, pp. 325: 'Sicut eger filius patris et medicus de uita sua solliciti. Qui, etiam, si asperum aliquid offerat uel amarum ad curandum filium, sicuti que filius quod nec pater in aliqua neglegere potest de salute filii nec medicus falli.' Similar is XX,26, idem, pp. 328-329.

included, indicating the possibility of discussion on this specific topic.¹⁸⁵ This detailed background information on penance and confession stands in contrast to chapter XIX, which mostly contains penitentials on various subjects and basic *expositiones*, terms like ‘sinner’, ‘punishment’ and ‘crime’ are all carefully explained, thus providing context to the multiple sections involving penitentials that address the sins of murder, adultery, perjury and theft.¹⁸⁶ Both chapters present a comprehensive body of texts that enables its reader to be accurately informed on the subjects of confession and penance, and subsequently impose the right remedial punishment on the sinner.

While information on penance was clearly preferred by the compiler, other content on sacraments like baptism and mass was not omitted. Out of chapter XVI an extensive *interrogatio* on Mass is incorporated, as well as other brief sections on important yearly ecclesiastical feast days, such as the birth of Christ, Easter and Pentecost.¹⁸⁷ The rest of the chapter has been omitted, probably because it relates to episcopal responsibilities, like the dedication of new churches or resolving a conflict between two communities.¹⁸⁸ Similar to the information on Mass, but to a lesser extent, is that on baptism from chapter XII included in the form of two *expositiones*, explaining all the important terms that were used in the education of the laity on this particular topic.¹⁸⁹ This rather restrictive purpose is suggested by the heavy omission of other sections relating to baptism.¹⁹⁰ The same goes for information on the church building, for which there was evidently no need.¹⁹¹ Because of the editorial choices made by the compiler, selecting only the most explanatory sections on the two sacraments, the sections of both chapters seem to have been chosen primarily for the purpose of lay education. Nevertheless, the selected texts could also be used to educate secular clergy or as reference works, since the audience of a text is never fully uniform.

Similarly focused on the education of the laity and secular clergy is the content that has been copied from chapter XXI. In our manuscript sections can be found on the subject of

¹⁸⁵ See XX,33-34 in support of and XX,37 against absolution for the dead.

¹⁸⁶ XIX,1-3: Idem, pp. 296-297. In order of occurrence: murder XIX,5; adultery, XIX,9, 12, 14; XIX,16; XIX,6.

¹⁸⁷ XVI,1, 3, 9, 11: Idem, pp. 275-283. From the *expositio* on Mass in XVI,1 the second half (r. 6-33) has been omitted. This part contained seven answers to the question for what reasons Mass was celebrated (Pro quod causis caelebratur missa), which is similar to an *ordo*. Not including this probably meant that the user of the ms. already had this information available in another source.

¹⁸⁸ This concerns the sections XVI,17-24: Idem, pp. 287-291, and in particular XVI,17 and 22.

¹⁸⁹ XII,10-11: Idem, pp. 253-255.

¹⁹⁰ See for instance XII,19: Idem, pp. 260-261, on the different sins that were forgiven by the submersion in water.

¹⁹¹ XII,1-9: Idem, pp. 239-253.

marriage and the relation between a husband and wife, while the information related to paganism and an exposition on the catechumen was omitted.¹⁹² With this wide range of content a priest would be able to teach comprehensively on ‘healthy’ relationships, starting with the basics on the relation between a man and a woman, and continuing down the path of life with topics such as grooms, brides and marriage.¹⁹³ People’s interactions did not only affect the relations between them, it also impacted their relation with God. Having sexual intercourse, being pregnant or menstruating decreased the purity of a person and would exclude someone temporarily from entering the church or to be baptized.¹⁹⁴ The material that was copied closes with the recurring topics of adultery and incest, where especially women are shielded from injustice: they should not be abandoned until actually proven guilty of adulterous behavior.¹⁹⁵

From the sections on ecclesiastical feasts and marriage to those relating to penance and the other sacraments, all contain information that relates to the daily concerns of a priest who had to care for his parish during its highs and lows. However, it seems that the Coll. Sang. did not supply everything that was needed, since the compiler included two instances of additional text from sources outside of the canon law compilation he so meticulously copied. The two pieces of text (ff. 93^v-97 and ff. 103^v-105^v) have been blended into the rest of the collection, without any identification in the form of rubrics, initials or starting a new quote on a new line.¹⁹⁶ Despite the fact that the content must have come from a different source, because similar compilations have not been found yet, the text was not perceived to contain information of a different nature. Characterizing the new content is difficult; the florilegal structure seamlessly merges everything together, with very little identification of a quote beginning or a sentence ending. Sparse titles like ‘Gregorius dicit’ or ‘De simulatione isidorus dicit’ provide hardly any support.¹⁹⁷

Nevertheless, it is possible to catch a sense of the possible function these inserted parts had by trying to identify some of the individual texts that make up the addition. The first segment starts with an unidentified exposition on six sins and ends with a small part on the period of Lent

¹⁹² The omitted sections are XXI,11-12: Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, pp. 348-349.

¹⁹³ XXI,1-2: Idem, pp. 339-341.

¹⁹⁴ XXI,4-5: Idem, pp. 342-346.

¹⁹⁵ XXI,9: Idem, pp. 347: ‘Eos, qui ‘relictis uxoribus suis’, sicut in euangelio dominus dicit, ‘excepta causa fornicationis’ sine adulterii probatione alias dixerint, statuimus a communione arcendos, ne per indulgentiam nostram alios ad licentiam erroris inuitent.’

¹⁹⁶ See for example f. 93^v where an unknown *interrogatio* continues after XVI,16: ‘DE KYRIELEYSON. Kyrieleyson miserere nobis domine christeleyson christe miserere nobis.’ And continues: ‘INT es baptizatus R sic sum INT pro quid [...]’

¹⁹⁷ M, f. 94 and f. 95^v.

taken from a series of sermons by Ambrose, where he addresses these sins and how they are the ‘poisons of the souls’ (animarum venena).¹⁹⁸ The parts that the compiler added are of a comparable sermon-like nature emphasizing chastity, discipline, virtue and abstaining from sin. The homilies of Gregory, added in a florilegial passage that looks like one text but in reality consists of many different sentences taken from Gregory’s work, are also an example of this.¹⁹⁹ It is likely that the compiler was consciously using a pre-existing grouping of quotes, because on ff.94^v-95 the passage that is preceded by the title ‘ITEM GREGORIUS’ only contains one sentence by the 6th-century pope, while the rest is by Hieronymus, who is recognized as the author only later on.²⁰⁰ The compiler was probably not aware of this, since there is no indication in the text of this change of author and the two quotes fit together nicely, both relating to abstinence from respectively spiritual and corporal pleasures. Multiple other passages address virtues and vices as well, such as Bassilius of Caesarea on being kind, Jesus Sirach on lying, and various quotes from Isidore on confessing one’s missteps to God for he is just and will not punish excessively.²⁰¹ When assembled this multi-layered florilegial segment could have provided material that was fit for a local priest to hold a sermon. Everything is mostly related to the one theme of living piously and the frequent appearance of names like Hieronymus, Gregory and Isidore contributes to this purpose as well, the name-dropping would certainly increase the authority of a preacher.

The second segment of additional material (ff. 103^v-106^v) is of a different nature.²⁰² It does not relate to the pious life, but concerns diverse topics. First there are three passages on the violation of the church by theft.²⁰³ A lengthy overview follows, displaying the different

¹⁹⁸ See for the sermon of Ambrose: PL 17, Sermo XXIV. De sancta Quadragesima VIII, col.0653D-col.0654A, in our ms.: f. 94, ‘cum venerit ad aquam [...] ad altare domini accedamus’.

¹⁹⁹ The florilegial passage (not fully identified) can be observed on M, f. 94^v: ‘Nec castitas ergo [...] aliquod sine castitate.’ PL 76, Col.1124A; ‘Bonus enim non [...] molas tolerare recusavit.’ PL 76, Col.1286B; ‘Qui enim sine [...] invento pulverem portat [...]’ PL 76, Col. 1103A; ‘Cui enim cure [...] actionis trahat.’ PL 76, Col.0907B-C.

²⁰⁰ The first sentence of the 16th homily by Gregory: ‘In casum enim [...] non frenatur.’ PL 76, col.1138B, while the rest ‘Quid autem prodest [...] a viciis.’ is actually from the 147th letter by Hieronymus, PL 22, col.1214-col.1215.

²⁰¹ In order of occurrence (ff. 95-96): Bassilius, ‘Qui caritate plenus[...] ambulat iracundus.’ PL 103, Col.0688a; Jesus Sirach ‘Noli amare mendatium [...] auro sperverit.’ Sirach (Ecclesiasticus), 17: 13-20; Isidore, *Sententiae* III ‘Murmurare in flagelis [...] corripitur emendatur.’ PL 83, col.0659B-col.0659C; idem, ‘[...] discat non murmurare [...] iudicantis accusat.’ PL 83, col.0659C-col.0660A.

²⁰² The word ‘additional’ should be interpreted strictly within the context of the thesis, since M as a manuscript stands closer to the Coll. Sang.’s archetype than the Paris ms. does. So additional texts could be in reality texts that are just missing in Stadelmaier’s main ms..

²⁰³ On theft see the three passages on M, ff. 103^v, respectively: ‘De violatione temple Paulus dicit’, ‘Hieronymus’ and ‘Canon Calcidonensis cap XXVII’.

blessings, for instance of the ecclesiastical offices, but also of widows, and a bride and groom.²⁰⁴ Then a series of six curious capitula are included by the compiler from the fourth council of Toledo on the topic of monks, while earlier on he decided not to copy chapter X of the Coll. Sang. on monks.²⁰⁵ The difference between the omitted chapter and the incorporated capitula is that the first is concerned with the relation of the abbot with his monks, and that the second is about how monks relate to the outside environment and how secular clergy relates to the inside of the monastery walls. Monks should not be allowed to return to the world if they are in some way still tied to their community, and if they do return and take wives, but then want to enter again, they should be punished.²⁰⁶ Clergy that wants to take the vow should be allowed to do so, they are relieved of their duties. Furthermore, wandering monks or clergy are to remain in their monastery or with their bishop.²⁰⁷ These capitula give a local priest some possibilities to deal with monks and people who want to become monks in different situations, which was welcome information because these capitula were exclusively selected by the compiler to be in our manuscript. No other content from the council of Toledo is incorporated. This seems to suggest that there was a monastery in the proximity of the priest's parish, and additionally that our user had to deal with church violators. Both and similar instances will be discussed in the next paragraph.

The editorial behavior of the compiler tells us a few things about himself, the user and the way in which the manuscript was going to be utilized. Primarily focused on the sacraments of penance and in the second place on baptism and Mass, with the information on the relationship of man and woman in general and marriage in particular, and the seamlessly inserted content on holding sermons and dealing specific groups of people, all together point towards a manuscript

²⁰⁴ See M, ff. 103^v-105. The passage consists of a paraphrase (*Si quis episcopus [...] gradum admiserit*) of the second capitulum of the synod of Chalcedon, despite being identified as the first capitulum, and can be found here: Edition der falschen Kapitularien des Benedictus Levita <http://www.benedictus.mgh.de/quellen/chga/chga_018t.htm> [accessed June 11, 2016]. And then continues with passage from the 'Concilia Galliae – Statuta ecclesiae anitqua' (c.a. 450), containing a 'recapitulatio ordinationis officialium ecclesiae' in fourteen capitula (*Episcopus cum ordinatur [...] ecclesiam iubent.*). A transcript can be found here: Documenta Catholica Omnia, <http://documentacatholicaomnia.eu/04z/z_0475-0475__Concilia_Galliae__Statuta_Ecclesiae_Antiqua__LT.doc.html> [accessed June 11, 2016].

²⁰⁵ The six capitula can be found on M, ff. 105-105^v and also here: Edition der falschen Kapitularien des Benedictus Levita <http://www.benedictus.mgh.de/quellen/chga/chga_046t.htm> [accessed June 11, 2016].

²⁰⁶ Capitula XLIX and LII can be found here: M, ff. 105-105^v. Respectively: 'Monachum aut paterna deuotio aut propria professio facit quidquid horum fuerit ad legatum tenebit proinde eis ad mundum reuerti interdudimus auditum et omnes ad saeculum interdicimus regressu.' And 'Nonnulli monachorum egrediuntur ad monasterio non solum a saeculum reuertuntur sed etiam et uxores accipiunt hii igitur reuocati in eodem monasterio a quo exierant paenitentiae depuntentur ibique deflant crimina sua unde cessarunt.'

²⁰⁷ Capitula L and LIII, M, f. 105^v.

with the function of a priest's handbook for a local priest. The preferred brevity of the content adds to this as well. The compiler also had a comprehensive knowledge of the responsibilities of a priest and knew how to distinguish these from episcopal tasks. Furthermore, the compiler seemed to be very much informed of what was going on in the region, with its very exact insertions of additional material in the same hand as the rest of the text, on handling monastic clergy and the violation of church property.²⁰⁸ As a result the person of the manuscript's compiler and its user seem to be increasingly merging into the same individual, who should have been aware of what he was getting involved with and what kind of situational knowledge would be desirable under such circumstances. A thorough palaeographical analysis of the hands in the codex could perhaps provide more information on this subject. For now, we continue with the outline of the priest's work field based on the selections and alteration made to the collection's content.

e. The community

On basis of the premise that the compiler made all his choices with regard to the inclusion and omission of texts of the Coll. Sang. consciously, which is supported by the evidence on the chapter relating to priests and the other sections from the collection that were part of his editorial process, we can very carefully sketch an outline of the community our manuscript was used in. The outline will be divided into three parts, concerning the location, composition and religious practices of the community.

Despite the fact that we probably already assume that we have to place our manuscript in the western part of Christendom, we can observe this in the shape of a small change that the compiler made to a section in the chapter on bishops. The question 'what does the patriarchate mean' (*patriarcha quid interpretatur*) has been modified by changing 'patriarcha' into 'archiepiscopus', which now required the reader to explain the term of archbishop.²⁰⁹ By omitting 'pater principum' from the answer, which naturally became redundant, the answer now

²⁰⁸ For the same hand adding the content from an external source, see: M, f. 93^v and the transition on line 12 from 'christe miserere nobis' to 'INT es baptizatus R'. And on M, f. 103^v the added content from line 10 onwards: 'DE VIOLATIONE TEMPLI PAVLUS DICIT'.

²⁰⁹ See M, f. 90^v: l,3 'INT archiepiscopus quod interpretatur. R arcon enim princeps est archiepiscopo prinses episcopis sicut metropolitanus.' Which was in the original collection, Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, p. 124: 'INTERROGATIO: *Patriarcha* quid interpretatur? RESPONSIO: *Pater principum*. Archon enim princeps est. Archiepiscopus princeps episcoporum sicut metropolitanus.' Emphasis is mine and it displays the alteration and omission.

only addressed the role of archbishop by clarifying the prefix ‘archon’, what meant ‘the first’, and explaining that hence ‘the archbishop is the first of the bishops, just as the metropolitan’. There are no other versions of the collection that show a similar change, we can therefore assume that the compiler read the question in chapter II,3 and changed the clarification of the eastern church leader into a western one.²¹⁰

Getting closer to the region of Reims where the parish of our priest should be located, a few included and omitted sections give us some general details about its community. The inclusion of chapter XX,34 tells us about people ‘who pass away on the road or at sea and are therefore not able to do the final confession and should thus be commemorated in the prayers and offerings’, because ‘by priestly prayer the debt of the sins is absolved’.²¹¹ Perhaps this concerns the inhabitants of our priest’s parish, who were apparently likely to travel by land or by water and had therefore the chance of an unexpected earthly departure without being able to see a priest. Section XIX,7 is omitted, which is on the stealing of cattle and the abduction of humans and selling them into slavery. Both crimes were to be punished harshly, the first by substantial repayment and the second by death.²¹² Interestingly this is the only section that was not included from chapter XIX on sinners, sin and guilt. As our compiler is always selecting on the use of sections, this section probably does not correspond with the manner in which certain crimes were punished in the Reims region and was therefore omitted. Finally, there is the segment with the six statements on monks originating from the fourth council of Toledo.²¹³ As mentioned before, including guidelines of this nature suggests a certain form of interaction with clergy wanting to leave or enter a monastic community, or perhaps it relates to people from the village. It could be that a monastery in the area made the encounter with people travelling towards or leaving this place a regular occurrence, for which protocol was advised. Otherwise the addition of material from outside the Coll. Sang. would not make any sense.

²¹⁰ Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, p. 125 and the annotation on line 28-29. The term ‘patriarch’ was used in the whole of Christendom until the 5th and 6th-c., later this changed into ‘metropolitan’ for the Latin Church, see: Reynolds, *The organization, law and liturgy*, p. 599.

²¹¹ M, f. 83: ‘Penitentes, qui ante penitentiam si casu in itinere vel in mari mortui fuerint, ubi eis subvenire non posuit, memoria eorum orationibus et oblationibus commendetur.’ And ibidem: ‘Ut peccatorum reatus ante ultimum diem sacerdotale supplicatione solvatur’.

²¹² XIX,7: Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, p. 300. Which is an excerpt of Ex. 22: 1-4 mainly concerning repayment for stolen cattle, excluding the verses 2 and 3a. And two additional sentences, related to the theft of ‘pecuniam mortalem’ and selling people into slavery: ‘Si pecuniam mortalem quis furatus fuerit, duplum reddat’; ‘Si quis furatus fuerit hominem et vendiderit eum, more moriatur’.

²¹³ See note 206-207.

Aside from a few characteristics describing the environment in which our manuscript was used, some remarks can be made on the composition of the community inhabiting the village the priest attended to. For instance, the priest was not expected to encounter any trouble with pagan or heretic practices in his parish, since many sections addressing this subject were omitted. In chapter XII on baptism section seventeen was not included, this addresses the validity of one's confession after one of the fellow catechumen, with whom they were baptized, turned out to be a heretic. Luckily being baptized with deviants did not annul the confession of a sincere believer, nevertheless such a situation was not expected to occur in our priest's parish.²¹⁴ Additionally, in chapter XVI,16 on the Greek prayer 'kyrieleison' (Lord, have mercy) a part of the section has been omitted, containing an example of Gregory the Great who sang the prayer to a woman who subsequently died in front of the eyes of the people, after which she seemed to have had a spirit of divination.²¹⁵ Enhancing the strength of this prayer with a frightening anecdote was not necessary, perhaps people could not relate to it and it was therefore superfluous. Increasing the brevity of the section could also have been the motive of the compiler as well, however this seems unlikely since the whole section only accounts for five lines to begin with. A similar operation can be observed in chapter XXI where the whole section 11 on 'seeking out diviners and fortunetellers' (divinos et sortilegas), and a penitential on the observance of pagan customs, is omitted, as a part of a chapter consisting out of twelve sections of which ten were copied into the manuscript.²¹⁶ And as last example, during the selection process the compiler decided also not to include chapter VI on the exorcist. He did know about the role and function of this ecclesiastical grade, which can be found in various places in the manuscript, for example in the

²¹⁴ Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, p. 259: XII,17 'Baptisma unum est, sed in aecllesia, ubi fides est, ubi in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti datur. Et ideo, si qui apud illos hereticos baptizati sunt in sancta trinitatis confessione; qui si adveniunt ad nos, recipiantur quasi baptizati, ut non adnulletur confession. Ex, istis si ad nos venerint, non requirendum ad eis, utrum baptizati sunt an non, sed hoc tantum, si credant aecllesiae fidem, et baptizentur aecllesiastico baptisate.'

²¹⁵ Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, p. 287: 'Gregorius Romanus, spiritu sancto instructis, causa mulieris suscitatae invidia populi cantavit canticum hoc; et ipsa post paulolum in conspectu populi mortua fuit, quae habebat antea spiritum phitonicum.'

²¹⁶ Idem, pp. 348-349: XXI,11 'AGUSTINUS DICIT: Admoneo vos, ut nullus ex vobis divinos et sortilegas requirat, quia quecumque fecerit hoc malum, perdit baptismum et paganus efficitur, et, nisi grandis aelymosinas subvenerit, in aeternum peribit.' [...] 'IN NICENO CAPITULO XXXVIII: Qui se dicunt et consuetudines gentilium secuntur aut inducunt aliquos in domum suam quasi malum mittant foras mundati quinquia annos peniteant. [...] The only other section of this chapter that was omitted as well (XXI,12) is an exposition on the catechumen.

overview of the ordination of the offices and in the ordinal of Christ, yet he did not include the information on the term, its origin and methods.²¹⁷

For the final part we have to look at the religious practices in our priest's community. The first thing that arises from the selections made by the compiler is the eighteenth section from chapter XII on baptism, stressing a priest to make sure that children were baptized, since he could not rely on their own testimony, because 'they are not reliable witnesses and are not qualified of age to answer to the mysteries of baptism'.²¹⁸ Copied together only with two other sections from the same chapter that provide regular expositions on baptism (XII,10-11), it stands out as an important section. Clearly the priest needed this as a reminder to baptize every child in his community, even if its baptism was questionable and for they could be in grave danger. Again related to children is the thirteenth section of chapter XVI on Mass, where the third quote on the fasting of children on Sunday, they were not allowed to do so, is omitted. An additional quote on the same topic, this time concerning adults who fast on Sundays, is also not included.²¹⁹ From chapter XX on penance, almost all sections have been incorporated into the manuscript, however the first three (XX,1-3) addressing fasting on the Sundays of the *Quadragesima*, which is the beginning of Lent, and fasting in general in the shape of two expositions, were not copied by the compiler.²²⁰ From the choices made, we could assume that fasting was not common within the priest's parish. Nonetheless, in the episcopal capitularies of Theodulf fasting is mentioned several times. In one capitulum (c. 37) it addresses the exact topic that was removed from the collection, namely about fasting on the Sundays during Lent.²²¹ The compilers pursuit of brevity could be the cause of the omission of the quotes on fasting in XX,1, but that does not explain the removal of all the other sections on the subject of fasting. Other instances that can be found in our manuscript like XVI,11 and XIX,8, the first relating to the act of fasting during Pentecost, and the second to fasting while incarcerated, mention abstaining from food and drink

²¹⁷ Respectively, M, ff. 104^{r-v} and M, ff. 125^v-126. And VI,1, 2 and 5: Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, pp. 197-200.

²¹⁸ M, f. 85^v: 'De infantibus placuit, quibus non inueniuntur certissimi testes, qui eos baptizatos esse sine dubitatione testentur, neque ipsi sunt prae aetate, idonei de traditis sibi sacramentis respondere, eos, qui se baptizatos nesciunt, baptizandi sunt ne ista trepidatio fiat in eis in periculum.'

²¹⁹ Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, p. 284: 'Liberi sunt sancti ieiunare, quando volunt, nisi dominicum diem'; Ibidem: 'Qui dominico die studiose ieiunat, non credatur esse catholicus'.

²²⁰ Idem, pp. 306-209.

²²¹ Theodulf I, c. 37, p. 136: 'Ipsa autem quadragesima cum summa observatione custodiri debet, ut ieiunium in ea praeter dies dominicos, qui abstinentia subtracti sunt, nullatenus resolvatur, quia ipsi dies decimae sunt anni nostri, quos cum omni religione et sanctitate transigere debemus [...].' See also Theodulf I, c. 39-40 on M, ff. 116-117, both concern fasting as well.

only along the way and do not focus on it in particular.²²² A similar case can be made for the subject of anointing, which was left out in the form of two sections (XII,20-21) containing some biblical context and a basic *expositio* on the subject.²²³ Yet, in the glosses and the florilegium on the sacrament of baptism, the use of the chrism is referred to.²²⁴

The specific cases of fasting and anointing demonstrate that the omission of certain subjects cannot be extrapolated to the rest of the manuscript's content. Nevertheless, in the collection the compiler decided primarily not to include fundamental information on both topics, for instance the expositions on anointing and fasting, while the other content that does address aforementioned subjects only touches upon them casually. And thus makes for an interesting case. Together with the other statements on the communities' position and structure an interesting image can be constructed, that describes the priest's environment in general terms. Our priest inhabited a community with lay people, who were no fresh converts, but familiar with the Christian doctrine and its institutions for quite some time. They lived in an environment with monasteries, travellers, good and bad behavior, *et cetera*. Within this setting a 9th-century local priest tried to make pious Christians out these people, by using this carefully composed excerpt from the Coll. Sang., but also the content of our manuscript as a whole, to educate, admonish and guide them. The details of this outline cannot be obtained in any other way than by using social logic to interpret the selection process of the manuscript's compiler, who build a useful tool and reference work for a local priest from a comprehensive canon law collection.

²²² In succession M, f. 92^v: 'Pentecosten ideo celebratur quia in eo die lex moysi data est in monte syna post dies L a pascha. Ideo in his diebus genua in oratione non flectuntur et non est ieiunium, quia indicium est penitentiae et luctus quod non decet propter reuerentiam resurrectionem domini.' And: M, ff. 102^v-103: 'Qui furatur fuerit pecuniam ab ecclesiam uel in ciuitate intus, ubi martyres et corpora sanctorum dormiunt, mittatur sors tres uel manus uel pes circumcidat uel in carcerem mittatur ieiunans tempus, quod iudicauerint seniores, et reddat integrum quod abstulit uel in peregrinationem eiciatur et restituet duplum et iuret, quod non reuertetur, donec impleuerit paenitentiam et post paenitentiam fiet monachus. [...].'

²²³ Stadelmaier, *Collectio Sangermanensis*, pp. 261-262.

²²⁴ M, f. 121: 'Chrismate salutis id est unctione saluationis.' And: M, f. 123^v: 'Sumptis de hinc albis uestibus caput eius sacri chrisomatis unctione perunguetur ut intellegat baptizatus regnum in se sacerdotale conuenisse et reliqua. [...].'

V. Conclusion

Every year studies on Charlemagne are conducted and published by historians, investigating his legendary personality, his successful military politics and his vast empire that is commonly referred to as the foundation of modern European identity.¹ He has gained a place among the most recognized medieval figures, and is hence part of everyone's educational curriculum. The intellectuals that were part of his court and their works receive attention equally, as they played a major role in the formation of the ideology behind the Carolingian reforms.² Yet, the lower ends of the social ladder, the local priests who attended to the faithful in their small rural villages and settlements, have not received as much consideration and debate, even though they were a main point of interest for Carolingian rulers and their bishops.³ Therefore, in order to investigate this social stratum a 9th-century priest's handbook has been examined, which provides us with a rather wide window on a medieval rural community, since a priest and his services were involved with virtually all aspects of life within this rural micro-christendom.

Before this thesis delves further into the manuscript selected for this exercise, known by the shelf mark BSB Clm 14508 or in this thesis as M, a theoretical framework was established to approach the source material in a fruitful manner. To determine the purpose and usage of the manuscript, it had to be analyzed within the historical context in which it was compiled. The priest's handbook being a composite manuscript, this required a double analysis of the manuscript's content, in the first place as a whole and after that of the individual texts separately. In order to do this properly two converging layers of context were formed around the source, starting with a comparison of the handbook to the corpus of episcopal statutes that encouraged priests to have manual-like books in the first place. In these statutes a standard can be observed, which formulates a corpus of knowledge or *Wissenskanon* and other requirements that a priest should meet. The manuscript's contents clearly reflect these requirements in educational texts to teach the laity the fundamentals of the faith, providing information on the sacraments and their

¹ See for example these recent works in order of being mentioned: T. Bulfinch, *Legends of Charlemagne* (2012); B. S. Bachrach, *Charlemagne's early campaigns (768-777): a diplomatic and military analysis* (2013); R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne: the formation of European identity* (2008).

² R. Meens, 'Sanctuary, penance, and dispute settlement under Charlemagne: The conflict between Alcuin and Theodulf of Orléans over a sinful cleric', *Speculum* 82, vol. 02 (2007), pp. 277-300; D. Ganz, 'Einhard's Charlemagne: The Characterisation of Greatness', in: J. Story (ed.), *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (2005), pp. 38-51; P. E. Dutton (ed.), *Charlemagne's courtier: the complete Einhard*. Vol. 3 (1998).

³ Luckily, as can be overserved in the attached bibliography, this is slowly beginning to change. See for example: S. Patzold and C. A. van Rhijn (eds.), *Men in the middle. Local priests in early medieval Europe* (Berlin, 2016).

performance, and various materials fit for preaching. Together with characteristics such as a strong preference for brevity, a structure meant for educational purposes and texts that were added at a later date, echoing the statutes' standard as well, the comparison displayed the aim and function of M and confirmed its use as a priest's handbook. In the last layer of context, the version of the Coll. Sang, a systematic compilation of canon law, was thoroughly examined and compared with the more complete edition of the text in order to retrace the selection process that the compiler went through and hence reconstruct something of the model that he based his choices on, providing a rough outline of the manuscript's initial user and intended community. The individual who was meant to carry M around was evidently a parish priest, who did not have much use for episcopal policy, but nonetheless knew what was expected from him in relation to his bishop. Additional information on social relationships helped the clergyman to take care the laity lived piously together in harmony. Similar to the other content of the manuscript, the compilation of the canon law collection was primarily focused on the administering and teaching of the sacraments. Furthermore, the texts that the compiler chose to copy or to omit provided information on the community's setting, its social composition and the people's religious practices. M was probably utilized in a village located in the Reims region, whose inhabitants had been converted to Christianity for some time and were hence familiar with its doctrine and institutions like marriage. They lived in an environment where people travelled, displayed good and bad behaviour, and tried to enter or leave monastic orders. In this community of lay people a priest tried his best to educate them, to administer the right sacraments and to correct them when needed. For this very important task he had a manuscript, which perhaps he compiled himself, that provided him with exactly those texts required to fulfil his God-given responsibility.

With the case study of M and in particular the analysis of the compiler's editorial behaviour as displayed in the excerpt from the Coll. Sang., it turned out to be possible to use a priest's handbook to find a way into a previously inaccessible rural community, consisting of a priest and his flock, people that left no other known written material behind, perhaps because of their limited degree of literacy or our inability to find it. The nature of the outline is very dependent on the material it is reconstructed from, and not every priest's handbook can be used in a similar manner. If a codex does not contain material which strongly suggests that it was compiled and intended to be used as a manual for a local priest, such as is fortunately the case for M, then interpreting its compilation, content and possible edited material becomes rather

difficult. Contextualizing a manuscript without a reasonable indication of its purpose and use is complex, because many possibilities have to be considered, making the research highly diffuse and hence confusing. On the other hand, if a manuscript can be attributed to a specific priest within an exact timeframe and pinpointed to an exact location, then an outline of its user and community could be interpreted in much more concrete terms. This would be something to consider for perhaps another time.

All things considered, I hope to have shown the importance of a priest's handbook as a source that enables us to get closer to the rural communities of the early Middle Ages, which tend to be more difficult to reach than a grand royal palace, a busy cathedral school or a silent monastic scriptorium. Yet, despite the challenge that these codices prove to be they can be used as windows on a concealed past.

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Appendix I – Description of the manuscript¹

1. Heading:

Place and name of the library where the ms. is being kept
Munich, Bayerisch Staatsbibliothek

Written language
Latin

Shelf mark
14508 (previous Em. F11)

Character
Composite

Contents: brief characterization

The codex is made out of two parts that were bound together on a later date. First (ff. 1-63) there is a 15th-century copy of the theological synthesis *Summa theologiae* by Petrus de Capua (d. 1214). This is followed by a collection of texts from the late 9th century that can be characterized as an instruction reader for a priest active in a rural area.

Date
Part I s. XV and part II s. IX 3/4 (restored 1974)

Place of origin
Part II: Northeastern France (Reims)

2. Description of the ms. (this will only concern part II of the codex):

The Codex

- Material
Parchment. The quality is reasonable, there is no visible damage except for some traces of use on the corners of the pages where they have been touched.
- Number of leaves
85 fol. (Ff. 64-146)
- Quire structure
Quaterniones

Lay-out of the page

- Measurements
226x154mm

¹ This appendix is a result of the research done on M, summarized in an overview of which the latest catalogue entry by Helmer and Knödler on the ms. has been the starting point.

- Ruling
A pattern is visible on most of the pages
- Number of lines
On average 27 lines
- Foliation
Every recto-page has a number in the upper right corner, which indicates the folio number. Done in the 18th or 19th century.

Script

- Writing
Early Carolingian miniscule
- Number of hands
Multiple 'Reims-ähnliche' hands

Structuring of the text

- Punctuation
Sporadic and when used a simple *punctus*
- Rubrication
Simple red or brown rubrication highlighting sentences or words in capitals, however used irregular.
- Initials
Very straightforward, commonly placed outside the text just in the margin.
- Decoration
Hardly any decorations, only on the very first page (64^r) the beginning of an *expositio* of the Lord's Prayer has been written in large capitals to fill the whole page, which is different from the initials that are begun used. The first sentence on f. 87^r has been written in the same style.
- Marginal annotations
Mostly short and concise in the form of a word, but can be found on most of the pages. On f. 109^v a larger annotation can be found, where a 9th-c. hand wrote 'capitulum regule beati benedicti his ex integro insertum est' next to the capitularies of Theodulf of Orléans. On several pages, for example ff. 118^r-119^r, numbers are inserted in the margin to increase the readability of the capitularies of Gerbald of Liège or, for example on f. 137^v, to refer to certain decree from the council of Chalcedon.

3. Description of the cover:

Binder

Made out of two wooden panels held together by a patch of leather covering the back and half of both panels.

Clasps, chains

The back cover has an iron eye for attaching a chain.

Restorations

The binder has been restored in 1974.

4. History of the manuscript:

Marks of former owners

According to the analysis of the script (as done by Bischoff) the manuscript is probably produced in the diocese of Reims, after which it travelled to the diocese of Regensburg and eventually ended up in the library of Munich. This can be seen on the very last page of the manuscript (f. 148^v), where there are three traces of former owners. First there is a (possible) list of tithe payments, which points to people that lived in the area around St. Emmeram in Regensburg (*Perindorf* and *Hasalpah*, respectively Pörndorf and Haselbach). Furthermore, there is an annotation (f. 109^v) by Dionysius Menger, the 16th-c. librarian of the monastery of St. Emmeram, and a stamp (f. 148^v) from a later date that reads 'Bibliotheca Regia Monacensis'.

Traces of use

Besides the darkened corners on the parchment, some corrections and marginal annotations can be found in the manuscript. Like the notes the corrections are short and from a contemporary hand, but they occur on a less regular basis. Some texts seem to have been corrected heavily, while other hardly contain any alterations. See for example respectively the capitularies by Theodulf of Orléans (ff. 106-118^r) and the *expositio* and the sermon on the Lord's Prayer (ff. 64^v-66^v).

5. Contents:

Folia	Characterization [Beginning], editions/transcriptions and relations to other manuscripts
Ff. 64-65	Exposition on the Pater Noster [INCIPIT EXPOSITIO DE ORATIONE DOMINI PATER NOSTER qui es in caelis, haec supplicatione genera ut universitatis dominum patrem nostrum esse confiteamur et adiecimus dicere qui es in caelis [...] largiter infundit.] <i>R. Schnurr, Katechetisches in vulgärlateinischer und rheinfränkischer Sprache aus der Weissenburger Handschrift 91 in Wolfenbüttel. Dissertation (Greifswald, 1894), pp. 9-10.</i> Related to Wolfenbüttel, Herz. Aug. Bibl., Cod. Guelf. 91 Weiss., 121 ^v -122.
Ff. 65-66 ^v	Sermon on the Pater Noster [ITEM SERMO DE ORATIONE DOMINICA Audite sermonem de oratione dominica quam si quis

digne cantauerit et ea qui in illa sunt rationabiliter obseruauerit sine ulla dubitatione regni caelestis premia [...] saeculorum. Amen.]

R. Schnurr, *Katechetisches in vulgärlateinischer und rheinfränkischer Sprache aus der Weissenburger Handschrift 91 in Wolfenbüttel. Dissertation* (Greifswald, 1894), pp. 11-13.

Related to Wolfenbüttel, Herz. Aug. Bibl., Cod. Guelf. 91 Weiss., 122^v-125.

Ff. 67-70 A sermon on the Apostles' Creed [Dum de simbolo conferre volumus inquirendum est nobis symbolum in cuius lingua noncupetur. Symbolum grecum est quod in latina sonat conlatio sive congregatio pecuniae. Augustinus dixit, quod per similitudinem intelleguntur nautores quando [...] saeculorum amen.]

L. H. Westra, *The Apostles' Creed. Origin, history, and some early commentaries* (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 488-496; A.E. Burn, *An introduction to the Creeds and to the Te Deum* (London, 1899), pp. 186-190.

Related to Monza, BC e-14/127, ff. 39-44 and St. Gall, SB 40, pp. 322-325.

Ff. 70-71 Exposition on various articles and statements of the Apostles' Creed, f.e. the Trinity, God's omnipotence, the final judgement, etc. [Auscultate expositionem de fide catholica quam si quis digne non habuerit regnum dei non possidebit. Credite in deum patrem omnipotentem invisibilem uisibilem et invisibilium rerum conditorum, hoc est qui [...] saeculorum. Amen.]

L. H. Westra, *The Apostles' Creed. Origin, history, and some early commentaries* (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 436-438; K. Künstle, *Eine Bibliothek der Symbole un theologischer Tractate zur Bekämpfung des Priscilianismus und westgotischen Arianismus aus dem VI. Jahrhundert* (Forschungen zur Christlichen Literatur - und Dogmengeschichte) I (Mainz, 1900), pp. 173-175.

Related to Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesbibl. Aug. XVIII.

Ff. 71-75 Exposition on the Athanasian Creed [DE FIDE CATHOLICA Quicumque uult saluus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem. Fides dicitur credulitas sive credentia, catholica universalis dicitur id est recta. Ecclesia dicitur congregatio [...] non poterit.]

A.E. Burn, *The Athanasian Creed and its commentaries* (Cambridge, 1896), pp. 28-39.

Related to Bamberg, SB Lit. 131, ff. 117^v-125^v and Paris, BN lat. 1008.

F. 75^r Oratio de *beatæ Mariæ virginis* [Lacta mater uni qui secute imperatiuo modo ad beatam et semper uirginem mariam dicit. Lacta mater cum qui fecit te ac si dixisset quem in humana forma lactas ipse secundum deitatem... omnibus sanctis.]

A.E. Burn, *The Athanasian Creed and its commentaries* (Cambridge, 1896), pp. 28-39.

Related to Wolfenbüttel, Herz. Aug. Bibl., Cod. Guelf. 91 Weiss., 120^v.

Ff. 75-105^v Excerpt from the *Collectio Sangermanensis* with additions [IN SINODO NICENE CAPUT XXIII DE VERA PAENITENTIA Paenitentiae vera est penitenda non admittere et admissa de fiere satisfacio penitentiae est causas peccatorum excedere, nec earum suggestionibus [...] fuerint absoluti.]

M. Stadelmaier, *Die Collectio Sangermanensis XXI Titulorum: Eine Systematische Kanonessammlung Der Fruehen Karolingerzeit. Studien Und Edition* (Freiburg, 2004), pp. 121-351.

Related to Paris, BN lat. 12444.

Ff. 84^v-85 Compilation of excerpts on baptism from Isidore's *Origines* VI., xix. 43-49 [DE BAPTISMO INTERROGATIO Baptismum in qua lingua dicitur Responsio Grecum nomen est et interpretatur unctio quae idcirco tinctio dicitur quia ibi homo spiritu gratiae melius inmutatur et linge aliud quam erat efficitur, prius enim fidi eramus [...] inquinata mundetur.]

S. A. Keefe, *Water and the word: baptism and the education of the clergy in the Carolingian empire II* (Notre Dame, 2002), pp. 332-333.

Related to Paris, BN lat. 12444.

F. 87^v A calendar table *Dies aegyptiaci*, a later 9th or 10th-c. addition [Mense ian. intrante dies IIo, et exeunte dies VIIo...II. id. dec. dies aegip [...] aprilis h I saeculi.]

Edition is available in two parts: J. Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta* (Paris, 1723), p. 369 and A. Beccaria, *I codici di medicina del periodo presalernitano (secoli IX, X e XI)* (Rome, 1956), p. 421.

Ff. 106-118 First episcopal capitularies of Theodulf of Orléans [Obsecro vos fratres dilectissimi ut erga subditarum plebium profectum et emendationem vigilantissima cura laboretis, quatenus illis viam

salutis ostendentes et eos verbis et exemplis instruentes et vos de eorum profectu et nos de vestro [...] monasterii contineri.]

MGH, *Capitula episcoporum* I, P. Brommer ed. (Hannover, 1984), pp. 101-142.

Related to Bamberg, SB Lit. 131, ff. 54^v-76.

Ff. 118-119 First episcopal capitularies of Gerbald of Liège [HAEC SUNT CAPITULA EX DIVINARUM SCRIPTURARVM SCRIPTA QUAE ELECTI SACERDOTES CUSTODIENDA ATQUAE ADIMPLENDA Ut cuncti sacerdotes precibus assiduis pro vita et imperio domni imperatoris et filiorum ac [...] diligenter unguatur.]

MGH, *Capitula episcoporum* I, P. Brommer ed. (Hannover, 1984), pp. 16-21.

Related to Orléans, BM 116, ff. 85-88 and Sélestat, BM 132, ff. 28^v-32.

Ff. 119-121 Glosses on the words from the prayer of the baptismal rite [DE BAPTISMO OFFICIO AC MISTICIS SENSIBUS EORVM QUE AVCTORIBUS NOMINATIM DESIGNATIS ET DE ORDINE VENIENTIUM AD FIDEM IEUSDEM QUE MISTERII ORATIO QUASI ORIS RATIO EO QUOD EX ORE ET RATIONE PROCEDIT Super electos id est aduocatos qui de [...] est verbi.]

S. A. Keefe, *Water and the word: baptism and the education of the clergy in the Carolingian empire* II (Notre Dame, 2002), pp. 550-556.

Related to Merseburg, BD Hs. 136, Montpellier, BI Méd. 310, Zürich, ZB Rh. 95, London, BL Royal 8. C. III, Paris, BN lat. 13092 and Vendôme, Bibl. Mun. 55.

F.121 Exposition on the *credo* [Credimus unum deum esse patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum. Patrem eo quod habeat filium, filium eo quod habeat patrem, spiritum sanctum eo quod sit ex patre et filio. Pater ergo principatum deitatis, qui sicut numquam [...] firmiter credo.]

Probably based on Gennadius of Massillia, *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus liber gennadio tributus*, c.1 (PL, 1213).

Related to Zürich, ZB Rh. 95, ff. 68-69 and London, BL Royal 8. C. III, ff. 53^v-54.

Ff. 121^v-125^v Florilegium on baptism, Mass and penance [DE CATICUMINIS ESIDORUS DIXIT Primus gradus est caticuminum competentium in baptizatorum, catecuminum sunt qui primum de gentilitate veniunt

habentes voluntatem credendi in christum. Cathecuminus id est audiens [...] est obliviscar.]

S. A. Keefe, *Water and the word: baptism and the education of the clergy in the Carolingian empire II* (Notre Dame, 2002), pp. 184-197.

El Escorial, Real Bibl. de S. Lor. L. III. 8, V4, Milan, Bibl. Amros. H 48 sup., Zürich, ZB Rh. 95, Paris, BN lat. 5577 and Vendôme, Bibl. Mun. 55.

F. 125^v-126 Ordinal of Christ, an Irish version [Primus gradus lector quando aperuit librum isaie propter et dixit spiritus domini super me. Secundus gradus exorcista quando eiecit septem demonia de maria magdalena. Tertius gradus subdiaconus quando fecit de aqua uinum in chana galileae [...] benedixit eos.]

R. Reynolds, *The ordinals of Christ*, p. 67 (the edition contains five additional sentences).

Wolfenbüttel, Herz. Aug. Bibl., Cod. Guelf. 75 Weissenburg, f. 135^v.

F. 126 On seven ways of preaching [SEPTEM SUNT MODI PREDICATIONIS Hoc est docendo persuadendo increpando arguendo terrendo multiendo promittendo id est docendo discipulis suadendo personis increpandos superbos arguendo contrarius terrendo tepidis mulciendo iracundis promittendo [...] est nobis.]

R. McNally, *Der irische Liber de Numeris* (1957), pp. 120.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14311, 54^v.

F. 126^v *Damnationes mortis* [OCTO SUNT DAMNATIONES MORTIS QUEM IMPII et peccatores per eorum negligentias passurierunt sine fine in inferno. Prima damnatio a sanctis separatio. Secunda damnatio a facie dei expulsio. Tertia damnatio in profundo infernum humiliatio [...] confitebitur tibi.]

No edition available.

Ff. 126^v-127 Exposition on the seven petitions of the *Pater Noster* by question and answer [INTERROGATIO in oratione dominica id est nemo quod petitiones habentur. R septem IN. que est prima R sanctificetur nomen tuum INTRG hoc quod in capite est pater noster qui es in caelis quomodo intellegitur. R Ibi [...] fideliter interpretatur.]

This concerns c. XII of the *Disputatio puerorum* of Pseudo Alcuin: PL 101, Col. 1143c - 1144c (the first two sentences seem to have been omitted)

St. Gall, SB 40, pp. 325-326 and Vienna, ÖNB 1370, ff. 70-71^v.

Ff. 127-128^v Exposition on the Apostles' Creed by question and answer [INTR dic mihi in quem credis. R ego credo in deum patrem omnipotentem creatorem caeli et terrae. INTG Quare dicitur omnipotens et quare creator. R omnipotens dicitur eo quod omnia potest creator eo quod omnia creauit caelum et terram mare et [...]operibus impleamus.]

This concerns c. XI of the *Disputatio puerorum* of Pseudo Alcuin: PL 101, Col. 1136d-1138a.

Orléans, BM 116, ff. 81-83^v, St. Gall, SB 40, pp. 326-328 and Sélestat, BM 132, ff. 17-18.

Ff. 128^v-146^v The 'collection in 53 titles' [INCIPIUNT CAPITULA CANONUM i de excommunicatis ii de examinatione iii de fugitios clericos et peregrinos iiii de subintroducitis mulieribus v de usuras accipientibus vi de communione [...] ipsum iudicetur.]

B. Schmidt, *Herrschergesetz und Kirchenrecht. Die Collectio LIII titulorum. Studien und Edition* (Hamburg, 2004), pp. 67-117.

St. Gall, SB 679 and Vendôme, Bibl. Mun. 22.

Ff. 146^v-147 Blessings for iron and water added later in the 9th-c. [CONSECRATIO FERRI Deus iudex iustus qui auctor pacis est et iudicas aequitatem, te suppliciter rogamus ut hoc ferrum ordinatum ad iustam examinationem, cuiuslibet dubietatis faciendam, benedicere et sanctificare digneris, ita ut si innocens de prenominata causa unde purgatio querenda est hoc [...] saluetur. Per.]

MGH, *Formulae (Legum sectio V, pars prior)*, K. Zeumer (ed.) (Hannover, 1882), pp. 605-607.

Ff. 147^v-148 Many *probationes pennae* and (probably) an overview of the yearly *lectiones* in a later 9th-c. hand.

F. 148^v Possible list of tithe payments, used for localizing the ms. in the diocese of Regensburg. See for example 'Gundolf de Perindorf' (Pörndorf) and 'Perahart de Hasalpah' (Haselbach).

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McKitterick, R., *The Frankish church and the Carolingian reforms: 789-895* (London, 1977), p. 76.

Mordek, H., *Bibliotheca capitularium regnum Francorum manuscripta* (MGD.H. 15 1995), pp. 339-342.

Appendix II: New order chapters and sections *Collectio Sangermanensis*

Titulus ²	Subject	Entries Coll. Sang. vs. Clm 14508	Entries and order
XX	Penitentials and penance	41 / 37	4-13, 15-40
XII	Churches and baptism	22 / 3	10, 11, 18
II	Priests	36 / 16	1-5, 16, 17, 20, 21, 25, 28, 31, 33, 34-6
I	Bishops	66 / 7	49-51, 1-4
XVI	Mass and important dates (feasts)	24 / 16	1-16
	Material for sermons, on pious living		New
XX	Penitentials and penance	41 / 37	41
XXI	Marriage (i.a.)	12 / 10	1-10
XIX	Sinners, sin and guilt	19 / 18	14-19, 1-6, 8-13
	Church offices, monks		New

² Number of the *titulus* in the edition of Stadelmaier that is included in M as well.