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Christ's Money: Eucharistic Azyme Hosts in the Ninth Century According to Bishop Eldefonsus of Spain: Observations on the Origin, Meaning, and Context of a Mysterious Revelation¹

By Roger E. Reynolds, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies

In Memory of Susan Ann Keefe²

During the central and high Middle Ages the Eucharistic host was often said to be Christ's money. In his enormously popular *Rationale*³ William Durandus wrote: "... the name

¹ Many colleagues, students, and friends have contributed their knowledge to this article: Éric Palazzo, Michel Lauwers, Edouard Jeaneau, Alain Stoclet, Rebecca Maloy, Timothy Thibodeau, Jonathan Jarrett, Rob Dückers, Herbert Kessler, Peter Klein, John Williams, Juan Jose García, Umberto Eco, alumni of the Pontifical Institute, Aden Kumler, Richard Gyug, Charles Hilken, Paul Dutton, and John Romano, and others mentioned in the footnotes. The paper originated in a seminar at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies on Carolingian Liturgical Commentaries, and I thank especially two students there, Deborah Schlow and Herman Holbrook II, for their comments and stimulation. Various forms of the paper have been presented in numerous university lectures and conferences in Canada, the United States, and Germany, and I have benefitted by the anonymous comments and observations made there.

² Professor Susan Ann Keefe of Duke University was my first doctoral student in Toronto and close friend, whose fundamental works on Carolingian baptismal and creed commentaries first inspired my interest in Carolingian liturgical commentaries. Her first article, a seminar paper on Carolingian baptismal commentaries, was published in *Carolingian Essays: Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in Early Christian Studies*, ed. U.-R. Blumenthal (Washington, D.C., 1983) and was awarded the Elliot prize of the Medieval Academy of America as "Best First Article." This was developed into her massive two-volume *Water and the Word -- Baptism and the Instruction of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire: A Study of Texts and Manuscripts* (South Bend IN, 2002). Out of this came her preliminary study on Carolingian creed commentary manuscripts published in *Ritual, Law and Text: Essays in Honor of Roger E. Reynolds*, eds. K. Cushing and R. F. Gyug (Aldershot, 2004), and this was developed into her posthumously published two-volume *A Catalogue of Works Pertaining to the Explanation of the Creed in Carolingian Manuscripts* (Turnhout, 2012) and *Explanationes fidei aevi Carolini (Symbola)* CCCM 254 (Turnhout, 2012).

³ On the popularity of the *Rationale* see the articles in *Guillaume Durand, Évêque de Mende (v. 1230-1296): Canoniste, liturgiste et homme politique, Actes de la Table Ronde du C.N.R.S., Mende 24-27 mai 1990*, ed. P.-M. Gy (Paris, 1992), and my "Guillaume Durand parmi les théologiens médiévaux de la liturgie," pp. 155-168.

and image of our emperor is often written on this bread [the host] since through him [Christ] we are reformed in the image of God and our names are written in the book of life.”⁴ A century before Durandus, Honorius Augustodunensis, now generally known as Honorius of Regensburg,⁵ also said of the Eucharistic host: “Moreover, with letters the image of the Lord is pressed into this bread because the image of the emperor is written on the coin and through this bread the image of God is restored in us and our name is written down in the book of life.”⁶

Both of these authors took great pains to explain how Christ’s money was to be made, what its shape should be, and what should be stamped on it. Durandus, for example, wrote: “The host is made round because: the earth is the Lord’s and the fullness thereof; the world, and all they that dwell therein [Ps. 23.1], and its very form signifies him who lacks a beginning and an end, although he himself is the Alpha and Omega, that is the beginning and end of beginnings [Apoc. 1]. On the other hand, since a round figure is formed from a point to a point, through this is acknowledged that from that one [Christ] all things and to him all things are bent back, whence the psalmist: Thy truth is round about thee [Ps. 88.9].”⁷ “Some also represent a lamb there, first,

⁴ *Guillelmi Duranti rationale divinatorum officiorum I-IV CCCM 140*, eds. A. Davril et T. M. Thibodeau, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum. I-4* (Turnhout, 1995) iv. xli.8, p. 443.

⁵ Honorius is said to have spent some time in England, studying with Anselm, and ending his life in the Irish monastery in Regensburg. See Valerie I. J. Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis, Authors of the Middle Ages: Historical and Religious Writers of the Latin West 2*, 5-6 (Aldershot, 1995). That he was of Irish origins is suggested in the title of my “Further Evidence for the Irish Origin of Honorius Augustodunensis,” *Vivarium* 7 (1969), pp. 1-7. This title was unfortunately substituted in my early article entitled “An Irishism in the Work of Honorius of Autun” by the editors of *Vivarium* after final proofs had been submitted. But the “Irishism” is still there, whether he picked it up in the Irish manuscripts in Regensburg or elsewhere or from his fellow monks in the Schottenkloster St. Jakob at Regensburg, on which see my *The Ordinals of Christ from their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 7, ed. Horst Fuhrmann: Berlin-New York, 1978; repr. Walter de Gruyter, 2013), and forthcoming “The Priest/Bishop as *Imago Christi*” Chapter 7 in *Priesthood and Holy Orders in the Middle Ages*, ed. G. Peters (Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition: Leiden).

⁶ *Gemma animae*, PL 172.555.

⁷ *Durandus*, iv.xxx.8, pp. 382 f.

because he who is sacrificed is a true lamb, but also for the sake of the text that reads [Exod. 29]: This is what you shall do upon the altar: you shall offer lambs continually and wine for the libation unto the lamb.”⁸ “But the bread is thus formed in the manner of a denarius, first because the bread of life was betrayed for the sake of denarii, also because [the bread of life] ought to be given as a reward to those laboring in the vineyard [Matt. 20.1-15].”⁹ This was not unlike Honorius, who earlier said: “Which bread, moreover, is formed in the manner of a coin [denarius] because Christ, the living bread, was sold for the price of coins and he himself is the true coin, which according to the Decalogue of the law shall be given as a reward to those laboring in the vineyard of the Church.”¹⁰ “And thus we remember clearly that the bread of Christ is formed in the shape of coins because he was betrayed for thirty coins by the hands of the wicked, he who is the true coin that is given as a reward to the just who labor in the vineyard until evening.” “And because since the people were not taking communion it was not necessary that such a large bread should be made, it was established that it [the bread] should be made and formed in the form of a coin [denarii]; and the people offer coins for the offering of flour so they recognize that the Lord was betrayed for [coins]...”¹¹

Long before Honorius and Durandus wrote about Christ’s money, there appeared in the ninth century an oblique brief reference to the king’s denarius to that of the cross of the heavenly

⁸ iv.xli.8, p. 443.

⁹ iv.xli.8, p. 443.

¹⁰ *Eucharistion*, PL 172.1256.

¹¹ *Gemma animae*, PL. 172.564 f. The texts of Durandus and Honorius here are translated and treated in Aden Kumler, “The Multiplication of the Species: Eucharistic Morphology in the Middle Ages,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 59/60 (2011), p. 187 f.

king in Walafrid Strabo's *Commentary on Psalms*.¹² But far more important was a little ninth-century tract on the same subject attributed to a mysterious Bishop Eldefonsus of Spain. Not only did it have descriptions of Christ's money, of what it was to be made and in what type of host presses, but illustrations on what was to be imprinted on it, and how the hosts were to be laid out on the altar for various feasts of the Christian year. This little tract has long been known and commented on by liturgiologists and sacramental theologians, especially because they see in it the first very firm textual and visual evidence showing that azymes or unleavened Eucharistic hosts were used in the Western church. Other contemporary authors had hinted at this use, but in our little tract this is graphically and abundantly clear.

In his immensely popular historical novel, subsequently made into a motion picture, *The Name of the Rose*, the noted semiotics and Thomistic scholar, Umberto Eco, introduced his readers to this unusual ninth-century text on Eucharistic hosts first published by the seventeenth-century Benedictine scholar, Dom Jean Mabillon. Eco reports that he had attempted to find in Austrian libraries a copy of a volume containing this text with the extended title: *Vetera analecta, sive collectio veterum aliquot opera & opusculorum omnis generis, carminum, epistolarum, diplomaton, epitaphiorum, & cum itinere germanico, adaptationibus & aliquot disquisitionibus R.P.D. Joannis Mabillon, Presbiteri ac Monachi Ord. Sancti Benedicti e Congregatione S. Mauri. Nova Editio cui accessere Mabilloni vita & aliquot opuscula, scilicet Dissertatio de Pane Eucharistico, Azymo et Fermentatio ad Eminentiss. Cardinalem Bona. Subiungitur opusculum Eldefonsi Hispaniensis Episcopi de eodem argumentum. Et Eusebii Romani ad Theophilum Gallum epistola, De cultu sanctorum ignotorum, Parisiis, apud*

¹² See his *Commentary on Psalm 4.7*: "Signatum est super nos lumen, etc." (AUG.) Hoc lumen est totum, et verum hominis bonum, quo signatur, ut denarius imagine regis. "Lumen." (AUG.) Lumen, id est, luminosus vultus, et illuminans nos, imago qua cognosceris (CASS.) vel: crux nobis impressa est, in signum regis nostri, quae est lumen vultus: quia in talibus radiat Deus. PL 113. 849.

Levesque, ad Pontem S. Michaelis, MDCCXXI, cum privilegio Regis. Failing to find the volume, Eco went on to say that he had found it in the Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève in Paris, but the date and publisher did not match the reference he had been given. Hence, in an attempt to find the volume, Eco, who has recently in 2009 been awarded an honorary doctorate from the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto, consulted “the dear and unforgettable Étienne Gilson,” the great Thomistic scholar and one of the founders of the Pontifical Institute.¹³



Figure 1 (left) Umberto Eco, 2013, at Silos with codices of Beatus; Photo. author; (right) Étienne Gilson of the Pontifical Institute. Photo. author.

¹³ Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose*, Engl. trs. W. Weaver (San Diego, New York, London, 1980) , p. 2. This work had immediate effect at Toronto’s Pontifical Institute, as my late colleague, Fr. Leonard Boyle, before becoming Prefect of the Vatican Library, recommended it widely and enthusiastically to students and professors alike, who held many seminars to discuss the work. Another enthusiast was my good friend, the late Horst Fuhrmann, also an honorary doctor at the Pontifical Institute and President of the Monumenta Germaniae historica in Munich, who not only wrote numerous pieces on Eco and his work, but also invited him to be the featured speaker at the great Monumenta congress in 1986, eventually published in the proceedings, *Fälschungen im Mittelalter, Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae historica, 16.-19. September 1986. MGH, Schriften* (Hannover, 1988).

To Eco's disappointment, Gilson could not help him. Eco's novel continues from there with no further reference to the *Opusculum Eldefonsi Hispaniensis Episcopi de eodem argumento* but with references to the work of another Spanish cleric in Carolingian times, the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* by Beatus of Liébana.¹⁴ Nonetheless, the *Opusculum Eldefonsi Hispaniensis Episcopi* has continued to fascinate liturgical scholars and many specialists in other fields since Mabillon's day for its unusual and puzzling features.¹⁵

First, the *Opusculum* itself, whose Latin text and illustrations of Mabillon can be conveniently consulted in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* 106.881-890. It begins boldly by stating that it is a "Revelatio" to a bishop Eldefonsus of Spain, given early in the morning of seventh day of the tenth month, 845, on the bread of azymes or unleavened bread. The beholder sees a pair of circles, which are illustrated in the text, inscribed with a series of words and abbreviations:



Figure 3 (left) Mabillon's illustration of azymes; (right) Mabillon's illustration of reverse of coin with Altissimus Photo: author.

¹⁴ For Eco's earlier interest in Beatus see *Beato di Liébana : miniature del Beato de Fernando I y Sancha (codice B.N. Madrid Vit. 14-2) testo e commenti alle tavole di Umberto Eco; introduzione e note bibliografiche di Luis Vázquez de Parga Iglesias* (Parma, 1973).

¹⁵ See e.g., Charles Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe, études archéologiques sur ses monuments I* (Paris, 1887), p. 263, who thought it was Ildefonsus; or Joseph Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman rite : its origins and development (Missarum sollemnia) II* (New York, 1951-55), p. 43 f.

On the first side within two circles are the words Veritas/Truth, Mathew, John, Rex/ King, God, Jesus, Christ, Lux, Pax, Gea [sic], Vita, Mark, Luke and Vita again. Then he turns to the other side of the coin with the words Altissimus Deus/Highest God, Peter, Sion, and Paul, two lines enclosing between the lines the three persons of the Trinity represented by three points, Pater, Eilius [sic], Spiritus Sanctus, and below them Andrew, Jerusalem, IACR [sic], and Omnipotent Lord all giving tributes.

Eldefonsus then goes on to say that these circles represent a host, the money of the celestial King, which excel in dignity the forms of money of earthly kings. Looking to the five points in the first circle (four around the fifth of the cross) it is said that in their unending circular form they are like God who has neither beginning nor end. Jumping briefly to another “Revelatio,” the prophecy of Ezechiel, Eldefonsus cites the five wheels and four animals.

The “Revelatio” continues on with the azymes and breastplate of Aaron, presumably because azymes belong to the Aaronic priesthood, while simple bread is associated with the priest Melchizedek.¹⁶ He returns to his illustrations by saying that just as the apostles Andrew and James [IACR] beneath the lower line were colleagues on earth, so Peter and Paul above the upper line were joined with the most high God and the other saints, as were the four evangelists (being represented by Ezechiel’s four animals) on the other side of the host.

Turning to the hosts themselves Eldefonsus says that just as the thumb of a man can cover a coin, with three fingers especially three representing the Trinity, one host can encompass three coins touching one another, and he presents an illustration of this with three hosts inside a larger circle.

¹⁶ It is interesting that the Orthodox in their controversy with the West over azymes have always insisted that Christ is a priest after the order of Melchizedek [Ps. 109:4; Heb. 5:6, 10, 20], not Aaron [Heb. 7:6]. Azymes belong to the Aaronic priesthood, while Melchizedek is said to have offered bread (artos), not azymes (azuma) [Gen. 14:18].

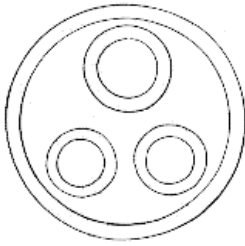


Figure 4 Mabillon's illustration of Three Hosts within a larger circle.
Photo: author.

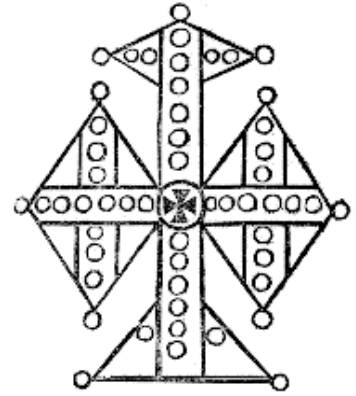
After a short diversion regarding the rejection of Christ, the Father, and the angels, Eldefonsus returns to his main theme, the host, and how it is to be arranged on various feast days of the Church.

At Christmas, when there are the three traditional Masses, twelve hosts are to be laid out in a round circle representing the choir of angels. In the midst of these twelve are to be five hosts placed in the form of a cross, four signifying the four evangelists and the central one signifying the unique Son of God who redeemed man on the cross. These all equal seventeen, and if one separates these one will find the septiform Holy Spirit and ten as the Man-God. Inserted into this is a phrase on the nine orders of angels (something also found in the nearly contemporary *Collectaneum* of Sedulius Scottus), which perhaps might have been originally placed after the reference to the choir of angels above. On the other hand, the text here is confused and the meaning might have been that when one adds nine orders of angels plus the septiformity of the Holy Spirit and the one Man-God, the total is seventeen. Putting the hosts together for three Masses of Christmas there are, says the Mabillon text, forty-one (fifty-one?) hosts (seventeen times three), the “one” representing One God and the “fifty” the plenitude in God, also found in the numbers one hundred and one thousand.

On Easter or the feast of the Resurrection forty-five hosts are to be arranged in the form of a cross, making 135 for the three traditional Masses of Easter, and an elaborate diagram of this

is presented. This diagram presented at this point by Mabillon perhaps refers to the layout of the Christmas hosts of fifty-one, but there are pictured fifty-three, not forty-five, hosts.

Figure 5 Mabillon's illustration of host for Masses of Easter. Photo: author.



For the Ascension it is to be the same as Easter. And for the Transfiguration (said to be on the sixth Kalends of August) the same configuration as at Christmas is to be used, and the illustration, which perhaps also should have been inserted with Christmas, is presented.

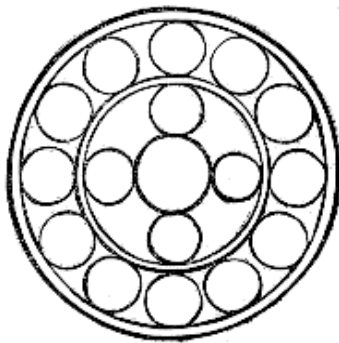


Figure 6 Mabillon's illustration of host configuration for Transfiguration/Christmas. Photo: author.

Picking up on the number seventeen, Eldefonsus refers to the 153 fishes of the miraculous draught of fishes caught by Christ's disciples, that is, $17 \times 3 = 51 \times 3 = 153$. Regarding the number three, Eldefonsus deals with the unity of the Trinity and the relation of the

three persons, citing brief lines, often cited by other eighth and ninth-century writers, from Sedulius's *Carmen Pascale*.¹⁷

Returning to the arrangement of hosts on other feast days, Eldefonsus says that on Pentecost forty-five hosts are to be arranged in a rectangle representing the figure of the four-square heavenly Jerusalem (whose title, Sion, he had seen on one of the sides of his original vision).

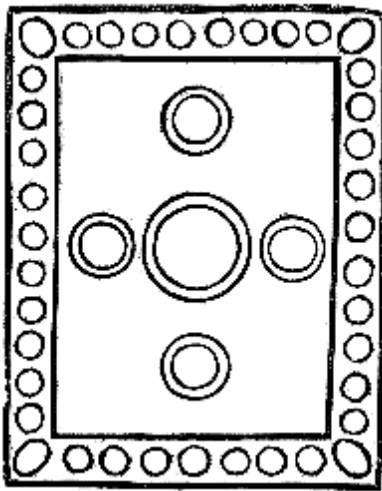


Figure 7 Mabillon's illustration of host configuration for Pentecost. Photo: author.

Mabillon's illustration accompanying this shows forty-four hosts, ten hosts on three sides, nine on the lowest side,¹⁸ and five in the center arranged as a cross with the largest host in the center of the cross.

¹⁷ I.319-320. *Sedulii Opera omnia recensuit et commentario critico instruxit Iohannes Huemer ; accedunt excerpta ex Remigii Expositione in Sedulii Paschale carmen*. Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 10 (Vienna, 1885), p. 39.

¹⁸ It is curious that when this diagram was reproduced by Paul Deschamps the lowest side has ten hosts. See his "Tables d'autel de marbre" *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge, offerts à m. Ferdinand Lot par ses amis et ses élèves*. (Paris, 1925), p. 165, fig. 11.

Following this it is said that on Sundays and Saints Days five hosts are to be arranged in cross form with the largest in the middle, representing the Lamb of God.¹⁹ There follows a diagram of this arrangement. For daily Masses only one host is used and a diagram of this is also given.

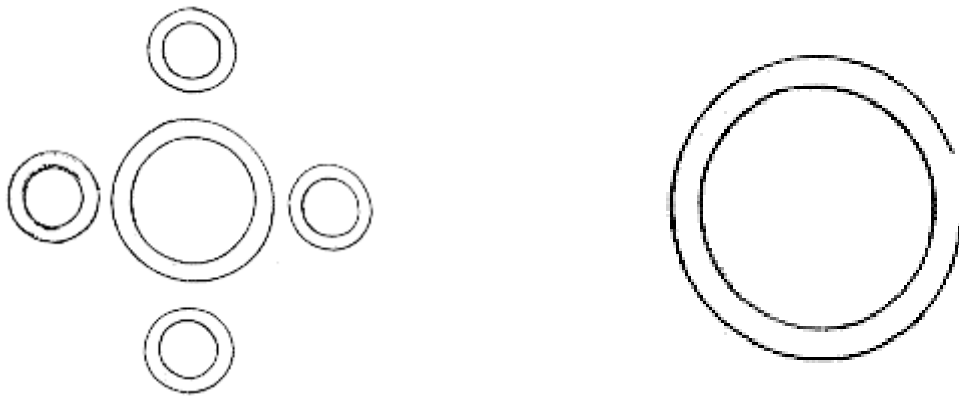


Figure 8 (left) Mabillon's illustration of host configuration for Sundays and Saints Days; (right) Mabillon's illustration of host configuration for daily Masses. Photos: author.

There then follows a recapitulation of these arrangements: Christmas, seventeen hosts at each of three Masses; Easter, forty-five at three Masses; Pentecost, forty-five at three Masses; (there is no summation for the Ascension); Transfiguration, seventeen hosts at three Masses like Christmas; and Sundays and Saints' Feasts, five hosts with the largest in the middle of a cross.

A discussion then follows as to what is to be inscribed on the hosts: XPC, IHC, or DS, but not DNS, REX, PAX, OMNIPOTENS, VITA, or PANIS. This is illustrated by two diagrams of hosts, one with XPC with capital omega Ω (or abbreviation mark?) above it and the other with a cross surmounting the letters capital alpha A and small omega Ω .

¹⁹ On the central portion of the Eastern prosphoron as a lamb see *The Blackwell Dictionary of Eastern Christianity*, eds. Ken Parry and David Melling (Malden, MA, 1999), p. 88, 368.



Figure 9 Mabillon's illustration of hosts inscribed with XPC and the alpha and the omega.
Photo: author.

Turning to the making of the hosts, Eldefonsus says that the iron in which the hosts are made should be constructed so that in the center is a large host surrounded by four smaller. The four hosts can be inscribed with the letters XPC at the top, IHC below, REX to the left and DS to the right.

The quality and measurements of the hosts is then described. "Blue wheat" or the finest wheat is to be used. The large host equals three coins, but when cooked loses a sixth of its weight. The smaller hosts equal one coin. There follows a comparison of the Trinity in three in one and a return to the theme of the 153 fishes. Finally, there is a strange discussion of the weight of the hosts, something that puzzled Mabillon and most economic, numismatic, and metrology specialists since his time, in which it is said that in antiquity twenty-five solidi equalled one pound. With this there is a conclusion stating that tract has considered the weight, form, and measure of the hosts.

Dom Mabillon in his brief preface to the text was concerned especially with the question of the monetary equivalents given in the text, wondering why it was said that twenty-five solidi equalled one pound, speculating that it may have come from Hispanic practice. But there are many other intriguing features of the text. Who is this bishop Eldefonsus, who is unknown in the

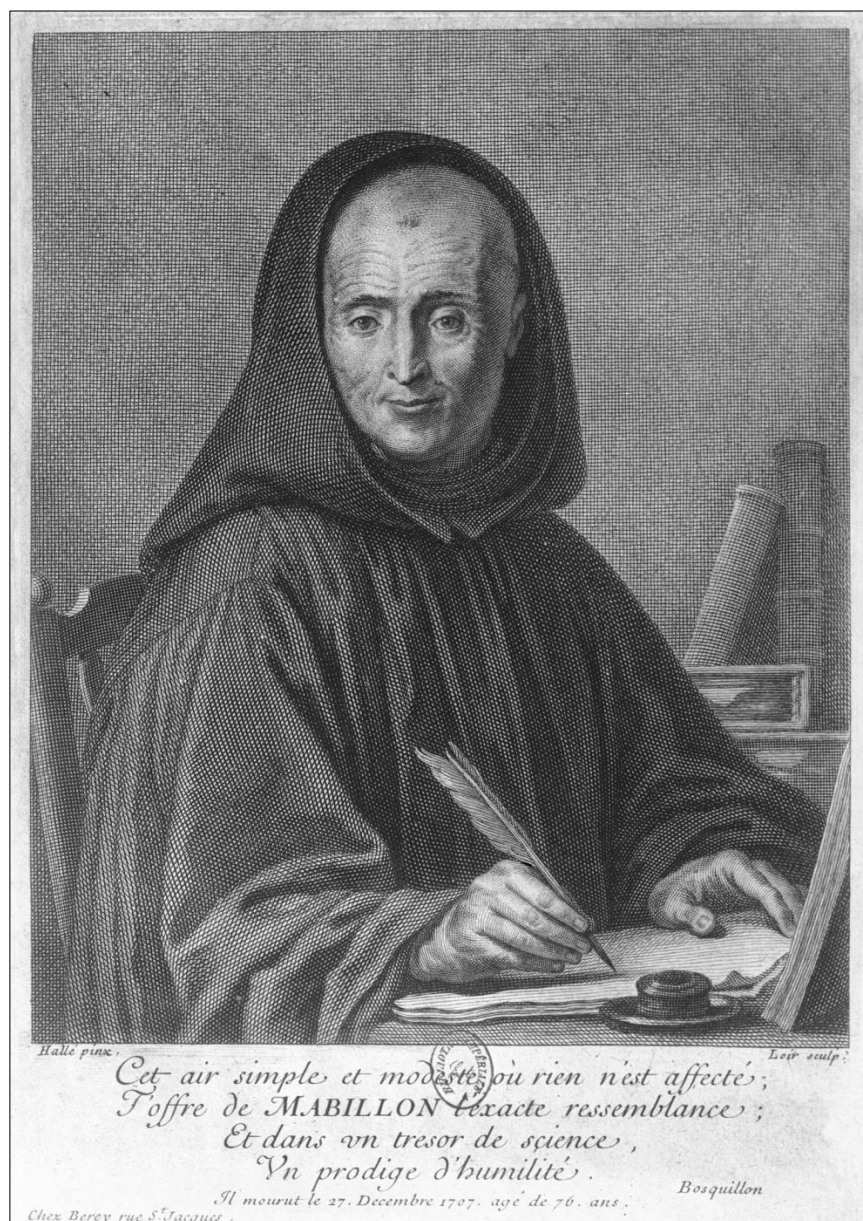


Figure 10 Jean Mabillon (1632-1707), bénédictin français. Gravure de Loir d’après Hallé, Bibliothèque Nationale. Photo: Revue Mabillon.

ancient lists of bishops of Spain? Why is he called a bishop of Spain rather than a bishop of some diocese or city? What is the significance of the date, 845, of the “Revelatio”? If the bishop is from Spain, why is not the Hispanic era used? What is the meaning of “Revelatio”? What is the significance of the numerological “games”? Why the concern with hosts, which were only in the

ninth-century beginning to be used instead of bread in the Western Church? Why the interest in a particular type of wheat to be used in the making of the hosts? What is the significance of the irons used to make the hosts? And why were the hosts to be arranged on the altar in such complex patterns? Many of these questions have led scholars in the past to doubt the veracity, accuracy, and usefulness of the text as early evidence for the usage of azymes in the western Church. But the text is clearly there in early manuscripts, some written in the ninth century, and this leads one to answer or at least suggest answers to some of the questions raised above about the text. But first one must look to the “editions” of the text and the manuscripts thereof.

The text was first published by the great Benedictine scholar, Dom Jean Mabillon, **(Figure 10)** often called the father of modern palaeography. Among his magnificent works was his *Analecta Vetera*, whose first volume was published in Paris in 1675. Three volumes were to follow, with the fourth being published in 1685. Earlier the great Cistercian liturgical scholar, the so-called father of modern liturgiology, Giovanni Cardinal Bona, had written on the use of unleavened bread in his *Rerum liturgicarum libri duo (De Rebus Liturgicis)* (Paris, 1672).²⁰ Bona greatly admired the scholarship of Mabillon and had asked him to compose a treatise on the use of azymes or hosts in the Mass and Mabillon did so in a treatise entitled *Dissertatio de pane eucharistico, azymo et fermentum*. This treatise came to be appended to the fourth volume of the *Analecta Vetera* (originally entitled *Libri Germanicarum*, later *Iter Germanicum*) with other small tracts of Mabillon. Added to Mabillon’s treatise was our text of Eldefonsus, which he repeatedly cited in his *Dissertatio* as evidence for the ancient use of azymes dating back to the Last Supper on the Feast of Unleavened Bread. Mabillon is widely known for his extensive travels throughout Europe to investigate and obtain manuscripts for his Maurist convent of St.-

²⁰ I.xxiii (Paris 1672), p. 198 ff. On the positions of Sirmond, Bona, and Mabillon, see John Mason Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church* 1/2 (London, 1850), p. 1056.

Germain-de-Prés in Paris, but for our text he relied only on a report sent him by Cardinal Bona based on a manuscript in the Vatican Library, which he did not identify. The text appears also to have been known to other eminent scholars of the time, including Emery Bigot and Lukas Cardinal Holste, the Custos of the Biblioteca Vaticana.²¹ After Mabillon's publication of our text it made its way into his revised version of the *Analecta*²² and a number of collections of liturgical and medieval texts thereafter, among them the great liturgical collection of his Benedictine Maurist confrere, Dom Edmund Martène, *De antiquis Ecclesiae ritibus libri tres* 1 (1763), p. 140 f.²³ and eventually into Migne's *Patrologia Latina* 106.881-890.

Because Mabillon had relied for his text and their illustrative diagrams on Cardinal Bona's report from an unidentified Vatican codex, it was difficult for scholars to check its accuracy, and hence Mabillon's text continued to be used and cited. But if one looks to that Vatican manuscript and others that contain the text, not only can one control for the accuracy of Mabillon's text, but also discover clues regarding the questions on its origins raised above.

The Vatican manuscript that Cardinal Bona apparently used is Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 1341. This manuscript is well known to canon law historians for its text of the so-called *Collectio Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis*. This is one of the four primary collections compiled by the forgers of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals in the middle of

²¹ *Analecta Vetera*, p. 524 and 542. The text was also known later to the great Spanish Jesuit scholar, Faustino Arévalo who said he had seen the manuscript, Vat. Lat. 1341, with the text following a collection of conciliar canons. He reported this in his edition of Sedulius (see PL 19.447).

²² *Analecta Vetera*, p. 548.

²³ *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus libri tres : ex variis insigniorum ecclesiarum pontificalibus, sacramentariis, missalibus, breviariis, ritualibus, sive manualibus, ordinariis seu consuetudinariis, cum manuscriptis tum editis : ex diversis conciliorum decretis, episcoporum statutis aliisque probatis auctoribus permultis collecti atque exornati a ... Edmundo Martene Antuerpiae : Prostant Venetiis in bibliopolio Jo. Baptistae Novelli ..., 1763. Editio novissima ad eodem auctore tertiam ultra partem aucta, & novis uberrimis indicibus locupletata.*

the ninth century, using as a basis the Spanish *Collectio canonum hispana* in its Gallican form.²⁴ Although the canonical collection bears the traditional title of “Augustodunensis” referring to Autun, the provenance of the manuscript, Bernhard Bischoff has shown that it was actually written at Corbie in the late ninth century – the monastery where Mabillon had spent some years before going to the Maurist house at Saint-Germain-des-Prés! Following the text of the *Collectio Augustodunensis* is our little tract on fols. 187v-188v.²⁵

The quaternion of four bifolios on which our text is written is the last in the manuscript. Our text is in a slightly smaller hand than that of the foregoing text. Beginning on fol. 187v there are forty-two ruled lines and 188r has forty-two to forty-three ruled lines. Strangely fol. 188 has been stitched together with two vertical pieces. They were stitched before the writing was done since the writing on the right column of fol. 188r is carefully placed so as not to overlap the stitching. For most of the circles a compass was used showing the prick marks, but occasionally the circles seem to have been done free-hand.

²⁴ See my “Law, Canon, before Gratian,” *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* 7, ed. J. R. Strayer (New York, 1986), pp. 395-413.

²⁵ Other extant manuscript with the *Collectio Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis* either in whole or in part are either of the second recension or fragmentary. Antwerpen, Musaeum Plantin-Moretus, M 227 (saec. XII, England?) (form HGA²) (on which see the LMS thesis at the Pontifical Institute of Michael Kulikowski, “The *Collectio Canonum Antwerpensis*: A Chronological Excerpta of the *Collectio Hispana* at Antwerp” (Toronto, 1995); Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Hamilton 132 (saec. IX^{ca. med.}; Rheims) (additions from the *Collectio Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis*); Eton, Eton College Library 97 (B.I.I.6) (saec. XII; provenance Exeter Cathedral) (form HGA²). There were manuscripts of the collection, now lost, at Beauvais, Noyon, and Laon, on which see *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum, [et quae ad eos scriptae sunt a S. Clemente I. usque ad Innocentium III]* ed. Pierre Coustant (Paris, 1721) cxix, para. 145. On the Laon manuscript, whose text I identified for him, see John Contreni, “A new description of the lost Laon manuscript of the ‘Collectio Hispana Gallica,’” *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* n.s. 7 (1977), pp. 85-89.

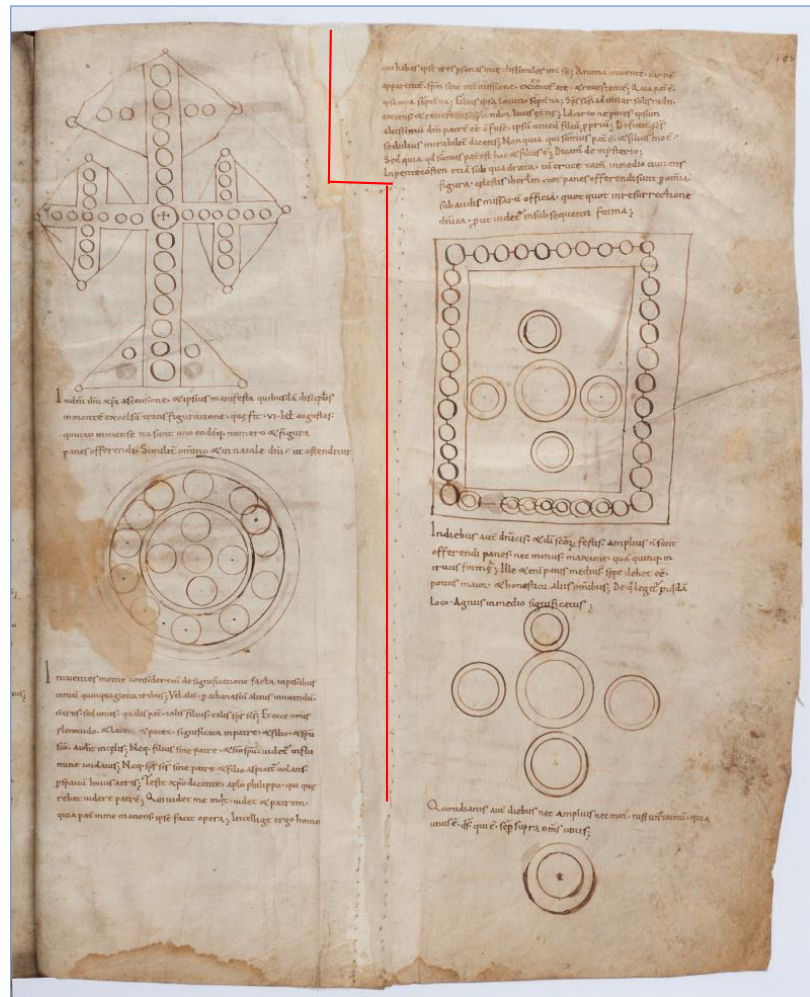


Figure 11 Vatican BAV Vat. Lat. 1341. Photo: Herbert Kessler.

In the first of the first pair of circles on fol. 187v there are five dots in the center, four surrounding the cross in the center with its dot in the center. Surrounding the whole are fifty-one small dots or circles, something Mabillon omitted. The fifty-one circles, corresponding to the fifty-one hosts at the three masses of Christmas described later, were not carefully planned to encompass the circle entirely, there being a line between two of them, at the base, used as a space filler.

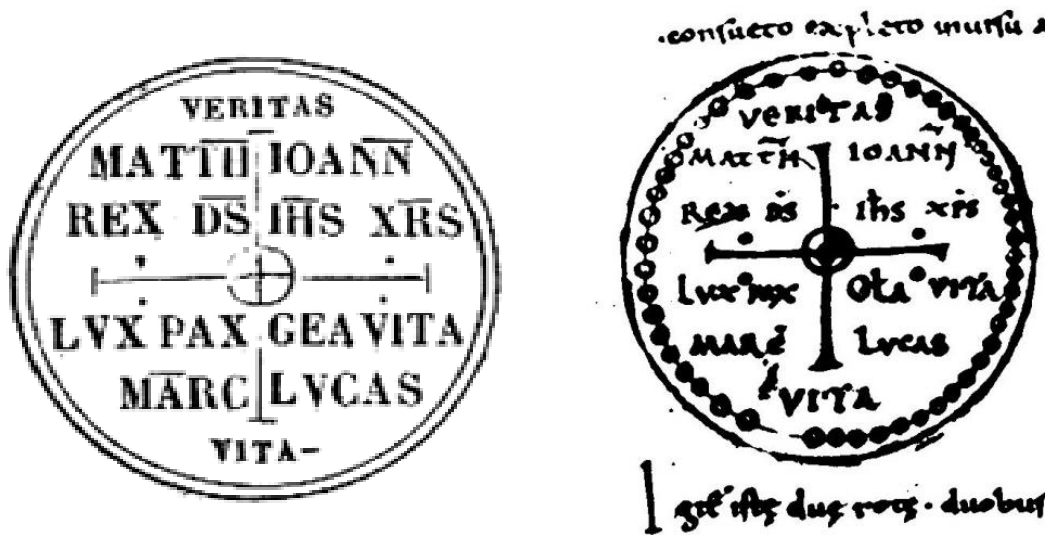


Figure 12 Comparison of Mabillon's illustration and the original in Vatican BAV Vat. Lat. 1341. Photo: author.

Regarding the circles on the edge, lines, and dots, it is interesting to compare examples of Carolingian coins with their dotted edges, lines, dots, and simple names of the earthly king.²⁶



Figure 13 Carolingian Coins of Charlemagne from the Mint at Melle. Photo: CGB.

²⁶ For examples of many coins of the time of Charles the Bald, see D. M. Metcalf, "A Sketch of the currency in the time of Charles the Bald," in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom* (rev. edit) eds. Margaret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson (Aldershot, 1990), p. 95. Especially important and interesting in relation to the origins of our tract is the coinage minted from the Aquitainian mines at Melle.

The rim with dots or “pellets” within and the cross in the manuscript illustration are important to note. Regarding the dots around the borders of coins, numismatists give several reasons. It is said that the dotted border of coins, ancient and medieval, was the outer edge of value-- in other words, the dots on Carolingian coins fix the value. If compromised (since the metal value of the silver coin was the real worth of the coin), the coin still had some metal value but no representational or exact exchange value. By this standard, Charlemagne’s denarius from Melle displayed here has lost its representational value since its dotted border has been compromised.²⁷



Figure 14 Host press with cross and Alpha and Omega, 11th-12th century, Museu Episcopal de Vic 9722. Photo: Museu Episcopal de Vic.

²⁷ I owe this valuable information to Paul Dutton, who has kindly written me “The rim (often raised as on our coins today) or outer edge of a coin is always subject to degrading over time. It delimits the coin as an object but does not define its worth, which is determined by the beaded or dotted border which lies inside it. In the ancient and medieval worlds, it is my understanding [that] it was common practice to test the metallic worth of a coin by testing its rim, often with a knife or teeth. It was also common practice to shave off that material beyond the border, since it was excess or superfluous to the coin's nominal value. But to shave, cut, or infringe upon the beaded border inside the rim was to destroy the nominal value of the coin--it became useless as a representational object (i.e., was no longer a denarius for purposes of exchange).”

Another reason for the dots is that the pellets around the perimeter were to prevent people from trimming the outer edges off and reducing the value of the coin. That the dots on the coin in the Eldefonsus tract are not simply an artist's creation, but representative of actual hosts can be seen in the extant host press from the eleventh century from Vic that not only has the same imprint as one of Eldefonsus's hosts' Alpha and Omega (with capital omega bumps over it), but also a ring of dots around the perimeter of the host on the press.

Figure 15 (left) Host Press, 11th century Vic, Museu Episcopal. Photo flip: Author; (center) Vatican BAV Vat. Lat. 1341. Photo: Author; (right) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 2855. Photo: author



It is interesting, moreover, that one side of Christ's money in the Eldefonsus revelation has a "long cross," a device common in later medieval English coins to prevent the coin from being clipped, thus reducing the weight and value of the silver content of the coin. The idea was that an extended "long cross" on the coin would make it much clearer to the user if coin had been tampered with, and thus one should refuse it if the ends of all four limbs were not visible. It is interesting, also, that the sign of the cross came to replace imperial portraits of coins largely in the 840s.²⁸ In short, the dotted border and "long cross" on our money of the heavenly

²⁸ On this see See Ildar H. Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Royal Authority in the Carolingian World* (c.751-877) (Leiden, 2008), p. 215.

king emphasize its eternal worth and value. As well as the dots or pellets missed by Mabillon, the manuscript also has the correct GLA for Gloria not GEA.

On the obverse side of our coin there are clearly three dots, and the fourth line of names has the abbreviations ANDR, NERL, ICAB. Also there is the correct FILIUS not Mabillon's EILIUS and Jacobus IACB not Mabillon's ICAR.

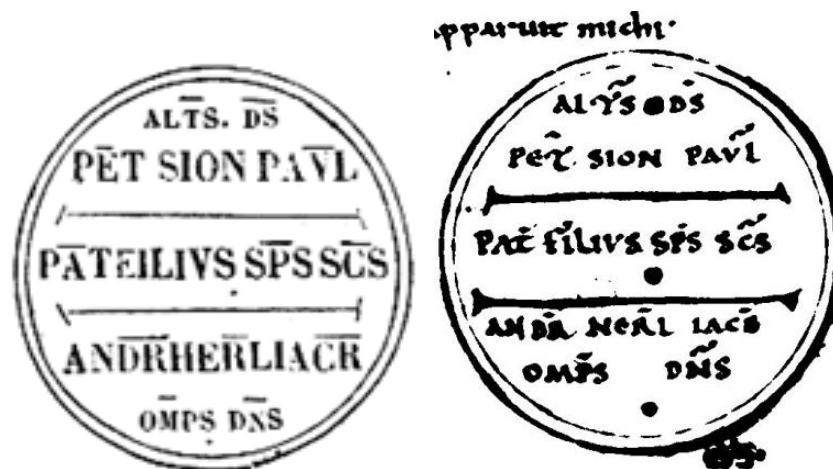


Figure 16 Comparison of Mabillon's illustration and the original Vatican BAV Vat. Lat. 1341. Photo: author.

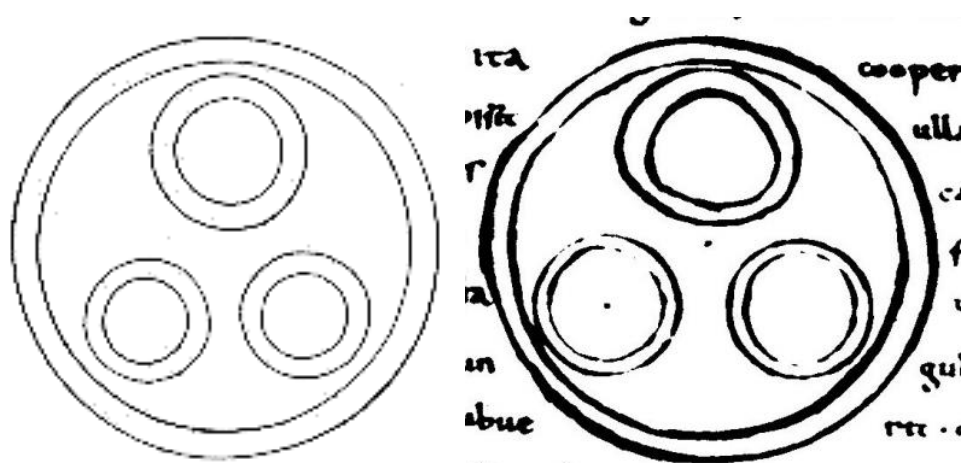


Figure 17 Comparison of Mabillon's illustration of three circles within a larger circle and the original Vatican BAV Vat. Lat. 1341. Photo: author.

In the next illustration of the three circles within a larger circle each circle has been made with a compass, showing the prick holes. In the text thereafter it is found in the Vatican manuscript that Mabillon's "quadraginta et unus" actually reads "L et unus" ($51 = 17 \times 3$).

The next illustration for Easter is the most complex one in the tract and must have caused the illustrator (or later correctors) difficulties in trying to harmonize it with the text. This complexity is reflected in Mabillon's (or his Vatican correspondent's) illustration. In Mabillon's illustration there are twelve circles (plus the cross) on the vertical shaft of the cross, twelve on each diamond-shaped arm of the cross, four in the upper diamond, two in the lower support, and eleven on the extremities, making fifty-three. In the manuscript itself there are fourteen circles (plus the cross) on the vertical shaft, twelve on the arms, four in the upper diamond, four in the lower support, and eleven on the extremities, making fifty-seven. But there are several erasures of circles: the two highest on the vertical cross, the two on the right side of the right diamond, four on the left horizontal of the left diamond, and two on the lowest support of the cross.

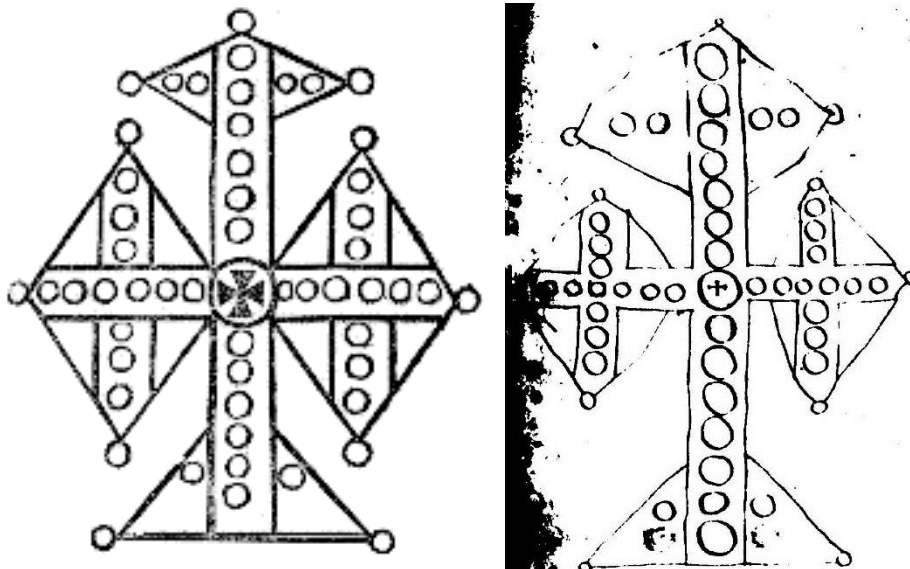


Figure 18 Mabillon's illustration of the Easter Cross and the original Vatican BAV Vat. Lat. 1341. Photo: author.

For the Transfiguration the next illustration, which logically should have followed Christmas but also belongs here, there are compass pricks for some of the circles but not all. Originally there were only eleven circles (one in the upper left in heavy ink) drawn around the five in the center, but realizing that this did not equal the twelve of the text a scribe crudely drew in an extra heavy circle overlapping two of the original.

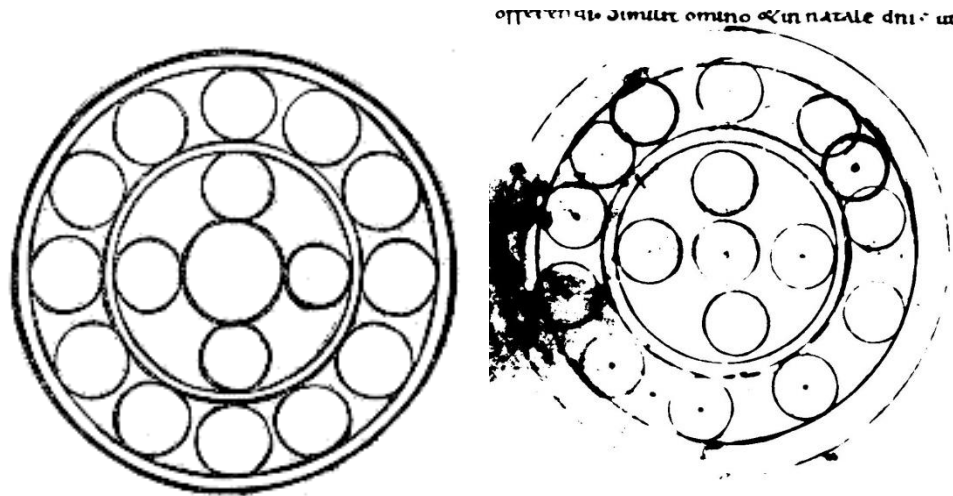


Figure 19 Mabillon's illustration of arrangement of hosts for the Transfiguration and the original Vatican BAV Vat. Lat. 1341. Photo: author.

The rectangular illustration for Pentecost also caused both Mabillon and the manuscript illustrator difficulties. Mabillon pictured ten circles on the upper and vertical sides of the rectangle, but only nine on the lower side. The manuscript illustrator also had difficulties. First, the left circle in the center of the rectangle laps over into the border. The circles on the borders number ten on the upper and vertical sides, all linked with lines. But in the lower side there were difficulties. There are erasures along this side. Then ten double circles linking each other, except for the last, were added to make the necessary forty. All together this would equal the forty-five hosts for Pentecost.

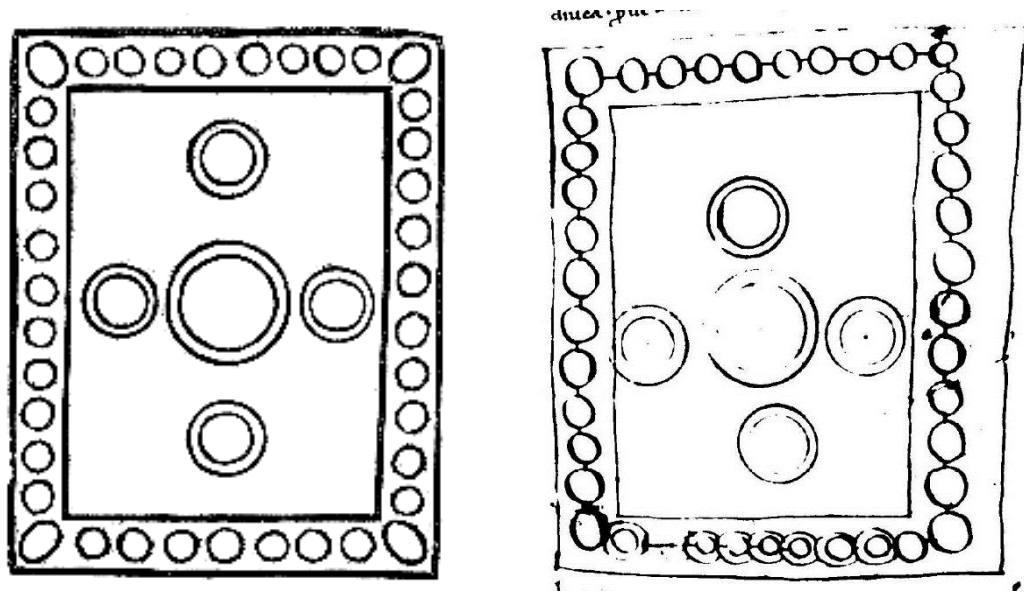


Figure 20 Comparison of Mabillon's illustration of host arrangement for Pentecost and the original Vatican BAV Vat. Lat. 1341. Photo: author.

The illustration for Sundays must have been drawn in before the text, since the text before it overlaps the upper circle.

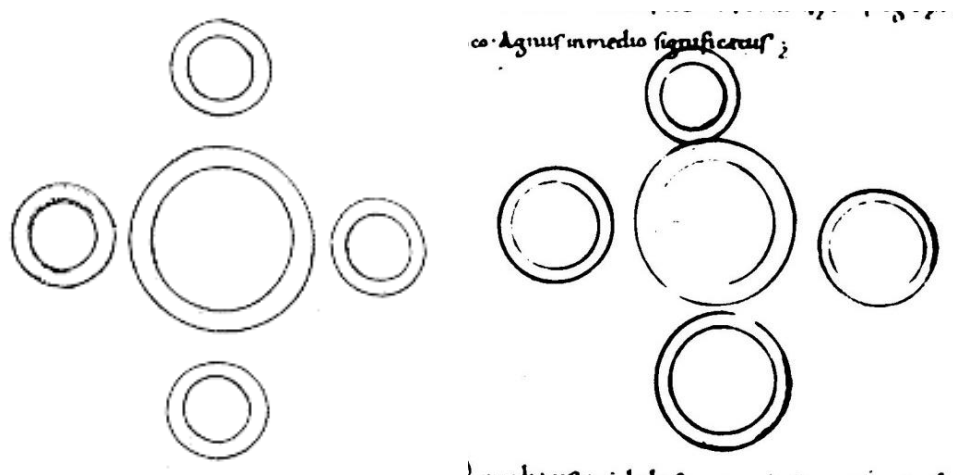


Figure 21 Comparison of Mabillon's illustration of host arrangement for Sunday Mass with the original Vatican BAV Vat. Lat. 1341. Photo: author.

The illustration of one circle for everyday masses seems to have presented no difficulties for the illustrator of the Vatican manuscript.

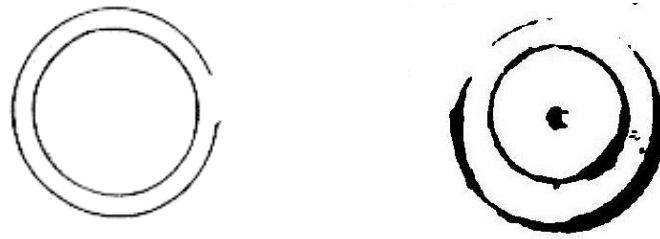


Figure 22 Comparison of Mabillon's illustration of host arrangement for everyday Mass with the original Vatican BAV Vat. Lat. 1341. Photo: author.

There is then the last pair of illustrations depicting what should be stamped on the hosts.

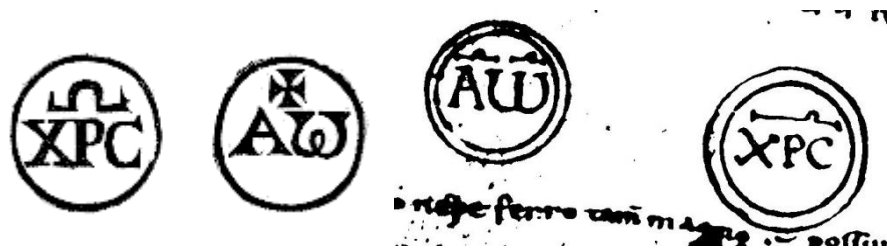


Figure 23 Comparison of Mabillon's illustration design that should be stamped on the host with the original Vatican BAV Vat. Lat. 1341. Photo: author.

Mabillon reversed these and placed a cross above the Alpha and Omega rather than the two bumped capital omega lines above these two letters in the manuscript.

Beyond the Vatican manuscript used by Mabillon there are two more extant manuscripts with our text, both in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France. Both have, for many years, been more famous for other texts and illustrations in them than ours.²⁹ The first of these is Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 2855, with our text on fols. 63r-68r. The manuscript itself is a composite one. The first section contains the Eucharistic works of Radbertus of Corbie,

²⁹ One can consult the extensive on-line bibliography for these manuscripts in the metadata for each on the website for manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale de France: http://archivesetmanuscrits.Bibliothèque_nationale_de_France.fr/cdc.html.

his *De corpore et sanguine Domini* and his *Versus ad Pacidum de corpore Christi*,³⁰ and has been said to have been the presentation copy to Charles the Bald, thus likely dating this section of the manuscript to the ninth century.³¹ The last section of the manuscript is equally famous. It contains a copy in beautiful Visigothic script of the *De virginitate beatae Mariae* of Ildefonsus of Toledo,³² written by the scribe Gomez of St. Martin de Albelda ca. 951 and presented to Bishop Godescalc of Le Puy as he traveled, as has been said, as the first non-Hispanic pilgrim to Santiago de Compostela. The volume was kept, until 1681, in the cathedral library at Le Puy.³³

Our text falls between these two sections as a libellus on fols. 63r-68r. The first blank folio has two carefully drawn circles with a stylus. There then follows our text in a beautiful hand, probably of the late ninth or early tenth century.³⁴ There are several things that differ in this manuscript from the Vatican manuscript used by Mabillon. First, and most important, it begins by citing the year 845, but does not mention Eldefonsus. Second, one variant in the text of the tract in the manuscript that could be of major importance in locating the origin of the text is that the words in the Vatican manuscript, “CLIII maxima caerulei grana quod triticum dicitur” now read “centum quinquaginta tria grana cerulei *Aquitaniae tritici nostri*” (italics mine). Third,

³⁰ See *Pascasius Radbertus De corpore et sanguine Domini: cum appendice Epistola ad Fredugardum*, ed. Bedae Paulus, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis* (CCCM) 16 (Turnhout, 1969) esp. p. xxxi f. dating the manuscript to the tenth century.

³¹ According to Jean-Paul Bouhot, *Ratramne de Corbie : histoire littéraire et controverses doctrinales* (Paris, 1976), 83 n. 21, this manuscript should be dated to the ninth century and was perhaps the exemplar of Radbertus's work offered to Charles the Bald.

³² It is interesting that in medieval manuscripts a number of pieces of Radbertus went under the name of Ildefonsus of Toledo, on which see Franz Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1975), p. 194; and Robert Maloy, “The Sermonary of St. Ildefonsus of Toledo. A Study of the Scholarship and Manuscripts,” *Classical Folia* 25 (1971), pp. 137-99 and 243-301.

³³ See *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins / Bibliothèque nationale. Tome III, (Nos. 2693-3013a)*, p. 167.

³⁴ Bernhard Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien: ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*. (Stuttgart, 1966) vol. 2, p. 302 n. 97 dates the MS to the 10th century.

in the summation of the feasts, the statement for the Ascension missing from the text in Mabillon and Vat. Lat. 1341 is given: "Sic in Ascensione Domini, decem et septem panes tribus vicibus." Fourth, after the conclusion of the text is written in capital letters in a slightly different ink, FINIT FINIT FINIT LUDENDO Dicit. And fifth, there are only two major illustrations, both in brown and red/orange ink, with parallels to those in the Vatican manuscript, but they have their differences.

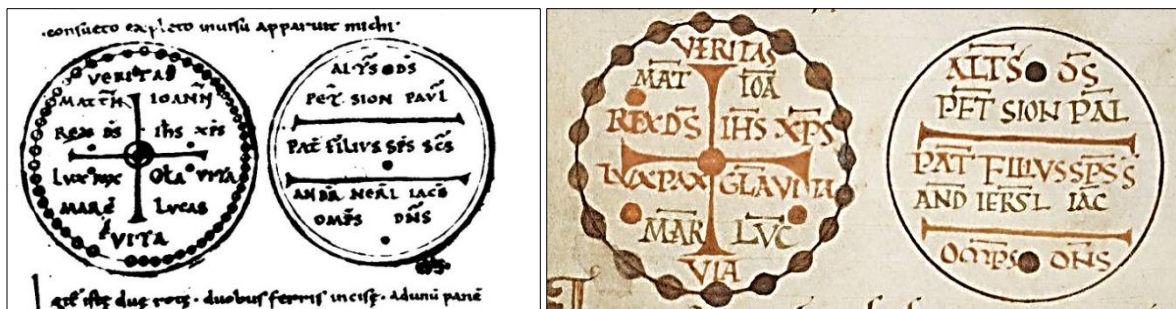


Figure 24 Comparison of Vatican BAV Vat. Lat. 1341 and Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 2855, fol. 63v. Photo: Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France.

First, in the left-hand circular diagrams of the host the Paris manuscript does not have rings of circle and rings as does the Vatican manuscript, but a ring of nineteen black dots connected by lines, and in the right-hand ring one circle, not two. One wonders in the left-hand image if there should have been seventeen circles corresponding to seventeen in the text. In that diagram the word Vita, found below the cross in the Vatican codex, has been replaced with the word Via, thereby avoiding the doublet found in the Vatican manuscript and reflecting Christ, who said "I am the lux," and "I am the via, the veritas, and the vita" and "My peace I leave you." The image also corrects the strange abbreviations in the Mabillon text, GEA and IACR, replaced with the abbreviations GLA for Gloria and IAC for Iacobus. There are not the five dots of the Vatican manuscript, but only four in red/orange, the one that should have been in the upper right

being omitted. In the right-hand circular diagram there are two large dots, and the lower line separating the members of the Trinity has mistakenly been placed above Omnipotens Dominus, thereby conflating the Trinitarian names with those of the apostles Andrew and James and Jerusalem.

In the final pair of diagrams, the abbreviation XPS is now ringed with twelve black circles connected with lines, and the obverse has a typical Visigothic cross with pendant Alpha and Omega.

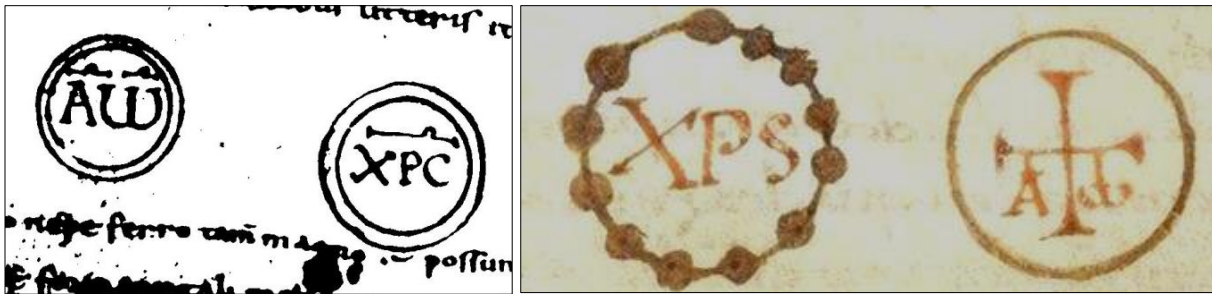


Figure 25 Comparison of Vatican BAV Vat. Lat. 1341 and Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 2855, fol. 63v. Photo: Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France.

There is one minor illustration that does not appear in the Vatican manuscript, three host-like circles with rims after the words “tangentes quasi ita.”

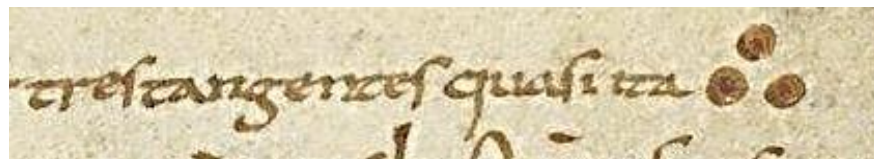


Figure 26 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France. lat. 2855, fol. 64v. Photo: Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Naturally, since the text does not contain the many illustrations found in the Vatican manuscript it lacks such directions as “ut ostenditur” or “videtur in subsequenta figura,” except for the “quasi ita” before the three small circles.

The other Parisian manuscript is Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 2077 with our text on fols. 122r-123r. This manuscript is also well known to historians of canon law for its *Penitential* of Halitgar of Cambrai.³⁵ Our section of the manuscript, an inserted libellus, was written in the end of the ninth century according to the catalog of the Bibliothèque nationale de France³⁶ or the second half of the tenth century according to Bernhard Bischoff. Our text, which is inserted on two bifolia into the manuscript with a blank page on fol. 123v, lies between Radbertus of Corbie’s *Versus ad Placidum de corpore et sanguine Christi* and his *De corpore et sanguine domini*. Our text here differs from that published by Mabillon in that, like Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 2855, it does not mention Eldefonsus and, like 2855 begins with the date 845 and concludes with “fatigati diueamus.” Like 2855 it describes the host as being made of “centum quinquaginta tria grana cerulei *Aquitaniae tritici nostri*.” It lacks all illustrative diagrams, except for a small triangle of circles after the words “tangentes quasi ita.” This manuscript is, for our purposes, interesting since it originated in the south of France in Moissac.

There may have been another manuscript, now lost, besides those in the Vatican and Paris with our text. In 1681 the Maurist and good friend of Dom Mabillon, Dom Claude Estiennot de la Serre, who had actually collated Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France lat. 2855

³⁵ Raymund Kottje, *Die Bussbücher Halitgars von Cambrai und des Hrabanus Maurus* (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 8, Berlin, 1980), p. 50.

³⁶ *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins / Bibliothèque nationale. Tome II, (Nos 1439-2692)* 309, where our text is cited in *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge, offerts à m. Ferdinand Lot par ses amis et ses élèves* (Paris, 1925), p. 164.

for Mabillon,³⁷ published a list of manuscripts of the ancient abbey of Lerins off the southern coast of France. This list is conserved in Paris at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 17679, fols. 7-8 (lettre à Mabillon du 9.3.1681). Dom Estiennot's manuscript No. 6, likely a small libellus not unlike those inserted into Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 2077 and 2855, contains a "Revelatio Ildefonsi," with the incipit "Revelatio ostensa venerabili viro Ildefonso Hispalensi episcopo in Spiritu Sancto, mense decimo anno CCCCCCCC XLV Incarnationis Domini nostri Jesu Christi ...sicut auditum est superius prout protinus scribendo definimus," with the additional words "Et variis distinguitur figuris quae desunt in Analectis." One immediately wonders if Dom Estiennot mis-transcribed the name Eldefonso for Ildefonso. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz has noted that Estiennot did mis-transcribe words, especially those in Visigothic script, and this could have been the case with Ildefonsus/Eldefonsus.³⁸ And what the figures in the manuscript were that differed from those in the *Analecta* is not explained -- whether there were additional figures or the same figures with different arrangements. Either is possible. In the *Analecta* (and the Vatican manuscript), for example, there is no diagram after the description of Christmas, but it is placed after the description of the Transfiguration distribution. Could it have been placed after Christmas in the Lerins manuscript? And it has been seen that the lower word "Vita" in the Vatican manuscript has been changed to "Via" in Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 2855. And finally, there is the minor illustration of three circles after the words "tangentes quasi ita" in the Paris manuscripts, but not in Vat. Lat. 1341. The Lerins

³⁷ See CCCM, 16, p. x. It appears that in his *De liturgica gallicana* (Paris 1685) Mabillon knew of our libellus in this manuscript since he notes it was taken from Spain by Gotescalc to Le Puy (as the Ildefonsus text in Visigothic script indeed was). Nonetheless, he attributes the text to Eldefonsus. Did he know of it from Dom Estiennot, who transcribed the Paris manuscript for him? (See PL 72.118.)

³⁸ See his "The Lerins Manuscript of the Isidorian Rule: An addition and a Partial Retraction," in his *Vie chrétienne et culture dans l'Espagne du VII^e au X^e siècles* (Aldershot, 1992), chapter X, p. 155 f.

manuscript, with no additional information, was mentioned in 1862 in “Rapport de M. de Guilhermy sur diverses communications et sur des envois d'inscriptions,”³⁹ dating the manuscript to the eleventh century. More recently Dom Estiennot's catalog has been published by Anne Chalandon in “Un témoignage sur la bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Lérins en 1681.”⁴⁰

What possible clues regarding the origin of our text can be teased out of the three extant manuscripts? First, in all of them there are Visigothic connections. Vat. Lat. 1341 contains a version, although a Gallicanized and augmented one, of the Visigothic *Collectio canonum hispana*.⁴¹ Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 2077 originated far in the south of France in Moissac, where there continued to be a strong Visigothic presence in the ninth and tenth centuries. And Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 2855 contains the work of the Visigoth Ildefonsus of Toledo in Visigothic script. Second, in two of the manuscripts, Vat. Lat. 1341 and Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 2077 our tract is combined in the same codex with canon law texts, suggesting that our text, like many other Mass commentaries of the ninth century, was considered in a sense a para-canonical one.⁴² Third, it may be significant that the two manuscripts originating in southern France, Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 2077

³⁹ “Rapport de M. de Guilhermy sur diverses communications et sur des envois d'inscriptions,” *Revue des sociétés savantes de départements* 7 (2e sér.) (1862), pp. 220f.

⁴⁰ *Scriptorium*, 60 (2006), pp. 269-289, esp. p. 276. Chalandon, p. 269, n 29, notes that the text appears in Vat. lat. 1341, and dates the conciliar texts to 10th century and the Revelatio to the 11th century. It is interesting that Estiennot's list of manuscripts contains: Nr. 5, Halitgar's penitential; and Nr. 8, a very old legal codex whose title is *De legibus canonum constat: CXLI capitulis, primum est De homicidiis clericorum ... De continentia paenitentibus de uxore sua*. Other manuscripts among the Lerins manuscripts are mystical or dream texts including the *Visio Baronti*.

⁴¹ On this manuscript see J. Richter, “Stufen pseudoisidorischer Verfälschung: Untersuchungen zum Konzilsteil der pseudoisidorischen Dekretalen,” *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 95 (1978), pp. 16-18, 22, and literature therein.

⁴² See my “Pseudonymous Liturgica in Early Medieval Canonical Collections,” in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter, Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae historica, 16.-19. September 1986; Teil II. Gefälschte Rechtstexte, Der bestrafte Fälscher (MGH, Schriften 33, II, Hannover, 1988)*, pp. 67-77 + 2 pls.

and 2855 do not ascribe the text to Eldefonsus. Further, the text in Vat. Lat. 1341 ascribes the text to a bishop of Spain rather than to a bishop of a precise diocese as is the usual case, suggesting ignorance, some doubt, or other intention on the part of the compiler. But beside the Visigothic connections of the manuscripts, there are connections with Corbie. Vat. Lat 1341 was written at Corbie, which in 845 was the center of the famous Eucharistic controversy between Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus, and both of the Paris manuscripts contain the Eucharistic tracts of Paschasius Radbertus of Corbie. Let us look more closely at the possibilities of a composition of our tract, first, in Corbie, then in territories with Visigothic connections.

That Vat. Lat. 1341 was written at Corbie in the late ninth century and that a major component of the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries and our little tract were combined in it, might suggest that our tract was also part of a “forgery” produced there. It has now been almost conclusively shown that the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries were produced at Corbie in the second quarter of the ninth century, perhaps by Paschasius Radbertus,⁴³ and it is interesting that the name of the great Visigothic father, Isidore, was attached to the Decretals, perhaps in an attempt to lend them some authority. The same might have been the case with our tract in attributing it to an Eldefonsus, a name not distant from Ildefonsus. Not knowing where this Eldefonsus came from exactly, the compiler, recognizing the Spanish features of the text, simply called him a bishop of Spain. That this liturgical tract was appended to the “forged” *Collectio hispana gallica Augustodunensis*, is perhaps not so surprising either since liturgical or para-liturgical letters

⁴³ See e.g. Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, “Auf Pseudoisidors Spur. Oder: Versuch, einen dichten Schleier zu lüften” in W. Hartmann and G. Schmitz (eds.) *Fortschritt durch Fälschungen? Ursprung, Gestalt und Wirkungen der pseudoisidoren Fälschungen* (MGH, Studien und Texte 31 (Hannover, 2002), pp. 1-28, and Wilfried Hartmann, *Kirche und Kirchenrecht um 900. Die Bedeutung der spätkarolingischen Zeit für Tradition und Innovation im kirchlichen Recht* (MGH Schriften 58, Hannover, 2008), p. 52 f. David Ganz has agreed that Corbie was the place where Pseudo-Isidore was composed, but not by Paschasius Radbertus, on which see Alan G. Zola, *Radbertus's Monastic Voice: Ideas about Monasticism at Ninth-century Corbie* (Ph.D. diss. Loyola Chicago, 2008), p. 35, n. 81.

attributed to Isidore of Seville had been attached somewhat out of place in the Decretals,⁴⁴ the *Epistula ad Leudefredum*⁴⁵ and *Epistula ad Massonam*.⁴⁶ These letters had been compiled, likely in Visigothic territories, sometime before the Decretals were forged, but they were nonetheless early incorporated into the Decretals manuscripts themselves, including New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, 442, parts of which were copied in Corbie in the third quarter of the ninth-century, and also in the ninth- or early tenth-century manuscript, Rennes, Bibliothèque municipale, 134 (112) from Rheims or Rouen.⁴⁷ So our tract without attribution might have been composed sometime before the *Collectio hispana gallica Augustodunensis*, given an appropriate “Spanish” attribution at Corbie, and tied to the *Collectio*. On the other hand, if the text represented in the missing Lerins manuscript described by Dom Estiennot had the attribution to an Ildefonsus or Eldefonsus, and was written before the mid-ninth century, there is the possibility that the tract with attribution was taken to Corbie and copied there. There is the alternative possibility that a text like that of Corbie was transported to Lerins and copied there with the Corbie attribution in the eleventh century, if the dating of this manuscript to the eleventh century is correct.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ On this phenomenon see my “Challenges and Problems in the Editing of Liturgico-Canonical Texts,” *Proceedings of the XII International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Washington, D.C. Monumenta Iuris Canonici, ser. C subsidia, 13*, eds. U.-R. Blumenthal, K. Pennington, and A. Larson (Vatican, 2009), pp. 701-720.

⁴⁵ See my “The ‘Isidorian’ *Epistula ad Leudefredum*: An Early Medieval Epitome of the Clerical Duties,” *Mediaeval Studies* 41 (1979), pp. 252-330.

⁴⁶ See my “The ‘Isidorian’ *Epistula ad Massonam* on Lapsed Clerics: Notes on its Early Manuscript and Textual Transmission,” *Grundlagen des Rechts: Festschrift für Peter Landau*, eds. R. Helmholz, P. Mikat, J. Müller, and M. Stolleis (Paderborn, 2000), pp. 77-92; reprinted in *Studies on Medieval Liturgical and Legal manuscripts from Spain and Southern Italy* (Ashgate, 2009).

⁴⁷ This manuscript, which I uncovered, is reported in Schafer Williams, *Codices Pseudo-Isidoriani: a palaeographico-historical study* (*Monumenta Iuris Canonici, series C, subsidia 3*; New York, 1971), p. 149 addendum.

⁴⁸ Bernhard Bischoff once pointed out to me – as I studied manuscripts at Albi -- that manuscripts dated long ago to the eleventh century, especially in southern France, were actually written in the ninth century.

It is, of course, impossible to pinpoint precisely the person or persons at Corbie who may have used or composed a text like this. One thinks of someone familiar with Visigothic practices, and we know of such figures working in the north of Francia such as the Visigoths Theodulf of Orléans or Benedict of Aniane (Vitiza). But there are also indications that point to a circle of monks at Corbie involved in the controversy on the meaning of the Eucharistic elements made famous by the monks there, Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus. This well-known controversy certainly dealt with the Eucharistic hosts, the subject of our tract, and miracles and visions involving hosts were reported by Radbertus in his writings.⁴⁹ Further, Radbertus himself was later accused by Ratramnus of falsifying documents.⁵⁰ It is interesting, too, that the second version of Radbertus's *De corpore et sanguine Domini* is included in our manuscripts from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 2855 and 2077. One wonders if our tract was inserted into these two manuscripts because it had, at some time, been associated with Radbertus or with the Eucharistic tracts coming from Corbie. Further, the date of 845 given in our tract, in all of the manuscripts, fits well within the time-frame of the Eucharistic controversy at Corbie. Ratramnus dedicated his *De corpore et sanguine Domini* to Charles the Bald likely in 843 and Radbertus his *De corpore et sanguine Domini* in its second version to Charles in 844.⁵¹ This latter tract is liberally sprinkled with words that appear on our hosts: *vita, veritas, lux, and pax*. It is further significant that the year's date of our tract, 845, is given not according to the Hispanic era

⁴⁹ See Paschasius Radbertus, *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini Liber*, c. 9, CCCM 16, pp. 52-65, esp. p. 62.

⁵⁰ See Johannes Fried, *Donation of Constantine and Constitutum Constantini: The misinterpretation of a fiction and its original meaning* with a contribution by Wolfram Brandes, "The satraps of Constantine" (Berlin, New York, 2007), p. 92.

⁵¹ On the controversial date for these tracts see Alan G. Zola, *Radbertus's Monastic Voice*, p. 37, n. 90; and Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 210-215.

appropriate to an Eldefonsus of Spain but that used in the Carolingian empire. The exact day and month, the seventh day of the tenth month, may reflect the number seventeen and its multiplied products, so significant in the tract itself and its illustrations.

Looking to other possible connections with Corbie, it is known that the monastery itself was founded by monks from the Irish Columbanian monastery at Luxeuil, that Irish Christians visited the monastery, and that manuscripts with Irish connections were there. For example, the famous Beta text manuscript of the *Collectio canonum hibernensis*, Oxford, Bodl. Hatton 42 was early there.⁵² It is also interesting that a practice in distributing the hosts not unlike that in the Eldefonsus text was used in Ireland and is found in the famous Stowe Missal of the ninth century, Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS. D.ii. 3, (No. 1238). There two fractions are described, the first into two halves with a re-uniting and a commixture, the second into a number of particles varying with the rank of the day. The common division is into five, for ordinary days; seven for saints and virgins; eight for martyrs; nine for "the oblation of Sunday as a figure of the nine households of heaven and nine grades of the Church"; eleven for the Apostles; twelve on the circumcision and Maundy Thursday; thirteen on Low Sunday (*minchasc*) and Ascension; and the sum of all the preceding, sixty-five on Easter, Christmas, and Pentecost. Directions are given to arrange the particles in the form of a cross within a circle, and different parts are apportioned to different classes of people. This intricate arrangement described might suggest that our tract, if written in Corbie with its Celtic influence might have been composed there – except for the fact that it is ascribed to Eldefonsus of Spain.

Prominent in our text is the concentration on numbers:

⁵² See esp. Roy Flechner, "Paschasius Radbertus and Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 42," *The Bodleian Library Record* 18/4 (2004), pp. 411-421.

1: one God, one host, one thumb

2: two sides of the coins or hosts, the two names of God the King; the pairs of Peter and Paul and of Andrew and James; two names of Christ as truth and life; the two attributes of God and the Lord (highest and omnipotent); two names of Jesus and Christ; two names of Sion and Jerusalem

3: the triune Godhead of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; three hosts; three digits

4: four beasts of Ezekiel; four Evangelists; four arms of the Cross

5: five wheels of Ezekiel

7: septiform Holy Spirit; the seventh day of the dream

9: nine orders of angels

10: the tenth month of the dream

12: the number of the apostles

17: the total of five plus twelve or seven plus ten

51: the total of 17 times 3

153: the total of 51 times 3, the number of fish in the miraculous draught of fishes.

In the eighth and ninth centuries, this fascination with numbers is often associated with the Irish, whether they be in Ireland, England, or the Continent.⁵³ And with its Insular influence, one immediately thinks of the monastery of Corbie.

Dom Mabillon was especially exercised about the values given to the *solidi* and pound, speculating that it might have been something known in Visigothic Spain. And scholars specializing in Carolingian monetary values have for years cited and have been puzzled by

⁵³ See the Irish text by Robert E. McNally, *Der irische Liber de numeris: eine Quellenanalyse des pseudo-isidorischen Liber de numeris* (Ph.D. diss. Munich, 1957); and more generally on the Irish and their heavy use of numbers see Charles D. Wright, *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature* (Cambridge, 1993), esp. p. 50 ff. Also see Edouard Jeuneau, "Jean Scot et la Metaphysique des Nombres," in Edouard Jeuneau, *Tendenda vela: excursions littéraires et digressions philosophiques à travers le moyen âge, Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalis* 47 (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 461-477.

values given in the tract.⁵⁴ There are, however, several possibilities. First, the values given may have been due to a mistaken transmission of the text. Second, from the reign of Charlemagne, well into those of his sons and grandsons, there was controversy over the weights and values given to coins and weights and measures, and the values in our tract might be a reflection of these contemporary controversies or may reflect local or regional practices in some area of the Carolingian realm, such as Aquitaine.⁵⁵ Indeed, the terms at the conclusion of the tract, “Etenim modius aequus et justus debet esse,” may well reflect the desire in Charlemagne’s *Admonitio generalis* of 789 “ut aequales mensuras et rectas et pondera iusta et aequalia omnes habeant.”⁵⁶ We know also that Abbot Adalhard of Corbie dealt with the value of weights reflected in his statutes dating before 826: “Volumus ut illa modia anteriora coram illis molinariis ad istum novum modium aestimare facit cum omni aequalitate, quanta modia de illis faciant ista, et secundum haec modia quantum eis convenit,”⁵⁷ and “modus publicus noviter statutus .. ad istum novum modium quem dominus imperator posuit.”⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Much of past scholarship on this subject is collected in Harald Witthöft, “Mass und Gewicht im 9. Jahrhundert. Fränkische Traditionen im Übergang von der Antike zum Mittelalter,” *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 70.4 (1983), esp. p. 465 ff. and more recently in Harald Witthöft, “‘Denarius novus,’ ‘Modius Publicus’ und ‘Libra Panis’ im Frankfurter Kapitulare. Elemente und Struktur einer Materiellen Ordnung in Fränkischer Zeit,” in *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794: Kristallisationspunkt karolingischer Kultur* (Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelhessischen Kirchengeschichte 80; Mainz, 1997), p. 244 f.

⁵⁵ On this see Pierre Portet, “Remarques sur les systèmes métrologiques carolingiens,” *Le Moyen Age* (1991), pp. 5-24, who cites our tract on p. 21. In this article he also deals frequently with the situation at Corbie under the abbot Adalhard in the 820s. Also on local variants see Harald Witthöft, *Münzfuss, Kleingewichte, Pondus Caroli und die Grundlegung des nordeuropäischen Mass- und Gewichtswesens in fränkischer Zeit* (Sachüberlieferung und Gewichte: Siegener Abhandlungen zur Entwicklung der materiellen Kultur. 1) (Osfildern, 1984) passim.

⁵⁶ *MGH, Capitularia regum francorum* I (Hannover, 1883) cap. 74, 60; and *Die Admonitio generalis Karls der Grossen*, eds. Hubert Mordek (†), Klaus Zechiel Eckes (†), and Michael Glatthaar, *MGH Fontes iuris germanici antiquae in usum scholarum separatim editi* XVI (Hannover, 2012), cap. 72, p. 226.

⁵⁷ See *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum. Initia consuetudinis benedictinae (Consuetudines saeculi octavi et noni)* ed. Kasius Hallinger (Siegburg, 1963), p. 379.

⁵⁸ *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum*. p. 375.

One of the more important aspects of our tract in Vat. Lat. 1341 is that it is the only early medieval tract specifically on the Eucharist that is illustrated. The Corbie manuscript has ten illustrative diagrams, while the others have fewer, Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 2855 with five and 2077 with only one. What might this mean? The first possibility is that the Corbie version was the original text and when copying it in the south of France later the scribes there were unable to do this. Another possibility is that the text originally had no diagrams or only a few or had lost the ones it had, and when it was copied in the ninth century at Corbie, a major scribal center in the Frankish empire, it was thought appropriate to add illustrative diagrams to the text. Either of these theories is possible, but it is important to remember that Corbie was known for its interest in geometrical study, and a text of the *Corpus agrimensorum romanorum* was copied there in the mid-ninth century.⁵⁹ Clearly our diagrams in the Vatican manuscript illustrate this concern with geometry with their circles drawn with a compass and straight lines. Indeed, one of the greatest illustrated manuscripts of the early Middle Ages, the Corbie Psalter, is especially famous for its geometrical patterns. **(Figure 27)**

Let us now look at several reasons suggesting an authorship in the south of Francia or Aquitaine as suggested by “*Aquitaniae tritici nostri*” in the Paris manuscripts, both of which were written there. That wheat rather than other grains should be used is because in Carolingian

⁵⁹ Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek Gud. Lat. 105; on which see David Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*. (Beihefte der Francia 20, Sigmaringen, 1990), p. 60.



Figure 27 Corbie Psalter. Bibliothèques d'Amiens Métropole, MS 18, fol. 108r, early 9th century. Photo: Enlumeurs.

times a modius of wheat was worth three or four denarii as opposed to one for oats and two for barley.⁶⁰ The “blue wheat” in our text is specifically said to have come from Aquitaine and is

⁶⁰ See Garipzanov, *Symbolic*, p. 34 and literature therein.

called “*nostri*.” Whether or not this was in the original text or was added by a scribe proud of Aquitanian wheat is not certain. Indeed, this reference to our Aquitanian wheat led Jean Lebeuf centuries ago to state on the basis of manuscript Colbert 3682, Reg. 4357⁵ (now corresponding to Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 2855) that the author of the tract was Aquitanian.⁶¹

Another possible clue as to the Aquitanian origin of the text is found in the cruciform monogram on the face of the host. It has been pointed out that such monograms had deep roots especially in Aquitanian coins.⁶² Then there are other aspects of the text that indicate that the text in the Paris manuscripts was closer to the original and in some ways better than that in the Vatican manuscript. This is seen especially in the summation of the diagrams where the Paris manuscripts have the description of the Ascension layout lacking in the Vatican manuscript. Also, there is the small three-circle diagram in the Paris manuscripts missing in the Vatican manuscript. Beyond this, there is the concentrated numerology, and this might have come from the nearly contemporary *Commentary on the Apocalypse* of Beatus written in Liébana in the late 780s in the Asturias, not distant from the Carolingian border of Aquitaine in the northeast corner of the Iberian peninsula. Also in Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 2855 on one of the depicted hosts there is a typical Visigothic cross with pendant Alpha and Omega. The design of the cross with pendant Alpha and Omega is not unlike that in the eleventh-century host press

⁶¹ Jean Lebeuf, *Recueil de divers écrits pour servir d'éclaircissements à l'histoire de France et de supplément à la notice des Gaules* (Paris, 1738) vol. 2, p. 81, n. a. In his footnote Lebeuf was dealing with the question of weights and measures in our tract.

⁶² See Garipzanov, *Symbolic*, p. 195.



Figure 28 (left) Host press with cross and Alpha and Omega, 11th-12th century, Museu Episcopal de Vic 9722. Photo: Museu Episcopal de Vic; (right) Facundus Beatus with cross and Alpha and Omega, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Vit. 14-2, 360 x 268 mm, ca. 1047. Photo: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.



from the Museu Episcopal in Vic with its cross and reversed Alpha and Omega surmounted with a line having double capital omega bumps resembling that pictured in the Vatican manuscript⁶³ or resembling the form commonly found in Spain, especially in the Beatus Commentary manuscripts, such as the Facundus Beatus with its surrounding Pax, Lux, Rex, and Lex. Indeed, in his *Commentary on the Apocalypse* Beatus four times mentions the cross and the Alpha and

⁶³ The figures on this press also resemble those specified in our tract: XPS, IHS, DNS (not DS) and PANIS. In all three manuscripts of the text it is clear that the text reads DS not DNS. But there may be the possibility that behind these there was a mis-transcription and reversal of DNS for DS. As was earlier noted, there are many errors in the three manuscripts, and perhaps this is one. In the text the words XPC, IHC, DNS, (deriving perhaps from, e.g., “per Jesum Christum Dominum Nostrum”) would have made much better sense than XPC, IHC, DS, and this may be mirrored in the Vic host press with its DNS. The press itself has been dated to the twelfth or thirteenth century in the Vic catalogue and eleventh or twelfth century by other scholars. I would prefer the earlier date (or even earlier) since it seems to reflect the ninth-century Eldefonsus text, and presses of the high and later Middle Ages often bore more complicated images such as lambs, fish, etc. Further, it must be remembered that in the Carolingian era Catalonia was part of Aquitaine, where the Eldefonsus text may have been first compiled. It has been suggested that perhaps the Vic press was a “fake” of some sort, but one wonders why a “fake” press should have been made at all, unless to mirror something like the Eldefonsus text.

Omega,⁶⁴ as well as once in his letter with his confrere at Liébana, Bishop Heterius of Osma, against Elipandus.⁶⁵

But the most important possible connections with Visigothic areas are the complex designs in which the hosts are to be distributed on the altar, something that Mabillon pointed out. This practice likely arose out of canon 3 issued at the Synod of Tours in 567, which directed that the particles must be arranged “non in imaginario ordine sed sub crucis titulo.”⁶⁶ In some churches this practice must have been followed well into the twelfth century because we find it in three Beneventan-script missals written at Montecassino: Montecassino MS 127, p. 317 and Vatican BAV lat. 6082, fol. 140r, where it is said, “tunc ordinet oblationes super corporale immodum crucis (+ sign) dicens. In spiritu humilitatis ...,” and in the mutilated Montecassino Compactiones VII and XXII, fol. 99, where it is said, “Et tunc faciat crucem (+ sign) cum obl<ationibus> in altare. et patena;< iusta <... ...> Domine <iesu christe fili dei uiui qui in cruce> passionis”⁶⁷ Even in the ninth century a practice not unlike this was hinted at by the

⁶⁴ Praef, cap. 2; L.1, cap.3; L.12, ss; L. 12, cap. 2. *Beati in Apocalipsin libri duodecim*, ed. H. A. Sanders (Rome, 1930).

⁶⁵ Adv. Elipandum libri duo, L. 1, cap.114; CCCM 59 (1984).

⁶⁶ “Ut corpus domini in altari non [in] imaginario ordine, sed [sub] crucis titulo comparatur,” *Concilia Galliae A.511-A.695*, ed. C. de Clercq, CCSL 148A, 178.

⁶⁷ On these manuscripts see Virginia Brown, *Beneventan Discoveries: Collected Manuscript Catalogues, 1978–2008: Preface and comprehensive indexes by Roger E. Reynolds (Studies and Texts 179; Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana 6; Toronto, 2012)*, TBS².70; TBS².152; and TBS².92, (I).262, (V).345n, 346n. On the “Dold Missal” of Compactiones VII and XXII Richard Gyug is preparing a new study. It is also interesting that much later in the Middle Ages the hosts could be laid out in various patterns. Dr. Rob Dückers has kindly pointed out to me that in the Ordinarius Custodum of St. Saviour's or Oudmunster (Old Minster) of Utrecht it is ordered that for November 2 (All Souls): “Item ponentur in antiquo libro collectarum in medio chori xxx hostiae non consecratae magnae, in quolibet latere xv.” The ordinal goes on to explain that these are offered to the canons, but returned later on, after being broken, and, with the approval of the verger or sacristan, are to be distributed amongst the choristers. This sacristan's ordinal displays on its title-page the rather cumbersome title “ordo ornamentorum exponendorum secundum exigentiam cuiuslibet festi candelarum lampadumque ardere consuetarum in ecclesia Sancti Salvatoris Traiectensis per totum annum.” It survives in three manuscript copies: Utrecht, Rijksarchief, Archief van het kapittel van Oudmunster, inv. no. 392-1, 392-2 and 392-3. The first and earliest copy dates from around shortly after 1540, and was edited by A. A. J. Van Rossum, “Kerkelijke plechtigheden in de St. Salvatorskerk te Utrecht,” in *Archief voor*

liturgical commentator, Amalarius of Metz, who had spent some time in Lyons with its heavy Visigothic influence.⁶⁸ Amalarius says in his *Liber officialis*, “Sacerdos facit oblata duas cruces iuxta calicem, ut doceat eum depositum esse de cruce, qui pro duobus populis crucifixus est.”⁶⁹

In the Old Spanish or Mozarabic rite⁷⁰ the particles were not simply laid out in cross form but each was to be designated by the priest as an event in the life of Christ and his reign thereafter. This has led commentators to find parallels in the works of Aspringius, Ildefonsus, the mysterious Visigothic “Pseudo-Alcuinian” *De septem sigillis*, and Beatus,⁷¹ where before citing *Vicit leo* (used in the Visigothic Eucharistic fraction/commixture) Beatus comments on the seven seals of the Apocalypse as representing events in the life of the divine savior: *ipsa septem signa, quae in Christo soluta sunt, id est, per omnem mundum manifestata, haec sunt: primum*

de geschiedenis van het Aartsbisdom Utrecht 3 (1876), pp. 109-259. Van Rossum dated the manuscript slightly earlier, ca. 1520-30.

⁶⁸ On this see my “The ‘Isidorian’ *Epistula ad Leudefredum*: its Origins, Early Medieval Manuscript Tradition, and Editions,” *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches*, ed. E. James (Oxford, 1980) 251-272 + 2 pls.

⁶⁹ *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica Omnia*, ed. Ioanne Michaelae Hanssens. (Vatican, 1948-50) 3.346-473, c. 26, § 10.

⁷⁰ On the use of the term Old Spanish rite rather than Isidorian, Antique Hispanic or Mozarabic rite see my “The Ordination of Clerics in Toledo and Castile after the Reconquista according to the ‘Romano-Catalan’ Rite,” *Estudios sobre Alfonso VI y la Reconquista de Toledo: Actas del II. Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes: Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-Mozárabes*, 4, ed. R. González-Ruíz (Toledo, Spain, 1990), pp. 47-69. In the discussion, often heated, following the oral presentation of this paper in Toledo in 1985 members of the Mozarabic families stressed, naturally, that only the term Mozarabic should be used since it was they who had preserved this rite since antiquity, at times under persecution. They were also annoyed that the Vatican-appointed committee in Rome for the revision of the Mozarabic rite, to be instituted on Pentecost Sunday 1985 in the Cathedral by Cardinal Archbishop Marcelo González Martín in the presence of the Reina Sofía and Infanta Cristina, had been “chaired” by Joan Pinell Pons (Jordi Pinnell), a Catalan liturgical expert -- this and that despite the fact that the revised rite (Novus Ordo) had been based on early manuscripts representing the two ancient rites of Toledo and Sevilla, it would replace the late medieval-modern rite of Cisneros that they had preserved over the centuries. At the splendid and moving celebration in the Cathedral, where I was seated directly behind the queen, the Mozarab inhabitants of Toledo, turned out in their finest Mozarabic traditional costumes, were extremely proud of “their” Mass, however ‘new’ – or old -- it was. Perhaps paradoxically, I was made there a charter member of the Cofradía Internacional de Investigadores de Toledo (to process in full regalia in the later Corpus Christi procession) and, perhaps even more ironically, later elected as a member of the Societat Catalana de Estudis Litúrgics (Barcelona).

⁷¹ See, e.g., E. Ann Matter, “The Pseudo-Alcuinian ‘De Septem Sigillis’: An Early Latin Apocalypse Exegesis,” *Traditio* 36 (1980), pp. 111-137.

corporatio, secundum nativitas, tertium passio, quartum mors, quintum resurrectio, sextum gloria, septimum regnum. These commentators have suggested that these texts reflect the elaborate fraction of the Eucharistic host in the Visigothic/Mozarabic liturgy, where the consecrated host is broken not into seven, but into nine particles, first into two parts and then five and four to be distributed on the paten (with its *Vicit leo* text?) and altar. They have then shown diagrams of these nine fragments as they appear in later medieval and modern Mozarabic liturgical books: in a cross with the vertical shaft as corporatio, nativitas, circumcisio, apparitio, passio, the arms of the cross as mors and resurrectio, next to which are gloria and regnum, something seen even today in the Mozarabic Eucharist.⁷²

But in the thirteenth century Jacques de Vitry, in his description of the Mozarabic rite, noted that the Mozarabs distribute sometimes nine, sometimes seven fragments.⁷³ And indeed, if one looks to the earliest representation of the distribution of hosts in the margin of the tenth- or early eleventh-century Visigothic-script *Liber ordinum* of Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia 56, fol. 139v there are precisely the seven fragments Beatus designated as: I. Corporatio, II.

⁷² The diagram often appears in printed texts of the Mozarabic liturgy, down to the current text in use, inaugurated in 1985 in the Cathedral of Toledo during the II. Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes. The ancient diagram here comes from the program for a rare concelebrated Mozarabic Mass I attended in the old Cathedral at Salamanca during the Fifth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law (Salamanca, 1976). Among the Roman- rite concelebrants there were prefects of the Vatican library, Alfons Cardinal Stickler and Fr. Leonard Boyle, as well as Canon Astrik Gabriel and Fr. Michael Sheehan. The illustration here of the present distribution of the hosts in a paten is from *Ordo Missae Pontificalis Ritu Hispano- Mozárabico Peragendae (Notes, Rubrics, and Introduction by Antonio Cabrera Delgado y Silveira)* (Toledo, 1975) 20 pl. For contemporary practice of this fraction and distribution see the YOU TUBE presentation, Misa Mozárabe, from the Iglesia de San Pascual en el Paseo de Recoletos, Madrid, at min. 2:41-48.

⁷³ Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire orientale/Historia orientalis. Introduction, édition critique et traduction par Jean Donnadieu* (Turnhout, 2008), cap. 81, pp. 324 and 507. Jacques included the Mozarabs in his enumeration of Christians living under Muslim rule. He says of them, “The Christians who dwell in Africa and Spain among the Saracens of the West are called Mozarabs; they use the Latin alphabet, read the Scripture in the Latin tongue, and like all the other Latins humbly and devotedly obey the Holy Roman Church without deviating in any way from its articles of faith and sacraments. They celebrate the Eucharist with unleavened bread, as do the other Latins. However, some of them divide the Eucharist into seven parts, and some into nine, whereas the Roman Church and its other subjects divide the Eucharist into three portions only. But as this division has nothing to do with the substance of the sacrament, it does not alter it or hinder its value.”



Figure 29 (left) From *Ordo Missae Pontificalis Ritu Hispano- Mozárbito Peragendae* (Notes, Rubrics, and Introduction by Antonio Cabrera Delgado y Silveira) (Toledo, 1975), pl. 20. Photo: Author; (right) Distribution of Nine Hosts, Program, Libellus Missae, V. International Congress of Medieval Canon Law. Salamanca, 1976.

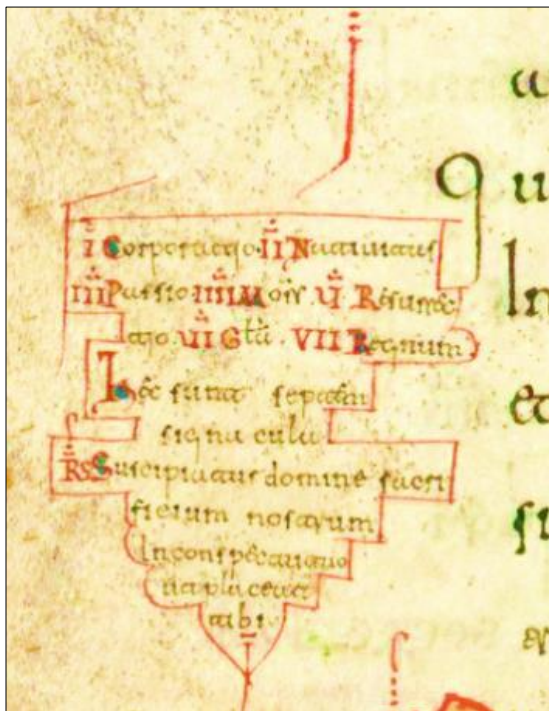


Figure 30 Distribution of Seven Hosts, Mozarabic Liber ordinum, 10th century, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia 56, fol. 139v. Photo: Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia.

Nativitas, III. Passio, IIII. Mors, V. Resurrectio, VI. Gloria, VII. Regnum, and called the septem signacula.

In later Mozarabic directories it is mandated that the priest, when he consumes the host, does so from the last Regnum particle (Omega) to the first,

Conceptio (Alpha) thereby consuming Christ from end to beginning as the Alpha and Omega. The hosts in our tract attributed to Ildefonsus are not designated by these names, but they are associated with the feasts of Christmas, Easter, the Ascension, Pentecost, the Transfiguration, Sundays, and Saints Days. The patterns of hosts used in our tract are not exactly like those in the Old Spanish rite, suggesting that our tract may not have been written in Spain itself, but in an area where elements of the Old Spanish rite might have been known but not practiced precisely as it was in Spain. That this might be the case would not be surprising since the Old Spanish rite with its associations with Ildefonsus and Eugenius had been condemned at the Council of Frankfurt in 794, but elements of the rite continued to be used with the Roman rite, especially in southern France and Catalonia, which in Carolingian times was part of Aquitaine.⁷⁴ Indeed, there existed for centuries in this area what is known as the Narbonne rite or use with its mix of Visigothic and Roman elements.⁷⁵

Regarding the presence of the Old Spanish rite in Frankish territories and its unusual fraction of the host in the period of Charles the Bald, there is the oft-repeated story of how Charles, curious about the Eucharistic practices of his ancestors, invited priests from Toledo to say Mass at his court in 870.⁷⁶ We know from his intervention in the Eucharistic controversy

⁷⁴ On this see my "The Visigothic Liturgy in the Realm of Charlemagne," *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794: Kristallisationspunkt karolingischer Kultur* (Mainz, 1997), pp. 919-945.

⁷⁵ On this see my "Narbonne Rite," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* 9, ed. J. R. Strayer (New York, 1987), pp. 62-64, and literature therein. On the gradual replacement of the Visigothic with the Roman rite see my "Baptismal Rite and Paschal Vigil in Transition in Medieval Spain: A New Text in Visigothic Script," *Mediaeval Studies* 55 (1993), pp. 257-272 (repr. in *Studies on Medieval Liturgical and Legal Manuscripts from Spain and Southern Italy* (Ashgate, 2009); "The Ordination Rite in Medieval Spain: Hispanic, Roman, and Hybrid," *Santiago, Saint-Denis, and Saint Peter: The Reception of the Roman Liturgy in Leon-Castile in 1080*, ed. B. F. Reilly (New York, 1985), pp. 131-155; and "The Ordination of Clerics in Toledo and Castile after the Reconquista according to the 'Romano-Catalan Rite,'" pp. 47-69.

⁷⁶ See Rebecca Maloy, *Inside the Offertory: Aspects of Chronology and Transmission* (Oxford, 2010), p. 65.

between Radbertus and Ratramnus and from his interest in coins and their imprints,⁷⁷ that he was particularly curious about the liturgy and Eucharist. Indeed, in the Coronation “Sacramentary” of Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 1141 made for him, Charles is pictured, on fol.2v, so it is proposed by Éric Palazzo,⁷⁸ standing between the nimbed “originators” of the Roman liturgy, Popes Gelasius, and Gregory, who is mentioned in the text on fol. 1r and pictured on fol. 3r . **(Figure 31)**

It is likely that Charles was as interested in the Roman liturgy promoted by Charlemagne in his empire as he was in the liturgies practiced by his ancestors – the Gallican and Mozarabic rite that he may have confused. It has generally been said that 1) Charles asked to have the Mozarabic Mass said, or that 2) he had confused the Mozarabic with the Gallican rite of his Frankish ancestors, or that 3) he knew that these rites were closely related, or that 4) he knew that the IV Council of Toledo, in the seventh century, had mandated the rite practiced in Hispania should also be that for Gallia, or that 5) he wanted to hear the chant used in the Old Spanish rite. We do not really know his ultimate motives. But it would seem strange that he would ask priests from Toledo to say Mass as it was practiced in that city likely knowing that the rite practiced by Elipandus of Toledo had been attacked earlier in the Adoptionist controversy in which Charlemagne and his court theologians had been so closely involved. But if the priests from Toledo did say or chant the Mass as used in their city, Charles may have been interested or

⁷⁷ See, e.g., his Edictum Pistense (864) in which he says in c. 11, “And on the denarius of our new money there should be on the one side our name in a circle and the monogram of our name in the center, and on the other side the name of the state and a cross in the center,” and later mentions in c. 12 the Aquitainian mints at Melle and Narbonne, “Following the custom of our predecessors, just as it is found in their capitularies, we decree that in no other place in all our kingdom shall money be made except in our palace, and in St. Josse and Rouen ... Melle, and Narbonne.” On this see *MGH, Leges* 2.2, (Hannover, 1897), pp. 314-319 and *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History*, eds. Roy C. Cave and Herbert H. Coulson (Milwaukee, 1936; reprint ed., New York, 1965), p. 133 f.

⁷⁸ See Éric Palazzo, “Le livre-corps à l’époque carolingienne et son rôle dans la liturgie de la messe et sa théologie,” *Quaestiones medii aevi novae* 15 (2010), p. 43.



Figure 31 Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France lat.1141, fol. 2v. Photo: Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France.

surprised with many aspects of that Mass, such as: the Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed repeated at the Communion and not after the Gospel as it was in the Roman Mass that had been spread in the Carolingian realms; or by the “et filio” in that creed in the Old Spanish rite rather than “filioque,”⁷⁹ which we know was said in the court of Charlemagne from the report of two monks from Jerusalem who had visited Charlemagne in 807-808 bringing gifts from the Caliph of Bagdad; or by the Greek word “homooousion” rather than the Latin word “consubstantialem” in the creed; or by the unusual distribution of the hosts, although he may have known of similar distributions in Aquitanian churches at that time such as those in our Eldefonsus text.

There is also the possibility that the more complicated designs used in our tract might have been related to round lobed patens or rectangular portable altars with lobes such as one still finds in later medieval liturgical objects.⁸⁰ (Figures 32-33)



Figure 32 (left) Round lobed paten of Last Supper with Lamb in center from St. Peter Salzburg, 1160-80. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien; (right) Paten of St. Gauzelin (before 962), Nancy Cathedral Treasury. Photo: author.

⁷⁹ On this see my ‘Apocalypses New: The Recently Discovered Beneventan Illustrated Beatus in Geneva in its South Italian Context’ in *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 3/4 (2012) 16 f. at http://peregrinations.kenyon.edu/vol3_4/ReynoldsPeregrinations34.pdf.

⁸⁰ On the portable altars see Éric Palazzo, *L’espace rituel et le sacré dans le Christianisme : la liturgie de l’autel portatif dans l’Antiquité et au Moyen Âge* (Turnhout, 2008).



Figure 33 Rectangular portable altar from Hildesheim, 12th century, Victoria and Albert Museum. Photo: Marie-Lan Nguyen.

While the less complicated patterns of distribution would fit on a paten, such as that of the Visigothic paten now in the British Museum, the more complex distributions pictured in our tract more were more likely laid out on the mensae of cusped or lobed altars known in southern France and Visigothic Spain. In a fundamental article in 1925 in the *Mélanges F. Lot*, Paul Deschamps dealt briefly with this subject and mentioned our tract, attributing it to an Ildefonsus and noting that it could be found in the Vatican manuscript of Mabillon and in Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France lat. 2855.⁸¹ (**Figure 34**)

⁸¹ “Tables d’autel de marbre,” esp. pp. 138-168, and 164 n. 4.



Figure 34 Visigothic paten, copper alloy, 7th-8th century, found in León, Spain. In rustic Latin around the rim: +VICIT LEO DE TRIBVS IVDA RADIS DAVID ALLELVIA (“The Lion of Judah's tribe, the Scion of David, he has won ..., Alleluia,” Revelation 5:5), diameter 18.3 cm British Museum (M&ME 1900,12-14,1). Photo: British Museum.

In this article Deschamps described numerous lobed altar mensae in southern France and Catalonia reaching back to the late ninth century and going through to the celebrated St.-Sernin altar mensa by Bernardus Gelduinus at Toulouse consecrated by Pope Urban II in 1096.⁸² Relying on the work of Charles Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe, études archéologiques sur ses monuments*⁸³ he suggested that the function of the lobes was to order the consecrated hosts for the communion of the faithful, and he reproduced the rectangular diagram in the Eldefonus text from Mabillon's edition.⁸⁴ To bolster his position he cited a directive in the Ordo Romanus IV of

⁸² For a recent work on this see M. F. Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture: The Revival of Monumental Stone Sculpture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Ithaca N.Y., 1981) esp. pp. 78 f. and literature therein.

⁸³ (Paris, 1887) 1.160-164, IV.30-33.

⁸⁴ See above, n. 18.



Figure 35 St.-Sernin Altar, Toulouse. Photo: author

St.-Amand.⁸⁵ In some of the Aquitainian lobed altars Deschamps pictured there are decorations in the lobes or in the St.-Sernin altar raised buttons or knobs in each lobe, which would have interfered with placing the host in each lobe. **(Figure 35)**

To this he responded that by the time the St.-Sernin altar was made in the late eleventh century, the practice of distributing the hosts in the lobes had been abandoned but the lobe tradition was carried on.⁸⁶ While his suggestions may be correct, it is just as possible that the

⁸⁵ On Ordo IV see my my "Image and Text: A Carolingian Illustration of Modifications in the Early Roman Eucharistic Ordines," *Viator* 14 (1983) 59-82.

⁸⁶ Deschamps, p. 167, n. 4.

hosts were laid out by the priest in a ritual form saying descriptive words, as they were (and are) laid out in the Mozarabic liturgy. As for words spoken as the hosts were distributed in patterns,

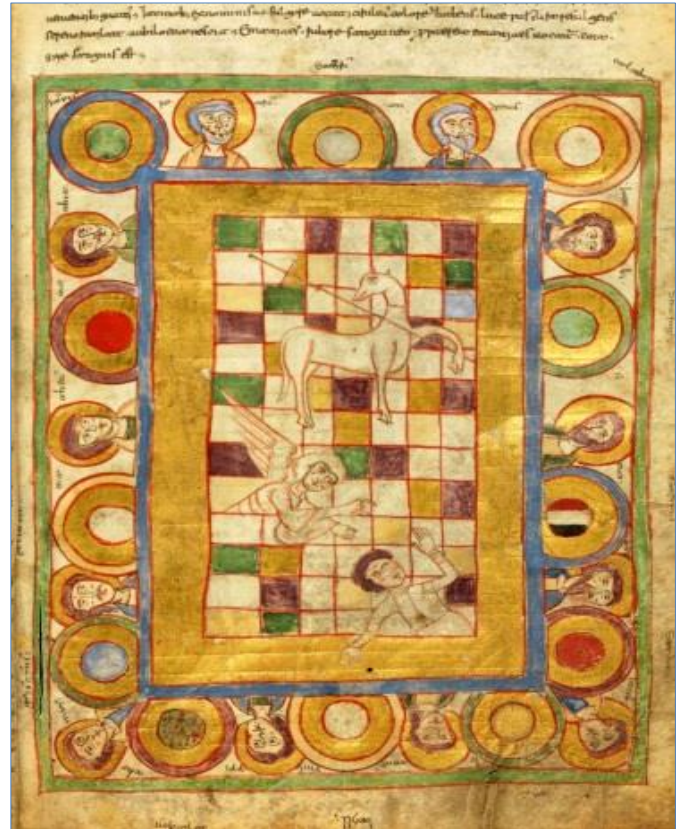
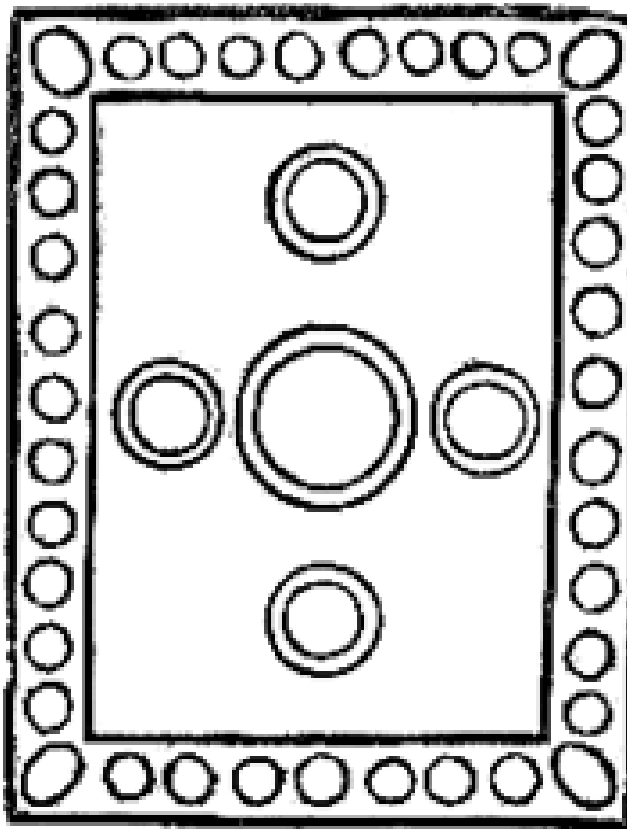


Figure 36 (left) Mabillon's illustration of host arrangement for Pentecost; Geneva Apocalypse, MS. Lat. 357, fol.291r. Bibliothèque de Genève. Photo: author

there is the example of the Mozarabic fraction/commixture rite in which, as each of the hosts was placed in cross form in sevens or nines on the paten or altar, the priest repeated the mysteries or signacula of Christ, such as found in the works of Ildefonsus of Toledo, Beatus of Liébana, or the *Liber Ordinum* of Madrid Real Academia de la Historia 56, fol. 139v: I. Corporatio, II. Nativitas,

III. Passio, IIII. Mors, V. Resurrectio, VI. Gloria, VII. Regnum. **(Figure 36)** One wonders, therefore, if the priest of our tract would repeat descriptions of the particular feast, Christmas, Easter, Ascension, or whatever, as he distributed the hosts in specific patterns. Such might have been the case with the rectangular pattern for Pentecost, the celebrant saying that the distribution represents the heavenly four-square Jerusalem (as pictured in many Beatus manuscripts)

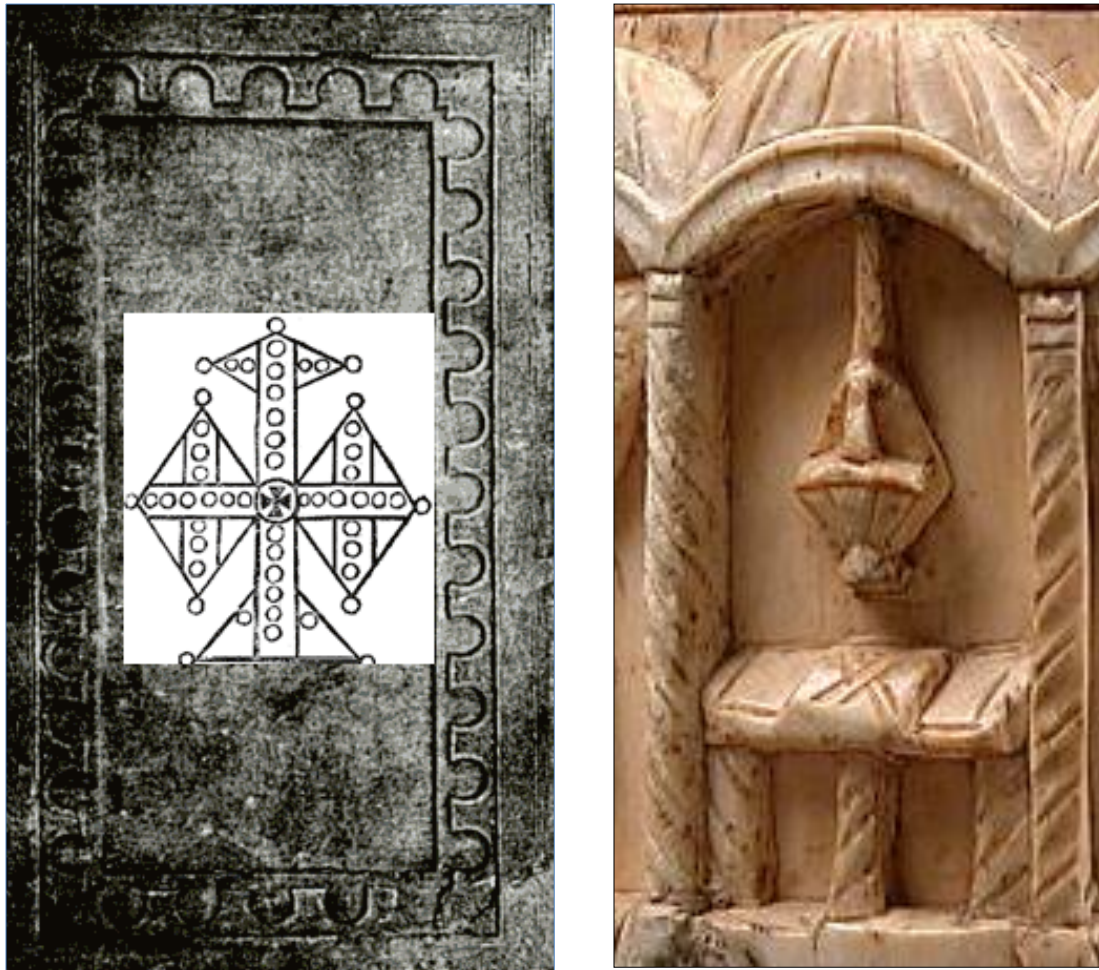


Figure 37 (left) Altar Mensa, Saint-André-de-Sorède (Pyrenees) 11th century. Photo. Deschamps, art. cit. p. 152, fig. 8; (right) Detail of Altar from Pyxis Depicting Women at Christ's Tomb, ca. 500, ivory, Byzantine. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Photo: MMA

or for Easter when the triumphal cross form was placed on the flat surface or slab of the altar representing the corpus Christi in the tomb (something seen in an early Byzantine pyx with Christ as the Gospels on an altar/tomb)?⁸⁷ (**Figure 37**)

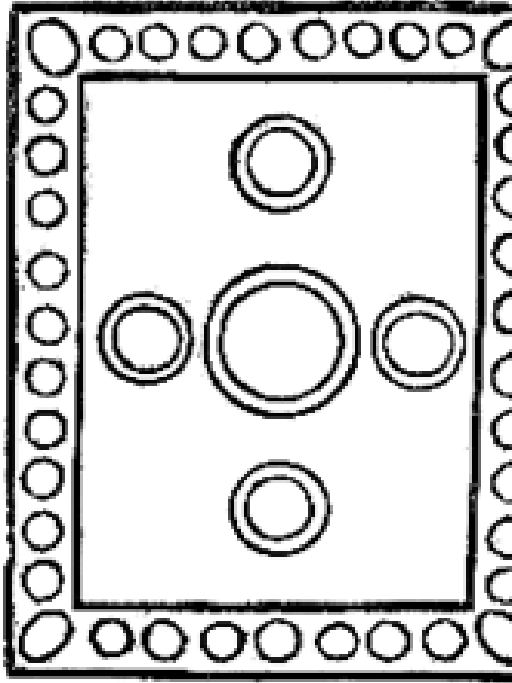
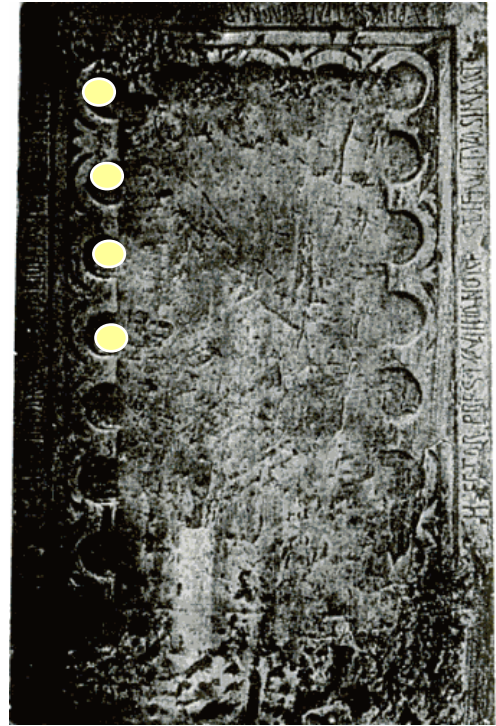


Figure 38
(left)
Mabillon's
illustration of
host
configuration
for Pentecost.
Photo: author;
(right) Lobed
Altar of
Capestang, 9th
century.
Photo: P.
Deschamps,
art.cit. fig. 3.
Inserts: author



The more unusual forms of the diagrams in our text, such as that for Easter, might also suggest that the flat surfaces of the mensa would have had such designs etched on them that have now disappeared.⁸⁸ In any event it is entirely possible that the Eldefonsus text referred to these lobed altar mensae, not only in their rectangular shapes but in circular or semi-circular forms

⁸⁷ Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gallery 300. The catalog notes that in the early church the altar was understood as the symbol of Christ's tomb; this conflation is partially based on the fact that the Eucharistic elements were placed on the altar during the liturgy.

⁸⁸ See Deschamps on designs on the flat surfaces, p. 148, pl. I. Early medieval altars tables might have had all manner of things designed or written on them, such as the *Libri memoriales*, on which see *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau: Einleitung, Register, Faksimile*, eds. Johanne Autenrieth, Dieter Geuenich and Karl Schmid. *MGH. Libri memoriales et necrologia; 1 nova series* (Hannover, 1979). On a Merovingian altar mensa from Vix

found in southern France and Catalonia. **(Figure 38)** And this would suggest that our text originated in Aquitaine or thereabouts and not in Corbie. This would have been the case especially with the rectangular pattern for the feast of Pentecost for rectangular altar mensae, such as that of the late ninth-century mensa of Capestang:⁸⁹ or circular pattern for the circular altar mensa of Besançon. **(Figure 39)**

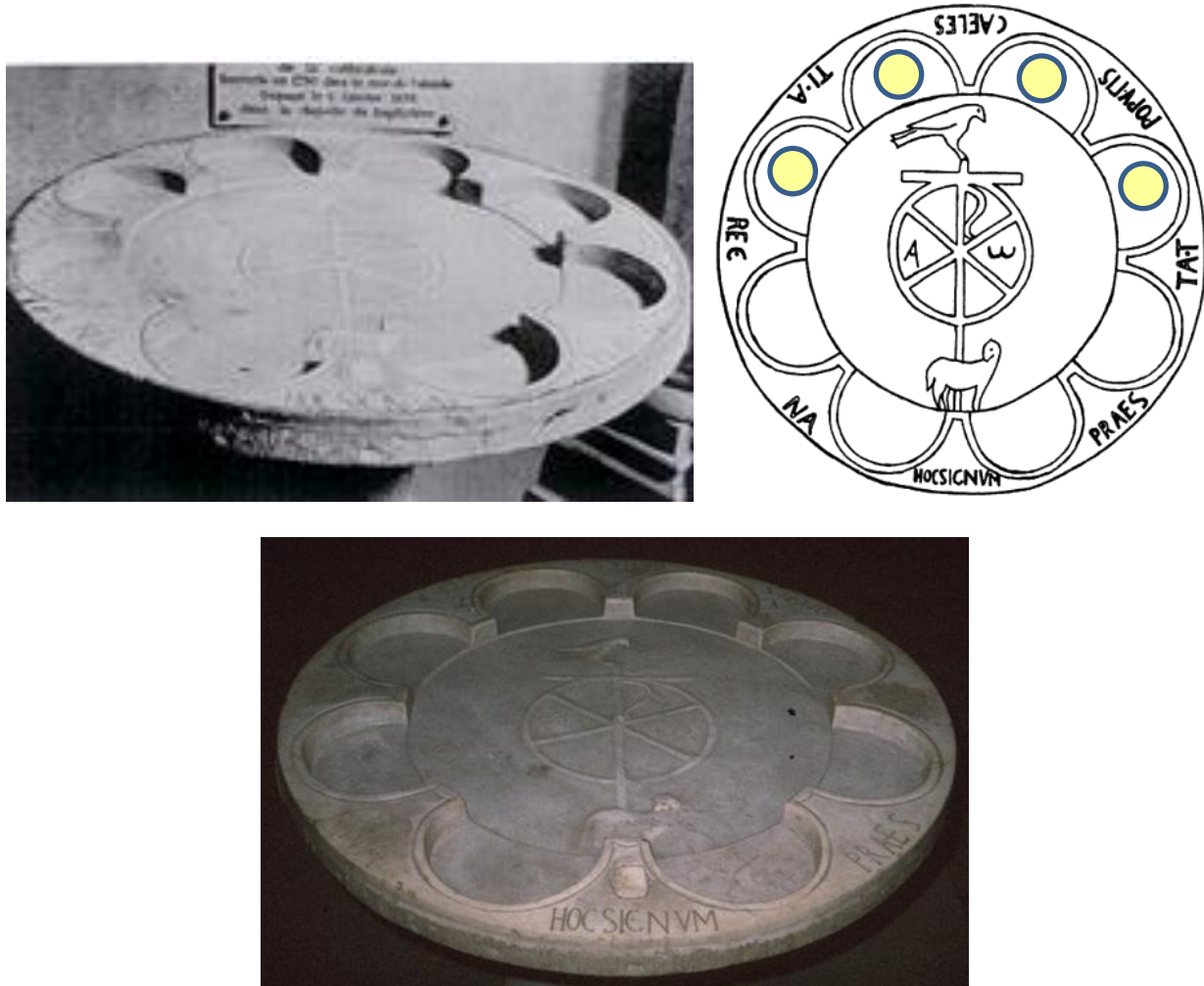
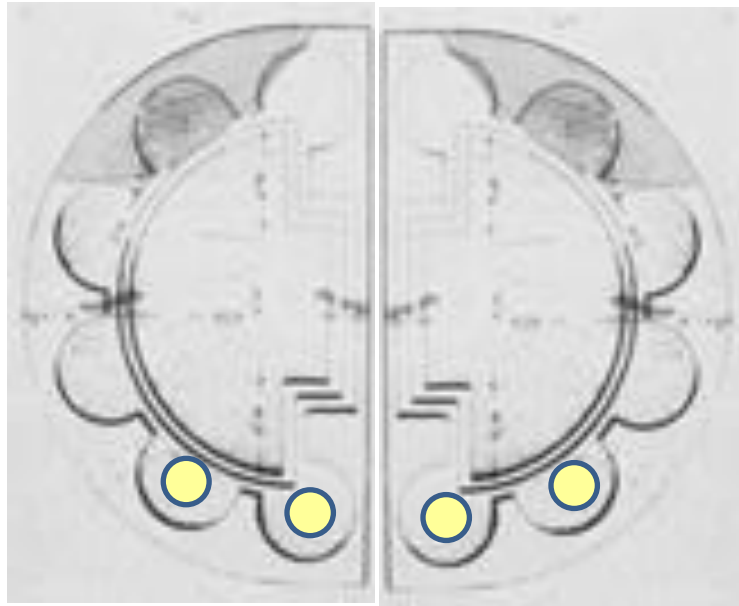


Figure 39 (left and bottom) Lobed Round Altar of Besançon, Cathedral of Saint-Jean. Photo: author; (right) Lobed Round Altar of Besançon. Photo: Deschamps, art. cit. p. 139, fig. 2. Inserts: author

(Burgundy) there is inscribed a Chi Rho cross within which are the words XPS HIC EST, reported in the *Revue de l'art chrétien* (a reference sent me by Susan Keefe).

⁸⁹ On this see Alex J. Denomy, C.S.B., "Concerning the Accessibility of Arabic Influences to the earliest Provençal Troubadours," *Mediaeval Studies* 15 (1953), p. 147.

or for the semi-circular six-lobed altar mensa of Vienne, which if placed together with another



would form a circular twelve-lobed

altar mensa.⁹⁰ (**Figure 40**)

Figure 40 (left) Lobed Semi-Circular Altar of Vienne. Photo: author; (right) Lobed Semi-Circular Altar of Vienne Doubled. Photo: Deschamps, art. cit. p. 138, fig. 1. Inserts: author

There is even a rectangular

lobed altar at the cathedral in

Gerona,⁹¹ and one wonders if the

altar mensae of the T- or Tau-shaped

⁹⁰ The small marble tabletop or “sigma-shaped” lobed mensa in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Accession Number: 47.100.50) (Gallery 300) is said to be from the fifth or sixth century. Whether or not it was an altar mensa is unsure. The museum description says it was a table to celebrate feasts for the dead at grave sites and labels it as coming from Rome and as a form of Byzantine art. For other circular and semi-circular altar mensae found in Europe and Mediterranean locations see, especially, A. A. Barb, “‘Mensa Sacra,’ The Round Table and the Holy Grail,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 19.1-2 (London, 1956), pp. 40-67. In this article Barb notes the use of circular or semi-circular altar mensae with compartments or divisions early in southern France and cites the Eldefonsus text (p. 55. n.19), the Mozarabic or Old Spanish rite, and the Celtic rite. On the round lobed altar of Besançon, see Joseph Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung (Band 1): Arten, Bestandteile, Altargrab, Weihe, Symbolik* (Munich, 1924), p. 246, pl. 42. For additional circular and semicircular/sigma shaped altar mensae, see Eugenia Chalkia, *Le Mense paleocristiane: Tipologia e Funzioni della Mense Secondaire nel Culto Paleocristiano* (Studi di antichità cristiana XLVI, Vatican 1991); and X. Barral I Altet, “Mensae et repas funéraire dans les nécropoles d’époque chrétienne de la péninsule ibérique: Vestiges archéologiques,” *Atti del IX congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana, Roma 21-27 settembre 1975* vol. II, (Studi di antichità cristiana XLVI, Vatican 1978) 49-69.

⁹¹ Deschamps, p. 148, pl. II.

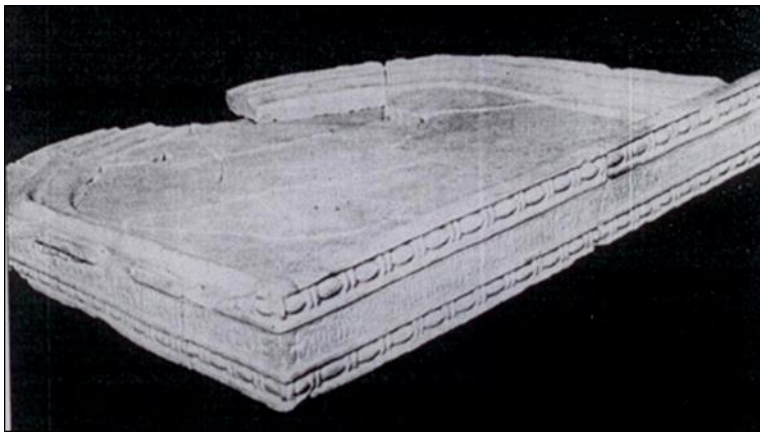
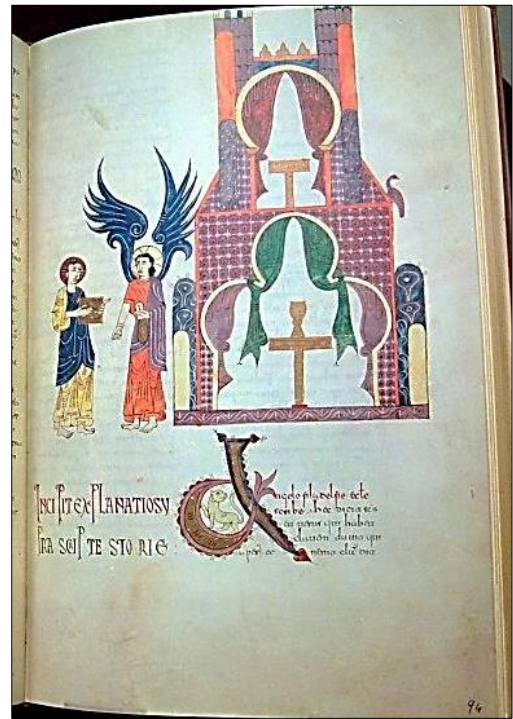
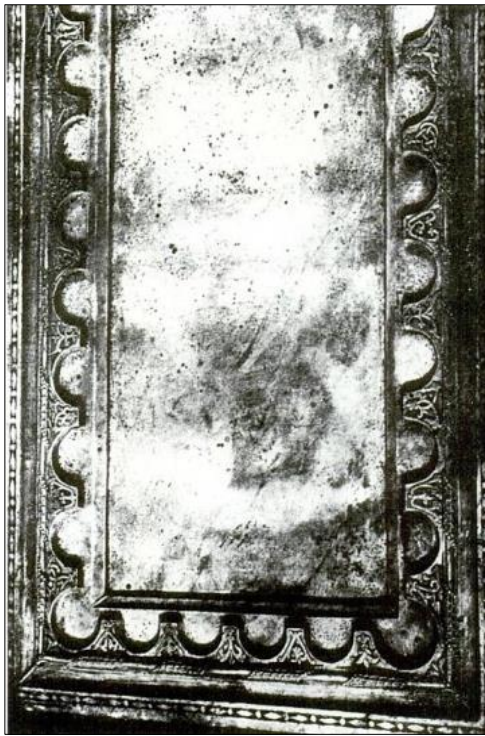


Figure 41 (left) Lobed Altar of Gerona. Photo: Deschamps, art. cit. p. 148, pl. II; (center) Girona, Museo de Catedral Girona, Núm. Inv. 7 (11), fol. Photo: Author; (right) Semi-Circular Altar of Sant Feliu de Rubí. Photo: author

altars⁹² of the Gerona Beatus manuscript might have been in this form⁹³ or even in a semi-circular form of the altar mensa of the Catalan Sant Feliu de Rubí. (**Figure 41**)



Figure 42 St.-Sernin Altar, Toulouse. 11th century. Photo: Wikipedia

⁹² The Tau, of course, was early associated with the cross of the Crucified. It is interesting that in Mozarabic manuscripts the “croziers” of bishops are often pictured as Tau staffs, on which see the canon law Codices Vigilanus and Aemilianensis, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo d.I.1 and d.I.2, passim.

⁹³ On the date of the arrival of this Beatus in Gerona see *Beatus of Liébana: Codex of Gerona* (Barcelona, 2004).



Figure 43 Assorted Visigothic Altar Supports: Segóbriga, Cuenca Museum. Photos: author

In this connection it is interesting that the massive St.-Sernin altar mensa rests now on a substantial single supporting column, suggesting not the spindly stripes of the Gerona Beatus illustrations but

more like many thick Visigothic altar supports or pedestals to be found in the museums of Spain and like those in the early Beatus fragment from Silos, the Najera fragment,⁹⁴ or even that in the newly found Beneventan-script Beatus in Geneva.⁹⁵ **(Figures 42-44)**

It is interesting, also, that in several of our diagrams in the Eldefonsus text there is a double circle on the exterior suggesting a rim or lip of an altar mensa. Further, there was a tradition that a golden lobed Byzantine dish (or altar mensa or paten?) was prized in Visigothic Spain, and ultimately lost to Syria,⁹⁶ and something like this could have suggested the arrangement of circular patterns of hosts in our tract.

⁹⁴ This fragment, considered now by scholars to be closest to the original illustrations by Beatus in the late eighth century, was discovered in Silos by my late friend and Harvard professor, Walter Muir Whitehill, who reported it in "A Beatus Fragment at Santo Domingo de Silos," *Speculum* 4 (1929), pp. 102-105. This fragment is now reproduced in a beautiful facsimile published by Testimonio among other *Fragmentos de Beatos* (Madrid, 2009).

⁹⁵ See my "Apocalypses New: The Recently Discovered Beneventan Illustrated Beatus in Geneva in its South Italian Context," p. 16, fig. 9. in http://peregrinations.kenyon.edu/vol3_4/ReynoldsPeregrinations34.pdf

⁹⁶ See Barb, "Mensa Sacra, the Round Table and the Holy Grail," p. 49. For a Visigothic bronze circular paten with the words, Xps h(ic) est, in Madrid Museo arqueológico, see José Vives, *Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda* (Biblioteca Histórica de la Biblioteca Balmes) II.18 (Barcelona, 1969) p. 171 f., nr. 514. fig. 14.

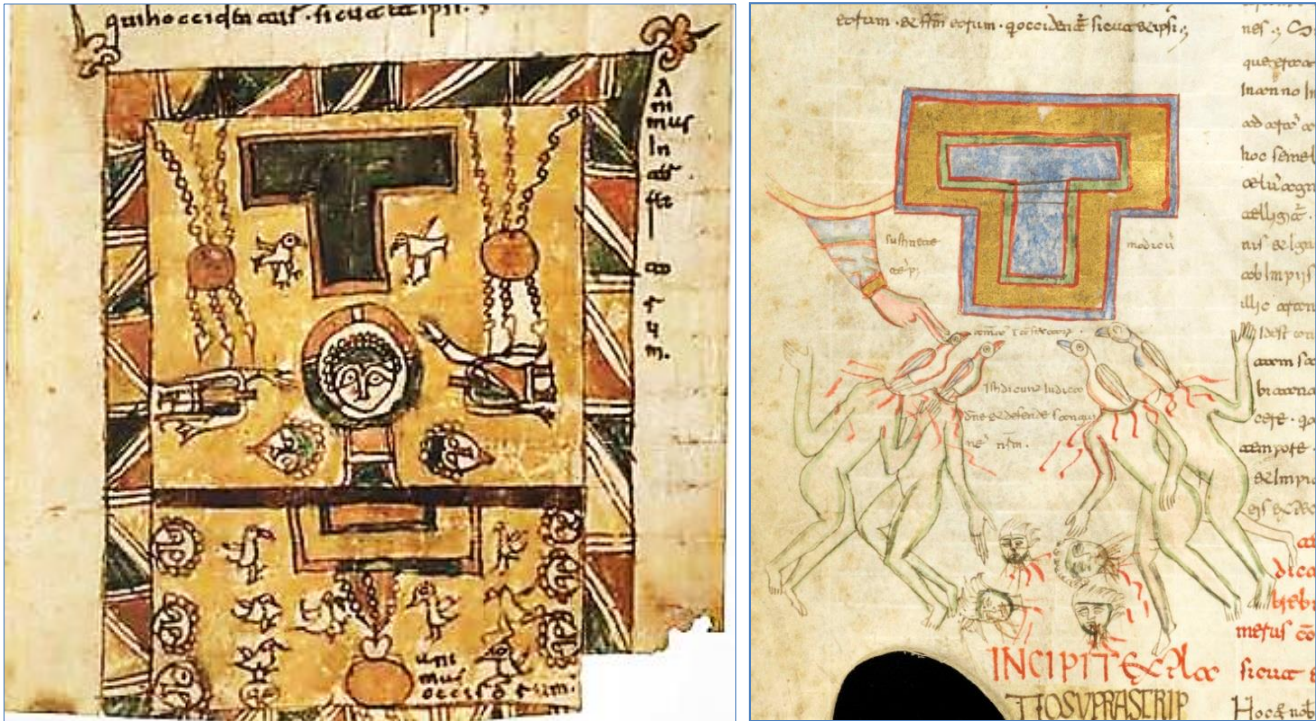


Figure 44 (left) Fragmento 4, Silos, Biblioteca del monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos. Photo: author; (right) Geneva Apocalypse, MS. Lat. 357, fol.185v. Bibliothèque de Genève. Photo: author

One of the most significant aspects of our tract is that it presents the hosts as azymes or unleavened bread. In the ancient church the use of unleavened loaves, still in practice in the Orthodox churches of the East, was the norm. The same was true in the Western church in some places until the eleventh century. Such loaves can be seen in illustrations in such ancient manuscripts as the Corpus Christi Gospels and Ashburnham Pentateuch, and in the ninth-century Augsburg Gospels, Drogo Sacramentary, and Raganaldus Sacramentary.⁹⁷ But a new practice had begun at least by the ninth century in the West, and this later led to the Eucharistic controversies and schism between the Eastern and Western churches in the eleventh century. A

⁹⁷ On these see my article in this issue: "Eucharistic Adoration in The Carolingian Era? Exposition of Christ in the Host."

new practice like this in the West is said to be hinted at in the works of Bede, Alcuin, Radbertus, and Rabanus Maurus⁹⁸ and one wonders if in the dating of our tract to 845, there is an attempt to justify or bolster this new practice. To make these unleavened hosts our tract speaks of the baking irons or presses used. Extant bread stamps used in the Eastern Church are numerous. The use of stamps like these in the making of Eucharistic bread is known far back into patristic antiquity, where they continued the use by Roman bakers to identify their breads. Most of these bread stamps are a reverse stamp attached to a handle so that the top of the bread dough could be stamped before being heated and as the leavened dough rose, so the image would expand. Rarely, however, would there be a stamp for the underside of the loaf, which would flatten the image, I am told by bread makers, as the bread rose, thereby destroying the image. But for azymes with no leaven there could be obverse and reverse sides with patterns for the baking irons. It is thought that until the eleventh century the azymes were fairly large, although our treatise talks of both large and small hosts. Stamp patterns on the Eucharistic breads are known from ancient mosaics and frescoes, and there are many extant ancient and medieval bread stamps from the Byzantine east.⁹⁹ Such extant presses for azymes in the West exist, to my knowledge, only from the central and later Middle Ages, but those used earlier must have operated somewhat like our modern waffle irons with patterns on the obverse and reverse presses and with tongs or handles for the baking process.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ See the entry on “azymes” in the *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (Paris, 1924) I.2, 3257.

⁹⁹ George Galavaris, *Bread and the liturgy: the symbolism of early Christian and Byzantine bread stamps* (Madison, Wis., 1970); and E. S. Drower, *Water into wine: a study of ritual idiom in the Middle East* (London, 1956).

¹⁰⁰ On some of the medieval presses see “Rapport de M. de Guilhermy sur diverses communications et sur des envois d'inscriptions.” *Revue des sociétés savantes de départements* 7 (2e sér.) (1862), 220-221 (a reference kindly sent me by Professor Aden Kumler); and Jules Corblet, *Histoire dogmatique, liturgique, et archéologique du sacrement de l'eucharistie* (Brussels-Geneva, 1885), p. 181 ff. Corblet deals with our text on p. 169, 181. He also

The text is attributed to a bishop Ildefonsus of Spain. There is nothing known of a bishop with this name in Spanish sources, and it is somewhat unusual that he is not designated with diocese. Perhaps figures in southern France or Spain were better informed on this than we are. On the other hand it is possible that the tract was by or at least attributed to the seventh-century Ildefonsus of Toledo, the primatial see of Spain, something suggested by the lost eleventh-century Lerins manuscript. But that name may simply have come from a sixteenth-century mis-transcription made by Dom Estiennot. While there is no evidence that Ildefonsus wrote a tract on the Eucharist, he did write on baptism in which he alludes to the names of the particles laid out in the Visigothic rite: *primum incorporatio, secundum nativitas, tertium passio, quartum mors, quintum resurrectio, sextum gloria, septimum regnum*. But there is little evidence that azymes were used in Spain in Ildefonsus's time in the seventh century, although Mabillon argued at length that c. 6 of the Council of Toledo (693) referred to this.¹⁰¹

One of the puzzling questions about our tract is why Eldefonus of Spain is not designated with a specific see in Vat. Lat. 1341, the only appearance of this name (other than the Ildefonsus of the Lerins text, which might have been a mis-transcription for Eldefonsus). But there are other possibilities, however remote. Perhaps Eldefonsus was not an ordinary bishop with a see, but a chorbishop, who did not rule over a see. This clerical grade, the chorepiscopate, was well known

notes, without documentation, that presses of the ninth century produced large hosts, but that they grew smaller by the eleventh century, although he does mention large hosts in the eleventh century in his *Essai historique et liturgique sur les ciboires et la reserve de l'eucharistie* (Paris, 1858), p. 19, 22. It is sometimes claimed that there is evidence of host presses or molds as early as the late sixth or early seventh century, based on a "mold" at Carthage with a chrismon, a reverse Alpha and Omega and "Hic est flos campi et lilium" around the perimeter of cog-like designs, reported in R. P. Delattre, *Un Pèlerinage aux ruines de Carthage* (Lyons, 1906), p. 31, 46. But whether or not this was a host press or a mold for other use is unsure. There are no handles attached and although the chrismon and alpha and omega might be appropriate to a host press, the words from Cant. 2.1 would be very unusual for a host press.

¹⁰¹ *Vetera analecta*, p. 538.

in the East and in use in the West until the middle of the ninth century and sporadically beyond.¹⁰² The grade is described in the *De officiis* of Isidore of Seville. But the chorbishops, sometimes called “*episcopi vocati*,” had become so pesky in the ninth century because of their rather irregular status, that they were “suppressed” in the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries – made at Corbie – especially in the forged epistles of Pope Damasus and reduced to simple presbyters in the forged *Collectio canonum hispana Augustodunensis*. So, it is possible that Eldefonsus was such a chorbishop in Hispania or the Marca Hispana and was not thought to have been attached to a particular see. Another possibility is that he was a bishop who in southern France was not assigned a see in known documents. In the early tenth century there is a document citing a bishop El(d)efonsus listed without see along with another bishop, Agambertus, also without see, but together with Agius specifically called bishop of Narbonne: *Venerabilis Agamberto, nec non et Elefonso Episcopis. Agio Narbonæ sedis Episcopus multimodas orationes. Audiuimus quod vos curtim pergere his diebus debetis*.¹⁰³ There are bishops in related areas of southern France who are without the names of a see, like, for example, a bishop Erifons (Eldefonsus?) who signed a document dated in the Hispanic era, who after perhaps being dismissed from his diocese of Vindaque or Carpentras, was given the church of St-Quentin in Narbonne.¹⁰⁴ It is interesting also that there is a subdeacon named Eldefonsus (with Vitiza, a Visigothic name) in charters from the Abbaye Sainte-Marie de Lagrasse in the county of Barcelona, Besalú and Urgell in the

¹⁰² On this see Theodor Gottlob, *Der abendländische Chorepiskopat*, (1928, Bonn); and my “The Organization, Law and Liturgy of the Western Church,” *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. II, c. 700-c.900, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 587-621.

¹⁰³ Jonathan Jarrett, “Archbishop Ató of Osona: False Metropolitans on the Marca Hispanica,” *Archiv für Diplomatik* 56 (2010) (not seen), for which reference I thank Jonathan Jarrett.

¹⁰⁴ *Histoire de Languedoc, avec des Notes et les Pieces justificatives* (Paris, 1733) II. XI. p. 50 n. 86, XII, p. 61.

tenth century.¹⁰⁵ All of these tantalizing clues, although postdating our little tract, again point to southern France and the Marca Hispana in relation to our text.

There is another possible but admittedly highly speculative explanation for Eldefonsus of Spain. That is, the tract was written in the late eighth and early ninth century by Elipandus of Toledo. Elipandus was, after all, an acknowledged expert in liturgical matters, and by his time azymes may have been used not only north of the Pyrenees, but also in Spain. We have, to my knowledge, no extant hosts or host presses from the ninth century in Spain, but we do have the ancient host press from the eleventh century still in Vic in the Iberian peninsula with its design similar to one in our Eldefonsus text. As for the variety of patterns of hosts reported in the tract, the layouts of seven and nine hosts we saw earlier in Spain might have been for certain normal feasts, but there may have been others especially for important feasts such as reported in our tract. Also looking to a Spanish origin of our tract is the unusual equivalency of pounds to solidi, which Mabillon speculated was an anomaly in early medieval Spain.

Now, back to our Elipandus as a possible author of the original text seen in Vat. Lat. 1341. It was widely recognized that Elipandus of Toledo had recently been condemned as a heretic in 794, and after his recantation of his Adoptionist views *ca.*799 had spent his last days at Lyons under “house arrest” by Leidrad among his Visigothic compatriot-refugees, where he was suspected of carrying on covertly his liturgical practices. Hence, rather than using the heretic’s name as author, the first part of his name EL was combined with the latter part of Ildefonsus (DEFONSUS), whose prayers had been scorned by the bishops of France for their

¹⁰⁵ See *Recueil des chartes de l’abbaye de la Grass T. 1, 779-1119*, eds. Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier and Anne-Marie Magnou (Paris, 1996) 121, Act No 72; and 123, Act No 73.

use of the term “adoptivus.”¹⁰⁶ The result of this combination resulted in ELDEFONSUS, styled not as bishop of Toledo but of Spain, as was claimed for Elipandus’ hierarchical jurisdiction in the battle with Beatus of Liébana and Heterius of Osma. Of course this explanation of the name in the tract is highly speculative, and one must explain the date of 845 given in the preface to the tract. But here, one must remember that this preface is found in the Vatican and Paris manuscripts, likely from Aquitaine, where a Carolingian, not Hispanic era date was used. Could it be, as was earlier suggested, that a version of the text was composed by Elipandus or in Hispanic lands? It was found in southern France in which our two Paris manuscripts were written. There a Hispanic date was altered to 845 and a reference to “grana cerulei Aquitaniae tritici nostri” added. It may have been here in this area noted for its coinage and mints at Melle where the unusual concluding section on coinage was added, and where lobed altar mensae were plentiful on which to distribute the hosts. The text was sent to Corbie where there was intense debate on the Eucharist involving Radbertus, Ratramnus, and Charles the Bald. There, it can be speculated, Radbertus, thick in the fight over the Eucharist, took the tract, came up with “Eldefonsus” and the preface, removed the “Aquitaniae tritici nostri,” and had diagrams added by the geometry experts at Corbie. Klaus Zechiel Eckes showed in his study of the St. Petersburg Corbie manuscripts that whoever composed the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries – Radbertus, he suspected – was a master in weaving bits of texts and names together. The text with its Spanish attribution was then appended to the collection of Hispanic canon law in

¹⁰⁶ See the comment by the bishops of France on Ildefonsus: “It is better to give credit to the testimony of God the Father as to His own Son than to your Ildefonsus, who composed such prayers for you in your Mass as the holy and universal Church of God knows not. Nor do we think God listens to you when you say them. And if your Ildefonsus in the prayers he wrote called Christ ‘adoptive,’ our Gregory, Pope of the Roman See and Doctor renowned throughout the world, in his prayers never hesitated always to call Him the Sole-begotten One.” *MGH Conc.* II.145. Also see Alcuin’s *Adversus Elipandum*, PL 101.264-267, written for Leidrad and his companions on the occasion of their journey to Spain. See my *The Visigothic Liturgy in the Realm of Charlemagne*, pp. 919-945.

Vatican BAV Vat. Lat. 1341, the *Collectio Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis* that had been tinkered with by the Pseudo-Isidorian forgers, to give appropriate Spanish flavor to our text.¹⁰⁷

There is finally the question as to why our tract was presented as a “revelation” or dream. Here one can only speculate, but the early introduction of Ezekiel’s revelation of the wheels within wheels and the four beasts might have suggested to the author that he use a similar device in his description of the circular hosts.¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, there was, in the ninth century, a considerable number of treatises in dream form, and reports of visions abound in ninth-century works.¹⁰⁹ Especially famous are the visions in the 840s of Audradus of St-Martin recorded in his *Book of Revelations*.¹¹⁰ There is even the famous illustrated ninth-century illustrated *Visio Baronti*, perhaps made by Hincmar of Rheims for Ebo.¹¹¹ Although visions, revelations, and dreams in the ninth conveyed different meanings – narratives, divine revelations, or future prognostications or warnings -- they tend to blur as a genre. Hence, our tract is not out of place in this context.

¹⁰⁷ Radbertus not only had contacts with Spanish texts like the *Collectio hispana*, in whatever form, but in his self-imposed retirement from Corbie to St.-Riquier until 865 when he returned to Corbie, he seems to have had contacts with other Spanish texts (principally the Spanish Bible), on which see E. Ann Matter, “The Lamentations Commentaries of Hrabanus Maurus and Paschasius Radbertus,” *Traditio* 38 (1982), p. 158 f.

¹⁰⁸ It is interesting that Beatus in his Commentary on the Apocalypse, III.3 (5), also uses Ezekiel and his wheels. See *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*. ed. Henry A. Sanders. (Rome, 1930), pp. 306-314 and *Beati Liebanensis Tractatus de Apocalypsin*, ed. Roger Gryson, CCSL 107C (Turnhout, 2012) e.g. p. 391 and 433.

¹⁰⁹ See, e.g., Paul Dutton, *The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1994), and the more recent work of Isabel Moreira, *Dreams, Visions, and Spiritual Authority in Merovingian Gaul* (Cornell, 2000), citing our text on p. 139.

¹¹⁰ On this see Paul Edward Dutton and Herbert L. Kessler, *The Poetry and Paintings of the First Bible of Charles the Bald* (Ann Arbor, 1997), p. 12.

¹¹¹ See Lawrence Nees, “The Illustrated Manuscript of the *Visio Baronti* in St. Petersburg (Russian National Library Cod. Lat. Oct. V.I.5)” in *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages. Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference* (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 91-128. On the use of the *Visio Baronti* in the ninth century see David Ganz, “Charlemagne in Hell,” *Florilegium* (the official journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists/Société canadienne des médiévistes) 17 (2000), pp. 175-194.

During the late eighth and first half of the ninth century a number of commentaries, both small and large, were produced explaining various elements of the Mass. Among the shorter ones were the famous *Expositio brevis* describing a Gallican-rite Mass,¹¹² the *Quotiens contra se*,¹¹³ *Primum in ordine*,¹¹⁴ *Dominus vobiscum*,¹¹⁵ and the Pseudo-Damasus-Pseudo-Jerome exchange of letters on the time of the Mass.¹¹⁶ And of course there were the more extensive commentaries by Amalarius of Metz, Rabanus Maurus, and others.¹¹⁷ Most of these commentaries, both short and long, can be found in multiple manuscripts, likely because they reflected the Roman (or more exactly the Romano-Frankish) rite becoming dominant not only in the north, but also in Aquitaine, Catalonia, and even Spain in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Ours, however, is confined to a few manuscripts. Whether it was considered too bizarre, not reflecting actual practice in Carolingian and post-Carolingian times, or associated with elements of the Old

¹¹² Ps.-Germanus, *Expositio brevis* ed. E. C. Ratcliff, *Expositio antiquae liturgiae gallicanae* (Henry Bradshaw Society 98; London, 1971); and *Epistolae de ordine sacrae oblationis et de diversis charismatibus ecclesiae Germano Parisiensi episcopo adscriptae*, ed. Philippe Bernard. CCCM 187 (Turnhout, 2007); and Philippe Bernard, *Transitions liturgiques en Gaul carolingienne. Une traduction commentée des deux 'lettres' faussement attribuée à l'évêque Germain de Paris* (Paris, 2008) giving a date ca. 800 for the composition of this commentary.

¹¹³ PL 96.1481-1502, and see Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 446 (saec. IX^{2/4}; Lyons) fols. 71v-78r, with the text of the early ninth-century *Collectio Dacheriana*.

¹¹⁴ PL 138.1173-86, and see Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Pal. lat. 485, fols. 17v-27; and St. Petersburg, Rossiyskaya Natsional'naya Biblioteka, Q.v.1.34, fols. 23v-42v; where this tract written in one ninth-century hand is bound together in the manuscript with the Penitential of Halitgar written in another, fols. 45r-88r; on which see Kottje, *Die Bussbücher Halitgars von Cambrai*, p. 33 f.

¹¹⁵ *Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia*, ed. J. M. Hanssens, 1 (Studi e testi 138; Vatican 1948) 1.284-338. See the M.A. thesis at Carleton University, Ottawa, of Corey Mac Nason (1976), using my lists of manuscripts of this text, now appearing as "The Mass Commentary *Dominus vobiscum*. Its Textual Transmission and Question of Authorship," *Revue Bénédictine* 114 (2004), pp. 75-91.

¹¹⁶ See my "An Early Medieval Mass Fantasy: The Correspondence of Pope Damasus on a Nicene Canon," *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Cambridge, 23-27 July 1984*, ed. P. Linehan (*Monumenta Iuris Canonici, Ser. C. subsid.* 8: Vatican, 1988), pp. 73-89; and "A South Italian Liturgico-Canonical Mass Commentary," *Mediaeval Studies* 50 (1988), pp. 626-670.

¹¹⁷ On these see my "Guillaume Durand parmi les théologiens médiévaux de la liturgie," *Guillaume Durand, Évêque de Mende (v. 1230-1296)*, p. 165.

Spanish rite condemned in the late eleventh century, but still practiced in Toledo, and hence not frequently copied is unclear. Simply put, distributions of hosts of such complexity took too much time, especially in the Roman rite, always said to contrast in its “simplicity, practicality, great sobriety and self control, gravity, and dignity” with “Gallican” extravagant liturgical practices in their heavy symbolism, dramatism, and flowery verbal prolixity.¹¹⁸ By the time that Durandus of Mende in Languedoc penned his *Rationale* in the thirteenth century the idea of the Eucharistic azymes as coins of the heavenly king was still as bright as it had been in the twelfth century for Honorius Augustodunensis, but the unusual ritual distribution of hosts so carefully illustrated in our tract had disappeared. Nonetheless, the subject of our little tract, the use of azymes in the Eucharistic liturgy, was and has been one of the most sensitive topics of debate between the churches of the East and West since the eleventh century and was one of the causes of the schism between those churches in the mid eleventh century. It would not be until Mabillon’s treatise on azymes with its appendix that our little tract would seem to have exerted any influence at all on the subject of Eucharist practice, of what hosts are to consist and how they are to be made, and especially how early they were used in the Western church. Although its influence may have been slight in terms of manuscript copies after the eleventh century, our little tract on Christ’s money was nonetheless a harbinger of what became Eucharistic practice throughout the centuries still in use today in the Latin church.

¹¹⁸ See Edmund Bishop, “The Genius of the Roman Rite,” *Liturgica historica: papers on the liturgy and religious life of the Western church* (Oxford, 1918), pp. 1-19.